

**KARL
MARX
FREDERICK
ENGELS**

**Collected
Works**



**Volume 9
Marx and Engels
1849**

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- JACK COHEN: Articles 70-73
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- MICHAEL HUDSON: Articles 34, 35, 37, 38, 40, 42-47, 49, 50, 82, 84, 86, 87, 89-91, 93-97, 100, 101
- DOROTHY JAESCHKE: Articles 106, 109, 113, 114, 116-19, 123, 125, 126, 128
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- CHRISTOPHER UPWARD: Articles 137, 146; Appendices 1, 4, 7, 19, 20
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Preface

Volume 9 of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels is the last in the group of three volumes which show the activities of the founders of scientific communism during the revolutionary years 1848 and 1849. It covers the period from March 6, 1849 to August 1849.

Like volumes 7 and 8, this volume consists in the main of articles written by Marx and Engels for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, an organ of German and European democracy, and in particular of its revolutionary proletarian wing. It was during the last stage of the revolution, when the objective preconditions for uniting the proletariat and creating a proletarian mass party began to take shape, that the proletarian trend of the paper edited by Marx and Engels became especially pronounced. During this period the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* played an increasingly important role as the legal centre which directed the activity of the Communist League members and inspired the revolutionary actions of the proletarian masses.

Marx's and Engels' strategy and tactics during the revolution were based on their materialist conception of the dialectic of social change and on the theoretical generalisation of the experience gained by the masses in the struggle. Their activities in that period, as in the earlier stages of the revolution, demonstrated the organic unity of revolutionary theory and practice. In the circumstances that arose in the spring of 1849, they brought a new element into their tactics: still seeking to rally all revolutionary forces against the advancing counter-revolution, they tried to promote an independent political line for the working class, and to differentiate it from the general

democratic movement by creating a political proletarian mass organisation.

The distinctive features of the spring and summer of 1849 were the rearguard actions fought by the revolutionary forces and the increasing attacks made by the counter-revolutionaries on the people's democratic achievements. The reactionary ruling circles in Austria, Prussia and Tsarist Russia were seeking to revive the Holy Alliance in order to crush the revolutionary movement with the help of the French monarchists and the British bourgeois and aristocratic oligarchy. At the same time the people everywhere continued to defend their political and social rights. Proletarian and democratic organisations became increasingly active in spite of police persecutions. A national liberation struggle was waged in Hungary and many parts of Italy. Peasants' uprisings took place in Slovakia, Galicia and the Bukovina. A new clash between proletarian and petty-bourgeois democrats on the one hand and the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie on the other was imminent in France. All this led Marx and Engels to expect that a new revolutionary surge would soon take place in Europe, Germany included (see, for instance, this volume, p. 57).

They pinned their hopes on the French proletariat taking the revolutionary initiative, for they thought it would be able to repel any attack by international counter-revolution. They expected the working class to play a major part in the next stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and that this would make it possible to extend and consolidate democratic achievements vital to the proletariat, and to carry the revolutionary process further and transform it into a proletarian revolution. Writing about the workers of the Rhine Province Engels observed that "the present movement is only the prologue to another movement a thousand times more serious, in which the issue will concern their own, the workers', most vital interests" (see this volume, p. 449). Thus the course of events in 1848 and 1849 helped them shape their ideas about the relations of the bourgeois-democratic and proletarian stages of the revolution. These ideas form part of the Marxist theory of "permanent revolution", which Marx and Engels were to formulate more explicitly and fully later on the basis of analysing the lessons of these events.

Despite the increasingly counter-revolutionary climate in Germany, the militant spirit and revolutionary optimism of their articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* continued unabated. The paper constantly called upon the masses to remain vigilant and to fight on against the counter-revolution.

It was the altered balance of class forces in the spring of 1849, the treachery of the liberal bourgeoisie, which became more and more evident, and the vacillation of the petty-bourgeois democrats, which led Marx, Engels and their comrades in the Communist League to do everything they could to ensure the ideological and political independence of the proletariat, and its leading role in the revolutionary struggle. They took practical steps to create a working-class political party embracing the whole of Germany, whose core was to be the Communist League—a task which Marx and Engels had put forward already at the beginning of the revolution. They took into account the fact that the months of revolutionary struggle had brought about changes in the political consciousness of the most advanced section of the German workers, that the German workers were beginning to free themselves from the influence of petty-bourgeois ideas and that the labour movement was overcoming its limitations and disunity. Events were destroying the narrow framework of the craft guilds and turning them towards politics. The Workers' Fraternity and other German workers' organisations were becoming politically active. There was a tendency to unite the workers' associations and to set up a single German workers' organisation with social as well as political aims. Marx and Engels were eager to play their part in forming this German workers' organisation. They did all they could to strengthen the Cologne Workers' Association, to establish contacts between it and other workers' associations and to call a Workers' Congress of the whole of Germany (see this volume, pp. 502-03).

On April 14, 1849, Marx, Engels and their associates, supported by the most class-conscious section of the workers, resigned from the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats in order to set up a new and "closer union of the workers' associations" consisting of like-minded people (see this volume, p. 282). Soon afterwards the Cologne Workers' Association under their leadership decided to establish relations with the union of German workers' associations and to withdraw from the Union of the Democratic Associations of the Rhine Province (see this volume, p. 494). However, according to Marx and Engels the ideological, political and organisational separation from the petty-bourgeois democrats did not mean that the working class should refuse to take part in concerted actions with members of the democratic movement. On the contrary, they constantly stressed that all progressive forces must unite more closely in the struggle against the counter-revolution. But they considered that in the given situation united action could not be achieved within the framework of a single organisation.

Marx's work *Wage Labour and Capital*, which is published in this volume, played an important part in preparing the German workers ideologically for setting up an independent political party. The work is based on lectures given by Marx at the German Workers' Society in Brussels in December 1847. He had been prevented from publishing it at the time by the outbreak of the February revolution in France. It was printed in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in April 1849 as a series of leading articles. In these articles Marx emphasised in particular the class nature of the objectives set forth in the newspaper. In his short preface to the series Marx wrote: "Now, after our readers have seen the class struggle develop in colossal political forms in 1848, the time has come to deal more closely with the economic relations themselves on which the existence of the bourgeoisie and its class rule, as well as the slavery of the workers, are founded" (see this volume, p. 198).

Wage Labour and Capital shows how far economic theory had been worked out by Marx at the end of the 1840s.

In this work Marx examines the nature of the production relations in bourgeois society, which are based on the exploitation of wage labour. He points out that capital and wage labour are mutually interdependent, and on the other hand he emphasises the antagonistic nature of these relations and the radical opposition between the interests of capitalists and workers. He shows that capital comes into being only at a definite stage of social development, and that capitalist society is therefore a historical, transient phenomenon. Bourgeois economists for the most part defined "capital" as a sum of material objects and resources, or accumulated labour. In contrast to this superficial view Marx maintained that the transformation of material objects or accumulated labour into capital presupposes definite social relations. Marx writes—and this has become a classical definition of *capital* in Marxist political economy: "*Capital*, also, is a social relation of production. It is a *bourgeois production relation*, a production relation of bourgeois society" (see this volume, p. 212).

Wage Labour and Capital marks an important step in making clear the economic basis of capitalist exploitation. By means of vivid examples Marx shows that the value produced by the worker exceeds the value of the means of subsistence which he receives in the form of wages, and that this excess is the source of the capitalist's profit. After examining various aspects of the problem of wages, Marx states an important law, namely that even under the most favourable circumstances for the worker the relative share of wages in the social product falls compared with the share appropriated by the capitalist. Profit and wages stand in inverse proportion to one another. Marx concludes that the growth of capital and the development of the

productive forces in bourgeois society were bound to lead to the increasing exploitation of the wage-workers.

So long as the capitalist mode of production continues, the working class cannot free itself from the oppressive system of wage labour. Marx stressed that as social wealth and the productivity of labour increase in bourgeois society, the proletariat forges for itself "the golden chains by which the bourgeoisie drags it in its train" (see this volume, p. 221).

Wage Labour and Capital was written at a time when Marxist political economy had not yet arrived at its mature scientific formulation. In this work Marx still uses the terms "labour as a commodity", "value of labour" and "price of labour", which he took over from the English classical economists, though he gave these terms a new meaning. In 1891, when Engels prepared this work for a mass edition, he changed throughout the term "labour as a commodity" to "labour power as a commodity" etc. All these changes are given in footnotes in this volume. In the Preface to Volume II of *Capital*, Engels wrote that in working out the theory of surplus value in the 1850s Marx showed that "it is not labour which has a value. As an activity which creates value it can no more have any special value than gravity can have any special weight, heat any special temperature, electricity any special strength of current. It is not labour which is bought and sold as a commodity, but labour power. As soon as labour power becomes a commodity, its value is determined by the labour embodied in this commodity as a social product. This value is equal to the labour socially necessary for the production and reproduction of this commodity" (Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1974, pp. 18-19).

Wage Labour and Capital marks an important stage in the working out of a proletarian political economy. And at the same time it exhibits to a marked degree Marx's talent for popularising and explaining complicated economic problems to workers in a language which they can understand. The work greatly helped to spread the ideas of scientific communism among the working class.

Wage Labour and Capital as well as other articles and reports on current political questions written by Marx and Engels for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* provided material for political discussions in the workers' associations and helped to make the German workers class conscious. The importance of the paper as a centre which united the forces of the revolutionary proletariat and explained and propagated the programme and tactical principles of the Communist League, was constantly growing. But the victory of the counter-revolution, and the fact that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was forced to

cease publication and Marx and Engels were compelled to leave Prussia cut short their intensive activity and prevented them from putting into practice their plan for creating a workers' mass party.

Marx and Engels expected the liberation struggle of the oppressed nationalities to play a significant role in the revolutionary strategy of the proletariat. They stressed the importance of Poland's liberation for the European democratic movement and constantly returned to the history of Poland's partition and subjugation by the Prussian monarchy, the Austrian Empire and Russian Tsarism (see the article "Posen"). They warmly welcomed the national liberation movements of the Italian and Hungarian peoples. The renewed military operations of the Piedmontese against Austria in the spring of 1849 were regarded by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as a new indication that the revolution was continuing to develop and as a serious blow at the Habsburg monarchy which was now obliged to wage a war on two fronts, against both Hungary and Italy.

Engels analysed the military campaign in Northern Italy in the articles "The War in Italy and Hungary" and "The Defeat of the Piedmontese" and in a series of reports printed under the heading "From the Theatre of War" in the section "Italy". These articles, which express the author's sympathy for the Italian people and call upon them to throw off the Austrian yoke, contain many shrewd observations on the specific features of revolutionary national liberation wars and the conditions required for winning them. In his article "The Defeat of the Piedmontese" Engels writes: "A nation that wants to conquer its independence cannot restrict itself to the *ordinary* methods of warfare" (see this volume, p. 171). In order to gain victory it has to turn the war into a genuinely revolutionary war supported by the masses of the people.

The reason for the reverse suffered by the Piedmontese army was, according to Engels, above all the policies of the liberal and monarchical groups in Piedmont, which were strongly opposed to the transformation of the war into a truly popular war, for they were afraid that this might lead to a revolutionary upsurge and thus undermine their own rule. "There is only one means to counter the treachery and cowardice of the Government: revolution," Engels pointed out (see this volume, p. 151). The defeat of the Piedmontese put the last revolutionary strongholds in Italy, the republics of Venice and Rome, in a very difficult position. Only a European, and above all a French, revolutionary outbreak could, as Engels wrote, save the situation.

Hungary was another centre where, in the opinion of Marx and Engels, a revolutionary conflagration might start which could spread to the whole of Europe. The Hungarian liberation struggle entered a new phase at that time. The heroic people's army, directed by Kossuth's revolutionary government, defied the armed forces of the Habsburg monarchy. In the spring of 1849 the Hungarian troops started their successful counter-offensive.

Marx and Engels watched the developments in the Hungarian revolutionary war closely and with great sympathy. In February 1849, at Marx's request, Engels began to write military and political surveys of the Hungarian events. Most of them were published under the heading "From the Theatre of War" in the section "Hungary" of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The first articles of this series are published in Volume 8 of this edition; the remainder form a significant part of this volume. Engels' article "Hungary", which generalises and partly sums up his analysis of the Hungarian revolutionary struggle, was published in the last issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on May 19, 1849 (see this volume, pp. 455-63).

This series reveals Engels' remarkable talent in military matters. On the basis of Austrian Army Bulletins and reports printed in official Austrian and in German conservative and liberal newspapers, which as a rule were pro-Austrian—that is, on the basis of sources containing very tendentious and contradictory information—Engels, by critically sifting and comparing facts, was able to give a realistic account of the military operations. Closely following the course of events, he created a true and exact, though not a detailed (from the sources available to him this was quite impossible) picture showing the main features of the war. Moreover, many of these surveys (for instance "The Military Reports of the *Kölnische Zeitung*") contained sharp polemical remarks directed at the enemies of the Hungarian revolution, and also exposed the lies disseminated by the German chauvinistic newspapers. Engels' military reports, masterpieces which passionately defended the just cause of embattled Hungary, did much to spread the truth about the Hungarian national liberation struggle in Germany.

Even when the Austrian counter-revolutionary army, which had occupied a substantial part of Hungary, was still conducting offensive operations and the German conservative press was triumphantly announcing that Austria's final victory was imminent, Engels, assessing the military situation with great acuity, observed that the Hungarian revolutionary forces had sufficient resources not only for defence but also for launching a decisive counter-offensive. This prediction, like many others made by Engels in the military

sphere, proved true. The April counter-offensive of the Hungarian army, as Engels noted in several of his articles, clearly revealed the genuinely revolutionary and popular nature not only of the war the Hungarians were waging, but also of their way of conducting military operations. Mobilisation of all national forces to repulse the invaders, energy and mobility, well-concerted action of the regular troops and the widespread guerilla movement, and the fact that the enemy was attacked not only at the front but also in the rear—these were the positive features mentioned by Engels in his analysis of the Hungarian campaign. “The entire might of all the 36 million Austrians has been frustrated and the victorious army which in Welden’s words ‘amazed half Europe’ has been balked by the daring and enthusiasm of a small nation of barely five million people,” he wrote in the article “Hungarian Victories”. “The imperial forces are learning once again in Hungary the lesson they were taught at Jemappes and Fleurus 50 years ago: it is unwise to make war on revolution” (see this volume, p. 349).

When comparing the Austrian and Hungarian military systems Engels emphasised that the former exemplified the clumsiness, the mechanical drill and the stereotyped tactics peculiar to the armed forces of the feudal absolute monarchies, whereas the Hungarians demonstrated the mobility, initiative and tactical versatility, as well as the ability to take quick resolute decisions and to engage in daring manoeuvres, which are characteristic of a popular army welded together in the fire of a revolution. In his article “War in Hungary” Engels wrote, “The Magyars, though inadequately drilled and armed, oppose everywhere the most subtle calculation, the most masterly use of the terrain, the clearest overall view of the situation and the most daring and swift execution to the indolent and mindless but well-drilled mass of the Austrian armies. Superiority in genius is here doing battle with superiority in numbers, weapons and arms drill” (see this volume, p. 232). In its morale, in unity of the front and rear and support from the masses of the people, the Hungarian army far surpassed its enemy. Engels had a high opinion of the political and military leaders of the Hungarian revolution, of Kossuth and his associates, of the volunteers from Austria and especially of Polish commanders, like Bem and Dembiński, who chose to take part in the revolutionary war.

Engels considered that the strength of the Hungarian revolution stemmed from the progressive social and political transformation which had been carried out in the country, i.e. the abolition of many hitherto existing feudal institutions, the introduction of agrarian reforms and the deposition of the Habsburg dynasty. “The

Hungarians' first measure was to carry out a social revolution in their country, to abolish feudalism," Engels wrote in the article "Hungary" (see this volume, p. 463). Hungary, he said, showed once again that the national liberation movement acquired both strength and stability when together with the fight for independence there was the radical elimination of all feudal relics from the social and political structure.

The abolition of feudal obligations and the other measures which the leaders of the Hungarian revolution carried through in the interest of the peasantry, said Engels, not only ensured that the Hungarian peasants supported the revolution and played an active part in it, but also aroused sympathy for the Magyar struggle among the peasantry in various Slav areas of the Austrian Empire, in particular among the Slovaks, the Poles of Galicia and the Western Ukrainians in the Bukovina. At the end of April 1849 Engels wrote: "Fresh support for the Magyars, which just now, on the eve of their probable victory, is of the greatest significance, is *the Polish peasant rising* which is about to break out in Galicia" (see this volume, p. 345). In another report he observed that the Slovaks joined the Hungarians, after the latter had "abolished the feudal burdens of the Slovak peasants and made a number of concessions with regard to language and nationality" (see this volume, p. 390).

One of the most important indications of the growing anti-feudal struggle in the Slav areas of Austria was the peasant movement among the Ukrainians in the Bukovina which was led by Lucian Kobylica. Engels welcomed the struggle of the peasants against the nobility in this "most remote corner of the united monarchy" as a symptom of an impending peasant war throughout the Habsburg Empire, and noted the ties which existed between the peasant leaders and the Hungarian revolutionaries (see this volume, p. 289).

The successes of the Hungarian revolutionary army weakened the hold of the Austrian ruling circles on the subjugated Slav nationalities (Czechs, Croats, Serbs of the Voivodina etc.) in the Austrian Empire. By lies and false promises the Habsburgs had been trying to set one nationality against the other so as to use them as tools in the fight against the revolutionary movements in Hungary and Italy. Engels hoped that the further development of the Hungarian war would lead to changes in the national movements of these peoples and that the pro-Austrian elements would be pushed aside and the progressive forces would prevail, thus transforming these movements from reserve armies of the Austrian counter-revolution and of Tsarism into allies of revolutionary Hungary and

of the European revolution as a whole. In his articles he cited facts to demonstrate that the Czechs and Southern Slavs did indeed have revolutionary leanings, sympathised with the Magyars and were growing more and more dissatisfied with the military despotism of the Austrian ruling classes and their bureaucratic and centralising tendencies. It was in this light that the people in the Slav areas regarded the Constitution which was imposed on the "united and indivisible Austrian monarchy" by Francis Joseph on March 4, 1849, and in which the earlier promises of autonomy were cynically flouted. In his brilliant denunciatory article "Military Dictatorship in Austria" (which has reached us in manuscript) Engels wrote in this connection: "The wrath previously felt only by the Germans and Magyars at the Austrian habit of gaining victory by cowardly acts of treachery, and after the victory surpassing in barbarity the most brutal bandits, this wrath was now shared by the Slavs as well. They were ensnared by the prospect of a 'Slav Austria', they were made use of to win victory in Italy and Hungary, and by way of thanks they are now being subjected again to the old Metternich whip" (see this volume, p. 105). In a number of articles, particularly in "From the Theatre of War.—The Confused Situation in Serbia" (see pp. 144-47) Engels quotes newspaper reports about an imminent revolutionary uprising in Bohemia which had prompted the Government to declare a state of siege in Prague; about the declining prestige of the Right-wing Czech leaders and the growing influence of the supporters of a Czech-German-Hungarian revolutionary alliance; and about the tendency observed in members of the Croatian and Serbian national movements to establish closer relations with the Magyars.

But at the same time Engels criticised the Right wing of the Serbian, Croatian and Slavonian movements which was still intent on union with the Habsburgs and on creating an autonomous Slav state within the framework of the Austrian Empire, although the Austrian ruling clique had thrown off its mask and had openly shown its hostility to Slav national interests (see this volume, pp. 307-10). The national movement of the Southern Slavs did not manage at the time to shake off the domination of these Right-wing sections, which were accomplices of the Austrian counter-revolution. This was partly the fault of the Hungarian leaders, who refused to recognise the national demands of the Serbs and other Slavs incorporated in Hungary under the administrative division in force at the time. Almost to the end of the revolution, the Hungarian Government pursued a national policy based mainly on the principle of Magyarisation and underestimation of the national aspirations of the

other nationalities. Only on July 28, 1849, when the Hungarian revolutionary Government was about to fall, did it officially proclaim equality of rights for all the nationalities inhabiting the country.

Marx and Engels considered that the consolidation of the European reactionary forces and the attempts to form an Austro-Russian-Prussian counter-revolutionary alliance spelt danger not only to the Hungarian but also the European revolution. They considered that the impending armed intervention by Tsarist Russia in Hungary was fraught with grave danger (see for example "The Third Party in the Alliance", "The Tsar and His Subordinate Knyazes" etc.). Engels' hopes were never realised that the Hungarian revolutionary army would extend its operations into Austria, and that a fresh revolutionary conflagration would occur in Austria itself before Tsarist troops could come to the aid of the Habsburg monarchy. Owing to the defeat of the revolutionary and democratic forces in the other countries, the Hungarian national liberation movement, despite the successes it achieved in the spring of 1849, could not withstand the onslaught of the joint forces of the counter-revolution, and in the beginning of August 1849 the Hungarian revolution was crushed.

Marx and Engels pressed for an intensification of the struggle for a united democratic German republic brought about by a democratic transformation of the existing backward and divided petty states. They strongly opposed plans for the unification of Germany "from above", dominated by junker Prussia or feudal Austria, and were against the Prussianisation of Germany.

The main obstacle to the progressive development of Germany was, in their view, the counter-revolutionary Hohenzollern monarchy in Prussia, the bulwark of the most conservative sections—the aristocracy, the bureaucracy and the military—of the old society, which endeavoured to stifle the revolution completely and to re-establish the pre-revolutionary absolutist regime in a slightly refurbished form and masked by the "granted" Constitution. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* exposed the counter-revolutionary schemes of the Prussian ruling clique and the reactionary court camarilla in a number of articles, for example, "Government Provocations" and "The Counter-Revolutionary Plans in Berlin". Predicting the further course of development in Prussia, Engels wrote that one of the ultimate aims of the Prussian reactionaries was to set up a dictatorship of the sabre and to revise the limited Constitution of December 5, 1848, so as to make it even more conservative. Their intention was "by new dictated measures to get rid of the

troublesome fetters which even the martial-law Charter of December 5 still imposed on our counter-revolution" (see this volume, p. 370).

The anti-democratic Bills introduced by the Brandenburg-Manteuffel Government in Prussia and designed to abolish freedom of assembly and association and freedom of the press and restore the former Prussian patriarchal laws were sharply attacked in Marx's articles "Three New Bills", "The Hohenzollern General Plan of Reform" and "The Hohenzollern Press Bill". Not a single case of coercion and arbitrary police rule escaped exposure in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see "Dissolution of the Second Chamber", "Longing for a State of Siege", "Counter-Revolutionary Offensive and Victory of the Revolution", "The New Martial-Law Charter" etc.).

The Prussian kings and their myrmidons were branded by Marx and Engels as hangmen of the liberation movement not only in Prussia but in the whole of Germany. Marx called them "*the royal terrorists*" who "are in practice brutal, disdainful and mean, in theory cowardly, secretive and deceitful, and in both respects *disreputable*" (see this volume, p. 453). He emphasised that to pursue a counter-revolutionary policy directed against the people was well-established tradition in the house of Hohenzollern. And about Frederick William II, he wrote in the article "The Deeds of the Hohenzollern Dynasty": "It is well known that in 1792 he entered into a coalition with Austria and England to suppress the glorious French Revolution and invaded France" (see this volume, p. 419). The history of rise of this Prussian dynasty, which became firmly established by means of plunder, treachery and violence, is narrated by Marx with biting sarcasm.

In a number of articles published in this volume—"Draft Address of the Second Chamber", "The Debate on the Address in Berlin", "Sitting of the Second Chamber in Berlin, April 13", "The Debate on the Law on Posters"—Engels deals with the proceedings in the Second Chamber of the Prussian Diet which was convoked on the basis of the "granted" Constitution of December 5, 1848, after the Prussian coup d'état. He exposes the attempts of the Government to consolidate the counter-revolutionary regime by means of the Diet, and then proceeds to criticise the members of the Left opposition, i.e. the liberals and democrats. Engels is indignant because the opposition, including the extreme Left, fail to defend the democratic rights of the people and "moderate their claims to the same extent as those of the Right increase theirs", thus revealing their lack of political principles and their compliant attitude (see this volume, p. 136). For they think that it is possible by parliamentary and con-

stitutional methods to achieve that which in the existing situation can only be achieved by revolutionary means, by the use of arms. "Instead of adopting an extra-parliamentary position in the parliament, the only honourable one in such a Chamber, they make one concession after another to parliamentary expediency; instead of ignoring the constitutional point of view as far as possible, they actually seek an opportunity of coquetting with it for the sake of peace" (p. 136). The wavering and indecision of the Left wing in the German Assembly at Frankfurt were also unreservedly condemned by Marx and Engels (see Marx's articles "The March Association" and "The Frankfurt March Association and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*"). They saw it as dangerous collusion with the counter-revolution.

Along with their criticism of the constitutional delusions of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats, Marx and Engels outlined the principles of truly revolutionary parliamentary tactics. The democratic forces should use parliaments—even those composed mainly of reactionary deputies—to expose the intrigues of the ruling circles and to mobilise the people against them. They should combine parliamentary forms of struggle with extensive non-parliamentary mass action, for the latter is the main thing in the fight against counter-revolutionary attacks and in the defence of the people's democratic achievements. And they should recognise that the decisive role in this struggle belongs to the proletariat, a class which, as Engels said, "by its very position ... is revolutionary" and is the main danger to the counter-revolutionary order (see this volume, p. 326).

The events which followed very quickly confirmed Marx's and Engels' opinion of the groundlessness of constitutional illusions. The Prussian Government, which deemed that oppositional views were being too strongly expressed in the Second Chamber of the Prussian Diet, summarily dissolved it on April 27, 1849.

The bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany now entered its final phase, which was marked by mass action in defence of the imperial Constitution drawn up by the Frankfurt National Assembly and rejected by the King of Prussia and the counter-revolutionary governments of the other German states.

According to Marx and Engels, the imperial Constitution could not as such provide a programme or a banner for the proletariat and the revolutionary democrats. As to the question of German unification, the Constitution not only reflected the readiness of the liberal, Prussophile majority of the Frankfurt National Assembly to resort to compromise but also retained the monarchical form of

government. Marx and Engels had been warning for a long time that the anti-revolutionary policy of compromise pursued by the liberals in the National Assembly would end ingloriously, with the dissolution of the Assembly by the counter-revolutionary forces as soon as they felt that they no longer needed it as a protection against the pressure of the popular movement. "On the monument to be erected at the site of its wretched activity," said the article "Vienna and Frankfurt", "the wayfarer will read: 'Perished through its own fault, through cowardice, professorial stupidity and chronic meanness, amid in part the revengeful derision, and in part the complete indifference of the people'" (see this volume, p. 48). In the articles "A Prussian Kick for the Frankfurt Assembly" and "A New Prussian Kick for the Frankfurt Assembly" Marx and Engels depicted the complete political helplessness of the liberals and moderate democrats in the Frankfurt Parliament and their inability to repulse the reaction and to defend their own creation, the imperial Constitution.

Although Marx and Engels clearly understood the limitations of this Constitution, they emphasised the revolutionary nature of the popular movement that came to its defence. The defence of the Constitution was in fact a fight to preserve the still surviving achievements of the revolution, for though the Constitution was couched in extremely moderate terms, it nevertheless proclaimed a number of civil liberties and paved the way to overcoming the country's political fragmentation. Engels wrote: "The people regard every step, however small, towards the unification of Germany as a step towards abolition of the petty sovereigns and liberation from the oppressive burden of taxation" (see this volume, p. 378). In a series of articles ("News from Southern Germany", "The Prussian Army and the Revolutionary Uprising of the People", "The Approaching Revolution", "The Uprising in Elberfeld and Düsseldorf", "The Uprising in the Berg Country", "Elberfeld" etc.) the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* greeted those who had fought, weapons in hand, in Saxony, the Rhine Province and South-West Germany, spoke of their fighting spirit and examined the democrats' chances of victory, and at the same time they denounced the murderous action of the punitive expeditions and the treachery of the moderate bourgeoisie. The fact that the armies in the Palatinate and Baden went over to the insurgents was in their eyes a reassuring sign, of great significance for the prospects of the revolution (see this volume, p. 399).

Marx and Engels hoped that the campaign for the imperial Constitution would develop into a national uprising, which, spreading through the whole of Germany, would merge with the

Hungarian revolution, the national liberation struggle of the Italian people and the revolutionary action of the French proletariat, to form one mighty stream. Although Marx and Engels did not agree with the political principles and tactics of the petty-bourgeois leaders of the movement in defence of the Constitution, they supported it with all the means at their disposal. Engels and other members of the Communist League took part in the Elberfeld uprising, and later fought in the insurgent army of Baden and the Palatinate against the counter-revolutionary troops.

But the German petty-bourgeois leaders proved incapable of solving revolutionary tasks. Marx and Engels tried in vain to persuade them to act more resolutely and in particular to induce the Left-wing deputies of the National Assembly to summon the revolutionary army of Baden and the Palatinate to Frankfurt, and thus to transfer the main battlefield to the centre of Germany. The uprisings in defence of the imperial Constitution lacked central direction, were isolated from one another and remained localised. They were brutally put down by the counter-revolutionary troops. The last centres of the movement in Baden and the Palatinate were suppressed in July 1849.

The Prussian Government had wanted for a long time to find a suitable opportunity to settle accounts with the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. During the May uprisings of 1849 the angry voice of the newspaper was particularly irksome to the powers that be. As the Chartist *Democratic Review* wrote, the newspaper proclaimed "in every line 'war to the knife' against his Prussian kingship, and all the oppressors and betrayers of the German people" (see this volume, p. 513).

In order to put an end to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the Government took advantage of Marx not being a Prussian citizen to expel him from Prussia, and began reprisals against the other editors. The last issue of the paper, printed in red, appeared on May 19, 1849. In it Marx summed up the newspaper's relentless fight for the revolutionary cause. He stressed the paper's role as harbinger of the militant consolidation of the revolutionary forces, defender of working-class interests and herald of the principles of proletarian internationalism (see the article "The Summary Suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*"). He reminded his readers of the newspaper's solidarity with those who fought in the proletarian uprising in Paris and, addressing the men behind the police persecution, said: "*Was not the essence of the June revolution the essence of our paper?*" (see this volume, p. 453). The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had defended the

democratic and national interests of the German people with equal fortitude and consistency. Marx proudly wrote, "We have saved the revolutionary honour of our country" (see this volume, p. 454).

The address to the workers of Cologne concludes thus: "In bidding you farewell the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* thank you for the sympathy you have shown them. Their last word everywhere and always will be: *emancipation of the working class!*" (see this volume, p. 467).

After the suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Marx and Engels used every opportunity to write for the surviving democratic press in the same revolutionary spirit. Several of their articles and statements published in this volume were written for the German democratic papers which were still able to appear.

In his article "The Revolutionary Uprising in the Palatinate and Baden" Engels answered the attempts of the German conservative press to blacken the revolutionaries fighting there. After refuting false accusations, Engels pointed out that the revolutionary struggle in South-West Germany was a component part of the European revolutionary movement. "The Palatinate and Baden," he wrote, "will stand on the side of freedom against slavery, of revolution against counter-revolution, of the people against the sovereigns, of revolutionary France, Hungary and Germany against absolutist Russia, Austria, Prussia and Bavaria" (see this volume, p. 476).

The sketch "Repudiation", written by Engels after the end of the military campaign in Baden and the Palatinate, was aimed at several petty-bourgeois German emigrants in Switzerland who tried to cast aspersions on one of the proletarian units of the insurgent army, a unit in which Engels himself had fought.

Marx's article "The 13th of June", which can also be found in this section, is of special importance. It discusses the political crisis in France which was bound up with the opposition of the Mountain—a petty-bourgeois party—against the Government and President Louis Bonaparte, who in violation of the Constitution had sent an army to Italy to crush the Roman Republic. The leaders of the Mountain, refusing more resolute measures at this crucial moment, called upon the masses to take part in an unarmed demonstration. Marx, who was in Paris at the time, saw the demonstrators being dispersed by troops.

Anticipating in this article the detailed analysis of these events which he was to give in *The Class Struggles in France*, Marx showed that the fiasco of the "parliamentary uprising" was the logical outcome of the French petty-bourgeois democrats' inconsistencies,

which could be traced right back to the anti-proletarianism which the leaders, for instance Ledru-Rollin, had displayed during the rising of the Paris workers in June 1848. "... June 13, 1849 is only the retaliation for June 1848. On that occasion the proletariat was deserted by the 'Mountain', this time the 'Mountain' was deserted by the proletariat" (see this volume, pp. 478-79). Marx regarded the events of June 13, 1849 as a severe blow to the European revolutionary movement as a whole. The defeat suffered by the French petty-bourgeois democrats helped consolidate the political monopoly of the conservative, monarchist forces in France and, in the last analysis, it paved the way for the counter-revolutionary Bonapartist coup d'état of December 2, 1851.

The Appendices in this volume contain documents illustrating Marx's and Engels' participation in the work of various democratic and proletarian organisations. These give an idea of how Marx and Engels directed the activities of the Cologne Workers' Association, and of how their associates fought sectarian and splitting elements. This section also contains material about the Congress of the Workers' Associations of the Rhineland called in connection with the planned Congress of all the German Workers' Associations—to which Marx and Engels attached great importance, since it marked a new stage in the creation of a mass proletarian party. Also included are documents relating to the persecution of Marx and Engels by the Prussian authorities, and to the legal proceedings against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and its editors, as well as comments of the workers' and democratic press in Germany and England on the closing down of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and Marx's expulsion from Prussia. The police inspector's notification of Marx's expulsion from Paris in the summer of 1849 shows that the harassment of Marx continued and that this time it was organised by the French bourgeois government. All these documents throw light on the situation in which Marx and Engels worked during the last months of the revolution.

Nearly all revolutionary movements in Europe were defeated in the summer of 1849. The reasons which led to this defeat were pretty thoroughly examined by Marx and Engels in many of the articles published in volumes 7 to 9 of this edition. Again and again they had warned that unless the revolutionary forces succeeded in bringing about a radical change in the course of events, the swing over of a considerable section of the European bourgeoisie to the counter-revolutionary camp and the vacillation of the petty-

bourgeois democrats would be fatal to the bourgeois-democratic revolution. In 1848-49 the bulk of the people, including the workers, had not yet reached a sufficient degree of political independence and ideological maturity to enable them ultimately to change the direction of social development in favour of the revolution.

However owing to the intrinsic laws governing revolutionary processes in general, as Marx and Engels observed later, the events of 1848 and 1849 influenced the historical process not only in this particular revolutionary period, but also at subsequent stages. The revolutions of 1848 and 1849 left unsolved a number of social and political tasks which remained, however, on the agenda of history. These revolutions, moreover, brought about significant changes in the social consciousness of various classes of society.

The years 1848 and 1849 were of special importance for the future development of Marxism. They confirmed the correctness and viability of its main conclusions and provided material for its further enrichment. On the other hand, none of the doctrinaire and sectarian trends in the revolutionary movement was able to stand the test of revolutionary reality, and the collapse of their illusions, antiquated traditions and utopian doctrines was one of the positive results of the revolution. The defeat of the revolutionary movement could shake neither the methodological basis of the Marxist theory, nor the political ideas and the strategic and tactical principles which Marx and Engels had put forward. For they were truly scientific conclusions drawn from progressive social processes which were actually taking place and which, though at that time they manifested themselves merely as tendencies of social development, later increasingly succeeded in forcing their way into history. Lenin was perfectly justified in saying that "the tactics of Marx in 1848 were *correct* ... they and only they really provided reliable, firm and unforgettable lessons for the proletariat" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, p. 47).

The strategy and tactics worked out by Marx and Engels in 1848 and 1849 is an invaluable asset of the revolutionary labour movement of many countries. Many times has recourse been made—and it will continue to be made—to the lessons of that period.

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This volume contains not only the writings of Marx and Engels which were published in Volume 6 of the Russian and German editions of their *Collected Works*, but also many articles and

documents discovered as a result of research carried out in the USSR and the GDR during the last few years. A total of 102 articles and reports, amounting to nearly one half of this volume, were only recently published as part of Volume 43 of the Second Russian Edition of the *Works* of Marx and Engels.

Of the 146 articles forming the main section of the volume, 140 appear in English for the first time and this is noted on each occasion at the end of the translation. Only *Wage Labour and Capital*, "The Deeds of the Hohenzollern Dynasty", "Counter-Revolutionary Offensive and Victory of the Revolution", "The Summary Suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*", "Hungary" and "To the Workers of Cologne" have been previously published in English. Apart from a passage which appeared in the *Democratic Review*, the Appendices consist entirely of material not previously published in English. All the texts have been translated from the German except where otherwise stated.

Since it has not always been possible to determine whether a given article was written by Marx or by Engels, the author's name at the end of the article appears only where it has been definitely established which one of them wrote the article in question.

The titles of the articles are taken, wherever possible, from the tables of contents printed in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Those supplied by the editors of the present edition are in square brackets. If a periodical from which Marx and Engels quote is not available, references to other publications in which the material in question was also published are given in footnotes and also in the index of quoted and mentioned literature.

The volume was compiled and the preface and notes written by Velta Pospelova and edited by Lev Golman (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU). The name index, the index of quoted and mentioned literature and the index of periodicals were prepared by Irina Shikanyan with the help of Evgenia Dakhina and Natalia Lapitskaya. For the reader's convenience, there is a glossary of geographical names which, in addition to the form generally used in the German press of the time, gives their modern equivalents. The glossary was prepared by Yury Vasin and the subject index by Vladimir Sazonov (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CCCPSU).

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The volume was prepared for the press by the editor Margarita Lopukhina and the assistant editor Natalia Kim (Progress Publishers).

KARL MARX
and
FREDERICK ENGELS

ARTICLES FROM
THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

March 6-May 19, 1849

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THE STATE OF TRADE¹

Cologne, March 6. An Englishman is never more unhappy than when he does not know what to do with his money. Therein lies the secret of all grandiose speculations, all profit-making enterprises, but it is also the secret of all bankruptcies, all financial crises and commercial depressions.

In 1840, 1841 and subsequent years, it was the new Asian markets, besides the customary commerce with the European continent, which claimed a special share of English export trade. Manufacturers and exporters had every reason to greet Sir Henry Pottinger² on the Manchester stock exchange with loud cheers. But the good times quickly passed. Canton, Bombay and Calcutta soon overflowed with unsalable goods, and capital, which no longer found any outlet in that direction, for a change once more sought application inside the country; it was poured into railway construction and so opened up a field for speculation in which the latter was soon rampant to a quite unprecedented extent.

According to a conservative estimate, the total sum invested in the enterprises could be put at 600 million and it would perhaps have gone still higher if the failure of the potato harvest in England, Ireland and many regions of the Continent, and further the high price of cotton, and as a result of both the reduced sale of manufactured goods, as well as, finally, the excessive railway speculation, had not caused the Bank of England on October 16, 1845 to raise the bank rate by one-half per cent.

In view of the superstitious fear in which the Britisher holds the omnipotence of his bank, this slight rise in the bank rate or, in other words, this lack of confidence on the part of the bank directors, at

once affected the existing level of activity, so that a general mood of dejection set in, and the apparent prosperity was immediately followed by the restriction of credit and numerous bankruptcies. Consequently one of those great commercial crises, like those of 1825 and 1836, would have immediately developed if the repeal of the Corn Laws³ that followed soon afterwards had not suddenly come to the aid of the falling confidence, and once more stimulated the spirits of the entrepreneurs.

For the commercial world expected so much from the immediate consequences of this great measure that it found it easy to forget about the tribulations which had just overtaken it. The settlement of the Oregon conflict which promised a continuation of the hitherto extremely flourishing trade with America, and the British victories in the Punjab⁴ which ensured peace in Hindustan, played their part, of course, in a revival of spirits. And although the bad harvest of 1845 was followed by a similar one in 1846, although everywhere the reserves of former times had to be drawn upon and a credit for business purposes involved paying 12-15 per cent, despite all this, all the spinning mills of Lancashire and Yorkshire were set in continual motion as though crop failures, railway speculations and glutted markets had now suddenly become mere trifles which could be coped with in a trice.

This happy state of affairs, however, was not destined to last long, for whereas in September 1847 Dr. Bowring at the Brussels Free Trade Congress was still expounding with such highly comical eloquence the marvellous consequences of the repeal of the Corn Laws,^a it was already noticed in London that even the "all-powerful measures of Sir Robert Peel" were no longer able to save the country from the catastrophe which had so long been feared. One had to submit to fate and the London firms which, like Read Irving and Co., owned landed property worth almost one million pounds on Mauritius, were the first to start a series of bankruptcies—because of the shattered state of affairs in that part of the English colonies—they collapsed, taking with them in their fall numerous smaller East-Indian and West-Indian firms.

At the same time the big wigs of the factory districts realised that they had been mistaken about the consequences of the repeal of the Corn Laws. Business with all parts of the world was at a standstill and

^a See Engels, "The Economic Congress" and "The Free Trade Congress at Brussels" and Marx, "Speech on the Question of Free Trade" (present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 274-78, 282-90 and 450-65).—*Ed.*

panic spread simultaneously in the City of London and in the stock exchanges of Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds etc.

Consequently, the crisis of October 1845, which had been delayed by various events, finally broke out in September 1847. Confidence was at an end. Courage had run out. The Bank of England abandoned the banks inside the country; these banks withheld credit from traders and manufacturers. Bankers and exporters restricted their business with the Continent, the continental trader, in his turn, put pressure on the manufacturer who owed him money; the manufacturer, of course, reimbursed himself at the expense of the wholesaler, and the latter fell back on the *boutiquier*.^a Each one of them hit out at the others and gradually the distress due to the trade crisis affected the whole world, from the giants of the City of London down to the smallest German shopkeeper.

This was *before* February 24, 1848! England experienced the worst days in the last four months of 1847. There was a clean sweep of the railway speculators; between August 10 and October 15, twenty of the leading London firms trading in colonial merchandise, with a capital of £5 million, and paying dividends of about 50 per cent, went bankrupt; and in the factory districts the distress reached its peak when in Manchester on November 15, only 78 out of 175 spinning mills were working full-time, and 11,000 workers were out of work.

So ended the year 1847. It was reserved for the Continent to experience during 1848 the after-effects of this English crisis—after-effects that on this occasion were, of course, all the more perceptible because the political transformations did not exactly help to make good the consequences of this extraordinary English occurrence.

We now come to the most interesting moment in the recent history of commerce, namely, the influence which the revolutions had on commercial activity.

The tables of English export trade provide us with the best illustration of this because, in view of the dominant position of England in world trade, the contents of these tables are nothing but an expression in figures of the political and commercial situation or, more correctly, the expression in figures of the ability to pay of the various nations.

Therefore, when we see that exports in April 1848 fell by £1,467,117, and in May by £1,122,009, and that total exports in

^a Retail salesman.—*Ed.*

1847 amounted to £51,005,798, and in 1848 to only £46,407,939, conclusions very unfavourable to the revolutions could, it is true, be drawn from this and such an idea could be arrived at all the more easily because exports in January and February 1848, i.e. immediately before the outbreak of revolution, were actually £294,763 higher than in 1847.

Nevertheless, such a view would be completely erroneous. Because, firstly, the increased exports in January and February, i.e. precisely in the two months separating the peak of the crisis from the revolution, are easily explained by the fact that the Americans, in return for their enormous deliveries of grain to England at that time, took more British manufactured goods than ever before and thus at least for a short while prevented the falling off that would otherwise have arisen. But, in addition, English trade history provides most striking proof that exports do not diminish immediately after a crisis, but only when sufficient time has passed for the crisis to spread also to the Continent.

The increased export of the first two months of 1848, therefore, should by no means mislead us, and we can turn without misgivings to a consideration of the total decline during the whole year.

This decline, as we have already mentioned, compared with 1847 amounted to £4,597,859—certainly a considerable decrease, which in the hands of the reactionaries, who behave in politics like yapping curs and in trade like old women, became an argument against the revolution, one that is only too effectively used towards the uninformed.

But there is nothing easier than to refute the fallacious assertions of the party of reaction, for one has only to look up the tables of exports for the past 30 years to demonstrate that the decrease in exports in 1848, brought about by the combined influence of a trade crisis and a revolution, bears no comparison with the decline in exports of previous years.

After the trade crisis of 1825, in which year total exports amounted to £38,870,851, exports dropped to £31,536,724 in 1826. Thus there was a decrease of £7,334,127. After the crisis of 1836, when exports amounted to £53,368,572, exports dropped to £42,070,744 in 1837. The decrease, therefore, was £11,297,828. Nothing can be more striking than that!

Hence after two trade crises, which, it is true, were caused exclusively by the over-production of manufactured goods but in their extent cannot at all be compared with the crisis just ended, the drop in exports was double that of 1848, a year which was preceded by a glut in the Asian markets, two bad harvests, and speculation on a

scale never seen before in the world, and a year when every corner of old Europe was shaken by revolutions!

In truth, trade got off easily in 1848! The revolutions contributed to the fact that now and then trade stagnated, that sales became difficult and dangerous, and that many persons collapsed under the burden of their obligations. During the past year, however, under Louis Philippe, the same difficulties would have been met with in Paris in discounting a miserable 20,000 or 30,000 francs as under the republic. In Southern Germany, on the Rhine, in Hamburg and in Berlin, with or without the revolution we would have had our bankruptcies; and business in Italy would have been depressed just as much under Pius as under the heroes of Milan, Rome and Palermo.⁵

It is just as ludicrous, therefore, to ascribe the revival of trade to the temporary victories of the counter-revolution. The French are not paying 25 per cent more for wool at the London wool auctions because some of Louis Philippe's Ministers are again in power,—no, they are having to pay more because they need the wool, and they need more of it, their demand is growing, precisely because in the last years of Louis Philippe's rule it had greatly decreased. Such a fluctuation of demand can be observed throughout the history of commerce.

And the English are once more working a full day in all the mines, foundries, spinning mills, and in all their ports, not because a certain Prince Windischgrätz orders the summary shooting of the Viennese people,—no, they are at work because the markets of Canton, New York and St. Petersburg wish to be supplied with manufactures, because California is opening up a new market which the speculators regard as inexhaustible, because the bad harvests of 1845 and 1846 were followed by two good harvests in 1847 and 1848, because the English have given up railway speculation, because money has returned to its customary channels, and the English will go on working ... until there is a new trade crisis.

Above all, we must not forget that it was by no means the monarchical countries that in recent years were the chief source of employment for English industry. The country which has almost continuously placed the most colossal orders for English goods and whose demand at the present time, too, is able to empty the markets of Manchester, Leeds, Halifax, Nottingham, Rochdale, and all the great emporia of modern industry, and which can enliven the ocean with its ships—is a republican country, the United States of North America. And it is just now that these states are prospering most of all, when all the monarchical states of the world are collapsing.

If, however, in the recent period a few branches of *German* industry have to some extent improved their position, they owe it solely to the *English* period of prosperity.^a From the whole of the history of commerce the Germans should know that they have no commercial history of their own, that they have to suffer for English crises, while in periods of over-production in England, a minute percentage is all that falls to their lot. But they have nothing to thank their Christian-Germanic governments for except accelerated bankruptcy.

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^a This word is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR⁶

Yesterday's news of Magyar victories^a has been followed today by an Austrian assurance of victory. The *Österreichischer Correspondent* reports from Olmütz:

"The following telegraphic dispatch has just reached Olmütz: Field Marshal Prince *Windischgrätz* defeated the insurgents at Kapolna⁷ on February 26 and 27. The enemy fled in two directions. An entire battalion was taken prisoner."

The commentary to this report may be found in the following lines, which have also been corroborated from other quarters:

"In Vienna the news of the imperial victory was known on March 2 only as a stock exchange rumour: *the letters which arrived by the post from Pest on that day were not released.*"

It can be seen that the news of the imperial victory bears all the marks of a *Windischgrätz* triumph: the letters which are supposed to confirm it are *withheld by the post-office* in Vienna. This is the first time that the Vienna Government has had to resort to such methods. The victory must have been a brilliant one indeed!

Still no news from Transylvania about the battle on the 15th between Bem and Puchner.⁸ The latest reports stop at the 14th but indicate that a Magyar victory is likely the following day. An issue of the *Lithographierte Correspondenz* from Vienna writes:

"At last we again have received letters direct from Hermannstadt up to the 14th, they are however anything but reassuring.

"Lieutenant-Field Marshal Puchner is *evidently still not strong enough* to take the offensive against the fanatical bands of the Szeklers⁹ and the hordes of Bem. There seems to be some reluctance, for political reasons, to employ Russian aid to the extent that the sorry state of the Grand Duchy demands. The commercial letters from

^a See Engels, "Magyar Victory" (present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 477-80).—*Ed.*

Hermannstadt and Kronstadt sound very miserable. From Temesvar it was reported to Hermannstadt that *the Serbs have refused to come to the aid of Transylvania*. This is also evident from the irresolute movements of generals Rukavina, Gläser and Todorovich."

The Austrians have suffered a fresh defeat at the hands of Kossuth, not on the battlefield but at the shopkeepers' counters and the portable stands of the Jewish pedlars. Kossuth saw that the imperial authorities were compelled to redeem his one- and two-gulden notes and immediately arranged the production of 15- and 30-kreutzer notes.¹⁰ Windischgrätz, outraged at this high treason against the royal imperial exchequer, has now issued the following proclamation^a:

"The rebels, who have fled to Debreczin, tireless in confusing even further the already severely disrupted conditions of the country, have, in addition to the banknotes already issued without right or authority, produced 30- and 15-kreutzer notes which are already beginning to circulate. These notes are mainly coming into the hands of the poorer classes of artisans and country people who, almost entirely lacking a livelihood, are already hard-pressed, and should be particularly preserved from harm. For the time being, therefore, and until an order is issued concerning the Hungarian banknotes as well, I declare these completely illegal notes for 30 and 15 kreutzers null and void, and prohibit their acceptance both at public cash-offices and in private exchange."

As if Herr Windischgrätz could prevent the circulation of the Magyar banknotes as long as Austria is unable to issue any ready money and especially small coins!

According to Austrian reports, Görgey, whom the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* calls a man "with no talent for generalship" (!!),^b is said to have resigned the command. We need not point out how absurd such rumours are. In the meantime we present the following report from the Austrian *Lloyd* on the latest operations of this skilful partisan in the Zips:

"Until the 18th of last month Lieutenant-Field Marshal Ramberg, who commanded the two brigades of royal imperial troops under General Götz and Prince Jablonowsky in the Zips areas, was continuously engaged in skirmishes with Görgey's insurgent forces. [...] For Görgey had sent his baggage trains with a small escort from Kaschau, an area from which royal imperial troops had withdrawn, to the Theiss in the direction of Debreczin, and in order to protect this transport he used all his forces to halt the troops pursuing him, and therefore retained scarcely two squadrons of hussars in Kaschau. After his rearguard had been forced back from Wallendorf

^a Windischgrätz's proclamation was first published in the *Pesther Zeitung* and then reprinted in the evening supplement to the *Wiener Zeitung* No. 51, February 28, 1849, and in *Der Lloyd* No. 101 (evening edition), February 28, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b "Pest, 25. Febr.," *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 52, March 2, 1849.—*Ed.*

^c The following is the quotation from "Käsmark, 23. Februar" published in *Der Lloyd* No. 104 (morning edition), March 2, 1849.—*Ed.*

to Margitfalva—when the royal imperial fusiliers captured five cannon (!)—he concentrated his main strength on this road, which, forming a narrow defile in the valley of the River Hernad, severely impeded the advance of the royal imperial troops. On the road to Eperies the smaller corps of Hungarians withdrew hastily, fearing to be cut off on the mountain road by the former garrison of Kaschau. [...] The *infantry* of the Hungarians is generally appalling, not only because it is neither trained nor disciplined—for these shortcomings would be to some extent compensated for *in battle by the physical agility peculiar to the Magyars and their proven scorn for death*—but chiefly because their *officers* are incompetent and cowardly, *collected from all corners of the world*, and inspire no confidence in their men. [...] On the other hand, the *hussars*, whose officers, although mostly promoted NCOs, are ignorant, but at least courageous men, retain their inherent bravery; here in the mountains they could not often be used, but they frequently dismounted from their horses to cover the cannon and encourage the others; on outpost duty they are reckless in their daring and cause the royal imperial troops a good deal of trouble. [...]

“The engagements between the insurgents and the royal imperial troops were limited in this area to skirmishes and artillery salvos; as the battalions drew nearer the insurgents retired; on the 19th, they assembled in Kaschau and then tried to reach the Theiss by forced marches in order either to effect a meeting with Dembiński or to *flee* to Debreczin. (!) [...]

“The town of Kaschau was illuminated to greet the insurgents, and received Görgey with a torchlight parade, thus saving itself from a levy such as was imposed on Eperies. Now the evil guests have fled, and on the 19th of last month Eperies was re-occupied by the royal imperial troops; and Kaschau, the day before yesterday.^a In the village of Petrovian between Eperies and Kaschau, where the peasants had captured several hussars and taken them over the mountains to the royal imperial troops, the rebels had the local magistrate and a juryman shot as a punishment. We, the Zipsers, got off with a black eye; only the towns and villages on the Kaschau mountain road incurred severe damage during the various skirmishes. The earlier-mentioned attack by the imperial Major Kiesewetter was made on the town of Neudorf to punish it for its treachery, and it is now occupied by four companies of the Slovak *Landsturm* under Štúr, which naturally cannot be compared with the pleasantness of an occupation by the imperial troops. **We are all however disturbed by the presence of a rebel force under the insurgent Colonel Aulich in Lublau, which by all appearances intends to operate in the rear of the imperial army,** for men are claiming to have seen hussars first in one place, then in another; meanwhile, to our consolation, General Vogl has advanced from Galicia with 4,000 men via Bartfeld, and he will probably drive these hordes out of the border mountains before long (?).”

As a counterpart of this we present the following report from Agram of the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* on the South-Slav complications:

“Agram, February 25. In its latest issue, the *Napredak* [Напредак] discusses the causes of the state of siege which was imposed on Karlowitz; it endorses the view that the activities of the Central Committee¹¹ gave rise to this military measure. The *Napredak* excuses the Patriarch^b by whose order the state of war was proclaimed in Karlowitz; the above newspaper further reports that at present the Patriarch is ruling

^a On February 21, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b Rajachich.—*Ed.*

alone, while the Odbor (Central Committee) has relinquished its duties and refrains from intervening publicly in the administration of the voivodeship. The differences between Rajachich and Stratimirovich are—judging by this newspaper—by no means eliminated yet. This is also averred by a member of the Serb constitutional commission recently arrived here, who hardly described things in the Voivodina as being at their best. From the information supplied by this member I am able to report the following to you on the situation there. *The majority of the people is for Stratimirovich*, only Syrmien and the Peterwardein borders¹² are opposed to him, there Radosavljevich, who was elected regimental commander and confirmed by the Patriarch, has totally paralysed the efforts of Stratimirovich. The Patriarch is reported to have been appointed civil governor, and—which sounds rather strange—also military head of the voivodeship. It has been confirmed that Rajachich *has been having repeated conflicts with the commanding officer at Temesvar*, with whom he used always to be on friendly terms. The latter is said to be working with all his energy to bring the Banat border under his control, and *to restore the old military authority there*. In fact several senior officers have apparently banded together whose endeavours are *aimed solely at everywhere placing obstacles in the path of the Serbs*. Rukavina and Todorovich are said to be at the head of this anti-Serb coterie. The latter is said to have lost the sympathies of all through his gruff, offensive conduct and his exaggeratedly ‘black-and-yellow’^a sentiments; his intolerance of everything that does not carry the royal imperial *port d’epée* apparently goes so far that he intended to grant the Serb national officers only corporals’ pay.—The Serb constitutional commission recently commenced its work; the first result of its deliberations is an electoral law for the Voivodina, the draft of which is already completed.”^b

The “united monarchy” (*Gesamtmonarchie*) still has a number of strange experiences in store if the pan-Slavist uproar¹³ that is now fermenting throughout Slav Austria breaks out some day!

Written by Engels about March 6, 1849

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^a The Austrian imperial colours.— *Ed.*

^b “Agram, February 25”, *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 51 (supplement), March 1, 1849.— *Ed.*

THE MILITARY REPORTS
OF THE *KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG*

The *Kölnische Zeitung* celebrated yesterday a day of rejoicing, unfortunately subdued by a measure of moral indignation. The cause of its rejoicing was the telegraphic dispatch from Olmütz reporting the alleged victory of Windischgrätz; the moral indignation had naturally been caused by nobody else but us, with our observations about the greater or lesser credibility of the Magyar reports. What! This deplorable paper, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, presumes to maintain that the *Kölnische Zeitung* "has not yet proved the Magyar reports guilty of a *single case* of exaggeration", but that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* itself has "critically ascertained the credibility of these reports"! And then three exclamation marks, each more wrathful and indignant than the last.

Let us leave unruffled the holy zeal with which our neighbouring journalist fights for Truth, Justice and Windischgrätz. Let us be content for today—as the news from Hungary is very meagre—with "critically ascertaining" the "credibility" of yesterday's report in the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

The *Kölnische Zeitung* commences with an important mien:

"Today we are in a position to give *more definite news* from the two theatres of war." Namely this: "Today we undergo the same experience with regard to the long Magyar victory-report in the *Breslauer Zeitung* as we so frequently had with regard to these reports: once again we must confirm that it has been nothing but a *ridiculous exaggeration*. The alleged *defeat* of Windischgrätz turns out to be a *victory* for the same; and there is *not a word of truth* in the reported capture of *Hermannstadt* by Bem."^a

^a Here and below Engels quotes the article "From the Theatre of War" published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 56, March 7, 1849.—*Ed.*

That sounds grand enough. At a single stroke two fat "exaggerations" in the Magyar report have thus been supposedly discovered—we beg your pardon, communicated by our neighbouring journalist to his readers at second hand from Austrian newspapers.

But let us now look at the matter in detail.

Firstly, the famous Olmütz telegraphic dispatch is reproduced and set up as an authority beyond all doubt. But why, we ask, does the triumphant Cologne newspaper not find it fitting to carry a news item that places this dispatch in a very strange light? On the same day that the Vienna Government distributed in Vienna the news of Windischgrätz' alleged victory, it *stopped all letters and newspapers from Pest at the post-office*. Probably in joy at the mighty victory of the armed forces of the fatherland. The *Kölnische Zeitung* must have read this news, as we did, in at least half a dozen East-German newspapers. But in order not to disturb the joy of its readers at the victory of "German arms", it does the same as the Austrian Government and withholds this piece of news. That is a sample of the way the *Kölnische Zeitung* "critically ascertains" the "credibility" of the Austrian victory dispatches.

But there is more to come. The Magyars are supposed to have been defeated at Kapolna. This is "significant".

"Kapolna is after all to the east of Gyöngyös; the Hungarians were thus in full backward movement."

When one is in "backward movement", reasons the worthy Cologne paper, one cannot but be defeated! Our neighbouring journalist has at last cast a glance at the map and discovered that the Magyars must have been defeated at Kapolna because "Kapolna is after all to the east of Gyöngyös"! Yes, very "significant" indeed!

Further:

"The *Schlesische Zeitung*, whose reporter incidentally knows nothing about the recent battle, has *in this connection* (!) been informed from Vienna: 'The Hungarians have withdrawn again on all sides, Prince Windischgrätz will cross the Theiss and march on *Debreczin*. The big battle must be fought shortly, or (!) *Debreczin* will be lost, the Rump Parliament¹⁴ dissolved and consequently the whole insurrection at an end.'^a"

"Prince Windischgrätz *will* cross the Theiss and march on *Debreczin*." Prince Windischgrätz says so, and it is the duty of every respectable citizen to believe him implicitly. "Prince Windischgrätz *will*"! It is now, thank heavens, nearly six weeks since "Prince

^a "Wien, 2. März", *Schlesische Zeitung* No. 53 (first supplement), March 4, 1849.—*Ed.*

Windischgrätz *will* cross the Theiss” and “*march* on Debreczin”, and he is still in the same place. If, however, like our neighbouring journalist, one knows how to distinguish between “more definite news” and “ridiculous exaggerations”, the entire Hungarian war has come to an end with the assurance of “Prince Windischgrätz” that he “*will* cross the Theiss” and “*march* on Debreczin”. “Debreczin is lost, the Rump Parliament dissolved and consequently the whole insurrection at an end.” The matter is settled in the twinkling of an eye. Our neighbouring journalist, who has “crossed” the Theiss and conquered Debreczin so many times already, according to whom more Magyars have already been killed than all Hungary has inhabitants, and who was already rejoicing four weeks ago: “The war in Hungary is coming to an end”—this same journalist has suddenly been re-electrified after a lengthy period of dejection, and is again shouting, “The war is coming to an end, *parturiunt montes*”^a etc., and these are no “ridiculous exaggerations” but “more definite news”!

In this manner of making the Austrians win victories, the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* is a dangerous rival to the *Kölnische Zeitung*. For instance it reports today from Pest:

“A reverse inflicted on the royal imperial troops in Transylvania through infamous treachery *is, on the other hand, compensated for by the fact that Komorn is at present being heavily attacked*,¹⁵ and a bombardment has already taken place.”^b

“So much for the main theatre of war. With this *renewed* Austrian offensive the Hungarian war has entered its *second stage* here.”

How many “stages” our neighbour cares to make the Hungarian war enter is of little consequence. More interesting would be an answer to the question: how many “stages” has the reporting of the *Kölnische Zeitung* on the Hungarian war entered?

We pointed out right at the beginning of the war, even before the Austrians were in Pest, that the real battle-ground only begins beyond Pest, between the Theiss and the Danube, and that the scene of the final decision will be on the Theiss itself, or perhaps even on the far side of it. Even then we stated that the special proficiency of the Magyars in war, that the particular shortcomings of the Austrians, the difficulty of ensuring supplies and the whole nature of the terrain refer the Magyars to this area.^c On various occasions, and

^a A reference to “Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.” (Mountains will be in labour, the birth will be a single laughable little mouse.) Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 139.—*Ed.*

^b “Wien, 28. Febr.,” *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 52 (second supplement), March 2, 1849.—*Ed.*

^c See Engels, “The Struggle in Hungary” (present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 290-94).—*Ed.*

as recently as a few days ago, we have pointed out that all the “backward movements” of the Hungarians towards the Theiss do not determine anything whatsoever, because it is the Theiss that is their natural line of defence, behind which, for the present, they are fairly unassailable. We repeat: the further Prince Windischgrätz advances, the more difficult will his position become, the weaker his army, and the greater the Magyars’ chances of victory. Moreover, the longer the decisive moment is postponed, the more time the Magyars have to arm, organise and reinforce their recently created army, while the position of the imperial forces is deteriorating rather than improving.

Supposing, then, that the Magyar report of the defeat of the Austrians were really false, their “victory” would anyway be restricted to insignificant skirmishes with the Magyar rearguard, whose job it was to cover the retreat of the main army in the direction of the Theiss and Hernad. A commanding officer like Dembiński will not accept a decisive battle *before* a river when he can fight much better *beyond* the river, unless he is *perfectly sure* of the outcome.

But as stated: hitherto there is no news, and neither the Magyar report nor the telegraphic dispatch have been confirmed in any way. The Vienna letters and newspapers have not reached us, the Breslau papers have likewise failed to arrive because there is no Monday issue, the Berlin papers have nothing new to tell, the Leipzig and Prague papers, which present the news one day later, only contain letters from Pest of the 27th which are still in ignorance of the battle which began on the 26th, and—a remarkable thing indeed—they do not print the Olmütz victory dispatch either.

Now to continue:

“We *lack* further news from Transylvania.”

This news, that there is no news, is certainly very “definite”! An excellent fashion in which to repudiate the “ridiculous exaggerations” of the Magyars!

“The *Breslauer Zeitung*, which is by no means impartial” (a naive remark from the mouth of our Magyarophobe neighbour!), “is *surely* depicting the position of the Austrians *too gloomily*, for though it was *certainly very precarious* earlier on, it has *after all* improved recently.”

“Surely, after all”! “It has *after all* improved!” “*Surely* depicting *too gloomily*”! Remarkably “more definite” news, in which nothing is “definite” except the tearful admission that the position of the Austrians was “*certainly very precarious earlier on*”!

“The story of the storming of Hermannstadt is a Magyar invention; for this is supposed to have occurred on February 15, and yet the Vienna *Lloyd* contains in its columns a letter from Hermannstadt of February 16 whose writer knows nothing of the alleged storming, but on the contrary etc.”

And this letter from Hermannstadt, which is said to be dated the 16th, contains nothing whatsoever about the fate of the defeated Puchner, who rallied his troops again on the 12th outside Hermannstadt, contains nothing of the position of Bem advancing via Mühlbach, but merely drivels on about the raids of the Szeklers, about the few days left to hold out until “the victorious royal imperial troops, approaching ever nearer and nearer and closing in from all sides” (from whence?) eliminate the danger and so on. In short, this letter actually says nothing but what has long been known, and bears all the signs of a document fabricated in Vienna itself. Why are there then no official or semi-official reports available, if private newspapers have news from Hermannstadt of the 16th? And in a fictitious document like this the *Kölnische Zeitung* places its implicit trust! By means of information like this it “critically ascertains” the “ridiculous exaggerations” of the Magyar reports!

In addition, the *Kölnische Zeitung* contains some ludicrous snatches of gossip about the amateur theatres of the officers in Komorn, about the alleged dismissal of Görgey, about the “intentions” of Nugent etc., concluding, as usual, with “a series of noteworthy judgments from the Austrian press on the intervention of the Russians”. When the gentlemen themselves lose their powers of judgment, this series of noteworthy judgments presents itself at the right moment for reproduction by anyone who cares to do so.

Such are the gentlemen of the *Kölnische Zeitung*. Too cowardly to indulge in any sort of polemic, which would be bound utterly to expose their hollowness, ignorance and empty-headedness, this literary lumpenproletariat seeks to vent its anger at all the blows it receives on the small Magyar people fighting against a force vastly superior to it. What does it matter to the *Kölnische Zeitung* that this heroic people of five million led, moreover, by officers who were nothing but traitors, is forced to defend itself against the entire might of Austria and Russia, against whole fanaticised nations, that it has taken on an unequal struggle compared with which the French revolutionary war was child’s play. First it abused them as “cowards”, “braggarts” etc., and when these cowards eventually put the whole of mighty Austria to flight, when they forced it humbly to beseech the Russians for aid, like a tiny sixth-rate country, against the few million Magyars, when 20,000 Russians then placed their weight in the scales in favour of Austria, this honourable little paper was

unable to restrain its jubilation. And even now, as soon as there comes the slightest piece of news favourable to the imperial murderers, joy reigns in the columns of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, and it exults at the victory of the side enjoying the most crushing superiority, gloats over the desperate struggle of a small nation of heroic courage against two of the biggest powers of Europe!

When censorship still existed, in 1831, no German newspaper dared to cheer the Russians as they drew ever tighter circles around Warsaw.¹⁶ Then all was sympathy for Poland, and those who did not agree at least kept quiet. But today we have freedom of the press, and the *Kölnische Zeitung* may unimpeded throw all its despicable drivel in the face of the Magyars in the most brutal fashion.

Written by Engels on March 7, 1849

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[THE 26th AUSTRIAN ARMY BULLETIN]

Just now, when the above article had already been written, we have received the following 26th Bulletin, in which the gallant Windischgrätz at last gives us an explanation of his brilliant victory at Kapolna announced by telegraph^a:

"From Gyöngyös, Field Marshal Windischgrätz gave Lieutenant-Field Marshal Schlick the command to leave Petervasara on February 26 and join the main army by way of Verpeleth, in order to attack the insurgents with combined forces. The corps of Lieutenant-Field Marshal Wr̄bna and that of Lieutenant-Field Marshal Schwarzenberg encountered the enemy outside Kapolna on February 26. At first the latter showed the intention of threatening our left flank by occupying a wooded height with two battalions. He was, however, driven from there by a bayonet attack. Then, he attempted to pierce our centre with his cavalry, but was repulsed there too, and retired at all points towards Kapolna and Kaal. The fall of darkness put an end to the day's fighting. Early on the 27th Field Marshal Windischgrätz ordered the attack to be continued, having heard of the delayed arrival of Lieutenant-Field Marshal Schlick, who had been held up by the enemy's occupation of the narrow defile of Sirok and only succeeded in taking it after a stubborn fight. He pushed back the enemy as far as Verpeleth, where the latter gained a footing, and only surrendered this place after fierce fighting. The enemy again attempted to take Kapolna and made two attacks with numerous heavy guns, which were, however, unsuccessful. After the fighting had gone on all day, the insurgents withdrew and took up a position at Maklar. During the capture of Kapolna the Zanini battalion defending the church was taken prisoner. The casualties on the enemy side were 200-300 killed and 900-1,000 captured; those of the royal imperial troops were slighter, although the exact figures are not yet available."

It may be seen from this Bulletin:

1) That on the 26th, as the Magyar "exaggeration" quite correctly observes, the *Hungarians had indeed got the better of Windischgrätz*. For

^a "26. Armee-Bulletin. Vom 3. März."—*Ed.*

were it true, as the Bulletin claims, that the imperial forces had been victorious on the 26th, on the following day, having been reinforced by the Schlick-Schulzig corps, they would have been in a position to inflict a severe defeat on the Magyars.

2) That Windischgrätz' "victory" is limited to an extremely insignificant skirmish, as the small number of casualties on the Magyar side proves. In two days of battle, 300 killed! As for the captured battalion, that means little.

There are still aristocratic traitors among the officers of the Hungarian army, who are only waiting for an opportunity to position their troops in such a way that they can be captured with due decency. The death-defying bravery of the Magyar soldiers even favours such treachery.

3) That the imperial forces should know the casualties of the *Hungarians* so exactly, whereas they have not yet established *their own*, is likewise highly "significant".

4) Finally: as far as the definite gains of the imperial forces are concerned, these are limited to *exactly one mile^a of captured terrain*. The Hungarians engaged in battle at Kapolna and Verpeleth, and are now at Maklar, which lies one mile to the east. Erlau, about the same distance to the north of Maklar, is obviously also still in the possession of the Magyars, supporting their right flank; otherwise the Bulletin would have trumpeted out the recapture of this important town with due exultation.

5) *Summa Summarum*: After achieving the purpose of their expedition before the gates of Pest, the Hungarians have withdrawn, without engaging in any decisive battle on terrain that is less favourable to them. They have only fought insofar as it was necessary in order to cover their retreat to the Theiss and Hernad and to keep the imperial forces at a respectable distance. This object *has been fully attained*.

The whole tone of the Bulletin, and the fact that the imperial troops, according to their own report, have only advanced one mile, prove this. The result of the Hungarian advance to within six miles of Pest, quite apart from the moral impression, is this: Görgey is reunited with the main army, the comitats between the Hernad, Theiss and the Carpathians have been cleared of Austrians. The Magyars can lean their right wing on the Carpathians and establish direct contact with the Galician revolutionaries¹⁷; they have forced

^a In this and other articles we have used "mile" when Engels uses the German word *Meile*. At that time *Meile* was a linear measure of different length in different German states, but it can be regarded as roughly 4¹/₂ miles.—*Ed.*

Schlick away from his base of operations (Galicia), and thus compelled the Austrians to alter their entire plan of campaign.

Let the *Kölnische Zeitung*, which as we know has news of the 16th from Transylvania, tell us, though, why the Bulletin says nothing of the events that occurred around Hermannstadt up to the 16th.

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THE ENGLISH SOLDIER'S OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

Cologne, March 7. The *Neue Preussische Zeitung* in great triumph publishes the English army oath of allegiance^a and rejoices immeasurably at the discovery that the English soldier swears loyalty only to the Queen^b but not to the Constitution. Should we then in Prussia, in the youngest constitutional state, should we, *contrary* to the example of the oldest constitutional country, compel our soldiers to swear allegiance to the Constitution?

But the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* forgets to inform the readers how the English soldier stands in relation to civil laws.

As a matter of course, the British soldier, for *all* offences which are not *mere offences against discipline*, is tried by the ordinary courts, the county courts, petty sessions, quarter sessions¹⁸ or assize courts, and in all conflicts with other citizens he is treated *simply* as a *citizen*.

But that is not all. In England every citizen, whether an official, a soldier or whatever he is, is responsible before the law for all his actions and cannot plead as an excuse that the action in question was ordered by his superior. For example, a revolt occurs. Troops are called in. Legal demands to disperse are or are not issued. The people do not disperse. A civilian official (always a justice of the peace or an urban *elected* official) gives permission for the army to intervene, or does not do so. The soldiers open fire, there are deaths. The findings of an inquest on those killed come before a coroner's jury which establishes the facts in each case. If the jury decides that the intervention of the armed forces was not justified by the

^a Published under the heading "Berliner Zuschauer", *Neue Preussische Zeitung* No. 54, March 6, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b Victoria.—*Ed.*

circumstances, it brings in a verdict of *premeditated murder* against all the participants, including therefore the *civilian official* who gave permission for the intervention of the troops, the *officer* who gave the order to fire, and *all the soldiers who actually opened fire*.

If the civilian official did not give permission for intervention, the consequence is merely that he does not figure in the verdict. Matters remain unaltered as far as the officers and soldiers are concerned.

This verdict of premeditated murder is a formal indictment, on the basis of which criminal proceedings are instituted before the regular courts with their juries.

The English soldier, therefore, is by no means regarded by the law as a machine that has no will of its own and must obey without argument any order given it, but as a "free agent",^a a man possessing free will, who at all times must know what he is doing and who bears responsibility for all his actions. English judges would give a stern reply to an accused soldier if he defended himself by saying that he had been ordered to fire and that he had had to "obey orders"!

In Prussia things are quite different. In Prussia the soldier declares that his immediate superior gave him the order to fire, and this frees him from all punishment. In Prussia, and likewise in France, the official is assured of complete impunity for every violation of the law when he can prove that the order for it had come from his proper superior in the proper hierarchical way.

The *Neue Preussische Zeitung* will probably take our word for it that we do not hold the view that the brief formula of an oath can alter a man and turn a black-and-white^b Guards lieutenant into an enthusiast for "constitutional freedom".

In the last twelve months, the gentlemen who are "with God for King and Fatherland"^c have themselves, through their own praiseworthy kith and kin, gained the most pleasant experience of the significance of the oath. We are not at all against the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* making the army swear allegiance to the king, the Dalai Lama or the man in the moon, so long as "My glorious army",¹⁹ in the way which has been described above, is *put in exactly the same position in relation to the laws as the army in England*.

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^a These words are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

^b The colours of the Prussian monarchy.—*Ed.*

^c From the motto of the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

Yesterday we already presented an extract from the last (26th) Army Bulletin published in the Vienna *Lithographierte Correspondenz*.^a Today we have the complete text of the Bulletin before us.^b

However hard Windischgrätz endeavours to give the action at Kapolna the character of a major battle, however violently he flings about bayonet-charges, cavalry attacks and bombardments—he is soundly defeated in his aim by the figures he himself gives of the dead and captured. 200-300 killed on the Magyar side in a major two-day battle in which “we had to deal with the *main force* of the enemy at all points”! It can be seen that the Magyars for their part threw no more than a few corps into the fighting which, as we said already yesterday, were at the most intended to cover the retreat of the main army and keep the Austrians at a respectable distance. For a battle between two large armies, particularly one lasting two days, results in far greater losses than a few hundred men.

But Windischgrätz exaggerates even more ridiculously when he speaks of the “*numerical superiority*” of the Magyars. The war in Hungary would have been over long ago if the small Magyar nation could even achieve “*numerical*” *equality* with the imperial troops—but numerical superiority! The superiority of 5 million over 31 million!!

One report goes as far as to maintain that 27,000 Austrians defeated twice as many Magyars at Kapolna! But this report is, in addition, so remarkably skilfully and credibly written that it relates in the same breath that, having retired to Erlau, the Magyars were met there by *Götz*. It is known, however, that *Götz* is wandering around some 30 miles away in the area of Kaschau and Eperies, and now he is suddenly supposed to have marched all the way to Erlau!

^a See this volume, pp. 19-21.—*Ed.*

^b “Wien, 3. März”, *Der Lloyd* No. 107 (evening edition), March 3, 1849; “Wien, 3. März”, *Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 65, March 6, 1849.—*Ed.*

Otherwise the Bulletin contains nothing new, and we can safely put it aside.

Now to Transylvania. Here it is true that Bem has not taken Hermannstadt, and that for very simple reasons. After absorbing the 4,000 strong column from Hungary, he marched along the Maros in order to join up with the *Szekler Landsturm*.²⁰ While he was advancing from Mühlbach by way of Mediasch, the Szeklers from the opposite direction came to meet him and took Schässburg with 7,000 men on the 16th. The garrison and a part of the civic militia escaped to Hermannstadt; Bem pursued them and is now once again in the vicinity of this town, as a letter of the 18th from Hermannstadt relates. According to one report it is said to have already been evacuated by Puchner.

From this it is evident that Bem has executed another of those victorious advances across Transylvania in which he has already greatly distinguished himself several times. His connections with the intrepid Szeklers, who live close by the Moldavian border, after being momentarily threatened by Puchner and the Russians, have been restored; Sachsenland²¹ is in extreme peril, he "*now has the keys of Sachsenland in his hands*".

The Saxons moreover complain of the lack of good leadership from above, and of the Romanians' lack of courage. The latter are said to be displaying extreme cowardice. One report says^a:

"The only trouble is the lack of good leadership from above and the lack of courage and endurance on the part of the Wallachian troops. All the unsuccessful engagements have hitherto been lost through the fault of the Wallachians. At Salzburg the regular Wallachian army threw itself flat on its belly at the first cannon shot, and at Kronstadt the Russians had to form up behind the Wallachians to prevent them from running away. But if the battle is won, they are always the foremost and cruellest in looting, and spare neither the enemy nor their wounded comrades lying on the battlefield."

This shows what gangs of brigands the royal imperial regime is employing to maintain its authority. Moreover, the *Siebenbürger Bote* is awaiting the following royal imperial reinforcements:

"According to reports received the corps heading for Transylvania under generals Gläser, Todorovich and Mengen is said to comprise the following troops: 8 battalions of infantry, Leiningen, Rukavina, men from Peterwardein,²² Romanians, Illyrians, and German-Banat Borderers; 5 squadrons of Uhlans, 300 mounted Serbs, 80 Serezhans; one Congreve battery, one mounted foot-battery, two ordinary foot-batteries, 5 Serbian cannon. A total of 15,000 men."^b

^a Engels quotes from the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 57 (special supplement), March 8, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b "Nachrichten vom Kriegsschauplatz", *Der Siebenbürger Bote* No. 22, February 19, 1849.—*Ed.*

The Transylvanian Flemings²³ will have to pray many a Lords Prayer before these alleged 15,000 men get through. Unfortunately Damjanich and Vetter on the Lower Maros are still giving them more than enough to do, accordingly they are leaving Transylvania to the Russians.

From the Banat theatre of war, little news.²⁴ The Serbs boast of the following heroic deeds:

“Theresiopel has been taken by the Serbs, and on the 25th it is reported from the Sava that a skirmish has occurred at Futtak between the Syrmien provincial battalion and the Magyar garrison of Neusatz as a result of which the former town was reduced to ashes by the Magyars.”

The truth or otherwise of this we leave as a matter for conjecture. At the same time we hear that the great hero Nugent, whom we have assumed to have long since reached the Lower Theiss or the area of Peterwardein, has still not even crossed the Danube, but is *only now* “thinking of crossing” this river “near Mohacs”!!

And while he is amusing himself with these thoughts the Magyars are taking the greatest liberties in his close vicinity, in the Tolna comitat, on the *right* bank of the Danube, at the rear of Ofen. Here, in a region which was—how many times—“cleaned up” by the royal imperial troops, the long-lost Perczel suddenly turns up as a guerilla leader and sets the whole area in motion. Just listen:

“In Battaszek an imperial officer was taken prisoner as a result of this agitation, in Paks an imperial courier was stopped and his escort of two men disarmed. In Dombovar district all cattle belonging to Prince Esterházy were slaughtered. In Laczhaza, too, just as the market was being held, 50 insurgents appeared from Duna Vecse and Solt with their lead-studded whips and seized all the cattle driven there for sale.”

That was today’s news. The victory of Windischgrätz reduced to a pointless and ineffectual attack, Bem’s operations in Transylvania as skilful as they are successful, the Serbs in the Banat still standing on the banks of the Maros at a loss what to do, Nugent still unable to cross the Danube and move into the Banat, the area between the Drava and the Danube preparing to revolt against the imperial authorities—that is the résumé of the position of the warring parties according to the latest reports.

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THE 27th BULLETIN.—MILITARY REPORTS

We have today a new Austrian Bulletin. Before we examine it more closely, however, we should like to return briefly to the battle at Kapolna and to mention some observations taken from the pro-Metternich Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*^a which, coming from *that* newspaper, are altogether highly “indicative”. This paper, which usually supports so enthusiastically the black-and-yellow^b cause, comes out with the following complaints:

“As is the case with most of the army’s communiqués from Hungary, in the communiqué dealing with Kapolna (see below) we unfortunately find that very important points are again missing: one learns nothing about the strength of the respective combating armies, the previous movements of the enemy, the divisions comprising the enemy’s forces, the names of their leaders, not even the name of their commander-in-chief. And yet the report otherwise contains many details which are to some extent trivial.”

And it goes on to say:

“It is equally remarkable that the Bulletin dealing with the battle at Kapolna also talks of the enemy’s numerical superiority, although the combined forces of Windischgrätz and Schlick were involved in the fighting there. The Field Marshal can hardly have fewer than 100,000 to 120,000 men under his command in Hungary. It is true that they are widely dispersed throughout the country, and Windischgrätz has to try to encircle the enemy in a wide arc with his various army corps. But neither can the Magyars operate with their combined forces from *one* central point; Komorn, Peterwardein, Szegedin etc. are still holding out, and there is still fighting in the Banat, in Transylvania and on the Theiss. We have searched *in vain* through the Vienna, Agram and Temesvar newspapers for information on the questions which thrust themselves upon one in this context.”

^a The following quotation is from the article “Oesterreich” published in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 65, March 6, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b The Austrian imperial colours.—*Ed.*

Such doubts expressed by the Augsburg *Allgemeine* martial-law paper make any further comment from us superfluous. Now to turn to the 27th Army Bulletin^a:

“On February 26 and 27 the head of the column of the advancing main army under His Highness Field Marshal Prince zu Windischgrätz attacked the rebels from behind the Tarna between Kapolna and Kaal and drove them back. The columns of Lieutenant-Field Marshal Schlick, which had advanced towards Verpeleth and Erlau, had taken the enemy in the flank and, as a result of this successful move, threatened his line of retreat towards Miskolcz and Tokaj. On February 28 the Field Marshal advanced all along the line and on that day moved his headquarters to Maklar, just after the enemy had left it and retreated towards Mezö-Kövesd.

“Quickly following the hurried retreat of the enemy the cuirassier regiment of Prince Karl of Prussia came upon the rearguard of the enemy which was concentrated near Mezö-Kövesd, a fierce cavalry battle took place, this being supported by the Wyss and Montenuovo brigades which were moving forward. In this first battle Major Prince Holstein and two officers were wounded. On March 1 the Field Marshal undertook large-scale reconnaissance along the whole line across the whole of the plain, which stretches from Mezö-Kövesd via István to the Theiss, however this did not produce the desired results because of the heavy fog and the snow.

“In the meantime the corps of Lieutenant-Field Marshal Schlick was operating on the right flank of the enemy, who was thus obliged in the course of that day to evacuate Mezö-Kövesd and retreat via Szemere and Eger Farnos towards Poroszlo. The Deym brigade, from the corps under the command of Lieutenant-Field Marshal Schlick, occupied Mezö-Kövesd.

“About midday, when the fog had lifted somewhat, the reconnoitring vanguard reported that the enemy had moved off in the direction of the Theiss and his crossing-point at Tisza-Füred. The Field Marshal at once dispatched three brigades along the enemy’s line of retreat, and his rearguard was contacted at Szemere.

“At Eger Farnos the enemy tried once more to offer resistance but was thrown back, and in the evening the place was occupied by our victorious troops. At the same time the Field Marshal had dispatched a brigade of the first army corps, under the command of Major-General Zeisberg, from Besenyö along the road to Poroszlo, and on the morning of March 2, the date of the last report from the headquarters at Maklar, the whole army was advancing towards the Theiss.”

As was to be expected, the Magyars have once more withdrawn beyond the Theiss. We have said it a hundred times: it would have been irresponsible and reckless of them if they had engaged in a decisive battle on the right bank of the Theiss without being *quite sure* of victory. The superior strength of the Austrians was still too great, a fact which is borne out by the above report from the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*. The Austrians were able to concentrate their main forces, whilst the Magyars had had to leave a strong reserve force behind, in particular a large part of their young troops at Debreczin, and generally beyond the Theiss. They have demonstrated to the Austrians that they are dealing neither with “cowards”

^a “27. Armee-Bulletin. Vom 5. März.”—Ed.

nor with a motley “rabble”, and they did *well* to retreat once more beyond the Theiss after having achieved their aim.

Just how much respect Herr Windischgrätz now has for the Hungarian army is clear from all his operations. On February 28 he occupies Maklar, i.e. advances by only *one hour*. On March 1 he has reached Mezö-Kövesd, i.e. he is yet again one mile further on. There he does not attempt anything like a general attack but merely “large-scale reconnaissance”!! We notice that after his immense victory at Kapolna Windischgrätz pursued the Magyars with such vigour that after two or three miles he had *already lost trace of them* and had to reconnoitre to establish where they were!

Meanwhile Schlick was operating “on the right flank of the enemy”—and his great achievement, as a result of this, was that the “enemy” retreated to the very point to which he would have had to retreat *without* this splendid manoeuvre, namely to Tisza-Füred, his main crossing-point on the Theiss. All in all, Schlick, in his flanking movement, which incidentally looks highly peculiar on the map, has apparently treated the withdrawing Magyar army with just as much respect as Windischgrätz has at the front. In short, on March 2 the headquarters of the courageous Windischgrätz was still at Maklar, i.e. exactly *one mile* further on from the position held by Windischgrätz on the morning of February 26, six days before his great two-day victory!

From this position, on March 2, the whole army was “advancing towards the Theiss”. We know that this is the third time that the imperial troops are “advancing towards the Theiss”, and presumably they will have the same success this time that they had previously, and that will mean stopping at the Theiss and having to confine themselves to casting longing glances over to the unattainable Debreczin heath.

From the north we hear:

“The division of Lieutenant-Field Marshal *Ramberg* had already pushed its vanguard from Kaschau along the road which forks at Hidas-Nemethy, leading to *Tokaj* on the left and *Miskolcz* on the right.”

In plain language: the above-mentioned division has pushed forward its vanguard exactly *four miles*, and this along a road where no large enemy forces are roaming about, but at most enemy guerillas, Kossuth hussars. Immense progress, achieved with remarkable bravery!

The Bulletin goes on to tell of several battles before Komorn,²⁵ which are more evidence of the courage of the Komorn garrison than of progress on the part of the Austrians. The reader will recall

that as early as January the *Kölnische Zeitung* had the Komorn garrison hoisting the white flag at least ten times. And the alleged "initial bombardment" of Komorn, which was said already to have taken place, is now shown to have meant that, not the Austrians were firing bombs at Komorn, but on the contrary the Komorn garrison fired shells at the Austrians. The Bulletin says:

"At Komorn several battles occurred on the right bank of the Danube between the insurgents and the troops of the Lederer brigade—thus, as early as February 17, the garrison at Komorn made a sortie with nine companies, two guns, and half a squadron of hussars, and protected by brisk cannon-fire launched an attack from the bridgehead upon the left flank of the detachment occupying O-Szöny, under the command of Major Kellner of the Khevenhüller infantry. Major Kellner attacked the insurgents and drove them back, killing seventeen of them.—The garrison attempted a similar sortie on February 24, this time with two battalions of infantry, half a squadron of hussars and three guns. The enemy opened fire briskly on the position of Major Kellner, who was occupying O-Szöny with the second Khevenhüller battalion, half a squadron of Fiquelmont dragoons and half a battery of twelve-pounders. Forty shells hit the place causing fires in five points, as a result of which several houses were burned to the ground. Thanks to Major Kellner's expedient measures and the determination of his troops it was possible to check the fire. When, later, the offensive was begun, actively supported by a division under Captain Schmutz's command from the same regiment, which was dispatched with two cannon to the enemy's right flank, the insurgents, who lost fifty men, were driven back within the range of the garrison's cannon by the brave battalion, which thus managed to repulse this sortie as well.—Now Lieutenant-Field Marshal Simunich's division has arrived there on the left bank of the Danube. The Veigl brigade, which is part of it, is stationed on the left bank of the Waag. The Sossay brigade, which already arrived in N. Tany several days ago, is occupying the island of Schütt, and at Gönyö they are busy trying to construct a pontoon bridge in order to link up the two banks of the Danube for the besieging troops. As the battering train from Leopoldstadt has arrived* at Komorn the bombardment of the fortress will begin within the next few days."

Finally we learn the following, something which, printed in a royal imperial *Army Bulletin*, must astonish us:

"According to official reports from Cracow, which are dated March 3, 600 Cossacks are occupying the Russian border on their own territory from Michalovice to the Weichsel and from there to the Pilica. Cracow, which according to other reports was said to have been bombarded and even occupied by the Russians, was quiet, although numerous emissaries and gun-runners were bent on disturbing the peace. Lieutenant-Field Marshal Legeditsch there was perfectly prepared for any eventuality."

So *Cracow* is now also part of the theatre of war. When the official royal imperial bulletins start declaring this themselves, one is obliged to draw strange conclusions!

So much for the official news. From the unofficial sources we report the following:

The Karlowitz *Napredak* reports from the Banat:

"Subotica (Theresiopel) has been taken by the Serbs. The battle was fierce. The troops consisted of detachments from Todorovich's forces and a section of the Serbian auxiliary corps under the command of Kničanin. The Serbs lost 144 men, the number of Magyar dead is not yet known. The Magyars have suffered their most significant defeat here."^a

From Transylvania only one report from Malkowsky has come in, telling of the curious operations at Bistritz. As we have already examined this^b we do not need to touch on it again today. The only thing of interest to us is the following naive aphorism, which appeared in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, referring to the Germans' surprise at the arrival of the Russians:

"The Austrian army wishes, of course, to wage this battle without outside aid, but the Austrian and Russian armies are old comrades in war and have fought side by side countless times on German battlefields. This is something those people apparently wish to forget who talk in such exaggerated terms of Russian support"!!!^c

Finally, for the amusement of our readers, we include the letter written by the Vladika^d of Montenegro to the Serbian leader Kničanin, to accompany the decoration sent to him:

"To the illustrious Mr. Stephan Kničanin,

"Oh pride of our nation! You have totally justified the reputation of the heroes of Dushan and Karageorge. I, and every true Serb, owe you the deepest gratitude. Your noble spirit prompted you to sacrifice yourself for your nation and to hasten to the aid of your suffering comrades. For these reasons I shall always love you and hold you in great esteem, and in deepest gratitude for your untiring efforts I am sending you this likeness of the immortal Obilich. It will most fittingly adorn the breast of the victor of Tomasevec and the deliverer of Pancsova. Receive it then, heroic young scion of heroic forefathers, receive it with the same sincerity and delight with which, accompanied by fraternal greetings, it is sent.

Cetinje, January 28 (February 9), 1849

Vladika of Montenegro, *P. Petrovic Njegos*, m.p."^e

Moreover, just how close to the verge of bankruptcy Kossuth has brought the Austrians is evident from the following "proclamation":

"Since the news that Hungarian banknotes in Austria were to be withdrawn from circulation and confiscated has reached wide sections of the public, we wish to reassure

^a This passage was also published in the newspaper *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 55, March 6, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b See Engels, "From the Hungarian Theatre of War" and "Magyar Victory" (present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 471-73 and 477-80).—*Ed.*

^c "Pesth, 26. Febr.," Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 65, March 6, 1849.—*Ed.*

^d Ruler and metropolitan.—*Ed.*

^e "Von der Save, 26. Febr.," *Der Lloyd* No. 107 (evening edition), March 3, 1849. m.p.—abbreviation of "manu propria"—with one's own hand.—*Ed.*

the public and to announce that withdrawal or confiscation of Hungarian banknotes does not apply to private transactions in Hungary. Ofen, March 2, 1849. Royal imperial army general headquarters."^a

To sum up: At most Windischgrätz will reach the Theiss, the Serbs are at the Maros, Malkowsky is outside Bistritz.—All of them are just as far as they were four weeks ago. This is the "second stage" that, according to yesterday's *Kölnische Zeitung*,^b the Hungarian war has entered.

Written by Engels about March 9, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 242, March 10, 1849

Published in English for the first time

^a "Ofen, 2. März", *Der Lloyd* No. 109 (evening edition), March 5, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 56, March 7, 1849. See also this volume, p. 15.—*Ed.*

RUGE

Cologne, March 9. The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* contains the following statement of its old contributor Arnold Ruge, the Pomeranian personality and Saxon thinker.

“*Berlin*, March 5. The present members of the Central Committee of German Democrats,²⁶ d’Ester, Reichenbach and Hexamer, announce a new democratic newspaper entitled *Allgemeine demokratische Zeitung*,^a which will be ‘*in reality*’ an organ of the party in Berlin. This announcement could arouse the suspicion that the newspapers *Reform* and *Zeitungs-Halle* are *not really* organs of the party, and in the introduction to the announcement it is even fairly clearly indicated that both of them have been *suppressed*. The passage where the Central Committee proclaims and accepts the *suspension* by Wrangel as being *definitive suppression*, reads word for word as follows: ‘The severe trials which the Democratic Party in recent months has had to endure in all parts of Germany have convinced it both of the necessity for a strong organisation, and of *the need for it to be represented in the press by definite organs belonging to the party*. Through their *sabre regime* the rulers have succeeded in *many places*’ (the ‘*sabre regime*’ however exists only in *Berlin!*) ‘*in suppressing* democratic organs of the press, because the **individuals concerned** were unable to make such great sacrifices as would render these violent measures ineffective.’ Because of the *sabre regime*, everyone thinks only of *Berlin* when he reads of the ‘many places’. Even democracy as a whole could have made these measures ‘ineffective’ only by abolishing the *sabre*, for Wrangel made both Berlin and the Berlin postal service inaccessible to the democratic organs of the press. Let the Central Committee name the means, or the ‘sacrifices’, by which in our situation it would have been able to make this violence ineffective. Even in Wrangel’s opinion, however, the *Reform* and the *Zeitungs-Halle* have *not been suppressed*. However, according to my experience, democrats who have received the circular of the Central Committee, understand it to mean that the *Reform* and the *Zeitungs-Halle* would cease to appear and would be replaced by the *Allgemeine demokratische Zeitung*. I feel compelled to clear up this misunderstanding. *The ‘Reform’ has not been definitively closed down and, as soon as the state of siege in Berlin has been lifted, it will continue to be published in Berlin*, and indeed as a *real organ* of the Democratic Party, one which by

^a This paper was never published.—*Ed.*

virtue of the definite decisions of the Lefts of the dissolved National Assembly²⁷ and of the former Central Committee of German Democrats no less 'belongs' to the party than the new newspaper imposed from above by two members of the present Central Committee (d'Estier and Hexamer).

The Editorial Board of the *Reform*
Arnold Ruge^e

Author's postscript: "I request all the highly respected editorial boards of German newspapers to publish this *our* statement^a in their columns."

To our great satisfaction, we learn from this memorable statement that the *ci-devant* Frankfurt "editor of the rationale of events"²⁸ and at present book publisher—undoubtedly "as such"—declares that he is by no means satisfied with the *imposition* of a new democratic newspaper "in Berlin", a newspaper which is supposed to be "in reality" an organ of the "party in Berlin".

Herr Arnold Ruge, Frankfurt "editor of the rationale of events" and Berlin editor of the *Reform*, maintains "as such" that it was *also* the organ of the "party in Berlin"; by a decision of the "former" Central Committee of Democrats, the *Reform had been* (*elle avait été*, as the French say) "an organ belonging to the party". True, the "former" Central Committee no longer exists "in reality". Nevertheless the newly arising *Reform* can still be a "real" organ of the defunct Central Committee and of the superseded Left of the "dissolved" National Assembly.

Herr Arnold Ruge may certainly attack the newly imposed Berlin *Allgemeine demokratische Zeitung*, a rival in the publishing sphere; outside Berlin there will undoubtedly be fewer competitors for the honorary title of an organ of the "party in Berlin". We were at least never under any misapprehension regarding the *Reform* as the "real" organ of the "party in Berlin"; we are capable also of fully appreciating patriot Ruge's conquest over himself in connection with the above-mentioned "sacrifices". But in any case, it remains a most curious contradiction. The worthy printshop proprietor Ruge takes his stand on the *basis of legality* in order to maintain that his own newspaper, the *Reform*, is the "real" (patently *sans garantie du gouvernement*^b) organ of the party. On the other hand, the philosopher Ruge takes his stand on the basis of revolt against the "real" democratic Central Committee in order "really" to be able to make further "sacrifices" in his sense of the word (that of a publisher).

A fact that might help to solve this contradiction is given below:

^a "Erklärung der Redaction der *Reform*", *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 67 (supplement), March 8, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b Without government guarantee.—*Ed.*

The democratic Central Committee told Ruge that it was prepared to appoint the *Reform* as its *Moniteur*^a on condition that Ruge would refrain from all argumentation and writing.

Written on March 9, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

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^a Official organ of the French Government.—*Ed.*

THE MARCH ASSOCIATION

Cologne, March 10. The Frankfurt so-called "March Association"²⁹ of the Frankfurt so-called "Imperial Assembly"³⁰ has had the insolence to send us the following lithographed letter:

"The March Association has decided to compile a list of all newspapers which have given us space in their columns and to distribute it to all associations with which we are connected in order that with the assistance of these associations the newspapers indicated will be given preference in being supplied with any relevant *announcements*.

"In informing you herewith of this list, we believe it is unnecessary to draw your attention to the importance of the paid '*announcements*' of a newspaper as a source of income for the whole enterprise.

"Further, the Central March Association has decided to recommend the associations to favour with their support the *Teutsches Volksblatt*, a democratic-constitutional newspaper appearing in *Würzburg*, edited by Dr. Eisenmann, in view of the fact that this newspaper is under the threat of succumbing to the competition of anti-democratic newspapers, and the editor has stated that he is not in a position to make further sacrifices over and above those he has already made.

Frankfurt, end of February 1849.

The Managing Committee of the Central March Association"

In the enclosed list of newspapers which "have given space in their columns to the March Association" and to which the supporters of the "March Association" should give preference in supplying "relevant announcements", one finds also the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, which, in addition, is given the honour of an asterisk.

We hereby announce to all the left-handed and the extreme left-handed members³¹ of this so-called "March Association" of the *ci-devant* "Imperial Assembly" that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has never consented to become the organ of a parliamentary party, least of all of a party of the comical Frankfurt imperial club, that our newspaper has never given space in its columns to the so-called

“March Association” of this club, and that in general the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has no knowledge of any “March Association”. If, therefore, the “March Association” in its lithographed report to those newspapers which have really given it space in their columns designates our newspaper as one of its organs, this is simply calumny against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and absurd boasting on the part of the “March Association”. No doubt the patriotic upright men of the “March Association” will know how to reconcile this with their “conscience”.

The reference of the “March Association” to our newspaper becomes still more ill-mannered owing to the “decision” of the Association to recommend the “democratic-constitutional” newspaper (the Germanic periodical: *Teutsches Volksblatt*) of “Dr. Eisenmann”. Who would not be touched by the sad fate of the great “Germanic” primeval martyr Eisenmann? What upright man will not feel it as a blow that “Dr.” Eisenmann, who sold his prison reminiscences to the “democratic-constitutional” King of Bavaria^a for 12,000 guildens, cannot make “further sacrifices” and is under the threat of succumbing to the publishing “competition” of the ordinary newspapers that are not imposed and that are against the “March Association”? We leave it to the patriots to calculate into what deep neglect the *Teutsches Volksblatt* must have fallen if Eisenmann, the martyr with 12,000 guildens and deputy with a 5-taler salary, has to appeal for public “support”. In any case, things must have gone badly, very badly, with the “democratic-constitutional” Eisenmanns if they produce a fictitious begging letter from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the only newspaper in Germany which has always attacked the “shameless, mean beggars” from among the patriots and imperial-beggarly assemblies.

To the dirty remark of the profit-greedy competition-goaded patriots about “the importance of the *paid* announcements of a newspaper as a *source of income for the whole* enterprise”, we, of course, do not reply. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has always differed from the patriots not only generally but also in that it has never regarded political movements as a territory for swindlers or a source of income.

Written by Marx on March 10, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

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Published in English for the first time

^a Maximilian II.—*Ed.*

FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

There is no news at all from the theatre of war today. The only interesting item concerning the most recent Austrian war operations is another article today in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, the martial-law paper, which proves above all how low our contemporary journalists have sunk. The *Kölnische Zeitung* is full of enthusiasm for Windischgrätz and goes no further than expressing regret that he is a poor writer of German—as if his intentionally inept style were not ten times more adept than the language of the most profoundly conceived leading articles of the *Kölnische Zeitung*! If Windischgrätz is “confused” and “obscure” in his reports that is only because he has intentionally made them confused and obscure, whether it be to conceal defeats or to make insignificant “advantages”, which the Magyars granted him of their own accord, appear to be outstanding victories. But the *Kölnische Zeitung* is not so stupid as it looks. It finds Windischgrätz’s reports contradictory or obscure and confused. And what does it conclude from that? Not that Windischgrätz is a bad commander-in-chief but rather a bad—stylist!

Whether the *Kölnische Zeitung* is in the pay of Austria we do not know. But we do know that the *Augsburger Zeitung* is in Austria’s pay. And yet the *Augsburger Zeitung* is a thousand times more honest than the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

Compare, for instance, yesterday’s article in that steadfast newspaper^a with the following lines taken from the Augsburg paper, whose lack of principles is well known:

^a A reference to the article “Ungarn” in the supplement to the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 59, March 10, 1849.—*Ed.*

"The complications in the Hungarian revolutionary war are *unfortunately continuously growing*. Until a few days ago, when he moved his headquarters to Gyöngyös, Field Marshal Prince Windischgrätz remained on the defensive with the main body of the army, whilst the rebels were able to throw all their forces against the weakest points of our line, harass our detached units and often expose them to considerable danger. Whilst the rest of the army stands still, the Serbs, instead of operating concentrically with it, are conquering the Voivodina for themselves and somewhat more besides. Exposed to the bold operations of Bem in the strategically completely neglected Transylvania, Puchner has in his final moment of extreme need to seek Russian help in order to protect the Saxon towns, which alone in Transylvania have remained loyal to the Emperor, and all the victories of the ageing warrior, all the valour of his troops will not suffice to expel the rebel chief, who hour by hour can call upon the spare units of insurgents in Hungary as reinforcements, from the borderlands of that unfortunate country."^a

The extent to which the Magyar reports boil down to nothing more than "ridiculous exaggerations" is shown by the following fact. The Magyars announced that they had captured Erbach, the Austrians prudently kept quiet about the matter. Now the *Deutsche Zeitung* in Frankfurt writes on March 6:

"Count Erbach, who, accompanied by only one dragoon, had been sent by General Schlick to Field Marshal Windischgrätz, was attacked by a unit of Magyar insurgents and taken prisoner. He was taken off to Debreczin and has written several letters here from there. He has been treated very well, numerous old comrades received him warmly, and his letters are apt to give us a more favourable idea of the Magyars' activity than one usually deduces from indirect reports."^b

The remaining news from Hungary is summarised in the following report from Vienna, which the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* publishes:

"The leaders of the Jewish community in Pest had gone to the camp of the Field Marshal to complain that payment of the arrears of the toleration tax³² amounting to 110,000 florins had been demanded in cash in twenty-florin coins, and that all Hungarian Jewish communities had been made collectively responsible for treasonable crimes of individuals. The Prince dismissed the complaints in very ungracious terms, and particularly strong words are said to have fallen about delegates Fischhof and Goldmark.—The army, which has been brought up to a strength of 700,000 men and has been put on a war footing, costs so much that one could easily be accused of exaggerating when working out the figure; but it certainly costs far more than can be afforded on the basis of the resources of the country without resorting to extraordinary efforts. And only the peasants, who have been released from the personal obligations and land taxes, appear to be in a healthy state, all other classes without exception being sick and infirm. Having new taxes imposed on him would make an illusion of the letters patent of September 7, 1848³³ as far as the peasant is concerned, consequently for the time being the only expedients left are loans and, according to the signs so far, to an even greater extent paper money. The big bankers

^a This paragraph is taken from the article "Wien (näheres über die Schlacht bei Kapolna)" published in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 66, March 7, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b "Graf Erbach", *Deutsche Zeitung* No. 66, March 7, 1849.—*Ed.*

are constantly buying gold and silver, in the former particular preference being given to ring ducats and gold sovereigns. The Hungarian banknote crisis has by no means rendered this paper worthless, on the contrary, transactions are said to have been completed in Vienna and Pressburg yesterday in 5-florin and 100-florin notes at 86 and 90. That is why an announcement in Pest (see below) had a soothing effect and revived trading in agricultural products, which was transacted almost exclusively in Hungarian banknotes; since no check has, as yet, been carried through on the banknotes already issued this leaves, so to speak, a loophole open for Kossuth's banknote production. This much seems certain: there must be sound reasons for Prince Windischgrätz to show such forbearance and restraint in Hungary in contrast to the procedure adopted in the Austrian provinces."^a

Incidentally, it is now even more widely acknowledged than ever that the noble Windischgrätz is hand in glove with the Magyar aristocrats such as the Josikas, the Széchenyis, the Esterházy's. These are the "sound reasons" that he has. And just a fortnight ago the *Kölnische Zeitung* was looking for the "higher nobility" in the Debreczin camp. *Voilà ce qui s'appelle des savants sérieux!*^b

From the new royal imperial model state, which goes under the name of Serbska Voivodina, we hear the following news:

"*Semlin*, February 24. At a general meeting held at Temesvar on the 15th of this month the internal administration of the Serbian Voivodina was organised in the following way: administrator and president of the Voivodina: Patriarch Josef Rajachich; vice-presidents: Joseph Rudics, Basil Fogarassy and Stretko Michailovich; heads of sections: 1. matters concerning the church: S. Kačanski, abbot, with four advisers; 2. ecclesiastical affairs and education: Eugen Gjurkovich with four advisers; 3. diplomatic affairs: Jacob Zivanovich with four advisers; 4. political questions: Marcus Popovich with five advisers; 5. economic and financial matters: Johann Šuplikac with five advisers; 6. administration of the law: Thodor Radosavljević with three advisers.—National secretary and director of the administrative office Johann Stankovich; secretary of the Voivodina Alex Stojacković.—Supreme Court: chairman Carl Latinovich; vice-president Joseph Mathich with twelve members. Economic and financial department: chairman Georg Warsan; Joseph Iovanovich, treasurer; Franz, vice-controller; Kolarovich, keeper of accounts with four advisers. First national commissioner Michael^c Krestić. Agents Kosta Iovanovich, Svetozahulitch.

"From this impartial election one can see that the Serbian deputies, worthy representatives of their constituents, having eliminated every trace of national hatred and religious differences—for Rudics, Fogarassy, Stein, Stminger and Wachtler are not Serbs and are adherents of the Catholic faith—bore strictly in mind only the elected people's qualifications to hold the offices entrusted to them, and that they are intent on establishing equality of status of every nationality in the Voivodina. In addition to the heads of the sections mentioned, the deputies of every Serb community have also been summoned to Kikinda, where '*sub Praesidio Patriarchae*'^d they are laying

^a "Wien, 5. März", *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 68, March 9, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b These are people called real scholars (Paul de Kock, *L'amant de la lune*).—*Ed.*

^c The name is given incorrectly in the newspaper; it should be "Nicolá".—*Ed.*

^d Under the chairmanship of the Patriarch.—*Ed.*

the foundation of the constitution of the Serbian Voivodina and outlining its basic rights, and they will present this for approval to the Austrian Government" (*Lloyd*).^a

"*Agram*. To our great astonishment we have read a report from Constantinople in a Belgrade newspaper published in Serbian^b according to which the Austrian internuncio,^c Count Stürmer, had a conference with the Porte Minister for External Affairs^d on February 7 and asked him: 'What position does the Porte intend to adopt should the Austrian Slavs rise in revolt against the imperial Government?' The answer was that the Porte would remain neutral. However the question raises much more far-reaching considerations in our minds than the answer does. Is it possible that the masses of Russian troops in the Danube principalities are also connected with a similar question of the royal imperial Government?"^e

Written by Engels on March 10, 1849

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^a "Semlin, 24. Februar", *Der Lloyd* No. 107 (evening edition), March 3, 1849.— *Ed.*

^b *Serbske Novine* (*Србске Новине*).— *Ed.*

^c Title of the Austrian diplomatic representatives in Istanbul from 1678 to 1856.— *Ed.*

^d Ali Mehemet Paşa.— *Ed.*

^e *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 55, March 6, 1849.— *Ed.*

THE MODEL REPUBLIC³⁴

Berne, March 10. Just as Belgium is hailed by the constitutional bourgeoisie and ideologists as the "model state"^a so is Switzerland the ideal of the republican bourgeoisie and ideologists. Switzerland is not ruled by a king, there is no nobility, taxes are moderate, the country enjoys a state of profound peace;—the only things that people find to grumble about are matters that have been disposed of, such as Jesuits and separatist [Sonderbund³⁵] activities. Why, only recently a radical newspaper, the *Neue Deutsche*, was envying Switzerland its peace and contentment. It grieves us to have to destroy this idyllic view of the happiness and well-being of the Swiss people, and to have to point out ugly blemishes "in that most faithful mirror, which reflects freedom". Let us first of all review a few public meetings. On March 5 at Schönbühl in the canton of Berne a so-called communist meeting took place, which was very well attended by workers. The subjects under discussion were the poor-law administration and the emigration question. The descriptions given by the speakers of the conditions of the working people in Switzerland demonstrated the need for speedy and drastic remedies; however, the way in which this was discussed betrayed a great degree of helplessness and showed that, despite all the republican institutions, the proletariat still has very little understanding of its own position and the means of achieving its own salvation.

^a Cf. Marx, "The 'Model State' of Belgium" (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 333-36).—*Ed.*

The conservatives succeeded in exploiting the social movement for their own ends. The most vehement attacks were directed against the radical Government of Berne and in particular against those in charge of finance, and the defenders of the existing Government were only partially successful in justifying it. A *revision of the Constitution*³⁶ was decided upon as a remedy, but several speakers declared that they would follow a legal course only temporarily and tentatively. As a revision of the Constitution is the means by which the conservatives and in particular the patricians of Berne are seeking to oust the present Government, their plan to rouse the proletariat against the Government has for the time being been successful. This truly Jesuit tendency was even more evident at the meeting of the central committee of the Society for Emigration of the Berne canton, which was recently held at the Klösterli at Berne. Delegates from 25 superior bailiwicks, approximately 1,000 people, met to discuss every possible way of solving the emigration problem to the advantage of many thousands of unemployed and hungry citizens. As the Great Council,^a on hearing the report of the government official Schneider, had not pursued the matter with the necessary energy and dedication, here too a revision of the Constitution was proposed without taking into consideration the fact that any attempt to oust the present radical Government would simply make possible the return of the people supporting the old system.

For this purpose a petition is to be circulated in all bailiwicks, and as soon as the 8,000 signatures required under the Constitution have been obtained, the necessary steps will be taken for resolving this problem. As the emigration question is being argued out and discussed everywhere because of the daily increase in unemployment and the growing scarcity of food, particularly in the Bernese Alps, it is not unlikely that the required number of signatures will be obtained, and that means that the present government will then have a big obstacle placed in its way.

In St. Gallen too the working-class movement is making progress.

"Whilst," according to the *Wächter*, "the *Arbeiter* undertakes theoretical experiments in social communism, they have started to put it into practice in the Gasterland under the presidency of Hofstutter; they intend to reduce the rate of interest to 2 per cent etc."

In fact where the radicals are now in power, they ought to take care not to repulse the workers through their indifference. The

^a Supreme body of cantonal administration.—*Ed.*

Swiss proletariat is still largely what one describes as lumpen-proletariat, prepared to sell themselves to anyone who will make extravagant *promises*. The clergy and the aristocrats do not of course remind the starving people of the times when the peasant was forced to pay tithes to the parish and the lord of the manor; they only ask, what is the present government doing for you? And the most loyal supporters of the Government are unable to reply. If the proletariat in Switzerland were strong enough and sufficiently advanced to form an independent party then opposition to the present radicalism would certainly be justified; under the present circumstances, however, every stand that is taken against the radical politicians amounts to a concession towards the conservatives.

The radicals should be generally much more go-ahead and active. It is not enough to attack reactionary personalities and to make indiscreet jokes about religion; the party whose main concern is foreign policy [*Auslandspartei*] should oppose the neutralist politicians with the same energy that Herr Ochsenbein and company displayed towards the Jesuits and separatists. It is more dangerous to delay at this stage than it was before. The question of the re-enlistment treaties,³⁷ which is being resolved by nine-tenths of the Swiss people in opposition to the cowardly and doctrinaire interpretation of the Federal Council, provides the radicals with a weapon capable of quickly putting an end to the present wretched state of things. The report from the political department (Furrer), which was presented to the Swiss Federal Council^a and dealt with the subject of the re-enlistments, and which is being hailed by most newspapers, especially the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, as the *ne plus ultra*^b of political wisdom, allows us an insight into the small shopkeeper mentality that pervades the Federal Council, which lets a few pennies and the principles of civil law guide it in its foreign policy making:

“Where,” asks Furrer, “are we to get the money to pay compensation? It is absolutely impossible for us to pay anything like a substantial portion of this sum from the Federal Treasury.— — — This sum would therefore have to be provided by the cantons. However, if one considers the circumstances calmly and dispassionately and refuses to allow oneself to be carried away by blind enthusiasm, then one will see that getting this money together is also an impossibility, especially as far as the future is concerned, even if one grants that the present can exert such an inspiring influence.”

And elsewhere:

“A large nation which cannot even muster a few regiments will hardly be capable of maintaining independence and political freedom for any length of time.”

^a On February 20, 1849.— *Ed.*

^b The uttermost point attainable, the summit of achievement, acme.— *Ed.*

The Italian republics will no doubt one day express their thanks in the appropriate manner to the neighbouring Swiss republic for this official declaration on the part of its highest-ranking functionary. The *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, the semi-official organ of the Federal President, had declared that the decision that the ending of the existing re-enlistment treaties is a matter coming under the jurisdiction of the cantons, was taken unanimously by the Federal Council. That is incorrect. The Italian Franscini was not present and the man of "permanent revolution", Druey, had intended to make proposals to the Federal Assembly according to which "the re-enlistment treaties should be abolished when the position in Italy and Switzerland demanded it". He moved, moreover, that enlistment in the Neapolitan regiments be stopped until the matter had been resolved, and that is the main point.

Herr Ochsenbein, the Napoleon of the separatist wars, seeks to introduce not only the Prussian Lohbauer³⁸ but also the Prussian uniform. However, this laudable intention is being frustrated thanks to the question of cost.

The offer made by some Frenchmen to set up a casino in Switzerland caused great moral indignation among the virtuous republicans. The casino tenants in Germany must have been frightened by the decision of the venerable National Assembly in Frankfurt, otherwise they would not place the gentlemen governing the separatist cantons in the difficult position of having to choose between great financial advantage and traditional morality. The Great Council at Lucerne has also turned down by 79 votes to 67 a proposal to that effect made by a Herr Bias; the section of the people's association there has also sent a petition to the Federal authorities expressing the same sentiments; consequently the entrepreneurs addressed their requests to Schwyz (Stand) and St. Gallen (Rapperswyl), without seeing their wishes fulfilled however. Those gentlemen will now no doubt have to put up with the energy of the tenant of the casino at Homburg, who stated that his casino would endure longer than all Frankfurt parliaments.

The Great Council,^a which resumed sitting a few days ago, and which still allows itself to be presided over by Herr von Tillier, despite the fact that he is suspected of high treason, is discussing, article by article, the employment regulations, from which we can find nothing to remark on here except the stipulation that political refugees may follow any occupation without further proof of

^a Of the canton of Berne.—*Ed.*

reciprocity. Moreover, the Department of the Interior has proposed that a sum of 8,000 frs. be earmarked for science, the arts etc.

Written by Engels on March 10, 1849

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VIENNA AND FRANKFURT

Cologne, March 12. It was on the 15th of this month that the Imperial Diet in Kremsier intended to begin its consideration of the draft Constitution completed by the commission. The royal imperial brutes of summary jurisdiction then considered that the moment had come to thrust on the Imperial Diet the Constitution "by the grace of God", which had been lying ready for a long time, and to put an end to the whole Kremsier comedy of popular representation that had until then been tolerated.³⁹

The whole imposition manoeuvre had already been worked out in the summer of last year between the anointed and unanointed counter-revolutionaries in Schönbrunn-Vienna, Potsdam-Berlin, London (where Metternich, as the master-spider of the Holy Alliance, sits at the centre of the web slowly spun around the peoples rising in revolt for their freedom), and Paris. That it was first of all put into operation by the Potsdam King^a was due solely to the situation in Prussia which allowed such a step to be taken earlier than in Austria.⁴⁰

In November, official Austria hurled the blood-stained head of Robert Blum at the feet of the deputies in St. Paul's Church.^b A few days before this, the fine twin-pair of Imperial Commissioners, Welcker-Mosle, had returned from Windischgrätz's antechamber and from gourmandising in Olmütz covered with such disgrace that anyone else but the worthy Welcker-Mosle would have put a bullet through his brain rather than have dared to look anyone on earth in

^a Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

^b The reference is to the Frankfurt National Assembly (see p. 36).—*Ed.*

the face. Instead of that, this diplomatic twin-pair even bragged about their roundabout travels.⁴¹

The majority of the National Assembly was "*satisfait*" just as the French Chamber under Louis Philippe declared itself "*satisfait*" even when faced with the vilest actions and the most striking proofs of corruption.

The blood of the murdered Robert Blum has indeed stained the faces of the deputies in St. Paul's Church. Their cheeks certainly reddened, not however because of shame or fury and an outburst of deepest indignation, but with the colour of pleasure and satisfaction. It is true, fresh Imperial Commissioners were sent to Austria. But the only result they achieved was to redouble the contempt with which the Austrian side had already treated the so-called National Assembly representatives and the Germany they had betrayed.

"*Mocht nix, 's is olles Aans!*"^a—this was and is the motto of these gentlemen.

It will be recalled that shortly before the arbitrary acts of the Prussian Government Bassermann, Simson and, of course, the "noble" Herr Gagern etc. were in Berlin as Imperial Commissioners.⁴²

And once again there are Imperial Commissioners in Austria, in Olmütz, while there, just as in Berlin, the Imperial Diet is being dispersed and a Constitution "by the grace of God" imposed on the people by means of Croats, Serezhans, Huzuls⁴³ etc.

Wherever freedom of the people is to be destroyed, Commissioners of the so-called Central Authority make their appearance like expectant vultures. Their sense of smell has always proved correct.

Now at last the Frankfurt frog-pond should realise that its turn will soon come. It itself will be punished for all its sins. On the monument to be erected at the site of its wretched activity the wayfarer will read: "Perished through its own fault, through cowardice, professorial stupidity and chronic meanness, amid in part the revengeful derision, and in part the complete indifference of the people."

Yet even now some of these miserable wretches dare to boast of the "fundamental rights" emanating from the Frankfurt factory⁴⁴ and are proud of them as though they were a great achievement. With the garrulity of washerwomen, they chattered about "fundamental rights" like scholastics in the Middle Ages, while the "*fundamental power*" of the Holy Alliance and its accomplices became ever more strongly organised and scoffed louder and louder at the chatter of the professors and philistines about fundamental rights. The former

^a It does not matter, it is all one (Vienna dialect).—*Ed.*

affixed their “fundamental *rights*” to a scrap of paper, whereas the latter, the men of the counter-revolution, inscribed their “fundamental *power*” on keenly sharpened swords, guns and Slav red-coats.⁴⁵

As soon as the German people in any part of the Germanic fatherlands made use or seemed to want to make use of their original fundamental right, that of revolt against feudal or philistine-constitutional tyranny, Frankfurt with the utmost haste sent “imperial troops” in order to punish the people and make them submissive by billeting troops, by plunder, massacres and military excesses of all kinds, and in order to maintain the tools of the counter-revolution in good condition, that is to say, to fatten them well at the expense of the people and its “fundamental rights” and to fortify them for further heroic deeds.

In such cases the Frankfurt gentlemen always had the necessary power, since they borrowed it from the ranks of the above-mentioned “fundamental power” of our gracious sovereigns.

Consequently, it is not surprising that the Frankfurt frog-pond has to maintain an impotent silence and look on helplessly whenever the anointed gentlemen proclaim *their* “fundamental rights”, even if the fundamental rights of the gentlemen “by the grace of God” are aimed directly against it.

Hence also it will and must calmly witness that the Austrian Tamerlane^a has now dictated 13 fundamental rights to his beloved “subjects” among whom is a considerable number of Germans by the grace of God and Sophia, and simultaneously with this coup he has once again dealt a rough slap in the face to the Frankfurt heroes. And that according to law and justice!

Written on March 12, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

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^a Emperor Francis Joseph I.—*Ed.*

[THREE NEW BILLS]

Cologne, March 12. The Prussian monarchical power considers the time has come at last to unfold its full glory. The “unweakened” Crown, by the grace of God,⁴⁶ has today imposed on us three new Bills—on *associations* and *meetings*, on *posters*, and on the *press*—in which the Chambers are invited to burden us with a compact phalanx of the most delightful September-type laws.⁴⁷

Tomorrow we shall publish the texts of these Bills with their preambles insofar as they have reached us. We shall return—more than once—to these magnificent Prussian products.^a Today we give only a brief summary of them!

I. *The law on associations.*

“All meetings must be notified 24 hours in advance.”

Thus, hastily convened meetings in response to suddenly occurring important events are banned, and it is just such meetings that are most important of all. Everyone must be allowed access, consequently it is forbidden to charge an entrance fee to cover the costs of the meeting. At meetings of associations a quarter of the space must be left for non-members of the association, so that the associations will be compelled to obtain larger and more expensive premises and so that paid agents of the police will be able to disrupt all discussion by noise, uproar and rowdy behaviour, and make every meeting impossible. And if all this should not yield the desired result, it is left open to “representatives of the police department” on any pretext to “immediately dissolve” any meeting in the same way as the

^a See this volume, pp. 65-69, 125-32, 320-29.—*Ed.*

supreme head of the "police department", His Majesty our most gracious king, "immediately dissolved" the Agreement Assembly.⁴⁸ As soon as the police declare a meeting dissolved, all those present must leave at once unless they wish to share the fate of the Berlin paladins of agreement, i.e. if they do not want to be driven from the hall by bayonets.

True, the associations do not have to obtain any "preliminary permission", but instead they have to comply with such a mass of preliminary announcements and formalities for the local authorities that for that reason alone their activity becomes almost impossible. Public out-door meetings, processions etc., etc., on the other hand, definitely *require* preliminary police permission. Finally, in order to put an end to the wearing of red ribbons, rosettes and caps, the law further revives the old regulations for persecuting persons wearing black-red-and-gold^a badges.

Such is the "right of association and assembly" that a year ago the truth-loving Hohenzollern, who keeps his word, guaranteed us with trembling lips!

II. *The law on posters.* All posters of a political nature, except for invitations to attend legal, *permitted* meetings (thus once again all meetings are only most graciously "*permitted*") are *forbidden*. Consequently, in troubled times the executive committees of the associations are not even allowed by posters to request the people to *keep calm*, in order that not a single victim will escape the heroic soldiery! Further: the *sale* or *free distribution* of printed matter in public places is also forbidden, unless one has a special *licence, which can be withdrawn at any moment!* In other words: the Prussian monarchical power wishes to present us with an *improved edition* of the law on *crieurs publics*, which in the worst times of Louis Philippe's bourgeois despotism was wrung from the terrified Chamber of Deputies in France.⁴⁹

And what is the motive given for this law? It is that posters and newspaper-sellers obstruct street traffic, and that posters spoil the appearance of many public buildings!

III. *The law on the press.* But all that is nothing compared with the charming proposals by which it is intended to gag the press. It is known that in general since 1830 the benefaction of the Hohenzollern to the people consisted merely in ennobling the Prussian fatherly patriarchalism by combining it with the modern artful enslavement after the manner of Louis Philippe. Flogging has been retained and penal servitude added to it; censorship has continued

^a The colours of the movement for the unification of Germany.—*Ed.*

and at the same time the full flower of the September legislation has been bestowed on us. In a word, we have simultaneously been given the benefit of all the advantages of feudal servitude, bureaucratic police administration and modern bourgeois *legal* brutality. And this is what is called “the world-famous liberalism of Frederick William IV”.

The new Hohenzollern press Bill, after a long series of complicated formal definitions, favours us with a matchless fusion of: 1. the Code Napoléon, 2. the French September laws, 3. and chiefly the laudable *Prussian Law*.⁵⁰

Para. 9 is borrowed from the Code [Napoléon]: In those provinces where the Prussian Law is in force an attempt, an incitement to commit a crime, even if successful, was hitherto less severely punished than the crime itself. In these areas a provision of the Code [Napoléon] is now introduced by which incitement to commit a crime, when successful, is regarded as equivalent to the crime itself.

Para. 10. The French September legislation states: Anyone who attacks *property* and the *family*, the foundations on which civil society is based, or incites citizens to *hatred or contempt for one another*, is liable to be punished by imprisonment for up to two years.

Compare the loi du 9 Sept. 1835, Article 8:

“Toute attaque contre la propriété ... toute provocation à la haine entre les diverses classes de la société sera punie” etc.^a

The only difference is that the Prussian version: to incite *citizens* in general to hatred etc. for one another is much more ludicrous.

All the subsequent paragraphs of the Bill have been drawn up solely in order once more to confer on the Rhine Province the same magnificent features of the Prussian Law which we had enjoyed to the full for 33 years and of which we were deprived shortly after March 18.⁵¹ Among other things, the following new crimes, totally unknown to our own Rhenish legislation, are to be thrust on us.

1. The arousing of *hatred and contempt towards institutions of the state or its government* by means of actual falsehoods or of facts that cannot be legally proven.

2. “Utterances” about a *legally existing* religious society (under the imposed Constitution⁵² even Turks and pagans are legally existing religious societies!), which are calculated (!) to spread hatred and contempt for it.

^a “Any attack on property ... any attempt to foment hatred between the various classes of society will be punished” etc. (*Collection complète des lois, décrets ...* par J. B. Duvergier; à Paris 1836; tome trente-cinquième, année 1835).— *Ed.*

These two new crimes introduce among us a) the old-Prussian "*arousing of discontent*" and b) the old-Prussian concept of *insulting religion*, and are punished by *imprisonment* for up to two years.

3. *Lèse-majesté* and, in particular, *want of reverence (!)* for

a) the king (!)

b) the queen (!!)

c) the heir to the throne (!!!)

d) any other member of the royal house (!!!!)

e) the supreme head of a German state (!!!!!),

is punished by imprisonment of from one month to *five years!*

4. The edifying provision that the assertion even of facts that can be proved to be true is to be punished as insult if it demonstrates the *intention to insult!*

5. Insult

1) *to either of the Chambers,*

2) to one of their members,

3) to a *state authority* (the Code does not recognise any insult to corporations as such),

4) to an official or member of the armed forces. All this is "*in connection with their official function*" and is punished by imprisonment of up to 9 months.

6. *Insult or calumny in private life.* The Code Napoléon recognises only *publicly uttered* or disseminated insults or calumnies. The new Bill, on the other hand, intends *to subject to the control of the police and Public Prosecutor's office and/or make punishable all utterances made in private conversation, in the home, in the bosom of the family, in private letters, i.e. it intends to organise the vilest, most universal espionage.* The military despotism of the all-powerful French empire respected at least the freedom of private conversation; it remained — at any rate in its legislation — outside the threshold of the private dwelling. Prussian paternal constitutional supervision and punishment reaches into the inmost sanctum of the private dwelling, into the most secret refuge of family life, which even the barbarians regarded as inviolable. Yet the same law, three Articles earlier, punishes all attacks against the family by two years' imprisonment!

Such are the new "achievements" which it is intended to bestow on us. Three of the cruellest laws mutually supplementing one another in order to attain the acme of cruelty and perfidy which is quite unprecedented — such is the price for lifting the state of siege in Berlin over which the "unweakened" Crown wants to strike a bargain with the Chambers!

The intention is obvious. The press Bill, at least, does not impose anything very new on the old provinces. The Prussian Law

was already bad enough. The main anger of the embodiment of the divine grace is turned against *us Rhinelanders*. *They want to reimpose on us the very same infamous Prussian Law* which we have hardly got rid of, the removal of which, while we are still chained to Prussia, has at last enabled us to breathe somewhat more freely.

The wishes of the King by the grace of God are clearly stated through the mouthpiece of his servant Manteuffel in the preamble to this charming document: the King desires "*the establishment of a legal system that is as uniform as possible*" — i. e. he desires the elimination of the hated French law and the universal introduction of the disgraceful Prussian Law. Further the King desires "to fill the gap" which was caused "in the greater part of the *Rhine Province*" (just listen!) by the abolition of "the penal law on *lèse-majesté* in consequence of the decree of *April 15, 1848*"!

This means that the new penal law is intended to deprive us Rhinelanders of the only thing left to us of the results of the so-called revolution of 1848: *The undiminished validity of our own system of law.*

It is intended that we shall become *Prussians* at all costs, Prussians after the heart's desire of his All-gracious Majesty, with the Prussian Law, arrogant nobility, tyranny of officialdom, rule by the sabre, flogging, censorship and obedience to orders. These legislative proposals are only the very beginning. We have before us the plan of the counter-revolution, and our readers will be amazed at the plans that are being envisaged. We do not doubt that the gentlemen in Berlin will once again be strangely disappointed in the inhabitants of the Rhine Province.

We shall return again and again to these disgraceful Bills, on account of which alone *the Ministers* must be put *into the dock*. But there is something we must already say today: if the Chamber adopts anything looking even remotely similar to these Bills, *then it is the duty of the Rhenish deputies immediately to resign from the Chamber, which by such decisions seeks to throw their electors back into the patriarchal barbarism of the old-Prussian legislation.*

Written by Marx on March 12, 1849

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GOVERNMENT PROVOCATIONS

Cologne, March 12. The high anointed and unanointed lords want to revenge themselves for their sufferings in March 1848 by redoubled joy in March 1849. To this end they have moved heaven and earth so that on the various anniversary dates of the March events in the German fatherlands disturbances will take place in as many parts of Germany as possible thus offering the counter-revolutionaries new opportunities for acts of violence. For weeks past, therefore, the constitutional and aristocratic newspapers have daily concocted stories about enormous preparations for March insurrections, about repeated incursions of republican volunteer bands across the French and Swiss frontiers—in Switzerland there are about 15 1/2 German republicans; and on each occasion alarm has been aroused in the breasts of worthy philistines by hot air from “reliable sources”, “indubitable indications”, and “authentic reports”. But the jokers endowed with divine grace sit calmly behind the scenes, rejoicing at the effects of their reports *à la Santa Claus* which are being systematically spread by the whole of the servile press, and they smile in a superior manner when the stupid philistines take these calculated cries of alarm *au sérieux*.

In this respect, Baden, i.e. Bakk, had to open the ball. Thereupon the hireling journalists began at once to repeat faithfully this whole litany about incursions, putsches and other foolishness. Then Württemberg and Bavaria had to hasten to perform similar services. Huckstering, venal Frankfurt, which has sold itself, this arrogant and worthless imperial city could not and did not want its “daily press” to lag behind. Hessians also, both the blind and the sighted,^a as well as

^a “Blinder Hesse” (blind Hessian) denotes a weak-sighted or weak-minded person.—*Ed.*

the Stüve-dominated Hanoverians, and the Brunswick makers of long sausages, and all the other hosts of passion martyrs among the imperial peoples of Germany—they all had to play the same tune. This was performed best of all by most worthy Wrangel-Manteuffel. Four hundred false passports for German refugees in Besançon were prepared, and in addition orders on how to behave and emissaries were dispatched to all corners of the black-and-white territory^a in order to raise the loudest possible hullabaloo in the press and by oral propaganda about the approaching republican March insurrectionists.

However, many of those Christian-Germanic organs of the press, taking no notice of the very wily directives, made much too loud a noise at the very beginning. They then attempted to correct this mistake by a still stronger beating of drums and still more shameless lies.

Of course, Herr *Hansemann*, too, immediately and most willingly gave his support to this vociferous company in his new newspaper.^b While apparently belonging to the opposition in the First Chamber, he makes up for this delusive appearance by printing in his newspaper, as a loyal shield-bearer of Manteuffel-Brandenburg, the most absurd information and correspondents' reports about the threatening March insurrections. We shall give only *one* example. He prints the following fabrication from Cologne as the very latest news:

"For some days we have been living—so to speak—in a state of complete anarchy. One has only to go into the streets to find that even *in broad daylight* there are *crowds of workers* strolling about, partly begging, partly robbing; the ale-houses and tobacco shops in particular are subject to numerous attacks. Matters have gone so far that for several days our town hall had to be guarded by a large force of soldiers. At night *no one can feel safe in the streets*. The worst feature in all this is that the mood of the workers is being artificially stimulated so as to bring about a full-scale insurrection on March 18."

Here in Cologne it suffices to reprint this article to expose all its perfidiousness and absurdity.

What could be seen here in broad daylight, and to an increased extent at night, were incessant bloody *fightes between troops of different branches of the armed forces*. The intention, it seems, is to drown interpellations about "My glorious army"⁵³ by calumnies *against the workers*.

The governments are openly preparing for coups d'état which are

^a Prussia.—*Ed.*

^b *Constitutionelle Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

intended to complete the counter-revolution. Consequently, the people would be fully justified in preparing for an insurrection. But it knows perfectly well that the complicated situation in France, and especially in Hungary and Italy, will inevitably in the near future provide an opportunity for a rising. It will not therefore allow itself to be decoyed into a clumsily laid trap.

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AN AUSTRIAN REPORT
PUBLISHED IN THE AUGSBURG *ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG*

There are no direct reports. The post from Vienna, which was due yesterday, failed to arrive even in Breslau and Berlin, and the post expected for today is missing once again together with all postal deliveries from Berlin. We are therefore printing today several extracts from an article published in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* which is well suited to cast a good deal of light on the black-and-yellow^a bragging in which certain German newspapers indulge^b:

“After the slight resistance which the imperial troops encountered as they proceeded through Hungary as far as Pest, the news of the two-day battle at Kapolna, which ended *without a decisive result* after fierce fighting, came as a considerable surprise. This was the first important battle with the insurgents, who for the first time brought their regular troops into action, men whose *acknowledged bravery*, under the leadership of a skilful commander like Perczel, was further increased by the *fanaticism of the hussars*. The battle proved that with more training and discipline the Magyars are *fighting with a courage and contempt for death* which has characterised this nationality for centuries. Yet, apart from demonstrating this, the battle *did not alter matters in any other way*, for, according to reports of March 2, the insurgents moved from Maklar to Mezö-Kövesd on February 28 and went back on the road from there to Poroszlo and Tisza-Füred, *in orderly line* but with the intention of crossing the Theiss; their rearguard fought with imperial troops at Kövesd and then later at two other places, in order to cover their retreat. Prince Windischgrätz brought his headquarters forward as far as Mezö-Kövesd and dispatched General Zeisberg to Tisza-Füred via Besenyö in order, if possible, to cut off the insurgents’ retreat across the bridge there; should this manoeuvre prove successful then their leader, General Dembiński, would have to engage his troops in a second general battle in order to force the crossing of the

^a The Austrian imperial colours.— *Ed.*

^b There follows a quotation from “Wien, 5. März”, published in Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 68, March 9, 1849.— *Ed.*

Theiss; otherwise they could cross the river without any trouble, join forces with the corps of insurgents which was constantly engaged in skirmishes with the imperial Ottinger brigade at Szolnok, and once more offer resistance to the Field Marshal. Anyone who puts together in his mind the present bitter clashes with the hints in the November edition of the Kossuth newspaper, and has read Kossuth's warnings that a retreat on the part of the Hungarian army into the interior of the country, were it to occur, should not be regarded as flight but rather as a strategic plan, anyone who has read his proclamation to the peasants telling them to arm themselves in the rear of the imperial troops, to cut off all supplies and to ambush individual units, and anyone who has read his instructions on conducting guerilla warfare etc., will understand the reasons for the speedy retreat to Pest and for the striking circumstance that Prince Windischgrätz was faced with a force of only 24,000 insurgents under Görgey. The insurgents had abatises and entrenchments built at Pressburg, Wieselburg and Raab, anticipating that these defensive measures would induce the imperial army to procure a fairly large artillery park and the necessary horses for it, and that they themselves would gain time to bring up their recruits from the Slav comitats in the area of the Theiss, to obtain the rifles ordered from Belgium and to train their army. The insurgents retreated as far as Pest almost without striking a blow because they intended to raise a *Landsturm* in the rear of the imperial troops and to weaken their strength by means of the garrisons left behind at Pressburg, Oedenburg and Raab and of the besieging troops at Komorn."

The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* then proceeds to a naturally one-sided, Austrian review of the war, and then goes on:

"In the meantime 8 brigades of imperial troops had joined forces at Rimaszombat and advanced on the insurgents—50,000 men with 120 cannon—who had joined forces at Mezö-Kövesd and Kapolna. Prince Windischgrätz brought several cavalry regiments from Pest to Gyöngyös and took charge of approximately 40,000 imperial troops and, as we are told, 140 cannon for the attack on the insurgents, who had taken up an advantageous position. The hussars fought stubbornly and recklessly, and it was they who for some time held the victory of the imperial army in the balance; the regular infantry, which consisted of barely 8,000 men, fought with courage and tenacity; the men of the army reserve held good for longer than usual but were soon however abandoned by their inexperienced and cowardly officers; the Italian Zanini battalion, which had deserted, was captured by the imperial troops at Kapolna; and the result was that the regular insurgents who continued fighting were no longer a match for the on-rushing columns of imperial troops and had thereupon only to cover the retreat of the whole insurgent force, thus preventing a rout. Just how much such troops can achieve when led by skilful and courageous officers is shown by the Hungarian infantry in Italy which incontestably belongs to the most courageous section of the Austrian army; it is a great pity that in their delusion they are fighting here for an insurrection which causes more harm in Hungary the longer it lasts. Baron Jellachich has gone to Temesvar to assume supreme command over the imperial and Serbian troops; his authority and energy will succeed in restraining the Serbs, who wish to regard the districts occupied with the assistance of the imperial army as their own property, and will succeed in containing their arbitrary behaviour. The Serbs under Kničanin are positioned outside Szegedin, two successive attacks have been repulsed by the Magyars who are weaker in number. In Transylvania Bem appears to have recovered and to be advancing on Hermannstadt, Lieutenant-Field Marshal Gläser, however, is said to be approaching him, in which case his corps could not escape being taken prisoner"(!).

As to other news items, the following is worth mentioning:

“*Pesth*, March 3. The Solt district has received an order from Debreczin stating that all men between 18 and 30 years of age are to take up arms and march against the Raizen.⁵⁴

“Several Honved⁵⁵ officers, who had promised never again to fight against the imperial troops and were released from the fortress of Esseg, are said to be engaged in organising a popular uprising” (*Lloyd*).^a

Written by Engels on March 13, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

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Published in English for the first time

^a “*Pesth*, 3. März”, *Der Lloyd* No. 110 (morning edition), March 6, 1849.—*Ed.*

[FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

Once more the post from Berlin, which has just arrived and which was due yesterday evening, does not contain any letters or papers from Vienna. Nor were they received in Breslau. March 8 is the last date for which we have direct news from Vienna, and that contains *nothing more than rumours* from the Hungarian theatre of war. According to an issue of the *Lithographierte Correspondenz*, Windischgrätz has crossed the Theiss with his troops at Tisza-Füred. According to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* he was totally beaten straight after that in a great battle.

All the reports from Transylvania agree on the point that Bem and the Szeklers⁵⁶ control the whole country, with the exception of Kronstadt and Hermannstadt. Schässburg is still occupied by the Szeklers. Bem is said to have been summoned to the main army at Debreczin and another audacious Pole, Budinski, to have assumed his command in Transylvania. Just what is true in all these rumours one cannot say. However, the total silence on the part of all the official newspapers does not bode well for the fortunes of the royal imperial forces.

Reports have been confirmed that Perczel has neither been captured nor gone to Switzerland, but that *he is stirring up the population of the Tolna comitat in the rear of the imperial troops*. He had just time enough in Pest to pay a few polite visits and escaped to Tolna just as the military authorities began to search for him.

Whilst the people is thus rising in the Austrians' rear in the *South-West* the same is occurring in the *North-West*. Reports from various sides indicate that here, where Görgey was able for so long to hold up three whole army corps, once again a corps of 10,000-12,000 men is operating against the Slovak mountain towns and has

completely destroyed the Czech, Moravian and Slovak volunteer corps under Štúr and Hurban. The leader of the Magyar-Slovak corps (for most of the Slovaks sympathise with the Magyars, and in these regions, which are inhabited almost entirely by Slovaks and Germans, it is quite impossible to raise an army corps without Slovaks) is said to be a certain *Clouth*. Individual refugees arriving at Miava on the Moravian border have passed this information on to the Slovanská-Lípa⁵⁷ at Prague.

The following item, taken from the *Siebenbürger Bote*, is likewise entertaining. It is a sample of the "ridiculous exaggerations" of the imperial forces in Transylvania, and it is now going the rounds in all the German papers. Whilst the imperial troops were retreating with all haste to Pest and Losoncz, the *Siebenbürger Bote*, whose military reports are acknowledged as having "an official character", had them achieve the following glorious victories:

"*Hermannstadt*, February 22. On the evening of the day before yesterday we received the news that from February 10 to 12 the combined troops of Lieutenant-Field Marshal Schlick and Schulzig had fought a murderous battle against the Hungarian rebels and *taken Grosswardein*. It was reported that *the whole battle-line from Debreczin to Grosswardein was strewn with the innumerable corpses of those who had fallen in battle, which were piled up in heaps*. The same news arrived here the day after from three other places"(!!!).^a

Written by Engels about March 14, 1849

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^a "Hermannstadt, 22. Februar", *Der Siebenbürger Bote* No. 24, February 23, 1849.—*Ed.*

[AUSTRIAN DEFEATS]

The latest newspapers and letters have just arrived from Vienna and Bohemia. The official silence continues. On the other hand it is evident from unofficial reports:

1) that the imperial troops have been *beaten* at Szolnok. Instead of crossing the Theiss at Poroszlo, a section of the main Hungarian army set off down the Theiss, and, having joined forces with other Magyar mobile columns, attacked the royal imperial troops stationed outside Szolnok from the rear. At the same time the Magyars who were positioned on the right bank of the Theiss pressed forward over the river. The imperial troops were completely beaten, the railway from Szolnok to Abony was destroyed and the whole area occupied by the Magyars. Szolnok has therefore been snatched from the imperial troops *for a second time*;

2) that things do not look very bright for the imperial troops both at their centre and on their left flank: on March 5 *a huge number of cannon, Congreve batteries and waggon teams* from Kapolna arrived in Pest and were transported to the fortress of Ofen. And the great commander Windischgrätz—he is said to be *slightly wounded*—has moved his headquarters back to Ofen. He has transferred command to Lieutenant-Field Marshal Schlick, ordering him to advance across the Theiss without any further delay, to storm Debreczin and put an end to the affair!

In brief: The imperial forces have been beaten at Szolnok once more and dislodged from the town; Windischgrätz has gone back to Ofen and his artillery and waggon train have followed him; thus the imperial forces must also have been beaten there.

One defeat of the Austrians is certain, a second one probable—*Finis Hungariae!*

Written by Engels about March 14, 1849

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THE HOHENZOLLERN GENERAL PLAN OF REFORM

Cologne, March 14. "The *exceptional* states of siege will be lifted as soon as the *general* state of siege has been imposed on the entire kingdom by laws and has become part of our constitutional customs. The series of these 'firm' laws will begin with *September legislation on associations and the press*."

These are the words we used to accompany the publication of the speech from the throne (No. 234 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*^a). And what is the content of the first parliamentary act of the Government? It comes before the Chambers and declares:

"We shall deliver you from the state of siege. In exchange you will impose permanent martial law on meetings, associations and the press."

We cannot for a moment conceal the fact that from the outset the parliamentary Left by its timid behaviour has made it easier for the Government to go over to the offensive.

We shall compare *en détail* the splendid three Bills with the September laws, with the pre-March Bill on criminal legislation, and with the Prussian Law.⁵⁸ But first of all we inform our readers of the *general plan of the old-Prussian reformers*, to which our special supplement^b the day before yesterday already drew attention.

On the very same day on which the unofficial Berlin newspapers published the three splendid Bills, the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, that *Moniteur* of Brandenburg providence, published an "*Opinion on the Essential Tasks of the Present Assembly of the So-called Representation of*

^a See article "Speech from the Throne" (present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 445-50).— *Ed.*

^b See this volume, pp. 50-54.— *Ed.*

the People.”^a The Hohenzollern dynasty and its Brandenburg Government are of too “noble” a lineage to be hypocritical at moments when the sun of “power” shines on the unweakened Crown.⁵⁹ At such moments the royal heart knows no restraint and humiliates the plebeian masses by a rough, unceremonious expression of its most intimate desires and thoughts. It has pleased fate—the fact cannot be concealed—, heartless fate, more than once by a peculiar turn of events to bring to naught prophecies, threats and desires which “our good King”, Frederick William IV (the ingenious *Frederick William IV*, who in putting on the crown used precisely the same words as Napoleon had when assuming the iron crown of Lombardy)⁶⁰ uttered at moments of triumphant power, moments of “divine intoxication”, as *Goethe* says.^b But it is well known that iron destiny rules even over the gods. In any case, for a royal heart, just as for a woman’s heart, and for every heart, it remains an intoxicating supreme delight to give full vent without hindrance to one’s most intimate thoughts, and to attune the world if only by a speech, by a document, to the desires of one’s own heart.

Hence the outpouring of the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, which is more or less that of the royal heart, is in itself of great psychological interest; on the other hand, it lets the people know what is expected of them, what if necessary will be *obtained by force* from them—of course, in their own well-understood interest.

The *Neue Preussische Zeitung* (No. 59, supplement), in order to facilitate a survey of the *Hohenzollern general plan of reform*, has arranged it *under headings*, which in any case is a commendable condescension towards the public. Was it not at liberty to report the royal decisions in apocalyptic form in the manner of the Revelations of St. John? Let us keep to the headings!

The “essential tasks of the present assembly of the so-called representation of the people” are sub-divided as follows:

1) *Purging the Chamber from political criminals. A Jove principium.*^c The first law for a Chamber which should act in accordance with the wishes of the royal heart, is to transform itself in accordance with the wishes of the royal heart. For the time being, its composition is still a product of disrespectful universal suffrage, even if it is indirect suffrage.

And what does the royal heart demand?

^a “Votum über die wesentlichen Aufgaben der jetzt versammelten sogenannten Volksvertretung”, *Neue Preussische Zeitung* No. 59 (supplement), March 11, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b J. W. Goethe, “Westöstlicher Diwan”.—*Ed.*

^c A divine principle—from Virgil’s *Bucolica*.—*Ed.*

The present representation of the people, the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* divulges, is disfigured by "a blemish" which makes it unworthy and incapable of "being in its entirety an embodiment of Prussian honour, Prussian loyalty and love of the Fatherland". This is a nuisance of which it must rid itself, in order to be "righteous" in the eyes of His Majesty.

"This blemish, this nuisance, consists in the fact that its membership includes persons who took part in the criminal actions of the parliamentary faction headed by Unruh, particularly in the *factional decision on refusal to pay taxes*."

"The Government," it goes on to say, "owing to its own regrettable *weakness* or from *distrust* of the *judiciary*, which indeed is *to a large extent infected with revolutionary sentiments*, did not put those men *on trial*. To make up for this *omission*, this *mistake*, is the task of the *Chambers*; to press for this is particularly the *duty of all judges and lawyers* who are members of the Chambers, if only *to preserve the vanishing honour of their profession*. A motion therefore *must* be put to the *Government*—and it should be one of the *first* actions after the Chamber has been constituted—that the Minister of Justice should now institute a court investigation and punishment of these criminals. *Such an expurgation is the first and most urgent requirement for the successful progress of the deliberations*."

It is the dearest wish of the King to see punishment meted out to the tax-refusing evil-doers and desecrators unto the third generation.^a The royal Government was too *weak* to fulfil this wish. The royal-Prussian people was so *shameless*, so obstinate that it once more elected evil-doers and sinners as its representatives in open revolt against the Emperor's heart. It is now up to the *Chambers* to *compel* the royal Government to carry out the most personal intentions of His Majesty. On bended knees, they must beg the Ministry to allow them to expel from their midst all infected elements who are in a higher sense *not presentable at court*. And, above all, the theologians and Pharisees, the "judges and lawyers", have to save their "profession", whose "honour" began to vanish from the moment Manteuffel began to harbour the suspicion, of course without foundation, that the Prussian Themis might remain blind to the clear hints of the Crown. But how can a judiciary save its honour in the eyes of the people, for which every fancy of the embodiment of divine grace would not be a law, which would not obey implicitly the orders of the King himself?

It is well known that in all religions penitence, sacrifice, and if possible self-sacrifice, are the real essence of divine worship, of the cult. The so-called representation of the people, in order to prove that it is a representation of the royal heart—and the royal heart is the vital, individualised incarnation of the real heart of the

^a Exodus 20:5.—*Ed.*

people—the “so-called” representation of the people must therefore above all sacrifice *itself, that is itself as an emanation of the sovereignty of the people*, on the steps of the throne.

It must cast out all members who are obnoxious to His Majesty and deliver them to prison and the executioner as an expiatory offering of the religion of absolute monarchy. In that way it will atone, firstly, for the crime of its *original sin*, the sin of having been brought into existence by popular sovereignty. At the same time it will expiate a crime-laden past which is defamatory of royalty and therefore blasphemous. It will purify itself to become a true expression of the fullness of royal power. From a “so-called” popular representation it will become a *real* popular representation—in the higher, royal Prussian sense. The King is the *real* Prussian people. The real Prussian people—which must in no way be confused, after the bad foreign custom, with the superficial *number* of inhabitants of the state—therefore elects representatives solely in order that the royal wishes shall be re-echoed to the King as the people’s wishes and in this way the most secret demands of his sovereign heart achieve a reality both prosaic and generally accepted in the form of public legislative proposals and decisions of the Chamber.

Consequently, we expect from the Berlin Chambers that they will commence their cult of the King by *self-sacrifice*, by casting out the sinners *who refuse payment of taxes*.

The *Neue Preussische Zeitung* does not conceal that even then the Chamber will still not be righteous in the eyes of His Majesty. The other part of the sacrifice, however, cannot be performed by the Chamber as a corporation. It remains dependent on the active consciousness of sin and the self-crucifixion of the individual members concerned.

“It is true that such a purge,” says the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* with a sigh, “would not expel all *those* members whom, because of their antecedents in politics and statesmanship, it would be desirable to see removed for so long as they fail to *realise* and *repent* their *share* in the misfortune of the Fatherland and to *take a vow publicly pledging* themselves to check to the best of their ability the crimes^a for which in part they were personally to blame. Nevertheless, it stands to reason that there can be no question of expelling from the Chambers on *legal* grounds all those persons who have served the revolution, who in particular between *March 18 and November 8* as highly placed officials have been *used up in this service*” (genuine Prussian grammar). “It would however be desirable that their *own consciousness* should cause them to absent themselves, unless they turn over a *new leaf* in the way indicated above. Also, in connection with this” (supreme) “wish, in all fairness distinctions make themselves felt, for example, *between Rhenish traders*, who should become pillars of the state

^a In the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*: “Verderben” (ruin) and not “Verbrechen” (crimes).—Ed.

overnight, and men of the *old-Prussian*" (feudal) "families, whose honourable names have from of old been most closely bound up with the history of our royal house and of the *original heart-lands*" (is *Silesia* also an original heart-land?) "of the monarchy."

We told the "*Rhenish traders*" about this long ago. It is only with *dégoût*^a that the feudal house of Hohenzollern chose this bourgeois canaille as a lowly tool and it waits impatiently for the moment when it can get rid of them with kicks in a radical fashion. *Hansemann! Camphausen! Kühlwetter!* On your knees! Clothed in a penitent's shroud in front of the royal palace, in full view of the people, with ashes strewn on your crime-laden heads, vow and publicly testify that in the most profound remorse you repent having for a moment dared with bourgeois-constitutional intrigues to prepare the counter-revolution, the accomplishment of which befits only "My glorious army"⁶¹ and—you skinflints, haggling serfs, pedantic traders in fats,⁶² cunning railway speculators—having not only saved the throne, but having even boasted of this salvation in high-flown woe-begone phrases. On your knees! Don the penitent's shroud! Or get you to a monastery!

And as regards the "*men of the old-Prussian families*", *nobly-born* and *favoured by predestination* off-shoots of the *chosen* people, we expect in the near future to read in the *Staats-Anzeiger* obituary notices of these, of an *Arnim, Auerswald, Bonin, Pfiel*. Only if they go voluntarily to their death can we believe in their repentance. From a *Rhenish trader* such as *Hansemann*, such greatness of soul is not to be expected. Hansemann is a Voltairean of the most objectionable sort, superficial, and above all, hard-hearted in money matters.

Vanish therefore from the Chambers, leave the stage, you living monuments of March 18, of royal tribulations, humiliations, inconsistencies and weaknesses! Withdraw from the Chambers, or condemn yourselves to be the scapegoats for March 18!

The Chambers themselves, however, will present the tax-refusers to the royal throne as a hecatomb of their purification and expiation and thus make themselves worthy of fulfilling the further "tasks" dictated by the King to "the so-called representation of the people".

(Continuation follows)^b

Written by Marx on March 14, 1849

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^a Distaste.— *Ed.*

^b See this volume, pp. 125-32.— *Ed.*

THE CENSORSHIP

Cologne, March 14. The German daily press is certainly the flabbiest, sleepest and most cowardly institution under the sun! The greatest infamies can be perpetrated before its very eyes, even directed against itself, and it will remain silent and conceal everything; if the facts had not become known by *accident*, one would never have learnt through the *press* what splendid March violets have been brought into being by divine grace in some places.

Last autumn citizen and communist Drigalski⁶³ tried to re-introduce censorship in Düsseldorf, on the pretext of the state of siege.^a The attempt succeeded for two days; but the storm it aroused in public opinion compelled the sabre-bearing gentlemen immediately to abandon their yearning for censorship.

But what does the situation look like in the old provinces?⁶⁴

For three months censorship has existed in all its glory in two different districts, but the entire old-Prussian press calmly passes over this scandalous encroachment on its rights!

Just listen to this:

Rosenberg, in Silesia, March 7. No. 19 of the *Rosenberg-Kreuzburger Telegraph* publishes the following statement at the top of the page.

"We ask the readers of our newspaper not to blame us for the delay in the appearance of this issue and its incompleteness, but to take into account that we are still under the state of siege and that the *Telegraph*—which *has recently been under the censorship* of the local royal district president, Herr Sack, who has been elected as a deputy to the Second Chamber—after his departure to Berlin *has now been placed under direct military censorship*."

"The editorial board."

^a See Marx, "Drigalski—Legislator, Citizen and Communist" (present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 75-80).—*Ed.*

Furthermore:

Unrestrained *ensorship has likewise been in existence in Erfurt since November 25*. The press there was at first censored by Herr F. W. Huthsteiner, now a police inspector, ex-editor of the *Barmer Zeitung* that had at one time been liberal under the censorship. Huthsteiner was ostensibly a liberal or democrat, later a subordinate of Duncker and a permanent Prussian policeman. Although this respectable gentleman even deleted articles from the unfortunate Berlin *National-Zeitung* (!), his official activity was nevertheless considered to be insufficiently Prussian and he was replaced by an *officer*. Therefore *military censorship* exists in Erfurt as well.

But that is not all: censorship is introduced also for newspapers and other publications printed abroad, i.e. outside the area under the state of siege. The *Erfurter Adressblatt* of February 7 contains the following announcement:

“On orders from the royal Commandant’s office here, the Erfurt public is warned, on pain of **‘appropriate police punishment’** and **‘immediate arrest’**, against the *distribution* or bill-posting of materials printed outside the town *which cast suspicion on government measures or launch malicious attacks against them*, and thereby have the effect of *alienating the minds* of the population from the existing constitutional *government*, or which tend to *provoke* animosity against specific classes of the population and, consequently, *unrest and friction in our town*.”

Erfurt, February 5, 1849.

The Municipal Administration, Police Department.”

The restoration of censorship, and the replacement of ordinary by military censorship, are surely things which closely concern the press. Yet the press of neighbouring places—the press of Breslau, Berlin, Leipzig—accept all that as if it were a matter of course! In fact the German press is still the old “*good press*”.

But we ask our somnolent deputies in Berlin: will they still fail to move that the Ministers be promptly brought to trial?

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FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

There is little to add to the reports published this morning. The reports on the battle at Szolnok are extremely vague; but it seems that the Karger imperial brigade stationed there was attacked by the Magyars from the rear at Abony and driven to the opposite (left) bank of the Theiss, which is wholly in Magyar hands. If this is so, the brigade is lost and not a man can escape being killed or taken prisoner. Three battalions were sent from Pest to Abony; but they were too late, of course. Just as they were leaving by train, the defeated General Zeisberg arrived in Pest from Szolnok. He had to go by carriage as far as Abony, since the railway was already destroyed.

In Budapest new fortifications are being erected.

"The blockhouses at the two bridgeheads of the suspension bridge," writes the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*, "should be completed shortly and offer a firm bulwark against attacks, not easy to take.

"In spite of the announcement that there can be no question of calling in or confiscating Hungarian notes in private circulation in Hungary, there is a heavy surcharge on the purchase of Austrian banknotes with Hungarian paper money, and the latter's rate of exchange is likely to fall day by day, since the merchants here have to make many more payments of considerable sums to the other patrimonial dominions, in particular to Vienna, than they will be receiving from there. The Israelites of the capital have been given renewed orders to pay the instalments on the notorious arrears of the toleration-tax redemption in silver pieces of twenty, but the community has been granted an extension of a fortnight, or of 18 days, according to another report."^a

From the comitat of *Tolna* we learn from the same paper:

"The Tolna county is again *in full rebellion*, despite its declarations of allegiance. The speeches which Moriz Perczel recently made at public meetings there sowed bad

^a "Pest, 5. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 59, March 10, 1849.—*Ed.*

seed, and the military authority was informed too late when he stayed incognito at his father's baronial estate a few days ago. Only his carriage and his innocent valet fell into the hands of the imperial troops."^a

Nor do things look too brilliant for the imperial arms in the *south*. Let us quote once more the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*:

"As regards the capture of Alt-Arad a considerable snag has been encountered. General Todorovich wanted to leave his whole corps behind as garrison, but some of the officers regarded three battalions as sufficient for the purpose. So it happened that, when the main body of the Serbs moved into their camp, the defeated Magyars returned across the Maros, and as a result two battalions were driven out and one was partly captured, partly cut down."^b

When the imperial troops took Esseg, they expected that the garrison would rush to join the imperial army, but of the four companies of former regular troops of the imperial army *not one man* and of all the Honveds⁶⁵ only *16 men* were recruited.

The following news comes from Croatia, on which "independence" has been imposed. The *Agramer Zeitung* writes:

"We hear from a reliable source that the Ministry of Trade intends in the near future to begin the regulation of the River Sava upstream to Sissek and then the building of a railway from Sissek to Agram and thence to Karlstadt and Steinbrück."^c

Quite in order. Let the Royal and Imperial Government make rivers navigable there, build railways, bring commerce and industry into the country, and it will discover for how much longer it will then be able to rely on its Croats. No sooner will the Croat exchange the red-coat⁶⁶ for the frock-coat, than his enthusiasm for the martial-law emperor^d will automatically cease.

Ban^e Jellachich has told the Banal Council that he has granted an amnesty to the pro-Magyar Croats—including the six party leaders⁶⁷—who fled to Hungary and were banned when they did not return after being asked three times.

Lastly, it is reported from the Turkish border that

"there is a great deal of activity in Turkey. In Bosnia large bodies of troops are being armed and concentrated at Travnik. Although scouts report that threats against

^a "Pest, 6. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 59, March 10, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b "Von der Drave, 27. Feb.", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 56 (first supplement), March 7, 1849.—*Ed.*

^c The passage is quoted from the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 59, March 10, 1849.—*Ed.*

^d Francis Joseph.—*Ed.*

^e Ban or Banus—Viceroy or Governor.—*Ed.*

the borderers⁶⁸ are sometimes heard being uttered, it is more likely that these preparations are connected with the political intrigue Palmerston is hatching in Constantinople regarding the Danube provinces with no lesser an aim than to drive the Russians from Moldavia and Wallachia and so uncover the Austrian flank to the east. Austria can expect a strong Note with regard to the 10,000 Russian troops protecting Transylvania.”^a

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^a “Von der Drave, 27. Feb.,” *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 56 (first supplement), March 7, 1849.—*Ed.*

[FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

Today there is no news from the theatre of war, except for the Magyar report of the *Breslauer Zeitung*. It shows that the Austrians were indeed decisively defeated in the battle of Szolnok and forced to retreat towards Pest. *Kecskemét* is said to be again occupied by the Magyars. The Serezhan Colonel Albert Jellačić, Major Prince Holstein and even the royal imperial General Ottinger are said to have been killed.

The Magyar report claims that Stuhlweissenburg (on the right bank of the Danube, towards Vienna) is occupied by Magyars, and that in consequence of the Magyars' latest advances Prince Lobkowitz has gone to Debreczin to offer them *mediation proposals*. *More details tomorrow.*

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FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

Today's *Breslauer Zeitung* carries two Magyar reports, of March 6 and 7, which this time are for once written in a somewhat confused manner.⁶⁹ One gets from them a sense of the immense impression which the sudden hasty retreat of the Austrians made in Pest, and the thousand rumours it produced in which facts are mixed up with exaggerations.

At *Mező-Kövesd*, one mile^a beyond Maklar and two beyond Kapolna, a great battle is said to have taken place on March 3, in which Dembiński *totally defeated the imperial troops* by the masterly use of the terrain and skilful tactical manoeuvres. Their losses are given as 7,000 men and 60 cannon.

It is quite certain that the Hungarians have by no means retreated across the Theiss, as was trumpeted abroad by Austrian papers, but that on this side of the Theiss something must have happened that looks like a defeat of the imperial troops (even if the above particulars should prove exaggerated). Windischgrätz does not retreat without good reason.

That the imperial troops were also defeated at *Szolnok* and that their army corps which was drawn up there has been taken prisoner, as we surmised, is confirmed by the Magyar report of March 6:

"Yesterday morning at 7 a.m. the imperial army received another decisive blow. For the 5,000-strong Grammont brigade in Szolnok on the Theiss was surrounded by a Hungarian army which had crossed the Theiss at Czibakháza, and was taken prisoner along with Lieutenant-Field Marshal *Grammont* after a terrible carnage.

^a See footnote on p. 20.—*Ed.*

General *Ottinger* of the cavalry there received a fatal wound from which he died yesterday in Ofen.”^a

Moreover, the Hungarians did not stop there. According to the Magyar report they advanced to *Szégléd* and there on the 5th, in bloody fighting, *defeated the imperial troops* (probably those three supporting battalions which were brought from Pest by Zeisberg). They have also re-occupied Kecske-mét, a very important town between the Theiss and the Danube. In consequence of these defeats Jellachich is said to have followed Prince Windischgrätz and also *to have left Pest*. It is said that the fortifications around Pest are being demolished by the imperial troops themselves; so they do not want to defend Pest itself but merely to dominate it by the cannons from Ofen. The fortress of Ofen is being amply provisioned, but even from here guns of large calibre are being removed, which suggests that a very prolonged defence is not contemplated.

Thus far the reports of the Magyar correspondent which sound *probable*. The following appears less probable:

Görgey is said to be advancing towards Raab with an army corps and to be about to cut off the retreat of the imperial troops—whether this advance is occurring north or south of the Danube is not stated.

The Magyars are said to have crossed the Danube below Pest and to have occupied *Stuhlweissenburg* (in the rear of Pest) to cut off the retreat by way of the *Fleischhackerstrasse*.

What truth there is in these two rumours cannot be determined. But at any rate they seem exaggerated.

The Magyar correspondent reports further from the Hungarian camp:

“Travellers from Debreczin relate that on a motion by Kossuth the Hungarian National Assembly has decreed that a *Landsturm* is to be raised to support the regular army. Most of the deputies have been instructed to organise the *Landsturm* in their capacity of government commissioners. This extraordinary measure appears to have been taken following the news of the Russian intervention in Transylvania. The same travellers also relate that Minister of Police Ladislaus Madarász has resigned from the Provisional Government in Debreczin.”⁷⁰

From Vienna it is further reported on the 9th:

“The news I gave in my communication of yesterday about the battle at Szolnok is confirmed. *The Hungarians have gained a brilliant victory*, and they very nearly seized the headquarters. Prince Windischgrätz himself is seriously wounded in one arm. *Nothing at all is yet known* of the Zeisberg brigade but it is said *to have been completely wiped out*. The Karger brigade *was driven into the Theiss and only a few escaped*. General

^a The passages quoted here and below are taken from a report published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 63 (second edition), March 15, 1849.—Ed.

Karger himself owes his escape exclusively to the devotion of three dragoons, who together with him fought their way through. In short, *the defeat of the Austrians was general*, and even the enemy acknowledges that the leaders of the Hungarian army have demonstrated extraordinary strategic genius. In addition to the names recently given to you, generals Duchatel (probably meaning Duhamel), a Frenchman, Guyon (an Englishman), and Prince Czartoryski (son of Adam Czartoryski) deserve to be commended; they stood courageously by the side of General Dembiński, who was in supreme command."

Kossuth has *appointed* the Serbian leader *Stratimirovich Ban of Croatia and vojvode of Serbia*, a choice which has found general approval since both Serbs and Croats hold this handsome and brave young man in high esteem.

"*Postscript.* 3 p.m. A traveller coming from Pest, who left the city on the 9th (?), reports that at the time of his departure the city was *full of excitement*; in *Ofen extensive defence measures* were being taken and both cities were teeming with a multitude of soldiers; the Magyars, on the other hand, *were hourly expecting their compatriots to march in*, and in many places the national enthusiasm gave vent to fiery exclamations, in spite of the great number of soldiers who, however, had other things to attend to."

Others write also from Vienna:

"The *tactics of Prince Windischgrätz* towards the fiery Magyars and Poles are the object of much disapproval by the army itself, which appears to be demoralised by them. The many generals commanding the Hungarians are receiving more and more reinforcements, and there is *no prospect of an early end* without treachery on one side or notable reinforcements on the other."^a

Windischgrätz has, moreover, declared that *unless he receives reinforcements of 50,000 men he cannot cope with the Magyars!!*

Let the *Kölnische Zeitung* now say what "stage" the Hungarian war has entered with these new Magyar victories and with this statement of Windischgrätz.^b

Written by Engels on March 15, 1849

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^a "Wien, 10. März", *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 73, March 14, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b See this volume, pp. 15 and 32.—*Ed.*

THE MILLIARD

Cologne, March 15. Already soon after the February revolution there was a shortage of money in Paris. *Respect de la propriété*^a was proclaimed universally and the poor petty bourgeois thought that this applied to them. The Provisional Government⁷¹ was all the more willing to show its *respect de la propriété*, since the bank at once lent it 50 million without interest. The Provisional Government consisted mainly of petty bourgeois of the *National* and was misled by the *magnanimity* of the bank. The 50 million were soon exhausted. Meanwhile the shareholders and owners of the banknotes had time to make the best use of *respect de la propriété* by withdrawing all their gold from the bank. The petty bourgeois, who for their part also wished to take advantage of *respect de la propriété*, went to their banker in order to have their bills of exchange—which had been drawn against their *propriété*, i.e. against their industrial enterprises, *boutiques*^b or factories—discounted. The bankers put forward the excuse of lack of money and refused to discount the bills. The petty bourgeois then went to other bankers in order to have their bills endorsed by their bankers and discounted in the bank; the bankers refused their endorsement. *Respect de la propriété!* It was therefore precisely the bankers who were the first to violate *respect de la propriété*, although they themselves knew very well how to exploit it. Then a general complaint arose that credit, *confiance*^c had been lost. On the other hand, the petty bourgeois still did not abandon their

^a Respect for property.—*Ed.*

^b Shops.—*Ed.*

^c Confidence.—*Ed.*

respect de la propriété; they thought that if “calm and order” were re-established, confidence also would return and then, their *propriété* serving as cover, their bills would surely be discounted. It is common knowledge that after the June battle,⁷² when calm and order had been restored, all *propriété* came into the pockets of the bankers, as a result of judicial concordats, and that the petty bourgeois only understood the meaning of “respect”, when their “property” had gone. Obviously, it was the workers who suffered most as a result of the financial crisis brought about by the big bourgeoisie. Just at the time when the Provisional Government, in order to solve its own difficulties, invented the notorious 45-centime tax,⁷³ a poster signed by workers appeared on the walls. It began with the words: *avez-vous besoin d'argent?* (do you need money?) and it contained a direct proposal to demand the return of the milliard granted to the *émigrés* in 1825 as compensation. Who were those *émigrés*? They were the very same people who had incited and supported from abroad the war against France and who had then returned to France in the company of foreigners. Who were to be found among the *émigrés* who benefited from the compensation? The Duke of Orleans, i.e. the King who had recently been driven out,^a and the legitimists,⁷⁴ i.e. the followers of the King who had been driven out long ago.^b The Constituent Assembly and the Convention had decreed the confiscation of the property of the *émigré* traitors; the kings and *émigrés* who had returned after both restorations⁷⁵ awarded the compensation to themselves and their friends. The kings were again driven out, the decisions of the Constituent Assembly and the Convention regained their full validity, and what could be more natural than that the compensation should again benefit the people. The poster which thus set out the demand for the return of the milliard was read by the workers with general jubilation; they stood round it in thousands and discussed its content in their own way. This continued for a whole day; the next day the poster had vanished from the walls. Recognising the serious danger threatening them, the legitimists and Orleanists⁷⁶ had paid large sums to hire persons for the special purpose of destroying all traces of the poster during the night. At that time there was a passion for new organisational plans. Everyone was thinking only of how to invent a new system and to introduce it at once into the “state”, in spite of all existing conditions. The Provisional Government hit on the unfortunate idea of inventing the 45-centime tax to be imposed on the peasants. The

^a Louis Philippe I.—*Ed.*

^b Charles X.—*Ed.*

workers thought that the 45 centimes would have the same effect as the milliard: a tax on landed property—and they abandoned the plan regarding the milliard. The *Journal des Débats*, as also the stupid *National*, strengthened them in this opinion, and in their leading articles they argued that real capital was the “earth”, original landed property, and that the Provisional Government had every right to levy this tax in favour of the workers. When the tax actually began to be levied, the peasants raised a terrible outcry against the urban workers. “What?” said the peasants, “we are worse off than the workers. We have to borrow capital at high rates of interest in order to cultivate our land and to be able to feed our families, and, besides the taxes and interest paid to the capitalists, are we also to pay for the upkeep of the workers?”

The peasants turned away from the revolution because, instead of promoting their interests, it was detrimental to their interests. The workers realised how cunning a tax the reactionary party had suggested and only now the meaning of *respect de la propriété* became clear to them as well: the difference between formal and actual property became evident; it turned out that bourgeois capital had, so to speak, separated the land from the earth, that the formal owner of the land had become a vassal of the capitalist, and that the tax fell only on the indebted vassal. And when, in addition, the real owner of the land made the poor peasants even more conscious of his power, by withdrawing credit, by levying a distress etc., then the revolution became even more hateful to them. The legitimists, who as big landowners possessed great influence in the countryside, exploited this situation, and the intrigues of the royalists on behalf of Henry V then began. In these distressing circumstances for the revolution, May 15⁷⁷ arrived. Barbès' demand for the milliard, although advanced in a different form, struck the people once again like a flash of lightning and set them on fire. Even the June battle could not stamp out this thought of the milliard and now that the trial of Barbès has begun in Bourges,⁷⁸ this idea has increasingly gripped the peasants. To demand from the legitimists, who were their landlords and blood-suckers, the return of the milliard which they, the peasants, had raised—that was a more attractive bait than Napoleon. The agitation for the repayment of the milliard has already spread throughout France and if it were put forward for decision by universal suffrage, more votes would be cast for it than for Napoleon. The demand for the milliard is the first revolutionary measure to draw the peasants into the revolution. The petitions coming from all parts and the tone in which they are composed prove that this revolutionary measure has already struck

deep roots. In Cluny people demand not only the return of the milliard, but also the 3 per cent interest which it had yielded since 1825. From the start of the trial in Bourges these petitions have piled up in such a way that the judges in Bourges as well as the entire reactionary party begin to feel uneasy. Agey, Ancey, Malain, St. Vibald, Vittaux and numerous other communes have today again sent petitions to the Chamber through their parliamentary representatives. Under the headline "*Rappel du milliard*",^a the newspapers day by day print the names of fresh communes giving their adherence to this magnificent measure. Soon on all the walls, in all the communes, it will be possible to read: "*Rappel du milliard*", and if the forthcoming elections^b are held under this slogan, we shall be interested to see what the capitalists, whether they are called legitimists, Orleanists or bourgeois, can counterpose to this milliard in order to push aside the democratic candidates who intend to enter the new Chamber with the dowry of this milliard in order to use it for the benefit of the peasants and workers. But that is still not all. Louis Napoleon has been promising the peasants everywhere not only the return of the money paid under the 45-centime tax, but a reduction of taxation in general. The petitions generally put forward the demand that the greater part of the milliard be used for this purpose. As for the legal reasons for the return of the milliard, these have already been stated immediately after the July revolution in 1830. At that time paying out the money still remaining from the milliard was suddenly discontinued. If what had already been paid out was not demanded back at that time, it was only because Louis Philippe himself and his family had received a very large part of this money.

Since it is impossible for the counter-revolutionary party to dispute the justice of this measure, it contents itself for the time being with calling attention to the difficulty of implementing it. The difficulty is said to lie in discovering the persons who have received more or less large sums from the compensation granted. But nothing could be easier. Let us begin with the large sums. At the head of the list is the Duke of Orleans (later Louis Philippe) and his sister, Madame Adelaide, with 50 million, and one had only to take these 50 million from the countless estates which the National Assembly recently restored to the royal family.

Prince de Condé received 30 million, and who inherited this sum?

^a Return of the milliard.—*Ed.*

^b This refers to the elections to the Legislative Assembly which were held on May 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

The Duke d'Aumale and Madame de Feuchères. A good beginning, therefore, could be made with this! The royal family owns huge forests and estates in France, and the peasants are already beginning to calculate how much they have lost by the fact that these millions were not returned to them already in 1830.

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THE FRANKFURT MARCH ASSOCIATION
AND THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

Cologne, March 15. We are returning once more to the unfortunate March Association,^a this fitting offspring of the "March revolution". We are being reproached "with harming the cause of freedom" since we undermine the March Association. But did we not already in December 1848, to the horror of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, denounce the March Association as the *unconscious tool of counter-revolution*?⁷⁹ Did we not, therefore, already long ago communicate to the "March Association" our opinion of the "March Association"? Were the March Association an organisation of a revolutionary party, were it even only a logical sound fruit of the *March revolt*, we would put up with such ineptitude as its *speculation with announcements* undoubtedly was. In the first place the March Association displays no activity unless perhaps the issuing of addresses ranks as such; further, the March Association is an optimistic simpleton between the constitutionalists (whom we regard as worse supporters of reaction than the club of the Knight von Radowitz⁸⁰) and some really worthy democrats who have allowed their sight to be clouded by nebulous ideas of imperial conciliation. The majority in that central commercial association^b will always be governed by the indecision peculiar to it; the Association will perhaps stimulate discontent among the people, but at the decisive moment it will betray them and subsequently bemoan its error. Well, may the commercial association fare well! Its sensitivity in other respects does not move us, and freedom of the press seems still to be understood by these

^a See this volume, pp. 36-37.—*Ed.*

^b A pun (*Kommerz*=commerce, *März*=March) referring to the leading forces of the Central March Association.—*Ed.*

liberal people merely as their personal achievement. Herr Eisenmann, for example, openly declared himself a constitutionalist for all time and an opponent of republicanism at the very same meeting of the March Association where the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was mentioned as a model of "true German disunity". Thus, it is being demanded of us that, out of a doltish desire for unification, we should support the newspaper of a man who, whatever else he may be the devil only knows, is at any rate a German national-minded dolt. For the sake of decency we would "take along with us" these gentlemen as far as they like, if it were not that their task in Frankfurt is to be "irremovable". There are thinking friends of history⁸¹ among these gentlemen. It can hardly have escaped their notice that not merely in Germany but everywhere and at all times, in spite of all March Associations, the Feuillants⁸² invariably had to be got out of the way before the outbreak of the real revolution. What use is it to the adherents of the social republic if the very same Vogt, who blustered "above all" against Bonaparte in the manner of the beer drinkers of a small university,^a will become an unsuccessful imperial Barrot of a Bonaparte of the German empire?⁸³

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^a In Giessen.—*Ed.*

[DRAFT ADDRESS OF THE SECOND CHAMBER]

Cologne, March 16. Below we give for the information of our readers the *draft Address of the Second Chamber*,⁸⁴ a pale, servile copy of the speech from the throne.^a Its author is the notorious knight of the red land,^b valiant (!) von *Vincke*.

The Commission that drafted the Address

“gratefully *recognises*” (Old-Testament style) “the establishment” of “legal order through the Constitution of December 5 of last year”.⁸⁵

The Commission even *expresses* this gratitude in the name of the “*Prussian people*”. And why should, according to the Commission, the people be thankful for the December Constitution imposed by the sabre? Because it is “imbued with a longing for the *restoration of public legal order*”. Unfortunate knight *Vincke*! He has had to prove that he is the champion of the “*legal basis*”, which is his speciality. But how is it possible to recognise the “*legal basis*” when confronted with the Brandenburg Government which shattered this very basis of legality by tearing up the laws of April 6 and 8, 1848⁸⁶? Nothing is simpler! The Government has imposed a *new* legal basis, *martial law* and simultaneously the *Charter*, the Code and philosophy of *martial law*—the Constitution of December 5. First the Government abolishes “*public legal order*”. Then the Government proclaims some other “*public legal order*”, the first that comes to hand, e. g. a Croatian one, a legal basis of *quelconque*.^c Then the Commission for drafting the Address in the name of the Prussian people, and *Vincke*

^a See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 445-50.—*Ed.*

^b Westphalia.—*Ed.*

^c Any kind.—*Ed.*

in the name of the Prussian Commission for drafting the Address, have nothing more urgent to do than to welcome the restoration of *some sort* (any sort, no matter what) of “public legal order”! The legal basis is dead! Long live the legal basis! If, tomorrow, the Prussian Government is overthrown, if a Comité du salut public⁸⁷ is proclaimed in Berlin, then among the first to offer congratulations and invite guests to the wedding there will undoubtedly be a “champion of the legal basis”, some Vincke or other, who in moving tones will recognise the “restoration of” *some sort* of “public legal order”.

The Address Commission and the dead ride fast.^a First of all, “gratitude” (according to the prescription of the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*) for the coup d'état of December 5! Then the martial-law Constitution as the “henceforth valid fundamental law of the Prussian state”! Finally, the vow to carry out the “*revision wholly inspired by reverence and loyalty towards Your Royal Majesty*”, i.e. a *revision in the sense desired by the donor*. In this way, it is to be hoped, we shall be led back to the period even *prior* to the United Diet^{88!}

As for Berlin's “*state of siege*”, the Address Commission will be governed exclusively by the platitude that “true freedom cannot exist *without law and order*”. People know the battle-cry of “*law and order!*” from the events in Warsaw.⁸⁹ If only Prussia could exist without money or obtain money without these importunate parliamentary chatterers! As for the states of siege sporadically occurring “outside the city of Berlin”, the Address Commission considers it appropriate “to await a further report from Your Royal Majesty's Government”. Meanwhile Erfurt and the districts of Silesia where a state of siege has been declared are left out in the cold. Vincke is *satisfait* as long as the Erfurt and Rosenberg military censorships^b do not “cross out” his draft Address. There is no danger of that!

Vincke then makes a promise in the name of the Address Commission, and the commission makes a promise in the name of the Second Chamber, and the Second Chamber makes a promise in the name of the people to fulfil “by strenuous effort” and as satisfactorily as possible the tasks which the royal Prussian Government has entrusted to the “so-called representation of the people”. Good luck!

“We too recognise with joy that the Prussian army has proved its military renown during the days of struggle and its loyalty in the course of severe trials.”

^a “The dead ride fast” from G. A. Bürger, *Lenore*.—*Ed.*

^b See this volume, pp. 70-71.—*Ed.*

The Danish campaign of the Imperial Court of Law!⁹⁰ The battles at Miloslavl and Wreschen! The victories in Anhalt, in Mainz, in Frankfurt am Main!⁹¹ More than this! Vincke joyfully recognises the loyalty with which "My glorious army" hounded Vincke's predecessor and used the official documents of the old National Assembly as fuel for the stove. Vincke has every reason to rejoice. Without the "loyalty" of the "Prussian army in the course of severe trials", our Vincke would never have had the opportunity to immortalise himself by this draft Address which he himself drew up. Moreover, we may point out incidentally that in this matter, too, the Address Commission copies in schoolboy fashion the provisions in the Hohenzollern general plan of reform^a as given by the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*.

And the *German question*?

"Prussia" will shrink from "no sacrifice" in order to seize Little Germany,^b by means other than those with which Frederick the Great seized Silesia. In regard to "conquests", modern Prussia subscribes to the principle of "peaceful" progress. Moreover, the Address Commission "hopes" that "all the German governments will come to an *understanding* with the German National Assembly". We hope that the German governments will not pay much attention to this imperial training-college for teachers.

The Address Commission further expresses the wish that there be "no disturbance of the peace" as a result of "the termination of the armistice by the Danish King". Vincke knows very well that this Danish termination of the armistice is not meant to be taken more seriously than the Prussian-Danish war itself.⁹² The Prussian troops act as imperial troops in Schleswig-Holstein, the Schleswig-Holstein troops act as imperial troops in South Germany, the former here and the latter there declaring martial law!

Condolences for the death of Prince Waldemar, and assurances of readiness for self-sacrifice, by means of which von Bodelschwingh, Riedel, von Seckendorf, Arnim, Harkort, Count Renard, Camphausen, Vincke, Grün and suchlike rabble stoop to the role of Prussian Lycurguses and Solons; piety, respect for the law, public spirit, justice, providence, the hearts of the kings and the future of Prussia, "and with it the future of Germany",—all that is served up as a dessert by the Address Commission through the good offices of von Vincke!

^a See Marx, "The Hohenzollern General Plan of Reform" (this volume, pp. 65-69).—*Ed.*

^b i.e. the whole of Germany apart from Austria.—*Ed.*

Idiocy must have rights of citizenship in a national assembly and in a nation which a von Vincke, by means of such a miserable botchwork produced in the name of a commission, in the name of a Chamber, and in the name of the people itself, can dare to turn into the laughing-stock of the European gallery.

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[FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

Our correspondence and newspapers from Vienna and Prague have again failed to arrive today. Nor do the Breslau, Leipzig and other papers carry a word from the Austrians on the military operations. The Magyar correspondent of the *Breslauer Zeitung*, on the other hand, writes of new fighting in the area of Szegléd, of great masses of wounded who were brought to Pest, and of preparations for retreat. But it does not yet report anything decisive either.

What is most striking about the Austrian silence is that nothing is reported from *anywhere*. Formerly, there was always some little corner from which the imperial side could report some small advantage. But now this also has ceased. The Magyars appear suddenly to be developing a quite unexpected energy at all points, placing the most unforeseen obstacles in the way of the advance of the 250,000 imperial troops.

Since February 16 or 17, that is for four weeks, there has been no news from Transylvania. Not a word of the advance towards Tokaj of the troops of Götz, Ramberg and Jablonowsky. Not a word of Nugent's operations in Syrmien. Not a syllable about the deeds of Rukavina, Todorovich and Gläser in the Banat. If we learn a word here or there, we learn it through unofficial, vague rumours.

In short, the silence of the official reports is becoming more and more uncanny, and the contents of the unofficial reports are becoming more and more menacing for Austria. On the latter a few details tomorrow.

According to a report in the *Allgemeine Oder-Zeitung*, the Austrians are preparing to allow *the Russians to march into Cracow*, as well as into Transylvania.

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FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

Now, following the résumé published in today's special supplement,^a here are the detailed reports from the Hungarian theatre of war.

First concerning the operations *at Pest*. The fighting appears to be concentrated in the area of Szegléd, accordingly both the Hungarian and the royal imperial forces must have moved significantly south. At any rate we no longer hear of any fighting in the area of Erlau, Kapolna or Mezö-Kövesd. Jellachich is therefore said to have also moved off to Szegléd. It is confirmed that Windischgrätz, vexed by his ill successes, has moved his headquarters back to Ofen and has thus withdrawn from active command. That he has been wounded is, however, disputed. The great defeated general is now drawing all troops by any means available to himself, even from the Komorn siege corps and from Cracow, so as somehow to maintain his position.—With regard to the latest military operations the Magyar correspondent of the *Breslauer Zeitung* of March 9 writes:

“Yesterday a battle must have taken place in the direction of Szolnok for very many waggons full of wounded were brought in during the night. The fact that still no Bulletin has been issued and also that, on the orders of the military command, the entire front of the Donauzeile facing the fortifications of the Pest bridgehead had suddenly to be cleared and is being occupied by the military, points to a new defeat. For this last measure can only have been taken for the purpose of covering a hasty retreat. Moreover, the higher officers of the Ofen fortress garrison have today sent their wives away. Direct news is entirely lacking, since no traveller from the lower areas is allowed to approach Pest. Another battle is expected today, unless the heavy rain which is falling continually prevents it. If the battle is fought nevertheless, the retreat will involve heavy losses for the defeated side, for the roads there turn into deep mud whenever it rains, making it altogether unthinkable to bring away the guns and baggage. In Pest meat has risen in price by 2 kreutzers per pound because *a Hungarian raiding corps drove away a large consignment of oxen from Gödöllö, three hours from here.*

^a See this volume, p. 90.—*Ed.*

From *Debreczin* we learn that the Hungarian Government has accused of high treason and deposed Johann Hám, the Lord Primate of Hungary, and two other high prelates, who remained in Pest. The clever and liberal Hungarian historian, Horvath Mihaly, formerly Canon, later Bishop of Chanad, has been appointed Lord Primate" (this is also confirmed from another source). "When last night many spectators gathered at the bringing in of the wounded, they were dispersed by a strong patrol sent out for the purpose. Incidentally, all hospitals and barracks are so overcrowded with wounded that newcomers had to be laid on the stairs and in the forecourts."

Moreover, that the imperial cause is in a very peculiar way can also be deduced from a proclamation of Prince Windischgrätz from Ofen headquarters, dated March 8,^a prohibiting all direct or indirect intercourse with the rebels and the inhabitants of the areas occupied by them for the duration of the state of siege. Similarly, all trading links are disrupted. Anyone acting against these prohibitions is to be dealt with under martial law, as well as all who aid and abet them in any way. The goods, however, are confiscated and sold for the benefit of the state treasury.

In the rear of the imperial armies things look equally jolly. What stage these gentlemen at Komorn have reached and what illusions they endeavour to spread is shown by the following communication of the government *Lloyd* from Pressburg:

"While the main army under Field Marshal Windischgrätz, tireless in the pursuit of the enemy, is already active on the other side of the Theiss (!), the second army corps is operating at Komorn, where, according to reliable reports, a great offensive will begin on the 15th of this month (!). For this purpose *many* (!) steamboats with *very many* howitzers of *every* calibre and with *fourfold* powder supplies have been dispatched there from Vienna, Ofen and Esseg. On our bank of the Danube several tugboats, equipped with cannon and bombs in the manner of warships, are tied up, intended to serve as the main transport of the reserve. It will probably take but a few rocket-throwing exercises to bring the Komorn garrison to its senses and lead to the surrender of the fortress and the re-opening of the waterway between Vienna, here and Pest."^b

The same article which began with these absurd boasts goes straight on to admit that the Slovak peasants do not want to have anything to do with the royal imperial occupation. For besides other arrests,

"last week 12 peasants from nearby Slovak villages accused of concealment of arms with evil intent, were placed under arrest, brought here, and sentenced to two, three or four years' imprisonment depending on their crime".

^a The proclamation was published in the article "Pest, 9. März" in *Der Lloyd* No. 121 (evening edition), March 12, 1849, and also in the *Wiener Zeitung* No. 61, March 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b "Pressburg, 9. März", *Der Lloyd* No. 119 (evening edition), March 10, 1849. Below the same article is quoted.—*Ed.*

The Slovaks, -who have been vainly incited to rebellion several times already, are so loyal to the Magyars that only 1,400 men out of 2 to 3 million could be recruited for Austria. Read the following report from Leutschau (Zips), which also confirms that the imperial troops are still where they were when Görgey moved to the Theiss:

“*Leutschau*, March 1. The Slovak *Landsturm* consists up to now of 15 companies of 90 men each. Three companies form the Leutschau garrison, five that of Eperies; the rest are moving to Kaschau. Yesterday, General Ramberg imposed a war-tax of 20,000 florins on this town. More than 500 people have fled from Eperies for fear of Görgey, many of them as far as Pest.”

From the *south* we hear only that *Szegedin is still in the hands of 40,000 Magyars*, and that 30,000 Serbs are standing by ready to take the town.

Finally, we have received several reports from Transylvania, but which, strangely, still do not go beyond February 16 or 17. According to one of them (a Saxon report), Bem is supposed to be dangerously ill as a result of a wound in his hand; another report, about the Szeklers⁹⁸ taking Schässburg, is interesting because of the details which it gives of the strength of the Szeklers at a single point. On February 16, about 8,000 men and 12 cannon from Mediasch, 5,000 men and five cannon from Udvarhely and 3,000 men from Maros-Vásárhely advanced simultaneously on Schässburg. These fighting forces caused the brave Austro-Russian troops under Major von der Heydt and the virtuous civic militia of the town to withdraw without a fight to Hermannstadt and to leave wives, children and property to the mercy of the Szekler robber bands. These are said to have immediately imposed a war-contribution of 30,000 florins on the town:

“a much greater sum would be exacted from the administrative localities. The enemy was looking for lead and tin, as much as could be raised; he even fetched up the cartridges which had been sunk in the wells and dried the powder in the sun to make it usable again.”^a

Finally we quote the following interesting report from *Cracow*. This shows how completely preconcerted is the plot between Russia and Austria.

“*Cracow*, March 12. The royal imperial General *Legeditsch*, in command here, yesterday had Prince Stanislaw Jablonowski summoned before him and informed him quite abruptly that the municipal authority should make an application to the

^a “Hermannstadt, 15. Febr.,” *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 74 (supplement), March 15, 1849.—*Ed.*

administration asking *the Russian troops standing on the border to enter Cracow to maintain calm, since he (Legeditsch) would have to march off to Hungary with all Austrian forces.* The Prince, however, replied to the royal imperial General that the *people of Cracow would certainly not make such a request* and should the town be completely denuded of troops, the citizenry would guarantee to maintain law and order.

"It will be remembered that General Puchner in Transylvania, before the entry of the Russian troops, made a similar indirect demand to the towns of Kronstadt and Hermannstadt that they should call for Russian aid."

Finally, on the question of the Hungarian banknotes, the despotism of the sabre had to yield to the *necessitas rerum*,^a the absence of credit of the royal imperial state. Part of the Kossuth notes have already been called in, despite the weeping and gnashing of teeth of the Pest petty bourgeoisie.

"In fact Field Marshal Windischgrätz on the 9th of this month issued an announcement in Pest by which Hungarian 100-florin and 5-florin notes were banned from acceptance at public counters. This announcement produced great consternation there and all transactions are at this moment completely disrupted."^b

The Pest Fair, which is anyway sparsely attended, is therefore unlikely to be held at all. The Hungarian one- and two-florin notes will hardly have any other fate.

Written by Engels on March 16, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 248, March 17, 1849

Published in English for the first time

^a Force of circumstances.—*Ed.*

^b "Wien, 12. März", *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 64 (special supplement), March 16, 1849.—*Ed.*

FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

As the Vienna mail has again failed to arrive, we are again without any direct news from Hungary. What has reached us via Prague and Augsburg contains very little that is new.

The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* carries a report from Pest of the 8th to the effect that Szolnok is again occupied by imperial troops.^a Later reports, as we shall see, sound quite different. The *Allgemeine Zeitung*, incidentally, admits that the imperial troops have suffered "a considerable defeat" at Szolnok, in which "of two companies barely 40 men were saved". Concerning the fighting, the same paper reports from *Abony* near Szolnok:

"After the day of Kapolna we advanced as far as Kövesd, and then to Poroszlo. As the cavalry was unable to operate there because of the marshy nature of the ground, we received orders to go to Szolnok. We arrived just in time to put an end to the fighting which 15,000 Hungarians with 40 cannon had begun against two brigades and which cost us dear, for the Karger brigade was driven out of Szolnok. At the moment reinforcements are arriving from Pest and we shall oppose them with 15,000 men and 36 to 40 cannon, but we do not doubt that they will withdraw when they see a significant deployment of strength. The bravery of our troops is very commendable. *Szolnok got into Hungarian hands yesterday, it is true, but by tonight we shall surely have it back again.*"^b

What we are to think of these boasts about the re-taking of Szolnok is evident from a report from Pest, printed in the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* which says:

"The Ban did indeed start from Pest yesterday, and that at 4 a.m. Unfortunately we know nothing at all about the events in the theatre of war in our immediate

^a "Pesth, 8. März", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 72, March 13, 1849.— *Ed.*

^b "Abony bei Szolnok, 6. März", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 72, March 13, 1849.— *Ed.*

neighbourhood, between Szepléd and Abony, it is said. The local secret agitators tell marvels about the strength of the rebel army, nay even that it takes six hours to cross their camp. Of course, these rumours are obviously much exaggerated, but it cannot be denied that along the Szolnok route a considerable insurgent army has now already for the second time advanced closer to the capital than is desirable. The anxiety of the loyally-inclined is even more increased by the doubtless necessary measures to safeguard the communications between the fortress of Ofen and the New Edifice, the new and only citadel of Pest. Yesterday afternoon embrasures were made in this construction, in great haste, and the inhabitants of the houses in the neighbourhood received strict orders to hold themselves in such readiness to march that they would be able to leave their quarters with bag and baggage within six hours of receiving notice. Moreover, the buildings, workshops etc. of the company which is building the suspension bridge, situated next to the blockhouses of the suspension bridge, were yesterday hastily demolished on both banks of the Danube. Hence a gloomy mood prevails among the few local loyalists, while the opposing party finds it difficult to hide its secret joy."^a

How things are going in general for the imperial side is evident even from the fact that Windischgrätz has strictly prohibited all traffic and commerce with the areas occupied by the Magyars so as to cut off their connections. All individuals trafficking there are to be arrested and their goods confiscated. Extraordinary police measures against aliens have also been ordered for the approaching Pest Fair.

There is still not the slightest news from the left wing of the main army (Schlick). The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* claims, it is true, that he has already been standing 8 hours from Debreczin and that it was not yet known whether he had gone back again.^b But this is a most impudent lie; Maklar, where the imperial armies were standing according to their own reports, is fully 15 German miles^c from Debreczin, and the Theiss, with its milewide belt of swamps, lies between, 10 miles from Debreczin. In the absence of facts the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* boasts as follows^d:

"We confidently expect (!) good results from the operations of Lieutenant-Field Marshal Count Schlick, and in general we may claim with pride (!) that Count Schlick has proved a most excellent general, especially in his plight after the skirmish at Tokaj!"

The *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* also confirms that the Magyars have occupied the southern part of the Pest comitat at *Kecskemét*. They have even advanced to the Danube and are in contact with the insurgents on the opposite bank (the Tolna comitat):

^a "Pest, 9. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 61, March 13, 1849.—Ed.

^b "Pesth, 8. März", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 72, March 13, 1849.—Ed.

^c See footnote on p. 20.—Ed.

^d This and the following quotations are taken from two items "Pest, 8. März" published in the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 60 (second supplement), March 12, 1849.—Ed.

“One of the main centres of insurgent activity is Kalocsa; they are stirring up the entire neighbourhood, particularly the Tolna comitat, on the other side of the Danube. There the rebels are so bold that they sink every ship that passes on the Danube. The peasants of Földvar and Duna Vecse are distinguishing themselves particularly in this respect. They have not the smallest fear of the royal imperial troops, imagining that 12,000 Honveds are at Kalocsa. They are constantly being made more fanatical by posters from Debreczin.”

It follows from this that along the whole stretch from Duna Vecse to Tolna (9 to 10 miles as the crow flies) both banks of the Danube are in the Magyars' hands and shipping is greatly threatened.

The following report shows how the war is being conducted in this area and how little prospect the clumsy Austrians have of coping with these elusive bands of rebels.

“The detachment of troops which left a few days ago for Duna Földvar (Tolna comitat) by steamer to suppress the latest revolt has never come face to face with the enemy. Although the tugboat was shot at on landing, the mutineers dispersed like chaff in the wind even before the troops had disembarked. A true guerilla war! The Simunich brigade, according to a rumour, is said to be entering a fortified camp near the Bicske estate of Count Kasimir Bathyány, four hours drive from Ofen, to maintain the security and continuity of the new order of things beyond the Danube.”

From Transylvania not a word.

From the Banat

“it is *expected* that simultaneously with the arrival of the Ban^a (in the campaign against Szolnok) the long line of the Austro-Serb troops which extends from Baja to Temesvar *will* now be set in motion” (*Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*).

Indeed! Now at last we learn that the famous division Lieutenant-Field Marshal Gläser formed from the troops of Rukavina, Todorovich and other generals, greeted with so many newspaper fanfares, which was to conquer Transylvania and Grosswardein, has not even stood its ground on the Maros but has retreated to Temesvar! Magyar reports indeed told us this long ago, but they were not to be believed, of course!

And in another article in the same paper we read:

“Until yesterday (March 7) neither Szegedin nor Theresiopel (Subotica) were captured, in the neighbourhood of which, as I have already reported, the Serbs won a brilliant victory and literally made hay of the Magyars, and a Magyar corps has advanced in this direction. This is related by travellers who have come from these areas today.”^b

But thereby hangs a tale. The Serbs are to the highest degree dissatisfied with their chiefs. Patriarch Rajachich is making himself

^a Jellachich.—*Ed.*

^b “Von der Drave, 8. März”, *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 61, March 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

daily more unpopular by outlawing Stratimirovich, by his intervention against the National Committee,⁹⁴ which he has now disbanded, reconstituted and moved to Beeskerek, and by other arbitrary measures. Stratimirovich has disappeared and seems to have gone over to the Magyars. Rukavina and Todorovich are Serbs, it is true, but above all royal imperial generals, who know no other nationality than the Austrian. Moreover, considerable tension exists between the regular troops and the Serb frontier guards and volunteers.

“The Serbs complain of a shortage of cavalry, and, what is more, the imperial troops are in no hurry to leap to the aid of the Rascians,⁹⁵ a designation which has become popular again among the military” (*Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*).^a

In short, since Stratimirovich has gone, the Serbs have become obstinate and what is more are *negotiating with the Magyars*, as even the Vienna papers report. What effect Kossuth’s appointment of Stratimirovich as Ban and voivode will have remains to be seen.

Another blow for the Austrians is being prepared here by the *recall of the Turkish Serbs from Hungary*. The *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* reports on this:

“By a princely decree from Belgrade the Serbs who are fighting on Austrian soil are recalled. Whether Knićanin’s corps is included is not known, since the order is couched in too general terms. Our Serbs interpret this measure with suspicion, claiming to know that the Olmütz Court^b has worked for this decree through diplomatic channels. Others see in it purely a matter of organisation and conscription, while we are inclined to connect it with the Turkish armament measures. Certainly, the Serbian irregulars knew nothing better than looting, killing and burning; they were the dregs of Serbia. Their rapacity was quite indiscriminate. They dragged their booty across the Sava by the cartload, and, wherever these hordes broke in, the complaint went up from all sides: Heaven preserve us from these friends, we can cope with our enemies.”^c

The same paper writes in another article on this affair:

“Another untoward circumstance which fills us with gloomy forebodings is the recall of the troops of the Serb Principality from the Voivodina. We are unable to penetrate the secret of this policy. It is said that The Porte, England and France have demanded the recall of these troops. We do not believe this, at any rate they had no right to do so; for the troops who came to our aid from the principality were not regular troops of whom the local government can dispose as it pleases, they are volunteers who came to take part in the liberation struggle of their compatriots. The Serbs, however, had a right to take part in this struggle, for Serbia is a constitutional

^a “Agram, 5. März”, *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 60, March 11, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b The Austrian Court fled to Olmütz (Olomouc) during the Vienna uprising in October 1848.—*Ed.*

^c “Von der Drave, 8. März”, *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 61, March 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

country, its people are free people. There is no end to the South-Slav troubles, indeed they are increasing with every passing day.”^a

The following announcement by the Patriarch, dated Gross-Kikinda, February 24, shows moreover that the plundering by the Serbs must be very bad:

“As looting is on the increase by both the auxiliaries and even our regulars, I feel compelled to order: 1) Nobody shall dare to purchase any cattle or other effects taken as booty. 2) In case of violation the purchaser will lose both the booty he has bought and the purchase money handed over. 3) All objects taken as booty will be confiscated wherever found and the matter reported to me through the appropriate authority.”^b

But what angers the Serbs most, who are, after all, waging a national struggle, is the action taken in the interest of *Germanisation* by the noble Banus Jellachich, who as Ban is at the same time chief of the Military Border district.⁹⁶ The *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* received the following report from the Sava dated March 1:

“Ban Jellachich has become the chief talk of the day; his latest action is cloaked in the darkness of secrecy, and the Southern Slavs do not regard him without suspicion. His order to the Patriarch announcing that the *German language* is to be re-introduced in the local Military Border district, was very badly received here. Indeed, Ban Jellachich has not grasped the implications of this pronouncement. The Serbs kindled the national war solely to rid themselves of the rule of an alien nation, to save from destruction their literature (!), their art (!), their songs, all their national treasures, to which they cling with loyal hearts; the Serbs will not readily obey this order. Whatever may have induced the highly respected Ban to issue it, we do not doubt for a moment that the Patriarch will reject it.”

Clearly, the noble, gallant Ban is playing a most contemptible role. Sent for a time to Pest, under suspicion, he served the Government to cover all its acts that were unpalatable to the Slavs with his name and position. The noble personage, once having entered into relations with the Austrians, has irrevocably broken with the Magyars. Now, too late, he realises that despite his Slav cunning he has been ignominiously duped by the imperial side and cannot even refuse to sign such a disgraceful declaration as his recent one about his alleged quarrel with Windischgrätz. It serves him right.

Peterwardein is surrounded. The garrison is said to have taken all its officers prisoner as disloyal and traitorous.

We have learned more details about the battle in Slovakia against the Czechoslovak volunteers. The fighting took place at Turan on the Waag (at the foot of the Jablunka Pass, already once before so

^a “Von der Save, 1. März”, *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 60 (second supplement), March 12, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b “Semlin, 4. März”, *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 61, March 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

ominous for Messrs. Štúr and Hurban). The Magyar-Slovak corps, 12,000 strong, which was victorious here, is occupying the High Carpathians and is said to be under the command of Klapka and Áulich.

The Austrian Government is said to have disavowed Puchner's invitation to the Russians to enter Transylvania and insists on their withdrawal as soon as 15,000 Banat troops have arrived in Transylvania as reinforcements. But since the Serbs refuse to march, the Russian corps will surely stay for the time being.

The following is reported in Pest from Debreczin, according to the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*:

A deputy is said to have proposed that the National Assembly should recognise the Emperor Francis Joseph as the legitimate King of Hungary. Nyáry was the first to support this pacification proposal, and even Kossuth made a brilliant speech in favour of the proposal which was then unanimously adopted.^a

A letter from Pest the next day adds:

"The news from Debreczin reported yesterday appears to find confirmation, and the National Assembly is indeed said to have recognised the Emperor Francis Joseph as legitimate King of Hungary. This recognition rests, however, on the Pragmatic Sanction, and the demands which Kossuth's party piles up on this basis we still remember from the last Imperial Diet but one.⁹⁷ According to reports received it has also been explicitly added that this step had been induced above all by the wish to prove to the European monarchies, especially to the great powers in the immediate neighbourhood, that there was not the least intention to found a united, big, perhaps even red, Sarmato-Magyar republic. This would therefore seem not to be a step towards actual pacification."^b

If the Magyars have really taken this decision, such a manoeuvre would basically have little significance. If they are victorious and stand before Vienna, the "legitimate King of Hungary" will soon come to his end.

Moreover, in another letter from the Drava we read:

"In and around Debreczin everything looks extraordinarily martial and warlike. An imperial officer who was discharged under bond because he did not want to fight against his brothers gave us information from which we single out the following as remarkable. 'Kossuth's army,' he said, 'must amount to about 100,000 men and the artillery to 400 (?) cannon. Rockets of a unique kind are being made. A regular infantry is also available and seven old-style hussar regiments, besides which seven more hussar regiments have been formed, the Kossuth-, Mészáros-, Batthyány-, Madarász-, Hunyadi-hussars etc. There is much drilling and for up to six miles from Debreczin the villages are very strongly fortified, and it would be a great mistake to think of victory over these rebels as easy and rapid'; so far the statements of our

^a "Pest, 8. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 60 (second supplement), March 12, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b "Pest, 9. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 61, March 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

informant. As far as our knowledge of the movements on the Theiss goes, we believe that our operations have to be carried out with all seriousness and caution, since skilful manoeuvres will here be necessary, and the troops in Hungary, at least at this present decisive moment, still appear to us *insufficient*. I do not want to be accused of pessimism. We see among the rebels much energy and among the masses in and around Romania^a a veritable fanaticism; hence we regret the delay in recruitment in the northern provinces, since this hampers the Government in fighting the Magyars."^b

With this report, which should make our neighbouring journalist^c rejoice, we conclude for today, still waiting for *finem Hungariae*.

Written by Engels about March 17, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

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Published in English for the first time

^a An allusion to Transylvania.—*Ed.*

^b "Von der Drave, 8. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 61, March 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

^c An ironic reference to the journalist who wrote about the war in Hungary for the *Kölnische Zeitung* (see this volume, pp. 13-18).—*Ed.*

[MILITARY DICTATORSHIP IN AUSTRIA]⁹⁸

Cologne, March 17. The year 1848 was the year of disappointment with revolutionary memories, illusions and other phrases. In 1848 the insurgent people of half Europe let themselves be put off with phrases, colourful rags, addresses and processions; and it was quite consistent that the revolution of 1848 should end in universal counter-revolutionary and military dictatorship.

The revolution of 1848 however had at least the result that it not only completely enlightened the people everywhere about the previous phrases, but that it also started a conflagration in the old Europe which all the Cavaignacs and Windischgrätzes in the world will be unable to stamp out.

1849 is the year of disillusion with the omnipotence of military dictatorship.

The military dictatorship comes to grief above all owing to two things: firstly, its inability to solve any of the complications; secondly, its costliness. It collapses as soon as it has to organise or as soon as it has to find regular sources of finance.

The first example of this collapse of military dictatorship is afforded by the "time-honoured" Imperial State of Austria, which could only save its existence by the most violent and extreme rule of the sabre. At the present moment Austria is perishing because of rule by the sabre.

When the revolution was quelled in Vienna with the help of the Slavs, when Pest was captured by the Slav-Austrian army,⁹⁹ when the heroes of martial law believed they could easily deal with the remainder of the Magyar revolution, and that within a fortnight they would re-establish the entire old predatory state from the Ticino and Po to the Dnieper and the Carpathians, the Olmütz camarilla quickly prepared a plan. It was intended, as soon as the sabre dictatorship had been introduced throughout Hungary, to dissolve

Wohl ist die eig. Das Jahr 1848 war das Jahr
der Revolutionen über die ganze Welt.
In Wien Revolutionen, Kämpfe, Aufstand
der Arbeiter. Das Kaiserthum, die alte Verfassung
wurde durch die Revolutionen von 1848 aufge-
hoben; die Revolutionen von 1848 sind die
Ursache der Verfassung der österreichischen
Monarchie.

Während der Revolution von 1848
wurde das Kaiserthum gestürzt, das die
Welt übernahm, aber die bisherigen
Kämpfe sind nicht aufhörlich, sondern
es ist in der That für die ganze
Welt ein Vorbild, das die Welt
sehen wird.

Das Jahr 1849 ist das Jahr der
Revolution über die ganze Welt.

Die Revolutionen sind die Ursache
der Revolutionen: es ist die Ursache
der Revolutionen, die die Revolutionen
von 1848 sind die Ursache der
Revolutionen von 1849.

Das Jahr 1849 ist das Jahr der
Revolution über die ganze Welt.
Die Revolutionen sind die Ursache
der Revolutionen: es ist die Ursache
der Revolutionen, die die Revolutionen
von 1848 sind die Ursache der
Revolutionen von 1849.

The first page of Engels' article "Military Dictatorship in Austria"

the Kremsier Imperial Diet, which had been useful previously on account of the Slavs, to cast aside the Slavs as a worn-out tool, to impose *pro forma* a Constitution which would never be implemented, and to restore the old Metternich system by the old method, the enslavement of one nation by another.

The defeats of the imperial robber bands at the Theiss delayed the execution of this benevolent project. The Slavs were still needed on the battlefield.

But the rumour of the imminent imposition of this plan spread. The Imperial Diet became apprehensive. The Slav Club¹⁰⁰ became daily more dangerous for the Ministers. Agreement was reached that on March 15 the draft Constitution should be adopted in its entirety, thus forestalling the imposition of a Constitution. No other course remained for the camarilla but to risk a desperate coup, to steal a march on the Imperial Diet, and *prematurely*, and in spite of the Slavs, to disperse the Imperial Diet and impose the so-called Constitution.¹⁰¹

This martial-law Charter burst like a bomb among the medley of Austrian peoples. The wrath previously felt only by the Germans and Magyars at the Austrian habit of gaining victory by cowardly acts of treachery, and after the victory to surpass in barbarity the most brutal bandits, this wrath was now shared by the Slavs as well. They were ensnared by the prospect of a "Slav Austria", they were made use of to win victory in Italy and Hungary, and by way of thanks they are now being subjected again to the old Metternich whip. Instead of a "Slav Austria" they are being given a so-called "equality of rights of nations", which denotes here an *equal lack of rights* of all nations in face of the all-powerful camarilla of the higher nobility, which has no nationality at all. Instead of the much vaunted "freedoms", they are being given bayonets, an Imperial Diet whose majority consists of Slavs is being dispersed by cudgel blows, and the holy cradle of pan-Slavism, Prague, is threatened with a state of siege.^a

That is all the benefit the Austrian Slavs, and particularly the Czechs, have derived from allying themselves with the camarilla in order to achieve their national separatist¹⁰² aims instead of joining the German and Magyar revolutions. The Germans and Magyars often enough warned them of what they would gain as a result; but they have chosen this. A province which, on the pretext of wanting to achieve a *special* freedom for itself, joins in a conspiracy with the counter-revolution against freedom for the whole country, deserves

^a After this paragraph Engels deleted the following words: "The Czechs who form the vanguard of the Austrian Slavs, are the...." — *Ed.*

nothing better than that finally it, too, should be cheated by the counter-revolution and cast aside.

Little is yet known of the effect of the new counter-revolutionary coup d'état on the Slavs. No news has yet come from the south or from Galicia. The Moravians are a people too demoralised and enfeebled to be likely to regard the matter otherwise than with fatuous indifference. The Czechs, on the other hand, the spokesmen of the Austrian Slavs and the ones most insultingly swindled, have already expressed their feelings. Their rage knows no bounds. They have been so greatly disappointed that public opinion in Prague has been completely revolutionised. The heads of the Slav alliance with the camarilla, the previous idols of the Czechomaniacs, people such as the *Palackys*, *Strobachs*, *Brauners*, are the object of general imprecation. The German-Bohemian deputies were greeted at the railway station in Prague with loud, jubilant cries. Indeed, *Borrosch* the Germanophil, whose house in Prague had only shortly before been demolished, made a *truly triumphant entry into the capital city of pan-Slavism*. The Czech students carried him shoulder high from the railway station, innumerable cries of "hurrah" for the *German Lefts* in the Imperial Diet were uttered, and the assembled people of Prague sang "Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland".^a

Now the Czechs, too, want to elect deputies to Frankfurt, now when it is too late. But the Austrian Government will probably reply by issuing a decree recalling all the Austrian deputies sitting in St. Paul's Church.¹⁰³

These pronouncements by the Czechs will exert a decisive influence on the way the other Austrian Slavs will react to the martial-law Charter. In spite of all seeming concessions, the Croats and especially the Serbs will grasp the real reason for the imperial gift, and the Galician peasants will pull wry faces when they learn that they must now after all pay compensation for the feudal burdens.

The enthusiasm for Austria and the Emperor, not only of the Slav enthusiasts for nationalism and freedom, but of the Slav peasants as well, will come to an end through this coup d'état. Within fourteen days Austria will be unable to rely to the slightest degree on the Slavs, any more than it can on the Germans and Italians; Austria has now nothing else to depend on than its 600,000 soldiers and—Russia.

It is this coup d'état, which is intended to establish irrevocably the unity and indivisibility of the whole predatory state, that will give the

^a "What is the Fatherland of a German" from Ernst Moritz Arndt's poem "Der Deutschen Vaterland" (music by Gustav Reichardt).—*Ed.*

impulse for the overthrow of the Austrian monarchy, and perhaps for European wars and revolutions.

In Hungary, the army has for the second time been thrown back from the Theiss, and the strength of the Magyar revolution is daily growing more formidable; the Serbs are negotiating with the Magyars, and perhaps—even according to Austrian reports—have already gone over to them; in Croatia, dissatisfaction is daily increasing; Vienna is a volcano which can hardly be kept under by 30,000 bayonets; Italy is on the threshold of war, which at this moment has perhaps already broken out, a war in which Radetzky's demoralised bands will find opponents quite different from those of last year; the financial position is daily growing worse, each month bringing a deficit of more than five million gulden; and in addition there is now the break with the Slavs, who have had a gauntlet flung in their face at a time when they were still urgently needed, precisely as if it were desired to provoke Jellachich to lead his Croats and borderers with drums beating into the Magyar camp!

That is too much for the old Austria. Only the intervention of Russia could save it, and the intervention of Russia, one more step farther than hitherto, means inevitably—a *European war*.

Such is the pass to which Austria has been brought by the military dictatorship; it has been brought to the verge of collapse, to the most complete dissolution, to the brink of bankruptcy.

The sabre can terrorise, but its power goes no further than that. The terrorism exercised by the sabre is the stupidest and most brainless of all. But the fact that a revolution has been put down by grape-shot does not mean that anything has been accomplished; it is easy to proclaim and put into effect a state of siege, but to *emerge from it* again, that is after all the chief thing, and that requires more than just a moustache.

Precisely to come out of the exceptional state of siege, to come out of the provisional regime, and in order to “*put an end to the revolution*”, the aristocratic wielders of the sabre have imposed the Constitution. And precisely this Constitution is the cause that the Austrian revolution is *only now really beginning*.

“God save Emperor Francis!”^a

Written by Engels on March 17, 1849

Printed according to the manuscript

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 43,
Moscow 1976

Published in English for the first time

^a L. L. Haschka, National and State Anthem of Austria. Music by Joseph Haydn.—*Ed.*

[THE 18th OF MARCH]

Cologne, March 18. We confess to our readers that we do not know how to write any leading article for today. The March revolution in Berlin, that feeble echo of the revolution in Vienna,¹⁰⁴ never aroused our enthusiasm. On March 19, 1848, Berlin sang: “*In Jesus is my trust!*”^a We advise the worthy Berliners this time to say on March 18: “*In Wrangel is my trust!*”

The anniversary the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* will celebrate will be that of *June 25*.¹⁰⁵

And what will the *Kölnische Zeitung* do, that is to say, the “Cologne bourgeoisie”?

On March 22, 1848, the chief reproach of the *Kölnische Zeitung* against Herr von “Arnim” was that he had *banned* the *Rheinische Zeitung*. At that time Camphausen was not yet a Minister. We mention this for clarification.

We still remember the happy time when *Camphausen* collaborated with us in *Cologne*.¹⁰⁶ The attitude of *Camphausen* to us in the past and our present attitude to him—therein lies the *secret of the March revolution of 1848*.

Written by Marx on March 18, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 249 (second edition),
March 18, 1849

Published in English for the first
time

^a Initial words of the song “Jesus meine Zuversicht!”—*Ed.*

[THE *NEUE PREUSSISCHE ZEITUNG*
ON THE OCCASION OF THE 18th OF MARCH]

Cologne, March 18. The organ of *Frederick William IV*, the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, writes as follows on the occasion of March 18, 1849:

“Double woe, however, to the people that solemnly commemorates its revolution; to sin is human, but to take pride in the sin and to celebrate one’s crime is of the devil.”^a

In a feature article of the same issue, the newspaper calls the struggle on March 18 and 19 a “**bloody farce**”! That is the fitting reward “to My people”¹⁰⁷ for having made *half* a revolution.

Further, the newspaper reports that a few days ago Wrangel went to “*inspect*” *Friedrichshain*.¹⁰⁸

We shall await what Herr Wrangel will “**inspect**” on March 18, 1850.

Written by Marx on March 18, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 249 (second edition),
March 18, 1849

Published in English for the first
time

^a *Neue Preussische Zeitung* No. 64, March 17, 1849.—*Ed.*

[FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

The Vienna papers are missing again tonight. Frankly, we cannot explain this limitless muddle, which is becoming worse every day.

We have received news from Pest via Breslau up to the 11th of March. No official word from the theatre of war; but Magyar and Austrian reports, though not official, are in the main in *complete* agreement.

It is becoming more and more evident every day that for the last fortnight the imperial troops have suffered one defeat after another. At least half the royal imperial Austrian generals have proved to be sheer dolts and Windischgrätz, though no less incompetent, is now throwing them out of the command. *Zeisberg* has completely disappeared, *Karger* and *Deym*, who compromised themselves at Szolnok, are the subject of an enquiry; *Wrbona*, who according to Magyar reports was chiefly to blame for the defeat of the Austrians at Mezö-Kövesd, is also said to be involved in an enquiry, and, as all reports indicate, has "fallen into disgrace" and "likely to be pensioned off".

The nature of the so-called victory at Kapolna is revealed in the following report of the Vienna *Lithographierte Correspondenz*:

"According to the report of the Kapolna notary, who had to arrange for the burial of the fallen in the battle there, the number of dead on the Hungarian side was 1,500 and on the imperial side 4,000."^a

Moreover, it is evident from Austrian reports that *Schlick* attended a war council in *Ofen* and that he is to take over the command of the Northern Army, Ban *Jellachich* that of the Southern Army, and that

^a The report was reprinted under the heading: "Wien, 14. März" in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 76, March 17, 1849 and in *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 66 (second edition), March 18, 1849.— *Ed.*

Field Marshal *Windischgrätz* will remain in Ofen. It seems that people are not completely satisfied that the twin capitals¹⁰⁹ will be maintained.

The following reports of the Magyar correspondent of the *Breslauer Zeitung* show what impression *Windischgrätz's* latest measures regarding the Hungarian banknotes¹¹⁰ have made in Pest:

“Commercial circles in Pest wanted to hold a meeting to consult about this measure, but Prince *Windischgrätz* would not allow it. The excitement in Pest was so great that the Prince found himself compelled to send 40,000 gulden in small Austrian banknotes to pay the workers' wages.—The Pest Commercial Bank also wanted to issue a circular saying that it would accept Hungarian notes as before, but *Windischgrätz* prohibited the Bank from accepting these notes. The *Josephi Fair* now being held in Pest is as good as non-existent because of the confusion over the banknotes, and in the end it is the Austrian merchants who are most hit by this, since they can neither sell nor collect outstanding amounts.”

New evidence of the quite extraordinary measures which the imperial army finds itself compelled to introduce simply to retain the positions it now holds, is to be found in a decree of *Windischgrätz* from Ofen on March 10, which subjects the nobility and the citizens and also the cities and villages which join the rebellion to military requisitions without claim to compensation; next those sections of the nobility and the citizens which proved inactive in the imperial cause are required to bear the cost of provisioning the army; but in this case receipts will be issued and the claim to compensation is reserved. The faithful and loyal inhabitants have a special claim to full compensation; those who cause damage will incur sequestration of property.

The Magyar correspondent reports from the comitats of Tolna and Baranya:

“Yesterday the Mohacs mail was returned; Mohacs and *Fünfkirchen* were occupied by the Hungarians. The Hungarian General *Perczel* has marched with 10,000 men into *Pentele* on the Ofen bank of the Danube. *Pentele* is about 8 miles distant from Ofen. 400 imperial soldiers were driven out of *Földvár* on the Danube by the village peasants. On the Pest side operations proceed slowly and it appears that the main force of the Hungarians is crossing over to the Ofen bank of the Danube. The Hungarians seem very anxious to save Pest from bombardment, and must therefore direct their main offensive against Ofen, and when that is taken, Pest will fall automatically.”

Reports that *Fünfkirchen* is in the hands of the Magyars and that a strong Magyar corps is marching to the right bank of the Danube certainly require confirmation.

The following (Austrian) report comes from *Komorn*:

“Six thousand sixty-pound bombs have been brought up for the bombardment of *Komorn*; communication trenches are being dug around the fortress and water is run

into them so as to flood the subterranean buildings of the fortress (!). The garrison consists of 10 battalions. The inhabitants must hand over food mostly for nothing, since they cannot give change for the Kossuth 100-florin notes with which the men pay.”^a

“Communication trenches” by means of which “subterranean buildings are flooded” have hitherto been unknown and must be an entirely new royal imperial Austrian invention, rather like the famous balloons which were to bombard Venice.

The following report comes from Transylvania; it must surely be very painful to the neighbouring journalist who is such a Russophil:

“News has arrived in a roundabout way from Transylvania which brings us up to the 4th of the month. The cities of Kronstadt and Hermannstadt have to *produce a sum of 1,000 florins per day for the billeting of Russian troops*, about which they have complained to the general in command. Bem is still at Mediasch and Puchner is limited to his previous forces. *Without significant Russian support (?) or a diversion from the Banat (!) the pacification of unhappy Transylvania is unthinkable.*”^b

A diversion from the Banat! As if the Serbs had not been refusing for six weeks to leave their homeland to save the haggling Flemish Jews in the Transylvanian Sachsenland!¹¹¹ And even if they wanted to, as if 40,000 Magyars on the Maros did not give them more than enough to do!

According to the *Ost-Deutsche Post*,^c Dembiński is said to have resigned because of a dissension with Görgey, and Görgey is supposed to have become Commander-in-Chief on the Theiss. This news, which must have been sent from Pest on the 10th at the latest, appears to be a pure martial-law rumour, and is not even remotely confirmed by anyone. We give it only for the sake of completeness.

Written by Engels on March 17, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

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time

^a This report was first published in the *Breslauer Zeitung* and then under the dateline “Wien, 14. März” reprinted in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 66 (second edition), March 18, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b *Ibid.*—*Ed.*

^c “Wien, 12. März”, *Ost-Deutsche Post* No. 45, March 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

MILITARY REPORTS FROM HUNGARY

Cologne, March 19. At last a Bulletin again, the 28th. But we search this document, printed in the *Wiener Zeitung* of March 15, in vain for reports from the Theiss, the main theatre of war; in vain we ask where Jablonowsky, Götz and their associates have gone; it is precisely on the most important events that the official Bulletin maintains a silence which speaks very loudly. On the other hand, it reports the following mighty advances of the imperial troops:

1) From *Transylvania*:

“To put an end to the devastating action of the enemy, who threatens to reduce the Saxon districts to complete ruin by the most oppressive requisitioning of money and victuals, and also to gain the line of the Kokel and thence to advance further towards Maros-Vásárhely and to link up with the corps of Lieutenant-Field Marshal von Malkowsky, who has advanced to Bistritz, the Commanding General, Lieutenant-Field Marshal Puchner, ordered the van der Nüll brigade to advance to Stolzenburg on the 28th of last month, to Markt-Schelken on March 1, to Arbegin and Frauendorf on the 2nd, to which it was followed on the 3rd by the main corps consisting of the two brigades of Stutterheim and Kalliani. After the first brigades had fought a victorious vanguard skirmish on March 2, the next day—when all three brigades had come together—the enemy was gradually driven back from all three positions which the insurgents had occupied (before Kopisch, at the inn of Grossprobsdorf and at Mediasch), with a loss of 300 dead and wounded and 85 prisoners. The insurgents withdrew in great haste to Maros-Vásárhely, whither they were pursued by a cavalry division,¹¹² an infantry battalion and two guns under Lieutenant-Colonel Bussek after the occupation of Mediasch. Since preparations are now being made for the occupation of Maros-Vásárhely communication with the Malkowsky corps and Colonel Urban as well as with the Bukovina will be restored.”

Even if all this were true it proves merely that the imperial forces, evidently *reinforced by the Russians*, have taken Mediasch, while Bem was prevented by his wound from taking command. Thereby the imperial forces have gained a few miles of terrain. If the Bulletin

boasts of the fact that preparations are being made for the occupation of Maros-Vásárhely and the to-be-expected restoration of communications with Malkowsky's corps in the Bukovina, it must be taken into consideration that Puchner is in Mediasch and Malkowsky at most in Bistritz, and that between these two places there lie 20 to 25 miles of high mountain country, so the boast of preparing to establish communications will mean about as much as if the Italians were to claim that by giving notice to the Piedmontese armistice¹¹³ they had made preparations for "establishing communications" with the Magyars.

Incidentally, that Bem is seriously ill and that the Szeklers (for good reasons) have imposed really substantial contributions on the Saxon philistines as reward for their black-and-yellow^a enthusiasm is proved by the following communication^b:

"*Hermannstadt*, February 26. Bem, who is ill, drove to Maros-Vásárhely on the 23rd; his arm is in a very dangerous condition as a result of the amputation of a finger.—Schäsburg has had to pay a contribution of 30,000 florins C.M.¹¹⁴ and recently another 100,000 florins C.M. have been demanded from it and the administrative localities.—All the newspapers have mentioned the 195,000 men of the Romanian *Landsturm*; I can assure you that this figure exists merely on paper."

2) The Bulletin reports about *Komorn*:

"According to reports of the siege command of Komorn the pontoon bridge between Acs and Gönyö is completed and the closer encirclement of Komorn is thereby accomplished. On the 11th of this month the garrison of the Waag bridgehead made a sortie against Hetény, which was, however, beaten back by the Veigl brigade."

Duroc explained to Napoleon that Komorn was "impregnable". Short of betrayal, therefore, the imperial forces will not get in, and the Magyars have already taken strong measures to protect themselves against treason.

3) From the *Banat*:

"After the entire left bank of the Maros from the Transylvanian border to the Theiss was cleared of the enemy in February by the operations of the imperial Auströ-Serbian army corps and the troops under Lieutenant-Field Marshal Baron Rukavina, Commanding General in the Banat, and secured by a well-planned arrangement of our troops in combination with the two fortresses of Arad and Temesvar, it seemed no longer necessary for the Serb auxiliary corps to remain in the Banat and in the Bacska comitat, and General Todorovich was in a position to comply with the wish expressed earlier by the Princely Serb Government, by allowing this brave auxiliary corps to go home to its peaceful occupation. At the beginning of this month the auxiliary corps returned to Belgrade in two steamboats along the Theiss and

^a The Austrian imperial colours.—*Ed.*

^b *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 62, March 14, 1849.—*Ed.*

Danube. On March 1 General Todorovich had his headquarters at Turkish Kanizsa on the Theiss, three hours from Szegedin and Theresiopel, in the direction of which the vanguard troops were moved forward on both banks of the Theiss into the immediate neighbourhood of these towns."

Really! The Serb auxiliary corps was no longer necessary! And what, then, has become of the mighty expedition to Transylvania and Grosswardein, which the last Bulletin but two announced with so much pomp?^a After the left bank of the Maros has been cleared, the imperial troops suddenly confine themselves to the defensive, instead of marching on! But there are reasons for this, for which we must not, of course, ask the royal imperial bulletins. On the other hand, the organ of the Slavs, the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*, is enlightening us on this point. This paper carries a letter *from the Sava*, of March 9^b:

"With every day dissensions increase among us, with every day our situation becomes more oppressive, and we are learning by experience that in this great struggle of the nations we *have helped to stage* the uncommonly instructive fable of *the squeezed lemon*. We have not yet recovered from the shock produced by the last order of Ban Jellachich introducing the German language; we have not yet forgotten the profound grief which stirred within us when we heard that all volunteer forces from the Serb principality might return home, and blow after blow new misfortunes are rained upon us. And now Prince Windischgrätz has issued an order to Patriarch Rajachich and General Todorovich to *dissolve all national departments* which have existed in the Voivodina since its conquest, and likewise to *abolish all garrisons except the imperial garrisons*, and to restore the *old army commands* and regiments to their former powers. This order of the Field Marshal caused much suspicion and dissatisfaction, and everyone was anxiously waiting for the reply of the Patriarch which, when it appeared, cheered the gloomy faces and gave room for hope. It said: 'So long as I am the administrator of these lands, I shall and will not admit this dissolution; this must not and cannot be. If you, however, insist on your order, I shall dissolve everything, but I cannot be held responsible for what the nation will say to that.' No less satisfactory was the reply of General Todorovich. *A most disagreeable impression* has been made by the news of the dissolution of the Kremsier Imperial Diet and the Constitution which has been imposed."^{115,}

And when the Bulletin reports on the siege of Peterwardein as follows:

"Master of Ordnance¹¹⁶ Count Nugent himself is engaged in the negotiations about the surrender of the important fortress of Peterwardein, where among the majority of the troops and of the population such a strong inclination to return to their duties has shown itself that this gives us great hope that we shall again see the royal imperial colours decorate this important military point in a few days, as they do the fortress of Esseg",

^a See this volume, p. 62.—*Ed.*

^b *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 62 (second supplement), March 14, 1849.—*Ed.*

the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* replies with the following South-Slav *Miserere*:

“From the *Drava*, March 9. Nugent has moved his headquarters from Dalja to Čerevič in Syrmien, but Dalja must remain occupied since it could serve as a base for a sudden raid. Incidentally, the fact that troop detachments are frequently ordered to two different places and then it turns out that these contradictory orders were given in most pressing circumstances, indicates to some extent how insufficient our armed forces are.

“At Theresiopel in the Bacska comitat the Magyar troops mentioned yesterday were opposed only by three battalions and they had to yield to too great a superior force.

“In the operations against Peterwardein we are advancing rapidly. Consignments of siege guns leave Esseg daily in this direction, so *there is not a word of truth in the babble about the imminent surrender of the fortress*. Everything rests on sanguine illusions, although what has not yet happened will beyond doubt (!) happen, perhaps (!!) soon (!!!). The Austrian Serbs, who are much disgusted at the recall of their brothers from the other side of the border, do not even approve of the imperial troops operating against Peterwardein, for they regard this fortress as their own property and claim that their own national troops should take it. In the light of Stratimirovich's reservations, this reflects a certain mood which is now becoming articulate among the masses and the middle classes in the form of an admission that one wants to see whether Magyars, Swabians or Serbs will rule here. And here too we see that the particularist interests have the upper hand, and that there seems to be more concern for their attainment than for the preservation of the federal empire.”^a

It is quite evident that thunderclouds are gathering in the Serbian Voivodina for the foundering Austrian united monarchy, and that we were right to point out some time ago how little the camarilla can still rely on the Serbs.^b But the following lines show that this does not refer to the Serbs alone, but that *all the Southern Slavs* share the same discontent with the renewed Austrian perfidy:

“Some Agram papers of the 9th already publish the imposed Constitution and reports on the dissolution of the Imperial Diet. We searched these papers in vain for effusions of joy; on the contrary, the *Slavenski jug* of the 10th expresses unconcealed resentment, and the *Südslavische Zeitung* of the 9th contains a few lines deploring this event.”^c

The official *Wiener Zeitung* moreover contains the following from Agram:

“For several days mobile national guards have been arriving, having arbitrarily left their posts on the cordon, alleging that they have received neither pay nor bread for some weeks. Whether this is really so, and if it is so, whose fault it is, we do not know; but in any case we must regret the return of our guards, who, against all expectations, devoted themselves eagerly to the cordon service, since the distrust aroused in the guardsmen by any withholding of their pay can have incalculably bad consequences. In any case it would be desirable for the worthy Banal Council¹¹⁷ to discover the

^a *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 63, March 15, 1849.— *Ed.*

^b See this volume, pp. 97-98.— *Ed.*

^c “Pest, 10. März”, *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 62, March 14, 1849.— *Ed.*

reasons for this unauthorised return of the guards, make them public, and finally punish the guilty severely."^a

All danger to the Magyars from the Slav south has consequently been eliminated, particularly since Kničanin, the most popular Serbian leader after Stratimirovich, has likewise returned to his fatherland, Turkish Serbia.

4) The Bulletin suddenly admits in the most naive way that, as the Magyar correspondence quite correctly reported, the Hungarian guerillas have again advanced to the Danube in the rear of the Austrians:

"The communication by water along the Danube has only been interrupted by bands of armed *Landsturm* brought together by hostile fanatics in the area of Kalocsa, Pataj and Šolt, who wanted to stir up the right bank of the Danube at Paks and Földvar previously completely pacified. Suitable reinforcements which the garrison of Fünfkirchen has received from Slavonia, under Colonel Reiche, an expedition which three days ago went in 15 tugboats to the disturbed areas of both banks of the Danube on order from His Highness Field Marshal Prince Windischgrätz, and the operations of those troops of the army corps of Master of Ordnance Count Nugent which had been stationed at Szekszard and Mohacs and were commanded by Colonel Baron Lederer, will already have put a stop to these vain enterprises of dispersed enemy hordes and *made* the threatened areas permanently *safe*."

"Will have made safe"! The royal imperial bulletins' habit of never reporting genuinely completed actions but only actions still to be accomplished, is becoming all too repetitive. If Welden does not give up this habit it will probably become impossible even for the *Kölnische Zeitung* to defend his bulletins.

In short: that the peasants *have* rebelled is a *fact*, and that the Austrians *will* pacify them is a *futurity*.

This is all the Bulletin reports. Fortunately, the silence of this official document does not prevent our receiving other news from the Theiss. A report asserts that Szolnok has again been evacuated by the Magyars. That this is a lie is proved by the silence of the Austrian Bulletin. On the contrary, the imperial troops are in a very difficult position there. The *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* wails from Pest on March 10:

"If only the hundredth part of the verbal bulletins of the Magyars is to be believed we shall have the Hungarians in Pest-Ofen on March 15 at the latest. For my part I still rely confidently on the victory of the imperial arms. According to a fairly reliable source the Austrian army was still in Abony yesterday; but according to the reports of the local malcontents the imperial troops have withdrawn far beyond Szegled and the Hungarians took this place at the point of the bayonet. Today the decisive battle is to be fought. May the God of Victory be with the imperial flag. I do not see ghosts and I

^a *Wiener Zeitung* No. 62, March 14, 1849.—*Ed.*

do not believe in premonitions, but my heart will beat more calmly when the 15th of March has gone happily by. On that date, according to my blind faith, the last spark of danger for Pest-Ofen will be extinguished. The Hungarians are said to be firmly determined to celebrate this day with a mighty deed of arms."^a

So there is still danger for Budapest! The Vienna *Lithographierte Correspondenz* writes, moreover:

"On the other hand, the reports on the stubborn resistance with which the royal imperial army is meeting corroborate each other. The latter has been increased to 148,000 men, it is true; but only a third of this number is used in military operations. The courage and daring of the Hungarian hussars is reported to be excellent and in particular the Wallmoden cuirassier regiment has suffered heavily from them. The inhospitable nature of the region in which the royal imperial troops are now encamped also contributes to making the campaign more difficult."

Maklar, according to authentic news the most remote village occupied by the imperial troops, was *burnt down* by them because there five waggons of ammunition have been played into the hands of the Magyars. The alleged culprits, five in number, were executed without ceremony. Such is the civilised conduct of the war by which the noble Windischgrätz seeks to ensure the victory which has hitherto eluded his colours. He also issued the following proclamation, the essential contents of which we indicated yesterday^b:

Pest. "Hereby the following is decreed:

"1) All requisitioning will from now on be borne by the nobility and citizens who have taken part in the rebellion in Hungary without claim to any compensation or indemnification.

"2) All cities and villages which join the rebellion or which allow themselves to be misled into joining the *Landsturm* under any pretext whatever also come into this category.

"3) The heads of any comitat, district, town and village, as well as all public officials and landowners who leave their posts or residences at the approach of the royal imperial troops and thereby not only make the provisioning of the army more difficult but also lead to the oppression of the poor and innocent classes of the population, will immediately have their entire property, movable or immovable, conscribed and sequestered, and the produce and cattle found will at once be used to provision the royal imperial troops. Individuals and officials causing any damage to the imperial treasury with evil intent, who make loyal subjects of His Majesty the object of persecution or, given the opportunity, fail to prevent this to the best of their ability, come into the same category.

"4) Whatever else may be required for the provisioning of the royal imperial troops will be collected from that section of the more prosperous noblemen and citizens which has proved inactive in the sacred and just cause of His Majesty our most gracious Emperor and King.^c These requisitions are, however, exacted against receipt and their claim to indemnification is reserved.

^a *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 62, March 14, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b See this volume, p. 111.—*Ed.*

^c Francis Joseph I.—*Ed.*

"5) The peasants are obliged, it is true, to deliver immediately and without opposition any objects of requisition which are demanded by the royal imperial troop commanders, but complete compensation is guaranteed them from the properties of the above-mentioned categories 1, 2 and 3.

"6) In particular all those who have suffered or will suffer damage at the hands of the rebels for showing firm loyalty to His Majesty have a claim to complete compensation.

"7) Should the compensation from the properties of the three mentioned categories guaranteed under paragraphs 5 and 6 be insufficient, the damages to those concerned will be conscientiously assessed by impartial commissions, and apportioned to the comitat or the whole land according to circumstances on fair principles.

Headquarters, Ofen, March 10, 1849.

Alfred, Prince zu Windischgrätz,
Royal Imperial Field Marshal."^a

The fusillades are also beginning again. Thus the *Breslauer Zeitung* writes:

"According to reports of the 13th from Pest the Major of the perjured Zanini infantry regiment, who was taken prisoner at Kapolna, has been shot under martial law."

We hope Kossuth will not fail to take proper revenge for this foul murder.

These measures, combined with the stubborn silence of "Prince" Windischgrätz, prove more clearly than anything how brilliantly the all-mighty royal imperial army is faring on the Theiss and how soon "the war in Hungary will come to an end".

Finally we have from the Carpathians the following brief note which only proves how little progress the imperial forces are making there and how much the inhabitants of the Zips dislike the Slovak so-called *Landsturm*, which consists of mere riff-raff. The mass of the Slovak people, as we have often said already, support the Magyars. The article reads:

"*Kaschau*, March 3. Field Marshal Ramberg has issued a proclamation by virtue of which the population is ordered to regard the Slovak *Landsturm* with the same respect as the imperial troops. At the same time the leader of the *Landsturm* is authorised in accordance with the proclamation issued by Prince Windischgrätz on January 1 of this year to *raze to the ground* any place that dares to attack them.—Tomorrow Hurban, Štúr and other elected (!) trusted representatives (!) of the Slovak people are going to Olmütz to present to the Emperor the just wishes and grievances (!) of their people."^b

^a "Pest", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 62 (second supplement), March 14, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b "Kaschau, 3. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 63, March 15, 1849. The date of Windischgrätz's proclamation as given by the newspaper is not accurate. It was signed on December 26, 1848.—*Ed.*

Messrs. Štúr and Hurban are such good “trusted representatives” of the Slovaks that they have already been chased over the Jablunka Pass to Moravia several times by these selfsame Slovaks!

Lastly we draw attention to a proclamation of Windischgrätz of the 11th,^a in which he demonstrates how little the cause of the insurgents is a national cause since among 100 prisoners one meets at least 60 individuals of different nationality.

Quod erat demonstrandum! The Magyars have always had it cast in their teeth that their struggle was *not* a fight for liberty but a *national* struggle! Indeed! Nobody is so clever as an Austrian Field Marshal! In the same proclamation *the hard-pressed Windischgrätz calls for volunteer corps against the Magyars.*

A fine opportunity for our colleagues, the gentlemen of the *Kölnische Zeitung!*

Written by Engels on March 19, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 250, March 20, 1849

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^a “An die Bewohner Ungarns. Vom 11. März”, *Wiener Zeitung* No. 64 (evening supplement), March 15, 1849.—*Ed.*

FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

Striking evidence of the fortunes of the imperial cause is given by the following report from Vienna:

"The claim made by several newspapers that *the situation in Hungary has taken a serious turn* has been *officially denied*. Yet the public firmly believes this to be so."

Consequently, the day after the publication of an official bulletin,^a Welden still has to make a point of assuring the people that the situation in Hungary has not "taken a serious turn"! As though such a fact were not itself quite enough!

In addition, the following martial-law gossip has been disseminated in Vienna:

"The army operating in *Hungary* is occupying the following positions: *Tokaj* is occupied by Götz's brigade, *Miskolcz* by Jablonowsky's brigade; Lieutenant-Field Marshal Schlick's army corps is at *Erlau*; and the bulk of the army is concentrated between this area and *Szolnok*; the Ban has his headquarters at *Szegléd*, the Prince Field Marshal at *Ofen*."

It is very difficult to deny that Schlick is at Erlau and Jellachich at Szegléd, for already a week ago they were occupying these positions which are situated far in the rear. But it is obviously untrue that Jablonowsky is in Miskolcz and especially that Götz is in Tokaj. The authors of yesterday's Bulletin must surely have known this.

The *Breslauer Zeitung* contains the following report from Hungary, which on this occasion, exceptionally, we must regard as very dubious, and at least *the first half* as nothing but gossip circulating in Pest:

"The *Rascians*¹¹⁸ have *again been routed by the Hungarians* at Theresiopel. As a result, the imperial commandant of the Temesvar fortress, General Rukavina, has

^a i.e. the 28th Army Bulletin. See this volume, pp. 113-20.— *Ed.*

sent a courier to Windischgrätz at Pest requesting immediate assistance, as otherwise he would have to surrender. *The Hungarian General Görgey has raised the siege of the Komorn fortress, which was already being bombarded by the imperial Lieutenant-Field Marshal Simunich. Simunich has retreated towards Leopoldstadt, leaving behind a great quantity of baggage.* Lieutenant-Field Marshal Count Schlick, to whom Windischgrätz entrusted the conduct of the retreat, arrived in Pest yesterday. In private conversation, Schlick expressed the greatest admiration for Dembiński.—Because of the new, extremely tight blockade, we are without reliable information on the present position of the Hungarian army, but the continuing return flow of guns and ammunition clearly indicates that the Hungarians are advancing. Yesterday, a Hungarian patrol entered Promontor, an hour and a half from Ofen, causing the greatest alarm in the Ofen fortress. Most of the Viennese wholesalers who are in Pest for the Josephi Fair currently in progress, have had their goods packed and sent back to Vienna.”

Through the Austrian correspondent we have received the following reports from Transylvania. We are printing these, too, only with the greatest reservations, for they are excessively biased in favour of the Austrian side.

“Kronstadt, February 22. The local Saxon magistrate, who initially approached General Lüders for Russian help, seems already now not to be very happy about having done so. The Russians here have indeed acted in a rather extraordinary manner. There are reports of things occurring which, if they were confirmed, would indeed make the speedy removal of the Russian auxiliary troops desirable. In Kronstadt a sort of income tax has been levied on the inhabitants for the maintenance of the Russian troops; while we previously thought that this burden would on no account be imposed upon us.—There is talk of large Turkish armies arriving here after marching through Wallachia; more Russian troops are also expected here.”

“Hermannstadt, February 26. Diverse rumours are circulating here about Bem, proof that there is no precise information about his movements. Today it was said here that Bem had died as a result of the amputation he had undergone (!), which I do not yet believe. What is true is that he is short of munitions. As (!) he is expecting reinforcements and munitions from Hungary via Klausenburg, he is directing his force towards Maros-Vásárhely; for (!) even though Colonel Urban is operating with only four battalions of regulars, Bem is much more afraid of this hero than of all the corps commanders together with the Russian Cossacks. After spending two weeks here in inactivity, the troops were today beginning to move. At this moment two brigades are on the march, one towards Schässburg, the other towards Blasendorf via Mediasch. The Romanian Prefect A. Sever, who was posted in Resinari with 400 Landsturm men, has also received orders to march towards Blasendorf. Assistance from the Banat has still not arrived; on the other hand, there is talk of more Russian troops on their way here. I give the less credence to this as reports from the neighbouring country all agree that large Turkish forces are moving towards Wallachia.”

Written by Engels about March 20, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 251, March 21, 1849

Published in English for the first time

FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

Since the failure of the second attempt of the imperial forces to cross the Theiss, military operations have again come to a halt. Windischgrätz is in Ofen, ostensibly to settle administrative matters; Schlick and Jellachich have held a council of war with him, at which the plan of operations was substantially changed. Schlick remains in command of the army of the North; Jellachich, having vainly sought for months to effect a crossing of the Theiss at Szolnok, will now give this up altogether and move southwards to Theresiopel, to unite his forces with the Serbs and border troops stationed at Szegedin, and will probably try to capture Szegedin, in order then to cross the Theiss there and operate on its left bank against Debreczin. The Magyars will know how to give him an appropriate welcome. It is questionable whether he will succeed in persuading the Serbian *Landsturm*, which constitutes the bulk of the troops stationed there, to join his army.

In the Banat of Temesvar, all is quiet. The Serbs, whose awareness of Austria's perfidy, by which they were duped, is growing daily, are not attacking anywhere. But without them, the imperial troops stationed there can do nothing. The *Südslavische Zeitung* reports from there:

"At Alt-Arad, the insurgents have once again concentrated a considerable body of troops under the command of the insurgent General Damjanich (previously a captain in the Rukavina regiment), General Vetter (previously a major in the Don Miguel regiment) and Colonel Gaal (a pensioned-off royal imperial Lieutenant-Colonel), who is leading the siege of the fortress."^a

^a *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 65, March 17, 1849.—*Ed.*

The insurrection in the comitats of Tolna and Baranya is becoming daily more threatening. All available troops have been sent there. It is worth noting that the Baranya comitat, the core of the insurrection, is for the most part populated by *Slavs*, Serbs and Slavonians.

In Transylvania, a French officer is said to have assumed command during Bem's illness. The operations at Szolnok are also said to have been directed by a Frenchman named Duchatel.

We shall return in more detail^a to the Slav "troubles", which are taking an ever more edifying turn.

Written by Engels about March 21, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

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^a See this volume, pp. 133 and 162.—*Ed.*

THE HOHENZOLLERN PRESS BILL

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 252, March 22, 1849]

Cologne, March 21. In accordance with our promise^a we return to the Hohenzollern plans to reform the freedom of the press and the right of association, plans which owe their inspiration to the state of siege. Today, a comparison with the previous plans for penal legislation, which were already *rejected* by the Rhenish Diet¹¹⁹ under the aegis of the Camphausen opposition, will suffice to show what glorious "achievements" the *Rhinelanders* owe to the March uprising in Berlin, and what fresh features of the Prussian Law's love of violence have been bestowed on *Rhenish* legislation¹²⁰ by the "unweakened" Crown of the Grand Duke in Berlin.^b

Two years ago at the United Diet, which as one remembers was brought into being by royal patent,¹²¹ the junker Thadden-Trigloff from the Pomeranian Mancha entered the lists on behalf of freedom of the press. This associate of the Westphalian "valiant" young knight Vincke wielded his lance:

"Yes, public, but really public, proceedings for the gentlemen of the press:
"Freedom of the press, and along with it the gallows!"¹²²

The Bills which the November Government^c seeks to impose represent the re-emergence of these old pre-March patented efforts. The "strong Crown of Prussia" exclaims in reply to the hated provisions of the *Code pénal*, and to the acquittal verdicts of Rhenish juries against tax refusers and agitators:

^a See this volume, p. 69.—*Ed.*

^b Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

^c i.e. the Brandenburg-Manteuffel Government which carried out the coup d'état in Prussia.—*Ed.*

“Yes, public, but really public, proceedings:

“*Freedom of the press, and along with it the gallows, the gallows of the Prussian Law!*”

The provisions of the *Code pénal* entirely ignore the easily offended susceptibility of the feelings of His Hohenzollern Majesty. In spite of the property qualification and infiltration by the police, it is not possible to find Rhenish jurymen who would punish the unspeakable crime of *lèse-majesté* with anything more than the 5-franc fine for insult to a “private person”. The imperial despotism had too high an opinion of itself to state that its majesty could be “insulted”, but the Christian-Germanic Father-of-the-people consciousness which understandably can in no way bear comparison with the lofty eminence of Napoleonic pride, feels a “deep-seated need” to re-establish the protection of its old-Prussian dignity in its Rhenish Grand Duchy. The “strong” Crown does not *dare* to abolish the Rhenish legal system, but it grafts on it the much more promising shoot of the legal concepts of the Prussian Law and exclaims:

“*Public, really public proceedings, and along with them the gallows of the Prussian Law!*”

As regards the “public proceedings” which for the time being are to be imposed on the Rhenish Code para. 22 of the Bill states:

“The police authorities are entitled to confiscate any publication intended for distribution **wherever found**, even if it has already begun to be issued, insofar as ... its content provides the basis for a crime or offence which can be *administratively* the subject of prosecution.”

The police is entitled to confiscate newspapers displeasing to it in the post and in offices even if they have “*already begun to be issued*”, that is to say, when the “preventive measures” of the police “as such” are supposed to cease and the matter “legally” comes within the competence of the courts. The police possesses this right of confiscation in all cases where the “content” of publications, newspapers etc. “provides the basis for a crime or offence” which can be “*the subject of prosecution*” “administratively”, i.e. by the police, that is to say, where the police wishes to indulge its Uckermark¹²³ hankerings to play the role of the Public Prosecutor’s office and considers it necessary to justify this inclination by the extremely odd plea of some kind of “crime or offence” or other circumstances which “can be the subject of *prosecution*”. Finally, the police can confiscate all such printed matter, *c’est-à-dire* all that it suits the lord and his holy Hermandad¹²⁴ to confiscate, *wherever found*, that is to say, it can invade private houses and the secrets of family life, and where there are no grounds for protecting property by means of the

state of siege and the Croats, under the power afforded by constitutional legality the private property of law-abiding citizens can be plundered by the police. The Bill, moreover, speaks of all publications "intended" for distribution, "*even if*" their issue has already begun; this presupposes "as a matter of course" the right of confiscation where the distribution has *not yet* begun, which *cannot yet be the basis* for any "crime or offence", and thus extends police robbery to the private possession of objects which are not legally "liable to prosecution". The French September laws,¹²⁵ the sabrerattling censorship of Cavaignac's military dictatorship, and even the Bills on penal legislation put before the old Provincial Diets and Committees "to the displeasure of His Majesty", at least respected private property that "still gives no grounds for crime or offence". The press Bill based on the March achievements in Berlin, on the other hand, organises a public police vendetta against private property and the possessions of citizens and in the name of Christian-Germanic police morality violently drags into public view personal matters that have nothing whatever to do with penal law.

"Public, really public proceedings, and along with them the gallows of the Prussian Law!"

The improvement of these public proceedings goes hand in hand with improving the provisions of the Prussian Law.

The desired enactment concerning *lèse-majesté* is "constituted" in para. 12 in the following way:

"Anyone who by word, writing, printing or signs, by pictorial or other representation, *violates respect for the King* will be punished by imprisonment of from two months to *five years*."

If the Rhenish subjects do not know what degree of "respect" is demanded from them by their Hohenzollern Grand Duke, who was foisted on them by the haggling over nations at Vienna,¹²⁶ they can look up the preamble to the Berlin penal law.

Up to now, the highest sentence that could be imposed by the Prussian Law¹²⁷ for *lèse-majesté* was *two years*, and for *violation of respect one year*, of imprisonment or detention in a fortress (Prussian Law [*Allgemeines Landrecht*], II. 20. paras. 199, 200).

These provisions, however, do not seem to have been an adequate safeguard for the august feelings of the "strong Crown of Prussia". Already in the "Bill concerning penal law for the Prussian states" submitted to the United Commissions¹²⁸ of 1847, "utterances in words or writing, or by pictures etc., which *intentionally* violate the *honour* of the King (para. 101), are punishable by *six months' to five years' penal labour*". On the other hand, however, "utterances and

actions which, although *not* to be regarded in themselves *as insults to the King*, nevertheless violate *due respect to him* (para. 102), are punishable by imprisonment of from six weeks *to one year*." In the official preamble to this Bill it is stated that while it is true that the Saxon Diet (in connection with a similar Bill of 1843) had proposed that "violation of respect" should be more narrowly defined by the addition of the word "intentional" in order to prevent utterances and actions being brought under the law "in which there was not the remotest *intention* to violate respect for the King", nevertheless such an addition must be rejected by the Government because it "would *blur* the distinction between *lèse-majesté* and violation of respect" and because "*intentional*" violations of "respect" must be regarded as "*lèse-majesté*".

From these reasons, which are still paramount in regard to the concepts used in the press law which is about to be imposed on us, it follows that "violation of respect", which at the present time like *lèse-majesté* is punished by two months' *to five years'* imprisonment, consists precisely in "*unintentional*" *lèse-majesté*.

At the same time the "preamble" informs us that the maximum length of punishment for "violation of respect" was at that time fixed at one year solely because of a motion by the Rhenish Diet.

The benefit of the "March achievements" for the Rhinelanders is obvious. The first attempts to adapt the *Code pénal* to the Prussian Law foisted on the Rhinelanders the new crimes of *lèse-majesté* punishable by two years' imprisonment and "violation of respect" punishable by one year's imprisonment.¹²⁹ In the Bills put forward in 1843 and 1847, the value of *lèse-majesté* was increased to five years, whereas, on the motion of the *Rhenish Diet*, violation of respect had to retain its valuation of one year. By the achievements of the March revolt under the state of siege, punishment for "violation of respect" (even if unintentional) is also increased to five years' imprisonment and by once again introducing new crimes the Rhenish Code of Law is brought closer to the old-Prussian Law.

"*Freedom of the press, public proceedings under the state of siege, and along with them the gallows!*"

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 253, March 23, 1849]

Cologne, March 22.

"There was all the more reason why the provisions concerning *lèse-majesté* could not be omitted," states Manteuffel's preamble to para. 12 of the Bill, "because in the greater part of the *Rhine Province* the penal laws on *lèse-majesté* had been *made invalid* by the ordinance of April 15, 1848, and since then this *gap* has not been filled."

The Manteuffel preamble states that this part of the Hohenzollern legislation on the press, which surpasses even the old-Prussian Law and His Majesty's revelation in the Bills on penal legislation of 1843 and 1847, appeared essential chiefly with reference to the *Rhine Province*. The ordinances of April 15, 1848,^a i.e. the promises which the "Crown that had fallen into the dust" (see the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* of the 20th of this month) condescended to make under the pressure of the March uprising, have "rendered invalid" in the Rhine Province the laboriously imposed adjustment made in the spirit of the Prussian Law and restored the *Code pénal* in its original defective purity. But in order fittingly to fill this "gap" due to the March achievements and simultaneously to testify to the progressive capacity for expanding the Hohenzollern Majesty's value the "strong" November Government proposes for the Rhinelanders not the old pre-March provisions of the Prussian Law,—no, it proposes a new declaration of respect for the King envisaging a punishment more than double that of all previous penal law projects. *Le roi est mort, vive le roi!*^b Prior to March 1848, the still "unweakened" dignity of the Father of the people was valued in the Prussian Law at one year's imprisonment; in March 1849 the cost of disrespect to the Crown which had "fallen into the dust" has risen to five years' imprisonment. Prior to March 1848, the Rhenish law was supplemented only by the patriarchal additional provisions of the Prussian Law; in March 1849 the Manteuffel November achievements have been imposed on it:

"Freedom of the press, sabre-rattling censorship, and along with them the gallows!"

The "gap" in Rhenish legislation, however, reveals still further depths. Para. 12 of the Berlin press reform continues with the following additions:

"The same punishment" (from two months' to five years' imprisonment) "is incurred by anyone who in the way indicated above" (by word, writing or signs, by pictorial or other representation) "insults the Queen. Anyone who in the same way insults the successor to the throne (?) or any other member of the royal house ... will be punished by imprisonment of from one month to three years."

As already mentioned, the old-Prussian Law punished insult even to the "supreme head of the state" with only two years' imprisonment. The advance made by the Bill on the press, which lays down

^a "Verordnung über die Herstellung des Rheinischen Zivilgesetzbuchs in Betreff der Schliessung der Ehe..."; "Verordnung, betreffend das Verfahren bei politischen und Pressvergehen in der Rheinprovinz und die Wiederherstellung des Rheinischen Strafrechts und Strafverfahrens bei politischen und Amtsverbrechen."—*Ed.*

^b The King is dead, long live the King!—*Ed.*

the term of imprisonment for insult to persons of lower rank—five years for the Queen, three years for the successor to the throne (?) and “other” members of the “royal house”—is very obvious.

Rhenish legislation no more recognises insult to the Queen etc. than it does insult to the “supreme head of the state”. Rhenish newspapers hitherto were able with impunity to print stories about “hopes of the court for an unexpected event”, which at times can, however, for medical reasons, amount to impugning the honour of the person involved.

Finally, the ex-patented Bill on penal legislation of the United Commissions ranked insult to the “Queen” as inferior to insult to the “supreme head of the state”, by threatening it (para. 103) with three years’ imprisonment instead of five years. And as regards equal punishment for insults to the “Queen” and insults to other members of the royal family, the 1847 preamble states that the Rhenish, Silesian, Saxon and Pomeranian Diets had already wanted a distinction to be made between these persons but that the Government could not put this lamentable “casuistry” into effect.

The strong Manteuffel Government did not consider the “casuistry” of the old Rhenish, Silesian and Saxon Diets beneath its dignity. Was not the successful von der Heydt also among the patented casuists of that period? The Manteuffel-von der Heydt press Bill “establishes” the casuistic distinction between the Queen and other members of the royal house; but it does it in accordance with the progressive development of the sovereign’s dignity in general in the post-March period. The old Rhenish, Silesian and Pomeranian Diets demanded that a distinction be made between the Queen and other members of the royal family so that the equal punishment of three years’ imprisonment for insulting the latter would be reduced. The strong Manteuffel-von der Heydt Government accepts the distinction, not in order to make this reduction but to raise the punishment for insulting the Queen to the newly increased level of punishment for insulting the “supreme head of the state”.

That the concepts of majesty show a similar capacity for development is proved by the provision appended to the same paragraph, according to which insults to any “*German head of state*” and likewise insults to the “successor to the throne” are punished by three years’ imprisonment.

According to Rhenish law, insults to other “heads of state” are punished like insults to private persons (a fine of 5 francs), and that only on the *demand of the person insulted* and not because his public character is the concern of penal law. Under the Bill on penal legislation which had already been rejected by the Rhenish Diet in

1843 thus incurring "the displeasure of His Majesty", and which was again put forward in 1847, insults to foreign rulers and "their spouses" incurred punishment of from two months' imprisonment to two years' penal labour. The Prussian Diet moved the entire deletion of this provision and the Westphalian opposition of junkers from the backwoods declared the original level of punishment too high. Finally the Manteuffel-von der Heydt Government filled the serious post-March gaps in the Rhenish legislation by increasing to three years the two years' term of punishment which the Westphalians elected on a property qualification were opposing, and by taking up the cudgels on behalf of the Pomeranian Don Quixote of the United Diet:

"Freedom of the press, really public proceedings, and along with them the gallows!"

In the plans for press reform inspired by His Majesty, para. 19 has furthermore a noteworthy amusing feature:

"Anyone guilty of insulting 1. either of the two Chambers ("as such"), 2. a member of either Chamber during the *course* of its sittings, 3. *any other political organisation*, an official authority, or an official ... by word, writing, printing, signs, by pictorial or other representation, will be punished by up to nine months' imprisonment."

While Manteuffel-von der Heydt are using bayonets to disperse "political organisations", Agreement Assemblies and Chambers, the Rhinelanders are having a botchwork of new crimes for "the protection of these Assemblies" inserted in their *Code pénal* to fill up its "gaps". From the divine-royal source of grace, the Manteuffel-von der Heydt Government is foisting on the country a national Constitution in order to introduce into the Rhenish Code of Law a *new, hitherto unknown crime* in the shape of "insult to the Chambers":

"Freedom of the press, public proceedings, and along with them the gallows!"

Let the Rhinelanders take care before it is too late. The history of previous attempts to adapt the Rhenish Code of Law to the Prussian Law, and the Hohenzollern *further elaboration* of the March promises, will tell them what they have to expect from the achievements made on the other side of the Rhine.

The aim of the martial-law attacks against the *Code pénal* hitherto has been nothing less than the complete incorporation of the Rhine territories in the old-Prussian provinces, an incorporation which was not complete so long as the Rhine Province was not wholly subjected to the cudgel of the Prussian Law. The new Bill, however, under the pretext of filling the "gaps" in the Rhinelanders' own legislation by means of the benefits of the Prussian Law, perfects also the Prussian Law for the old provinces as regards its "gap" of excessive mildness.

Miserable as the present Chamber is, nevertheless we do not expect it to accept these Bills. But in that case we do expect that there will be *imposed* on us also the Hohenzollern gallows for the press, and that is precisely what we wish.

Written by Marx on March 21-22, 1849

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FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

The news from the theatre of war is not very noteworthy today. Jellachich has *returned to Pest*, after having been defeated, according to the Magyar report, by the Hungarians at Jasz-Bereny. One thousand wounded are said to have already arrived at Ofen. Schlick, too, is still in Ofen. The Magyar report continually declares that Görgey has invaded Slovakia with 30,000 men and occupied the hill towns (though for the time being we are regarding this as a Pest extravagance).

In the Földvar region, there were 2,000 Honveds¹³⁰ and 6,000 peasant insurgents. The ships sent there with the troops returned, however, already on the following day, without having accomplished anything. Mounted bands of rebels are swarming right up to the outskirts of Pest (*Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*^a).

The Austrian Minister Schwarzenberg and the ex-Finance Minister Kübeck are said to be in Pest, to settle the affair of the Hungarian banknotes. (Magyar report.)

The report of a victory of the Serbs at Theresiopel and of the capture of this town has now been transformed into *news of their defeat* and the admission that the Magyars have now *occupied* in addition to Szegedin *Theresiopel* as well. Great agitation reigns in Sirmien, as among all the Southern Slavs.

Written by Engels on March 22, 1849

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^a "Pest, 13. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 65 (supplement), March 17, 1849.—*Ed.*

[FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

According to letters of the 6th of March from the Moldavian border, the Russians stationed in Transylvania have not merely been reinforced by 8,000 men, but another Russian corps is standing on the border of the Bukovina, awaiting the order to move into the Bukovina. *Bem has assembled considerable reinforcements and is threatening Hermannstadt for the third time.* Malkowsky's corps (commanded by Urban) has had to *retreat*—to the border of the Bukovina, and *once again to surrender the town of Bistritz to the Hungarians.*

Written by Engels about March 23, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 254, March 24, 1849

Published in English for the first time

THE DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS IN BERLIN

Cologne, March 25. We must confess to our readers that it is only with reluctance that we can resolve to take a closer look at the debates of the so-called Second Chamber¹³¹ in Berlin. The debates of the dissolved Agreement Assembly,¹³² meaningless and dull as they were, nevertheless had the interest of being topical. The debates dealt with things which had no influence on the fate of Europe, and with laws which from the outset had no prospect of endurance, but they did deal with matters of immediate interest to us, and they provided a faithful mirror of the mounting reaction in Prussia. The debates of the present Chamber, on the other hand, serve no other purpose than that of legalising the already completed counter-revolution. They do not deal with the present time—that has been excluded by the ban on interpellations—they deal with the past, with the temporary interregnum lasting from December 5 to February 26,¹³³ and if the Chamber does not unconditionally recognise this interregnum it will be dispersed and once again its activity will have been in vain.

And people are supposed to take an interest in such deliberations, at a time when the revolution and the counter-revolution are fighting it out arms in hand in Hungary and Italy, when the Russians are stationed on the Eastern frontier and France is preparing for a new world-shaking revolution!

The debate on the Address is altogether one of the dreariest that we remember ever having read. The whole debate turned, of course, merely on recognition or non-recognition of the imposed so-called Constitution.¹³⁴ And what does it matter whether this Chamber, which was elected in circumstances of a state of siege and the crushing effect of a successfully carried out counter-revolution, which deliberates in a corner of Berlin under the state of siege, and

which dare not utter a word of dissent if it does not want to be dissolved—what does it matter whether such an Assembly recognised this document or not? As if recognition or non-recognition would make the slightest difference to the course of the European revolution, which will reduce to dust all the imposed and not-imposed constitutions now in force!

The sole feature of interest in the whole debate is the puerile arrogance of the Right and the cowardly collapse of the Left.

The royalist gentlemen are incorrigible. As soon as their affairs are temporarily again in better shape thanks to the aid of the obedient soldiery, they imagine themselves back in the promised land and adopt a tone whose impudence surpasses anything the police state has ever shown.

The gentlemen of the Left, on the other hand, moderate their claims to the same extent as those of the Right increase theirs. In all their speeches, one can discern the broken spirit that is the result of bitter disappointment, that dejection of the ex-member of the Assembly which first let the revolution sink in the mire and afterwards, drowning in the morass of its own creation, perished with the painful cry: The people are not yet mature enough!

Even the resolute members of the Left, instead of putting themselves into direct opposition to the whole Assembly, do not abandon the hope of achieving something in the Chamber and through the Chamber, and of winning a majority for the Left. Instead of adopting an extra-parliamentary position in the parliament, the only honourable one in such a Chamber, they make one concession after another to parliamentary expediency; instead of ignoring the constitutional point of view as far as possible, they actually seek an opportunity of coquetting with it for the sake of peace.

The general debate turned on the recognition or non-recognition of the so-called Constitution. The Left, which regarded itself as the continuation of the majority of the former Agreement Assembly which had voted for refusing payment of taxes,¹³⁵ ought to have begun with the most emphatic protest against the coup d'état of December 5. But what did it do? It declared that it was prepared to accept the dissolution of the National Assembly as a fact which could no longer be altered, to give up the dispute in principle over the validity of the imposed bastard, to cover all the kicks and insults with the cloak of charity, and to pass at once to the revision!

The Right, of course, rejected this cowardly offer with the contempt it deserved and forced the Left to take up the dispute over principles.

The Left suffered the fate it deserved. Why did the gentlemen imagine that they had to achieve something where there was nothing to achieve? Why did they persuade themselves that they were destined to achieve by parliamentary means something that can only be achieved in a revolutionary way, by force of arms? But, of course, these gentlemen "*came to the top owing to parliamentary activity*", about which deputy Waldeck has so many beautiful things to say, the top where *esprit de corps* commences and revolutionary energy—*s'il y en avait*^a—evaporates!

The first speaker of the variegated party that is called the Left was Herr *von Berg*. But one should certainly not expect to encounter again the cheerful little abbé of last year, who was able greatly to annoy the gentlemen of the Right with all kinds of piquant witticisms. Herr Berg no longer spoke as an *abbé*, but as a pastor.

He was of the opinion that it would have been desirable to draw up the draft Address in such a way that "the greatest possible majority could vote for it". The Chamber ought to have shown the country "that its representatives do not intend to sacrifice the good of the country to *mere disputes over principles*". In conclusion Herr Berg said that he missed in the draft "*the spirit of reconciliation with which we (?) are imbued*", the striving for "agreement". He prophesied that by the debate on the Address the Chamber would not "establish in the fatherland *peace and the hope of a better future*".

Indeed! Did the electors of Jülich and Düren send Herr Berg to Berlin for him to declare that the struggle for the people's right to decide its Constitution for itself is a mere "dispute over principles", to preach "reconciliation" and "agreement" in pulpit tones, and to drivel about "peace" when it is a question of *war*?

You, chaplain Berg, were elected, not because you are a preacher, but because you were a *supporter of tax refusal*. Your election did not take place in the interests of *peace*, but was from the outset a *declaration of war* against the coup d'état. You were sent to Berlin not to propose reconciliation and agreement, but to *protest*. And now, when you are a deputy, now you declare that the struggle between the sovereignty of the people and the "omnipotence of the Crown" is a mere barren dispute over principles!

Most of those who supported tax refusal were re-elected not because all their activities between May and November 1848 satisfied the electors, but because by the decision on tax refusal^b they took up a revolutionary position, and because it could be hoped that the kicks

^a If one has any.—*Ed.*

^b See present edition, Vol. 8, p. 36.—*Ed.*

the Government had bestowed on them had opened their eyes and shown them how to behave towards the Crown and the Government in order to achieve some result. It was hoped that consequently they would all move a step to the left.

Instead of this, it has turned out that the chastisement they received in November has borne fruit; instead of moving to the left, these gentlemen have gone farther to the right. With the most well-intentioned zeal typical of the wailers,¹⁵⁶ they preach reconciliation and agreement. They say they want to forget and forgive the maltreatment they received, they propose peace. It serves them right that their proposals have been laughed to scorn.

The next speaker was Count *Renard*, a feudal magnate from Silesia.

Herr Renard imagines that nothing was overturned in March, but only a new factor introduced. The Crown remains the Crown, the only difference being that representation based on the *estates* (!), with the people having a *consultative* voice, is added as a "determining factor". Otherwise everything remains as it used to be. (In point of fact that is precisely what with God for King and fatherland^a is to be imposed on us and has to be revised.) The deputy has "to represent the Constitution of the people in its entirety, that is the people *with* the sovereign, but not the people *against* the sovereign". (Why then is the sovereign still required if in any case the deputies already "represent" him?) After advancing this new theory of the state, Herr Renard also made the following statement to the Chamber: It does not exist "in order to *bargain* and *haggle* with the Crown"—i. e. to reach agreement with it—"to dispute over words or, *if you like, even about rights*"; the Government and the Chamber are by no means "advocates on behalf of two parties engaged in litigation". Anyone who regards his mandate in any other way "wages civil war in matters of theory".

Herr Renard speaks plainly enough. In the profane constitutional states, the Chamber rules through its committee, the Government, and the King's only right is that of saying yes and amen, and of giving his signature. That was also the case among us in the period of affliction, in the period of Camphausen, Hansemann and Pfiel. But in the royal Prussian constitutional monarchy by the grace of God the exact opposite holds good. The Crown rules through its Ministers, and woe to the Chambers if they venture to do anything but say yes and amen to the effusions of divine grace!

"The clearest proof," Herr Renard continued, "that there is no rift between Crown and people is afforded by the present moment, when the *German question* is

^a The words are taken from Frederick William III's decree of March 17, 1813 concerning the organisation of an army reserve.— *Ed.*

being spoken of in all the provinces amid universal enthusiasm.... In many of them this enthusiasm ... is largely due to the dignity, the greatness, of our ancient royal house by divine grace, and of the *knighly* and *victorious*" (especially in Champagne, at Jena and on March 18, 1848¹³⁷) "Hohenzollern dynasty. (Animation and cries of 'bravo'.)"

Testimony to this enthusiasm was given by the cries of "Down with the German Emperor" coming from 5,000 throats in Gürzenich^a on March 19, the very same day when Herr Renard spoke the words quoted above. Similar testimony was the rejection in Frankfurt a few days later of the King of Prussia as hereditary emperor, and the miserable majority in Frankfurt of four whole votes in favour of a hereditary emperor in general.¹³⁸

No, finally exclaimed Renard, who incidentally is not at all a fox^b:

"No one should or will succeed by corrosive poison in killing the *new life* in the wound that strives to be healed, or in converting the split that has possibly arisen" (so it is there after all!) "into an unbridgeable gulf!"

Most worthy Renard! May the evil-minded never succeed "by corrosive poison in killing the new life in the wound" which last spring was inflicted on your purse crammed with feudal privileges, a wound which now thanks to the return of divine grace "strives to be healed", or in "converting into an unbridgeable gulf the split that has possibly arisen" between your income and expenditure!

Herr Jacoby came to the rostrum. He too, although he spoke more resolutely than Berg and was clearer and more precise in his arguments, could not refrain from practising diplomacy. The recognition of the Constitution in the Address was *inappropriate*, because it ought not to occur *incidentally*, and it was untimely, because the Constitution had not yet been revised, definitely sanctioned and given allegiance to by oath. As if the recognition of such a Constitution could ever be appropriate and timely!

Herr Jacoby, too, "had no wish to renew the old dispute" about the dispersion of the Agreement Assembly; the question whether it was an act of salvation or the aim and goal of a diplomatic scheme he would "leave to impartial history". "Impartial history" will record that the people who spoke so loudly when they had a majority, now, when they are in a minority, behave with the humility of schoolboys who have been punished.

"As far as recognition of the Constitution by the people is concerned, I have to reply that our Assembly is the sole legitimate and the sole authorised organ for such recognition."

^a See this volume, pp. 490-91.—*Ed*

^b A pun on Renard—the name of the speaker and the French word for fox.—*Ed*.

No, Herr Jacoby, your Assembly is nothing of the sort. Your Assembly is nothing but the organ of the electoral delegates selected by means of the grand criterion of “independence”¹³⁹ on the basis of the imposed so-called electoral law, it is an organ which in the main owes its existence to government intrigues. Your Assembly may recognise the Constitution, but that is merely a recognition of the imposed Constitution by the imposed Constitution itself. The people will show little concern about that and “impartial history” will quite soon have to register that this so-called Constitution, despite recognition of it—if that were ever to take place—was trampled underfoot in the course of the European revolution and disappeared no one knows how.

Herr Jacoby probably knows that as well as we do; the Right in the Chamber knows that he knows it; so why all this nonsense about a legal basis, especially when one wants to leave dubious the legal basis of the dispersed Assembly!

Herr *Scherer*, a barrister and deputy from Düsseldorf-Elberfeld, was greatly shocked by d’Ester’s draft Address. He considered that the deputation which presented such an Address to the King must “entail an armed uprising”. People whose actions entail armed uprising, Herr Scherer, speak to kings in quite a different way!

This draft “casts a flaming torch in the country,” but Herr Scherer believes that “it will not cause a conflagration, but only *harm its bearers*”!

It is impossible to speak more clearly. Herr Scherer gives the Left the well-meant advice to withdraw the draft, otherwise they will be apprehended one fine day in spite of the article guaranteeing immunity.¹⁴⁰ Very philanthropic of you, Herr Scherer!

Next Herr *Waldeck* rose to speak. He proved to be unchanged: on the Left, but not farther to the left than is expedient if one wants to be regarded as *possible*. Herr Waldeck began by expressing his annoyance that the Right always wanted to make him responsible for the unfortunate dispute over the November coup d’état. Herr Waldeck and “his party” had “clearly stated that in their opinion this dispute over principles ought not to have arisen at all”. In his opinion, “the Assembly is unanimous” (that is bad enough!) “about what it ought to do with the Constitution”—namely, to revise it. Herr Waldeck then once more explained why the dispute over principles was superfluous, and again appealed to the better feelings of the Right:

“Cannot you for the time being *very well leave* this question *open*?... You will lose nothing as far as your views are concerned, *but do spare the views of others!*”

A worthy speech of one of the dispersed “representatives of the people” to the same majority that rubs its hands in glee when it thinks of the successful dispersal of the National Assembly.

“But do spare the views of others!” The great man begs for *mercy*.

When, however, the work on the Constitution has been completed, then the Minister of the future “hopes” that

“this Assembly, *owing to its parliamentary activity, will really have reached the high level essential for fully recognising the consequences of such a declaration*” (on the validity of the Constitution)!

Indeed! Do not our new-baked knights of the rostrum, who have hardly seven months of parliamentary activity behind them, already behave as precociously wisely as if they had sat for fifty years on the benches of St. Stephen’s Chapel¹⁴¹ and had been members of all the Paris Chambers from the “introuvable” of 1815 to the “introuvable” of February 24!

But this is true. In their short career our knights of the rostrum have become imbued with as much parliamentary self-satisfaction, and have become as divested of all revolutionary energy—*si jamais il y en avait*^a—as if they had grown grey in the grandiloquent proceedings of parliament.

After Herr Waldeck came a speech from His one-time Excellency, the formerly omnipotent Herr von *Bodelschwingh*.

Just like Herr Manteuffel, so too his previous chief has become a constitutionalist “by order of His Majesty”. It is quite amusing to hear the last Prime Minister of the absolutist regime defend constitutional monarchy.

Prior to February, Herr Bodelschwingh used to be ranked as the best orator of the Government of the time. In the United Diet,¹⁴² he still proved himself the most skilful. But when one reads his present speech, one is alarmed for the sake of the man himself by the silliness and insipidity of this strange disquisition. Herr Bodelschwingh has become a constitutionalist by order; apart from this word, however, he has remained exactly as before, we do not know whether by order or not. He excused himself by saying that he had lived “in rustic seclusion”; but it could really be thought that he has let himself be *buried* for a whole year.

He acknowledges that by the extremely innocent draft Address of the Left he

“had been enlightened about their views in a manner and to an extent of which he *had not even an inkling* before his appearance in the Chamber”.

^a If they ever had any.—*Ed.*

Quel bonhomme!^a When Herr Bodelschwingh still ruled over Prussia his numerous spies must have kept him remarkably badly informed for our money if he can now believe that since then such views have suddenly appeared out of nowhere!

The Left had stated that it was here not on the basis of the Charter imposed under martial law, but on the basis of universal suffrage. What did Herr Bodelschwingh reply?

“If our seats are the outcome of universal suffrage, then there is no need for all the formalities” (of the election test). “*We need only appear in the market place and say: Elect me!* I do not know how many particles of universal suffrage you regard as requisite in order to lay claim to entry in this Chamber. Take as many as you like, in this way it would be easy to obtain sufficient votes; by the acknowledgement of this right the Chamber would soon be so filled that we could no longer remain here; for my part at least I would renounce my seat, and the sooner the better.”

If a Westphalian peasant, or if Herr von Bodelschwingh at the time when he was still a Minister, had uttered this profound wisdom about universal suffrage, we would not have been surprised. The interesting feature of the above-quoted passage is that it proves that one could be a Prussian Prime Minister and in control of the whole carefully scrutinised bureaucracy without “having even an inkling” of the most immediate questions of European interest. But after universal suffrage has been in operation *twice* in France, after what the *Left* calls universal suffrage has been in operation twice in Prussia, and has even thrust a seat in the Chamber upon Herr Bodelschwingh himself—after this to be able to indulge in such fabulous fantasies about universal suffrage, one must have been an antediluvian Prussian Minister! However, we must not forget that Herr Bodelschwingh was buried and has only been resurrected in order to enter the Chamber “by order of His Majesty”!

Herr Bodelschwingh said further:

“Even if we are not at all of the opinion that this Constitution will become valid only through its revision, nevertheless we are completely **confident** that the Crown will not refuse its sanction ... to the *wishes* (!) ... of the Chambers ... being *conscious* that we do not need to quarrel and find fault with the Government as if we faced an enemy, but being convinced instead that we confront a Crown which like ourselves *is only concerned for the good of the fatherland* ... in good and bad days alike we must be firmly united with our sovereigns ... the foundation for piety, respect for the law, public spirit, etc.”

Herr Bodelschwingh imagined he was still speaking in the United Diet. His *basis* now as previously is that of *confidence*. But the man is quite right! What the Left has called universal suffrage has, by means

^a What a simpleton!—*Ed.*

of provisions about independence, indirect elections and Manteuffel's manoeuvres, brought into existence a Chamber which has no need to be ashamed of being addressed as "Exalted United Diet".

After an unimportant speech by deputy Schulze-Delitzsch, there came to the rostrum His one-time Excellency, Herr Count Arnim. Unlike Herr Bodelschwingh, he has *not* been asleep during the past year. He knows what he wants.

It is clear, he said, why we want to recognise the Constitution immediately and in its entirety.

"For is it so certain *that the business of revising the Constitution will lead to a result?* How is this to be achieved? What fundamental law will then be valid? Precisely, therefore, because in this situation an agreement between the three powers on the points to be revised is doubtful, precisely *for that reason* we are concerned that even *in this case the people should have a Constitution.*"

Is that clear enough? That is already the second delicate hint in this one sitting.

Then deputy d'Ester opposed the Commission's draft. His speech was by far the best coming from the Left in this general debate. The audacity and vigour with which the deputy from Mayen attacked the gentlemen of the Right made a pleasant impression in the midst of this dismal and tedious debate. But d'Ester, too, could not speak without diplomatic concessions and parliamentary contortions. He said, for example, that he fully agreed that the revolution must be ended. While this statement of the deputy might, perhaps, be excused as due to parliamentary considerations, the member of the democratic Central Committee¹⁴³ ought never to express himself in this way, and the man who immediately afterwards began a debate with Vincke on the respective "degree of culture" ought not to incur even the suspicion of being capable of such twaddle. Moreover, in any case no one believed him.

Finally, deputy Riedel sounded a note of triumph because "*the Crown has reassumed its right to legislate*". An ironic cry of "bravo" made him aware that he had been telling tales out of school. He took fright and added: "Provisionally, of course!"

A third delicate hint for the deputies!

The Chamber proceeded to the special debate. We shall save it for tomorrow.

Written by Engels on March 25, 1849

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FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR.—
THE CONFUSED SITUATION IN SERBIA

Today we must begin our reports from Hungary with news of a victory which, if it were true, would spread the greatest joy among the German democrats.

We have received the following from Breslau:

“Breslau, March 23. Just now, news has arrived from Ratibor that Dembiński has taken Pest by storm. Görgey, who had already occupied the heights of Raab with his army, is marching as a vanguard on Vienna, which Dembiński intends to occupy soon.

“In Bohemia, the outbreak of a terrible revolution is expected at any moment, which will in the main spread among the oppressed rural population and lead to a veritable civil war. The national hatred between Germans and Czechs has almost completely disappeared; the old Czech deputies Palacky and company have been booed, while the German Left and its Bohemian President Borrosch have received one ovation after another. Moreover, a state of siege has already been proclaimed in Prague.”

We have received the same news by way of the democratic correspondence in Berlin. According to it, a deputy has received the following communication:

“Ratibor, March 23. Just after winning a major battle, and following a number of previous important victories Dembiński has taken Pest by storm. Görgey, who had previously occupied the heights of Raab with his army corps—to cut off the line of retreat of the Austrian army, in case it escaped—is marching on Vienna as the vanguard of the Hungarian advance. In that city Dembiński will probably disturb the Easter ceremony of washing the feet,¹⁴⁴ and take upon Austria the revenge it so richly deserves.

“Prague is in a state of siege, with the indispensable 26 guns trained on the city. It is true that a revolution has not broken out there but is expected, and it is to be hoped that in this way it will be provoked. And if that occurs, if Bohemia rises against the Cabinet—post-horses will become expensive in Olmütz.”

This news was communicated to Minister *Manteuffel* who, quite alarmed, replied that the Ministry had not yet received any dispatches about it.

Unfortunately, though, this news is obviously false in the version here available and at the very least premature. The positions of the armies ascertained according to the latest reports do not admit the possibility that the Hungarians have captured Pest by now.

Our news from Pest goes up to the 18th. The most recent Vienna papers, which could have extended it to the 19th, have not yet come to hand. The *Breslauer Zeitung* has a Hungarian report of the 18th, which does indeed mention a Magyar victory over Jellachich at Izsak and Alpar. These two places lie to the right and left of the highway which leads from Pest to Szegedin via Kecskemét, about the level of Felegyhaza, where, as we know, Jellachich is supposed to have been defeated once before; though whether this is the same battle or a new action, it is not possible to judge. In any case, as the Magyar report says, the news of this Hungarian victory has been reflected on the Pest money market in a *rise* of 20 per cent in the Hungarian banknotes. Dispersed corps, as well as large numbers of wounded are also said to have arrived in Pest. Incidentally, the same report adds afterwards that the events of the Magyar war do not seem to have been confirmed to the extent the money market assumed. As regards monetary affairs in Pest the Magyar report writes:

“There is no stock exchange in Pest, and current monetary transactions which have become considerable only since the ban on Hungarian banknotes, were temporarily conducted in a coffee-house. But yesterday the local military authorities had one of the main dealers arrested, and by this *argumentum ad hominem* brought about a partial stoppage of the exchange of banknotes. Despite this, Hungarian banknotes maintained yesterday’s level, though many dealers view the above-mentioned arrest as foreshadowing the complete invalidation of Hungarian banknotes even for private dealings.

“The contribution which Pest was not scheduled to pay till May must now by order of His Highness Prince Windischgrätz be paid within 24 hours. The imperial salt office now sells only for hard coin.”

In addition, the report talks of an alliance between the Magyars and the Turks, in consequence of which the Magyar operations would be directed not against Pest but towards the Banat and the Turkish borders. But this item sounds rather fantastic.—Palóczy, who retired because of old age, is reported to have been replaced by Paul Almasy as President of the Hungarian National Assembly in Debreczin.

According to other, Austrian, reports Jellachich is said rather to have gained a victory over the Magyars at Szegedin (or Felegyhaza).

The action in question is obviously the one already mentioned above. But so long as the Austrian Bulletins do not break their obstinate silence about the operations on the Theiss, and so long as their reports of any victories are not confirmed by other, unbiased news, so long we shall believe the Magyar report that Jellachich has suffered a welcome defeat at Felegyhaza.

What confirms us in this belief is the following item from the *Lithographierte Correspondenz* published in Vienna under martial-law supervision:

“The news from Hungary is as yet still far from satisfactory: **it is known that considerable mishaps have occurred there**, and that even officers of the highest rank have been called to account. Among them even Count Wrbna is mentioned.”

Today there is no word from the Banat. Not a word of Jablonowsky, Götze, and the rest of the missing corps of the Austrian army.

On the other hand, from Transylvania we hear today nothing but compliments for Bem. Thus the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* writes:

“The reports from the camp agree, however, that Bem has proved his ability once more in the latest encounter at Mediasch, for he took up such advantageous positions that during the entire engagement he may be said to have manoeuvred rather than fought.”^a

And even the *Siebenbürger Bote*, whose war reports, as we well know, express the official view, says:

“**Whoever has not seen for himself the impressive bearing of Bem, his tenacity on the field of battle, can have no true conception of this general’s ability.** While his position seems to be shrouded in a veil, he leaves the ground he occupies only with sudden brisk movements, and if his troops were as reliable as his skill in offering battle from such well-chosen positions—which, as it were, always strikingly display the closest correlation—we would have to fight engagements that are not only interesting but brilliant. Bem fought with his 5,000-6,000 strong force from 9 in the morning till 6 in the afternoon, from three positions, with a tenacity which shows what he can do not only now but in future as well.”^b

The Imperial Government has realised, incidentally, that the Serbs are not to be trifled with. The *Napredak* (Forward) of Karlowitz writes on March 13 that, late at night on the 8th, a letter from Minister Stadion arrived in Beeskerek for the Patriarch,^c in which the Ministry confirms the provisional Serb provincial government and at the same time expresses the wish that the Serb newspapers should

^a “Hermannstadt, 9. März”, *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 84 (supplement), March 25, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b “Mediasch, 7. März”, *Der Siebenbürger Bote* No. 30, March 9, 1849.—*Ed.*

^c Rajachich.—*Ed.*

say what kind of government the people would want to be installed in the "Voivodina". Moreover, Minister Stadion demands two representatives from the Voivodina; accordingly, Paskowich, Zivanovich and Šuplikac have also been sent off to Vienna, in addition to Bogdanović. The commission in Becskerek has already begun negotiations about the setting up of the Serb Diet. The majority of the deputies favours an early calling of a National Assembly, at which the voivode should also be elected.

Several of the Uhlans who recently dispersed the district council in Hatzfeld went on to Kécsa and seized the arms of the Serbs. Then they rode to Serb Crnja intending to dissolve the district court there, but the Serbs declared they would not obey the military command and would defend their rights to the last drop of blood. Had the Uhlans permitted themselves the slightest transgression, blood would have flowed. In Kómlos and Masdorf, too, the Uhlans wanted to dissolve the councils, but the Romanians and Germans there immediately denounced that intention, so that it came to the knowledge of the Patriarch. In this way Rukavina wanted to dissolve the district courts and national offices in the whole area. It was fortunate that he did not go further; had the Uhlans continued to molest the Serbian villages, not one of them would have kept his head on his shoulders. When the Patriarch was informed of the seizure of the arms, he flew into a rage. Now we hear that Rukavina has yielded and the Uhlans (Schwarzenberg) have been put under the command of Todorovich.

Whether this is the end of the Serbian disorders remains to be seen. In any case, Windischgrätz and Jellachich have been compromised and disowned by the Government, an outcome which we find especially pleasing in the case of the fanatic Jellachich.

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THE WAR IN ITALY AND HUNGARY

Cologne, March 27. The war in Italy has begun.¹⁴⁵ By this war the Habsburg monarchy has assumed a burden beneath which it will probably succumb.

As long as Hungary was not in a state of open war against the monarchy as a whole, but was only in a fluctuating state of war against the Southern Slavs, it was no great feat for Austria to get the better of the Italians, who were only half revolutionised, and were split up and crippled by the triple treachery of the sovereigns. Nevertheless, what an effort it involved! Before Radetzky could win his victories at the Mincio,¹⁴⁶ the Pope^a and the Grand Duke of Tuscany^b had first to withdraw their troops—directly or indirectly—from the Venetian region, Charles Albert and his partly incompetent, partly venal generals had first actually to betray the Italian cause and above all at times the Magyars and at times the Southern Slavs had to be induced by a policy of duplicity and seeming concessions to send their troops to take up positions in Italy. It is known that only the mass transfer of the South-Slav border regiments to Italy rendered the disorganised Austrian army capable of fighting again.

Furthermore, as long as the armistice with Piedmont continued, as long as Austria had merely to maintain its army in Italy in its former strength without having to increase it excessively, Austria could throw the main body of its 600,000 soldiers against Hungary, it could push back the Magyars from one position to another and, by means of the daily arriving reinforcements, could in the end even succeed

^a Pius IX.—*Ed.*

^b Leopold II.—*Ed.*

in crushing Hungary's armed power. In the long run, Kossuth, like Napoleon, would have had to suffer defeat owing to the superiority of force.

But the war in Italy considerably changes the situation. From the moment when the termination of the armistice became certain, Austria had to double the number of its troops sent to Italy, it had to divide its newly enrolled recruits between Windischgrätz and Radetzky. Thus it is to be expected that neither of them gets enough.

Whereas for the Magyars and Italians, therefore, it is only a question of gaining time—time for the purchase and manufacture of arms, time for training the *Landsturm* and national guards to be soldiers fit for service in the field, time for revolutionising the country—Austria, compared with its opponents, becomes weaker every day.

While the war itself draws Rome, Tuscany and even Piedmont ever more deeply into the revolution compelling them day by day to display greater revolutionary energy, and while they can wait for the rapidly approaching crisis in France, meanwhile in Austria the third disorganising element, the *Slav opposition* is daily gaining ground and improving its organisation. The imposed Constitution¹⁴⁷ which, in gratitude for the Slavs having saved Austria, is throwing them back to their condition before the March events, the many insults suffered by the Slavs through bureaucratic and military excesses—these are facts that have occurred and cannot be altered in any way.

It is understandable that in these circumstances the *Kölnische Zeitung* is in the greatest possible hurry to make the imperial forces finish off the unpleasant war with Hungary. Accordingly, it announced yesterday that they crossed the Theiss in three columns^a—a report made all the more credible by not being confirmed up to now by any communiqué. Other sources, however, report that, on the contrary, the Magyar army is advancing on Pest by forced marches and evidently intends to raise the siege of Komorn. In spite of being heavily bombarded, Komorn is holding out courageously. During the bombardment the defenders of Komorn did not fire a shot, but when the Austrians tried to take it by storm they were thrown back with heavy losses by a deadly hail of grape-shot. It is said that the Duke of Coburg's regiment of Polish Uhlans went over to the side of the Magyars at the moment when Dembiński, calmly waiting for the attack, ordered the tune of "Poland is not yet lost"^b to be played.

^a Cf. report in the section "Ungarn" in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 73, March 27, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b From the Polish national anthem.—*Ed.*

This is all the news we can give today about the Hungarian theatre of war. The post from Vienna of March 23 has failed to arrive.

Let us now turn to the Italian theatre of war. Here the Piedmontese army is drawn up in a long arc along the Ticino and the Po. Its front line stretches from Arona via Novara, Vigevano, Voghera to Castel San Giovanni facing Piacenza. Its reserves are situated a few miles farther back, on the rivers Sesia and Bormida at Vercelli, Trino and Alessandria. On the extreme right wing at Sarzana on the Tuscany-Modena frontier a separate corps under the command of La Marmora is stationed, ready to attack Parma and Modena through the Lunigiani passes, to link up on the left with the right wing of the main army, and on the right with the Tuscan and Roman armies, to cross the Po and the Adige if circumstances permit and conduct operations in the Venetian region.

On the opposite side, on the left bank of the Ticino and Po, stands Radetzky. It is known that his army is divided into two corps, of which one has occupied Lombardy and the other the Venetian region. While no news at all about troop dispositions has come from the Venetian region, we hear on all sides that in Lombardy Radetzky is concentrating his whole army on the Ticino. He has withdrawn all his troops from Parma, and in Modena he has left only a few hundred men in the fortress. Varese, Como, Val d'Intelvi and Valtellina have been entirely denuded of troops, even the frontier customs guards have disappeared.

The entire fighting force at Radetzky's disposal, 50,000 strong, occupies positions from Magenta to Pavia along the Ticino and from Pavia to Piacenza along the Po.

Radetzky himself is said to have had the foolhardy plan of immediately crossing the Ticino with this army and, protected by the inevitable confusion of the Italians, of marching directly on Turin. People still remember from last year that Radetzky more than once entertained similar Napoleonic desires¹⁴⁸ and how he fared then. This time, however, the entire War Council opposed him, and it was decided to retreat, without any decisive battle, towards the Adda, Oglio, and, if needs be, even the Chiese, in order to obtain there reinforcements from the Venetian region and Illyria.

It will depend on the manoeuvres of the Piedmontese and the eagerness for war of the Lombards whether this retreat will take place without losses and whether the Austrians will succeed in holding up the Piedmontese for long. For the southern slopes of the Alps, namely the Como, Brienz and Bergamo Alps, Veltlin (Valtellina) and the Brescia region, now already for the most part abandoned by the Austrians, are highly suitable for national partisan

warfare. The Austrians concentrated in the plain have to leave the mountains free. Here by a swift advance with light troops on the Austrian right wing, the Piedmontese can quickly organise guerilla detachments, which will threaten the flank and, in the event of the defeat of a single corps, also the retreat of the imperial troops, cut off their supplies and extend the insurrection as far as the Tridentine Alps. Garibaldi would be in his element here. But presumably he has not the least intention of once more entering the service of the traitor Charles Albert.¹⁴⁹

The Tuscan-Roman army, supported by La Marmora, will have to occupy the line of the Po from Piacenza to Ferrara, cross the Po as quickly as possible, and after that the Adige, cut off Radetzky from the Austro-Venetian corps and operate on his left flank, or in his rear. However, this army is unlikely to arrive sufficiently quickly to have any influence on the first military operations.

But more decisive than all this is the attitude of the Piedmontese. Their army is good and bellicose; but if it is betrayed again as it was last year it is bound to be beaten. The Lombards are demanding weapons in order to fight against their oppressors; but if again, as last year, a vacillating bourgeois Government paralyses a mass uprising, Radetzky can once again enter Milan.

There is only one means to counter the treachery and cowardice of the Government: revolution. And perhaps it is precisely a new breach of his word by Charles Albert, and a new act of perfidy by the Lombard nobility and bourgeoisie, that are required for the Italian revolution to be carried through and, simultaneously with it, the Italian war for independence. But then woe to the traitors!

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FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

In spite of all the reinforcements asked for, in spite of all their numerical superiority, fortune refuses to favour the imperial forces. The *Ost-Deutsche Post*, in a report (?) from Pest dated March 20, spins the following yarn:

“Baron Hammerstein is said to have already crossed the Theiss and advanced to Nyiregyhaza, eight hours from Debreczin. Advancing from the other side, Puchner must already be near Grosswardein, and at this moment the rumour is spreading that Szegedin has surrendered without striking a blow.”^a

“Is said to”—“must”—“the rumour is spreading”—such is the reliable news from the theatre of war which the *Ost-Deutsche Post* publishes, and which the reliable, “critically sifting”, experienced *Kölnische Zeitung* communicated to its readers in its second edition this morning without further comment.

In addition the *Ost-Deutsche Post* and following it the *Kölnische Zeitung* report:

“According to fairly reliable reports, the Serbs at Szegedin have received orders to join the imperial army stationed on the Theiss. The Ban^b then took over general command of these two united corps and set out on the march to Debreczin with them.”^c (!!!)

This supposed report from Pest is simply the usual Viennese martial-law gossip, in which there is not a word of truth. The *Kölnische Zeitung* should know that; firstly, there was no official Bulletin, which would have been issued if there had been any successes however small; and secondly, it could have read, copied in

^a “Pesth, 20. März”, *Ost-Deutsche Post* No. 54, March 23, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b Jellachich.—*Ed.*

^c “Pesth, 20. März”, *Kölnische-Zeitung* No. 74 (second edition), March 28, 1849.—*Ed.*

the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* and in the original in the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*, a genuine report from Pest of the 20th, in which there is no mention of the "reliable news" printed in the *Ost-Deutsche Post*. And the worthy Cologne paper still dares to accuse the *Breslauer Zeitung*, which does not claim to have a critical approach, of lacking a critical approach as far as reports from Hungary are concerned!

Actually, the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* reports quite the opposite from Pest on the 20th^a:

"The fall of Szegedin has *not been confirmed*; on the contrary, the imperial forces are said to have relinquished *Kecske-mét* owing to *strategic considerations*. The enemy appears to have concentrated all his forces at Szegedin, and to regard it as the key to the current Austrian plan of operation. Yesterday reinforcements went also from our side to the battlefield by rail."

That is all that this report, which was actually written in Pest, says about the theatre of war.

True enough, Baron Hammerstein has moved from Galicia down the Hernad to Tokaj with reinforcements—ten battalions, it is said. But he would never have got across the Theiss there without a hard-fought and victorious action—and would not the imperial authorities have trumpeted abroad so important a victory in a Bulletin? From Tokaj to Nyiregyhaza is a good four miles,^b i. e. in this marshy region and in this rainy season, fully two to three days' march for a regular army. And Hammerstein is supposed to have got through to Nyiregyhaza without the official report of his successful crossing of the Theiss some days previously having reached Vienna!

If Hammerstein had even got as far as Tokaj we would have received Bulletin after Bulletin full of triumphant chants. We would know where Götz is stationed and where Jablonowsky, Csorich and Schlick are stationed. We know nothing whatsoever of all this. Since February 26, the date of the ambiguous battle at Kapolna, *that is for almost four weeks*, there has been *no official mention* of the Theiss; and the unofficial reports we receive contradict each other daily.

Hence the first of the three columns at whose head the *Kölnische Zeitung* crossed the Theiss existed only in the imagination.

The second would have to be that of Schlick. But Schlick was still in Szegled on the 17th or 18th, as the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* has also reported. At Szolnok, the nearest crossing-point, there could be no question of crossing the Theiss. Here even the wits of the noble

^a This and the following quotation are taken from the report "Pest, 20. März" in the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 71, March 24, 1849; they are reprinted in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 86, March 27, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b See footnote on p. 20.—*Ed.*

Ban and robber chief Jellachich were baffled, and any attempt to cross there was given up. If however he had crossed the Theiss at Tisza-Füred, the only crossing-point in the vicinity, he would first have had to march there, to concentrate his forces there and to wage a battle. All this would have had to have happened in the short period from the 18th to the 20th, and that is impossible for obvious chronological reasons. Schlick's presence in Szegled, far from proving that a hurried crossing of the Theiss was to take place, on the contrary, in conjunction with other reports, leads to the conclusion that Schlick was purely on a visit of inspection at Szegled, where the right wing of his army must establish contact with the extreme left wing of Jellachich's corps.

The third column would naturally have been that of Jellachich. But according to the only news reaching us directly from Pest, it has been withdrawn "for strategic reasons" (as the imperial authorities say every time they are defeated) even beyond Kecskemét. But Kecskemét lies 12 miles from Szegedin, the only possible crossing-point of the Theiss there, and the notorious hinge of Jellachich's operations. Of what use is it to us now if the Serbs have "received orders" to "effect a junction" with him, when he is 14 miles away from them? And what is the meaning of the ridiculous remark that, as a result of this simple *plan* of joining up with the Serbs, the Ban "is marching directly on Debreczin", which is 25 miles from Szegedin, the as yet unconquered Szegedin!

Moreover, the *Ost-Deutsche Post* writes in a further flight of the imagination, Puchner *must* by now be already near Grosswardein. Indeed, if the wishes of the imperial side had anything to do with it, he would have been there long ago. But all we know so far is that, while the 30,000 Russians now stationed in Transylvania are keeping a tight rein on the Szeklers,¹⁵⁰ he is operating not in the direction of Grosswardein but in the opposite direction, towards Schässburg and Maros-Vásárhely.

By the way, the difficulties involved in driving the Hungarians from their strong positions behind the Theiss and capturing Debreczin, especially now that the *rainy season* is near, are indicated in the following excerpt from the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*:

"It would certainly be better for the military operations on the clayey roads and fields on the Theiss and on this side of it, if the *usual rainy season* were to arrive a few weeks late. During this season, *Debreczin becomes temporarily an island*, to which even in peace-time one can *make one's way only with great difficulty*. This will show you the obstacles of terrain with which our brave troops have to contend even before they reach the seat of rebellion. Moreover, on the way to Debreczin there are *pusztas*¹⁵¹ so wide that one must ride for *almost a whole day* to reach the *only well* which supplies water

for the horses. And on these plains the Austrian cavalry must contend with an enemy who is at home there and whose small, tireless horses may be called the camel of the puszta."

Hence, first the swamps of the Theiss and Körös, which form a natural trench round the heath of Debreczin, and then the Sahara of Debreczin itself, where the Austrian cuirassiers and Uhlans are supposed to fight the same battle with the Hungarian light hussars that the clumsy French cavalry had to fight against the Arab horsemen in the first years of the Algerian war.¹⁵²

We have learnt from the Banat that a new complication has been added to the old ones in Serbia. The Romanians have been incited against the Serbs—though whether for or against the imperial authorities we do not know. Imperial intrigue is probably at the bottom of it.

The Temesvar fortress is being heavily armed—not against the Magyars, but against—the Serbs. Obviously ill-feeling among the Serbs must be growing.

As regards the capture of Peterwardein, "hoped for" repeatedly for some time, this is again dissolving in mist. The *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* writes:

"From the Drava, March 18. The Vienna papers reported some time ago that imperial troops had succeeded in storming the fortress of Peterwardein. But Peterwardein cannot be stormed unless one is prepared to see 20,000 or 30,000 men slaughtered in the assault. Anyone who is a soldier and is familiar with the fortress will agree. If the fortress does not surrender hunger is the only thing that can conquer it. Unfortunately, our hopes of its speedy surrender, initially raised by bearers of the flag of truce, are growing dimmer and dimmer, and the officers who have just escaped from the fortress do not hold out an encouraging prospect, for particularly the common soldiers and the Honveds are behaving in a terroristic fashion."^a

A new revolt is "to be hoped for" in the rear of the imperial forces. The regiment of dragoons that was occupying the Bakony Forest has been called to Pest and has arrived there. The Honved guerillas, who are roaming about in large numbers in the Bakony Forest, will immediately organise a fresh uprising and establish contact with the insurgents of the comitat of Tolna.

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^a "Von der Drave, 18. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 71, March 24, 1849.—*Ed.*

FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR¹⁵³

[ITALY]

The military operations are beginning to appear in clearer outline. While the Piedmontese have crossed the Ticino at Buffalora, Radetzky has crossed it at Pavia and is stationed between the Ticino and the Po on Piedmontese territory.

Whether this attack is merely a diversion, or whether Radetzky actually intends to advance on Turin, is not yet clear. The latter is possible if the report sent from Turin on the 21st to the *Journal des Débats* is accurate^a: that as a result of the addition of the Parma and Modena garrisons his army has increased to 60,000-70,000 men with 120 guns and that so far the Piedmontese have only 55,000 to 65,000 men with 100 to 110 guns to oppose to Radetzky. But these assertions are absolutely false, at least as concerns the Piedmontese army. Furthermore, La Marmora's corps, which has advanced to Parma, will force Radetzky to make further detachments.

In short Radetzky stands on Piedmontese territory. This is due to the negligence or treachery of the notorious Ramorino, who had already played an ambiguous role in Poland in 1831 and in the Savoy campaign in 1834.¹⁵⁴ He is to be thanked for the fact that the Austrians succeeded in pushing their way along the Po between his division and that of Durando. Ramorino was immediately removed from command and called to account for his action.

Chrzanowski is making the following dispositions of his forces in response to Radetzky's manoeuvre: Durando from Stradella, Fanti, who has replaced Ramorino, and one of the divisions moving out from the headquarters at Vigevano towards the Po will make a

^a This refers to a report published in the *Journal des Débats* on March 26, 1849.—Ed.

frontal attack on the Austrians, while the division commanded by the Duke of Genoa, a force of 20,000, which has crossed the Ticino at Buffalora, is marching on the Lombardic bank of the river to Pavia, to cut off the Austrians' retreat.

If Radetzky has insufficient forces to resist the Piedmontese, it may well happen that the old fox will fall into a trap and be encircled and destroyed. But in any case, by his advance he has provoked a decisive battle, the outcome of which we should learn today, or, at the latest, tomorrow.

The rest of Chrzanowski's plan of operations is quite in accord with that which we indicated yesterday^a as the more probable plan. While La Marmora is stirring up the inhabitants of the Dukedoms^b to rebel and advancing on the extreme left wing of the Piedmontese to the Po, or across it, Favorola's division has advanced via Varese into the Lombard mountains. A Lombard revolutionary committee is accompanying him. The insurrection is spreading at a rapid pace. On the 20th, the insurgents of the Piedmontese border made contact with those from Veltlin and the Upper Comasca in Como. As soon as the Austrians left a locality, the insurrection was organised. All of them are marching upon Milan; individual Austrian detachments are said already to have been attacked and destroyed by the insurgents. On the 21st, a general insurrection was to break out throughout Lombardy. According to the *Patrie* the uprising has already broken out in Milan, but the *Patrie* lies notoriously. In any case, preparations have been made in Milan which testify to the Austrian commandant's fears of the insurrection and of reinforcements from the countryside.

Perhaps the Swiss papers will also bring important news at noon today, and, if so, we will communicate it to our readers under "Latest News".

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^a See this volume, pp. 150-51.— *Ed.*

^b Parma and Modena.— *Ed.*

FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

The *Kölnische Zeitung* will surely have to retreat across the Theiss again with its "three columns"^a; the campaign is taking an increasingly unhappy turn for the imperial forces.

But let us leave the *Kölnische Zeitung* to its justified sorrow, and instead turn immediately to *Transylvania*.

Hermannstadt has been taken by Bem. There is no doubt: the newspaper of the Vienna Stock Exchange barons, the martial-law *Lloyd*, publishes the news^b from two separate sources. If it were not true, its publication would under martial law result in the editors being sentenced to several months "trench-digging in light chains".

Bem has calmly allowed the worthy Puchner, whom the equally worthy *Ost-Deutsche Post* had yesterday already advancing into the vicinity of Grosswardein,^c to march against the Szeklers in the Carpathian Mountains, confronting Puchner with only about half his corps to support the Szekler *Landsturm*. Bem himself, as the *Lloyd* reports, marched quickly on Hermannstadt with 12,000 men, attacked the Russians and drove them out. The *Lloyd* asserts that only 3,000 Russians were there, but that is hardly likely, for more than double that number were there; unless the remainder marched with Puchner against the Szeklers, which is indeed possible.

In Hermannstadt, Bem's troops are said to have wrought "great havoc", which would be no more than just retribution for the barbarities of the imperial forces and the calling-in of the Russians. After a few hours Bem left the city again; naturally, after he had

^a See this volume, pp. 149 and 153-54.—*Ed.*

^b "Wien, 24. März", *Der Lloyd* No. 144 (morning edition), March 25, 1849.—*Ed.*

^c See this volume, pp. 152 and 154.—*Ed.*

severely chastised the Saxon philistines,¹⁵⁵ his business there was finished.

The strategic aim of the campaign is obviously to isolate Puchner once again, and to drive away the imperial forces marching up along the Maros from the Banat. We shall soon hear how the tireless Pole has sported with them, perhaps how he has pursued them deep into the Banat and there attracted reinforcements himself.

While Puchner with the imperial and Russian forces is fighting the Szekler guerillas deep in the mountains, Malkowsky and the chivalrous hero Urban, the "Jellachich of the Bukovina", have been completely driven out of Transylvania on the northern side. According to the last Bulletin, Urban was still occupying Bistritz; from there he has been beaten back to Watra Dorna, and from Watra Dorna deep into the Bukovina. The headquarters of Malkowsky, the Supreme Commander, has already been shifted back again to Ober Wikow, fully 20 miles from Bistritz, and only 8 miles from Czernowitz on the Russian border. Thus reports the Austrian correspondent. In Czernowitz itself, he goes on, the greatest anxiety rules; the precautionary measures taken by the imperial authorities, abatis, the occupation of the passes, the call-up of the *Landsturm* etc. show that the danger is near. But the Hungarians will take care to penetrate into the Bukovina no further than is necessary to secure the border. They know too well that the Russians are only waiting for the signal to invade. In Novoseliza, right on the border between the Bukovina and Russia, there are 10,000 Russian troops, and the whole frontier with Moldavia is swarming with Russians.

The most important aspect of the matter is simply this:

(1) Bem can operate independently down the Maros with part of his troops, while the rest of his corps, along with the Szeklers, suffices to keep Puchner and the Russians busy;

(2) In the north, where previously Bem himself had to drive out the imperial forces every time, the insurrection has spread to such an extent that it can cope with Malkowsky and Urban even without Bem;

(3) Bem therefore not merely operates in distinguished fashion as a military leader, but at the same time he has also organised the Transylvanian insurrection and made it more formidable than ever;

(4) The Romanians, the majority of the Transylvanian population, who initially behaved with such fanaticism against the Magyars and Szeklers, either have lost all spirit for further fighting because of the successes of the latter, or must even have joined them, impelled by their hatred of the Russian invasion. Without this, Bem's latest successes would have been quite impossible.

At last we have some news about the position of the imperial forces on the *Theiss*. The *Lloyd* reports from Pest on the 20th that *Götz* is in Tokaj, *Jablonsky* in Miskolcz, *Schlick* in Erlau, and *Jellachich* in Szegled.^a

This means that in this sector the imperial forces are in precisely the same positions on *March 20* as they were on *January 20*. Compare Army Bulletin No. 19 and our comments on it in No. 214 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.^b

Hence, for two months the imperial forces have been roaming around in the area between the Danube, the Carpathians and the *Theiss*, with varying fortunes. When the *Theiss* was frozen, they were stationed in front of it and tried to advance across the ice; the Magyars drove them back with casualties. Then it was said that the drifting ice prevented them from getting across. It did not prevent the Magyars from following the imperial troops to the right bank. After this, *Görgey* came, drove *Schlick* back to the main army, joined with *Dembiński*, and the two advanced to within a few miles of Pest. That was four weeks ago. They retreated again, the imperial troops followed them, and since the glorious "victory" of *Kapolna* they have not advanced a step further; *Schlick's* headquarters, Erlau, is on the battlefield of *Kapolna*, so to speak.

Whether *Götz* is actually in Tokaj or only in its vicinity remains an open question. The positive information we have today from this region comes from the martial-law *Lithographierte Correspondenz* of the 24th from Vienna and is this: General *Hammerstein*, whose move from Galicia into Hungary with 10 battalions was so definitely reported by the Vienna newspapers and correspondents from Pest, has still not pressed forward towards Hungary at all!

Schlick and *Jablonsky* are harmless in their present positions for the time being. The former is said to have already started to move; but what use is that in view of "the slushy weather that has set in" and the imminent season of spring rains which we mentioned this morning?^c

And to crown all the Ban, the chivalrous, invincible Ban *Jellachich*! He marched towards Szegedin, he occupied *Kecskemét*, and set up his headquarters in *Felegyhaza*, four miles further on; he was said to have so routed the Magyars at Szegedin that the city surrendered; the procession of the inhabitants to the Ban, with maidens clad in white, garlands, flags, music and all the trappings, was already

^a "Pesth, 20. März", *Der Lloyd* No. 140 (morning edition), March 23, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 300-03.—*Ed.*

^c See this volume, pp. 154-55.—*Ed.*

described, and, lo and behold, the South-Slav Don Quixote is suddenly back at the point whence he had set out, on the selfsame spot where he rejoined his troops after they were defeated at Szolnok—at Szegled in the Pest comitat!

Moreover, the Olmütz Government appears to be fed up with Windischgrätz's incompetent conduct of the war. It is reported that *Windischgrätz will be dismissed*, and that Master of Ordnance *d'Aspre* will take over from him as commander of the army of the Theiss. Certainly, *d'Aspre* burnt and plundered enough in Italy last year to appear a capable general to a Schwarzenberg-Stadion Government.

Incidentally, the 50,000 men which Windischgrätz requested as reinforcements to enable him to cope with the Magyars, are supposed to be actually supplied. As the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* reports from Vienna,^a 50,000 men from Vienna, Moravia, Bohemia and Galicia, are said to be marching to the theatre of war, 10,000 of which alone are to reinforce the army besieging Komorn. In addition, six batteries of heavy artillery are said to have been dispatched there from Olmütz a few days ago. Whence all these troops are supposed to be coming the Gods alone may know. It would be very surprising indeed if the Government were able to draw another 50,000 men from the German and Slav provinces, infuriated by the imposition of the Constitution, in addition to the troops (about 350,000 men) already fighting in Hungary and Italy.

On the 24th, the rumour circulated on the Vienna Stock Exchange that *Komorn had capitulated* after three days' heavy bombardment. If this were the case, we would first have learnt of it through official reports, as we did of the "victory" of Kapolna, and not through Stock Exchange puffs.

The only information we have from the *Banat* comes from statements in the Vienna and Olmütz papers that Baja on the Danube was occupied on the 18th by 4,000 Magyars. Baja is located in the comitat of Bacska, hence in the part of the Voivodina claimed as Serbian, and at the same level as Theresiopel (Subotica), about eight miles away. The garrison crossed over the Danube, i. e. into the insurgent comitat of Tolna; it is attempting to move towards the forces of Colonel Horváth, which are approaching by steamship and tug and are to clear the Danube of guerillas. But probably, nothing more will even be heard of it, as the insurgents are likely to have cut it to pieces already long ago.

One hears from the Slovakian mountains that *Perczel* is now at the head of the guerillas organised there, who have already been

^a "Wien, 21. März", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 84, March 25, 1849.—*Ed.*

mentioned several times. A correspondent writes to the *Schlesische Zeitung* from Vienna on the 22nd that Perczel was recently in Tyrnau, five miles from Pressburg and eleven from Vienna, and was threatening the former town. He has however returned from there to Neutra and is now moving towards the Moravian border to threaten Olmütz. Everywhere he incites the Slovaks to rebellion, and arms and organises guerilla forces. He has laid under contribution all the villages and localities which have provided recruits for the royal imperial army; he is having hanged all those clergymen who previously were in agreement with Hurban.

It is evident that the so-called Slovak deputation which, with Hurban at its head, was recently in Olmütz,¹⁵⁶ is by no means representative of the Slovaks, and that these on the contrary prefer to side with the Magyars. Soon Perczel is likely to concentrate here the same formidable force with which Görgey conducted his brilliant campaigns.

To sum up: the imperial forces are suffering defeats everywhere, and what they need to crush the Magyar revolution is nothing more than—50,000-60,000 *Russians!*

But, in addition to the Slav movement and the Italian war, there is something else which may give a different turn to the whole Hungarian revolutionary war and change it into a European conflict, i.e. the Turkish affair. Turkey is Europe's most sensitive spot: movements in Turkey immediately bring England and France into collision with Russia. And it seems that at all events Turkey wants to move against Russian encroachments upon the Romanian provinces, and Russian intrigues in the Slav Danube provinces. A correspondent writes from Czernowitz (Bukovina) on March 16:

“Letters from Jassy bring us the news that the Turks have marched into *Galatz* as well as *Wallachia* in significant strength, 100,000 men, it is said, to protest arms in hand against the Russian occupation of the Danube principalities.”

And the Austrian correspondent adds from *Zara* in Dalmatia on March 13 that considerable military preparations have been going on for a fortnight in the neighbouring town of Mostar, and all men of the region capable of bearing arms have been called to the colours. In April, all men from 16 to 40 years of age are to be called up and only one man is to be left behind with each family for its support. In *Zara* one does not know what to make of it.^a

If it is confirmed that the Porte wishes seriously to oppose Russia—and the French papers too have been reporting this for

^a “Zara, 13. März”, *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 70, March 23, 1849.—Ed.

some time—a new and scarcely avoidable impulse will be given to a European war. And this war will be upon us before we realise it and bear the European revolution in its train.

Postscript. At Hochwiesen (two miles from Schemnitz) a guerilla force which advanced from Komorn under the leadership of Ernst Simonyi has been driven back, the *Wiener Zeitung* reports.^a This and a few fires is all that this official paper has today about Hungary!

A correspondent writes from Pest that the general offensive was to have begun on the 20th. Heavy artillery has gone to support Schlick. Theresiopel has not yet been taken, despite the reinforcement of Todorovich there by 5,000 Serbian volunteers. On the other hand, the Honveds are said to have been driven out of Baja again.

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^a "Pesth", *Wiener Zeitung* No. 71, March 24, 1849.—*Ed*

FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

[ITALY]

As we were able to inform most of our readers yesterday,^a two engagements have taken place simultaneously, at Vigevano and Mortara, in one of which the Austrians gained advantages, in the other the victory went to the Piedmontese.

Today we have more definite news. We shall relate it in chronological order.

Ramorino's treachery is, according to a report of the *Constitutionnel*, beyond doubt. His orders were to prevent the Austrians from crossing the Ticino with the Lombard division from Vigevano. He sent a battalion of riflemen which occupied the crossing. An Austrian regiment made its appearance on the morning of the 20th and was held back for five hours, from 5 a.m. to 10 a.m. In the meantime, instead of the regiment, an entire imperial brigade arrived at the Ticino. The Lombard battalion commander, Manara, astonished still to be left without any aid, retreated to Vigevano, the division's headquarters. Vigevano was deserted by Ramorino's troops. The Lombards retreated still further and eventually met a Piedmontese corps, which they were able to join. During this time, Ramorino had led his division off on marches which flagrantly contradicted the orders he had received. He was, however, arrested on the same day and, let us hope, will be shot.

As a result of Ramorino's treachery, the Austrians succeeded in concentrating the main body of their forces in the Lomellina, between the Po and the Ticino, thus driving a wedge into the Piedmontese army. Durando and the entire corps stationed south of the Po are cut off from the main army.

On the 21st, Radetzky with two columns marched north towards Vigevano and Mortara, on the road leading to Vercelli. At Vigevano,

^a See this volume, pp. 156-57.— *Ed.*

one of the columns was halted by Piedmontese troops. For four hours they fought against numerically superior imperial forces at Sforzesca and Gambolo, without retreating. At last, the Savona brigade arrived at about four o'clock and *drove back the Austrians with casualties*. 1,500 prisoners are said to have fallen into the hands of the Piedmontese.

Immediately afterwards, at 6 o'clock, Mortara was attacked by the imperial forces; after defending themselves bravely, the Piedmontese eventually withdrew from this position under the protection of the reserve division.

This division continued the battle into the night, and only then did Mortara fall into the hands of the enemy.

So much is certain. But from here on the reports are contradictory. According to one, the Duke of Savoy had resumed the offensive on the 22nd, and put two Hungarian regiments to flight; according to another, Radetzky is advancing along the Vercelli road.

In Paris, a telegraphic dispatch said to have been received on the 26th puts Radetzky only four miles from Turin. Even the *Journal des Débats*, which is favourably disposed towards the Austrians, has to admit that this report is unfounded and could not possibly have been received in Paris on the 26th.^a It even makes the effort to prove this by comparing the dates and distances involved.

It further admits that Radetzky has got himself into a position in which one defeat will finish him off.

"If the Piedmontese army has time to concentrate in Radetzky's rear, it will be able to put him into a most difficult position."

But this is precisely what the *Journal des Débats* doubts. Firstly, it says, the Piedmontese army has been drawn up along far too long a line, taking up positions from Novara to Castel San Giovanni, and even having other detached corps at Arona and Sarzana, or now at Parma; and secondly, it must be assumed that Radetzky, when he decided to cross the Ticino, had with him the whole of his available forces, 70,000 men with 120 cannon.

Firstly, the Piedmontese army has, indeed, been deployed since the 21st in such a way that the corps which directly confronts Radetzky is certainly too weak *by itself* to withstand him. That is the result of Ramorino's treachery. But this is not the issue. The Duke of Genoa is operating on the right flank of the Austrians, the Piedmontese reserves are stationed on their left flank at Casale and Alessandria, and Durando is in their rear at Stradella. Radetzky is literally encircled, and his retreat in case of a defeat is as good as cut off. It is

^a "Paris, 26 mars", *Journal des Débats*, March 27, 1849.—*Ed.*

a curious assumption that these distinct Piedmontese corps would not operate together (and the Duke of Genoa and the reserve corps of the main army are close enough to do so). By his treachery, Ramorino was able to put the Piedmontese at a momentary disadvantage, but he could not thereby *decide* the outcome of the campaign.

Secondly, the Austrian army between the Ticino and the Po is by no means 70,000 strong. The *Journal des Débats* really argues too naively when it asserts: because Radetzky had an alleged 70,000 men under his command between the Adda and the Ticino, he must have led the same number across the Ticino. Clearly, he must have left behind a considerable number on the Lombardic bank of the Po and in Pavia, as well as on the Lambro and the Adda, to cover his base of operations. According to a report in the *Basler Zeitung* (which enthusiastically supports the imperial cause), the Austrians had 8,000 men at Gallarate, 20,000 at Magenta, 25,000 at Pavia and 25,000 at Piacenza. Only the first three corps, together 50,000-53,000 men, could be taken across the Ticino in case of extreme necessity; the corps at Piacenza barely sufficed to cover the Po from Piacenza to Pavia.

Even without the outermost formations dispatched to Como via Arona and to Parma via Sarzana, the Piedmontese army will therefore probably completely suffice to hold out against Radetzky.

Moreover, that Radetzky has left Lombardy largely stripped of troops is clear even from the hasty transfer of the troops from the Venice area, from Verona to Lombardy, from Padua to Verona. In the Tirol a corps of 7,000 riflemen is said to have been mobilised. Venice will thus be fairly denuded of troops, and the encirclement from the landward side will surely soon cease of its own accord.¹⁵⁷

In Paris, the rumour was circulating on the 27th that the Duke of Genoa had defeated the Austrians. 12,000 Austrians, encircled by three Piedmontese divisions, were said to have laid down their arms. We regard this rumour as scarcely more trustworthy than that spread on the 26th about the defeat of the Piedmontese.

A letter from *Parma* says that 7,000 *Tuscans* and 8,000 *Romans* have joined La Marmora.

The Roman general Zambeccari has routed an Austrian corps on the Modena-Bologna border.

Written by Engels on March 29, 1849

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[LATEST NEWS FROM HUNGARY]

Hungary. A correspondent writes to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* on March 21 from Pest:

“It appears certain that *Kaschau and a few other districts in northern Hungary have been re-occupied by the Hungarians*. At least, yesterday’s post bound for Kaschau did not get as far as *Gyöngyös*, and has returned here.”^a

Gyöngyös is in the rear of Schlick’s position at Erlau, and about eleven miles from Pest.

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^a “Pesth, 21. März”, Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 85, March 26, 1849.—Ed.

FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR.—
MORE RUSSIAN TROOPS

Following Bem's victories, another **20,000 Russians** have marched into Transylvania.

The most recent news from Transylvania brings confirmation of the Magyars' victory. In Hermannstadt, Bem had the building of the General Command and the dwelling of the Saxon Count battered down; after this, he attacked and dispersed the national guards with grape-shot, and then gave the town over to plunder for a couple of hours. He then withdrew from the town and went on to Schässburg, where he wrought even worse havoc. Kaschau has again been occupied by a Magyar raiding party, and in Schemnitz, too, Honveds¹⁵⁸ have once again turned up.

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THE DEFEAT OF THE PIEDMONTESE

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 260, March 31, 1849]

Cologne, March 30. Ramorino's treachery has borne fruit. The Piedmontese army has been *totally defeated* at Novara and driven back to Borgomanero at the foot of the Alps.¹⁵⁹ The Austrians have occupied Novara, Vercelli and Trino, and the road to Turin lies open to them.

So far any more detailed information is lacking. But this much is certain: without Ramorino, who allowed the Austrians to drive a wedge between the different Piedmontese divisions and isolate some of them, the Austrian victory would have been impossible.

Nor can there be any doubt that Charles Albert also was guilty of treachery. But whether he committed it merely through the medium of Ramorino or in some other way as well, we shall only learn later on.

Ramorino is the adventurer who after a more than doubtful career during the Polish war of 1830-31 disappeared during the Savoy campaign of 1834¹⁶⁰ with the entire cash resources for the war on the same day that matters took a serious turn, and who later, in London, for £1,200 drew up for the ex-Duke of Brunswick a plan for the conquest of Germany.

The mere fact that such an adventurer could even be given a post proves that Charles Albert, who is more afraid of the republicans of Genoa and Turin than of the Austrians, was from the outset contemplating treachery.

That, after this defeat, a revolution and proclamation of a republic in Turin is expected arises from the fact that the attempt is being made to prevent it by the abdication of Charles Albert in favour of his eldest son.^a

^a Victor Emmanuel II.—*Ed.*

The defeat of the Piedmontese is more important than all the German imperial tricks taken together. It is the defeat of the whole Italian revolution. After the defeat of Piedmont comes the turn of Rome and Florence.¹⁶¹

But unless all the signs are deceptive, precisely this defeat of the Italian revolution will be the signal for the outbreak of the European revolution. The French people sees that to the same extent that it becomes more and more enslaved by its own counter-revolution inside the country, the armed counter-revolution abroad approaches closer and closer to its frontiers. The counterpart of the June victory and Cavaignac's dictatorship in Paris was Radetzky's victorious march to the Mincio, the counterpart to the presidency of Bonaparte, Barrot and the law on association¹⁶² is the victory at Novara and the Austrians' march to the Alps. Paris is ripe for a new revolution. Savoy, which for a year has been preparing its secession from Piedmont and union with France, and which did not want to participate in the war, Savoy will want to throw itself into the arms of France; Barrot and Bonaparte will have to reject it. Genoa, and perhaps Turin, if there is still time for it, will proclaim a republic and call on France for help; and Odilon Barrot will solemnly reply to them that he will be able to protect the integrity of Sardinia's territory.

But if the Ministry does not wish to know it, the people of Paris knows very well that France must not tolerate the Austrians in Turin and Genoa. And the people of Paris will not tolerate them there. It will reply to the Italians by a victorious uprising and the French army, the only army in Europe that has not been in the open battlefield since February 24,^a will join it.

The French army is burning with impatience to cross the Alps and measure its strength against the Austrians. It is not accustomed to opposing a revolution which promises it new renown and new laurels, and which comes forward with the banner of war against coalition. The French army is not "My glorious army".¹⁶³

The defeat of the Italians is bitter. No people, apart from the Poles, has been so shamefully oppressed by the superior power of its neighbours, no people has so often and so courageously tried to throw off the yoke oppressing it. And each time this unfortunate people has had to submit again to its oppressors; the result of all the efforts, of all the struggle, has been nothing but fresh defeats! But if the present defeat has as its consequence a revolution in Paris and

^a On February 24, 1848 the French monarchy was overthrown.—*Ed.*

leads to the outbreak of a European war, the foretokens of which are everywhere evident; if this defeat gives the impetus for a new movement throughout the Continent—a movement which this time will have a different character from that of last year—then even the Italians will have cause for congratulating themselves on it.

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 261 (second edition), April 1, 1849]

Cologne, April 1. According to the latest reports from Italy, the defeat of the Piedmontese at Novara is by no means so decisive as was reported in the telegraphic dispatch sent to Paris.

The Piedmontese have suffered defeat; they are cut off from Turin and thrown back to the mountains. That is all.

If Piedmont were a republic, if the Turin Government were revolutionary and if it had the courage to resort to revolutionary measures—nothing would be lost. But Italian independence is being lost not because of the invincibility of Austrian arms, but because of the cowardice of Piedmont royalty.

To what do the Austrians owe their victory? To the fact that owing to Ramorino's treachery, two divisions of the Piedmontese army were cut off from the remaining three, and these three isolated divisions were beaten owing to the numerical superiority of the Austrians. These three divisions have now been pressed back to the foot of the Pennine Alps.

From the outset it was an enormous mistake of the Piedmontese that they opposed to the Austrians merely a regular army, that they wanted to wage an ordinary, bourgeois, genteel war against them. A nation that wants to conquer its independence cannot restrict itself to the *ordinary* methods of warfare. Mass uprising, revolutionary war, guerilla detachments everywhere—that is the only means by which a small nation can overcome a large one, by which a less strong army can be put in a position to resist a stronger and better organised one.

The Spaniards proved it in 1807-12,¹⁶⁴ the Hungarians are proving it now as well.

Chrzanowski was defeated at Novara and cut off from Turin; Radetzky stood 9 miles from Turin. In a *monarchy* such as Piedmont, even in a constitutional one, the outcome of the campaign was thereby decided; Radetzky was petitioned for peace. But in a republic the defeat would have been *by no means decisive*. If it were not for the inevitable cowardice of the monarchy, which never has

the courage to resort to extreme revolutionary means—if this cowardice had not held it back from this course—Chrzanowski's defeat could have become fortunate for Italy.

Had Piedmont been a republic that did not have to pay any regard to monarchical traditions, there would have been a way open to it to end the campaign quite differently.

Chrzanowski was driven back to Biella and Borgomanero. There, where the Swiss Alps prevent any further retreat, and where the two or three narrow river valleys make any dispersal of the army practically impossible, it was easy to concentrate the army and by a bold advance nullify Radetzky's victory.

If the leaders of the Piedmontese army had any revolutionary courage, if they knew that in Turin there was a revolutionary government ready to take the most extreme measures, their course of action would have been very simple.

After the battle at Novara there were 30,000-40,000 Piedmontese troops at Lago Maggiore. This corps could be mobilised in two days and could be thrown into Lombardy, where there are less than 12,000 Austrian troops. This corps could occupy Milan, Brescia and Cremona, organise a general uprising, smash one by one the Austrian corps advancing singly from the Venetian region, and so completely destroy Radetzky's whole basis of operations.

Instead of marching on Turin, Radetzky would have had immediately to turn round and go back to Lombardy, pursued by the levy en masse of the Piedmontese, who of course would have had to support the uprising in Lombardy.

Such a *really* national war, like that which the Lombards waged in March 1848, and by which they drove Radetzky beyond the Oglio and the Mincio—such a war would have drawn the whole of Italy into the struggle and a quite different spirit would have permeated the Romans and Tuscans.

While Radetzky still stood between the Po and the Ticino, pondering whether he should advance or retreat, the Piedmontese and Lombards could have marched right up to Venice, relieve the siege there, draw in La Marmora and the Roman troops, harrass and weaken the Austrian Field Marshal by countless guerilla groups, split up his forces and finally defeat him. Lombardy was only waiting for the Piedmontese to arrive; it rose up even before their arrival. Only the Austrian fortresses held the Lombardy towns in check. Ten thousand Piedmontese were already in Lombardy; if another 20,000-30,000 had marched in, Radetzky's retreat would have been impossible.

But a mass uprising and a general insurrection of the people are means which royalty is terrified of using. These are means to which only a republic resorts—1793 is proof of that. These are means, the application of which presupposes *revolutionary terror*, and where has there been a monarch who could resolve to use that?

What ruined the Italians, therefore, was not the defeat at Novara and Vigevano; it was the cowardice and moderation that monarchy forces on them. The lost battle at Novara resulted merely in a *strategic* disadvantage; the Italians were cut off from Turin, whereas the way to it lay open to the Austrians. This disadvantage would have been entirely without significance if the lost battle had been followed by a *real revolutionary war*, if the remainder of the Italian army had forthwith proclaimed itself the nucleus of a national mass uprising, if the conventional strategic war of *armies* had been turned into a *people's war*, like that waged by the French in 1793.

But, of course, a monarchy will never consent to a revolutionary war, a mass uprising and terror. It would make peace with its bitterest enemy of equal rank rather than ally itself with the people.

Whether or not Charles Albert is a traitor—Charles Albert's *crown*, the *monarchy* alone, would have sufficed to ruin Italy.

But Charles Albert is a traitor. All the French newspapers carry news about the great European counter-revolutionary plot of all the great powers, about the plan of campaign of the counter-revolution for the final suppression of all the European peoples. Russia and England, Prussia and Austria, France and Sardinia, have signed this new Holy Alliance.¹⁶⁵

Charles Albert received orders to start a war against Austria, to let himself be defeated, thereby giving the Austrians an opportunity to restore "peace" in Piedmont, Florence and Rome, and to arrange for martial-law constitutions to be imposed everywhere. In return for this, Charles Albert was to receive Parma and Piacenza and the Russians were to pacify Hungary; France was to become an empire, and thus peace was established in Europe. That, according to the French newspapers, is the great plan of the counter-revolution, and this plan explains Ramorino's treachery and the defeat of the Italians.

But the monarchy, as a result of Radetzky's victory, has suffered a fresh blow. The battle at Novara and the paralysis of the Piedmontese which followed it prove that in extreme cases, when a people needs to exert all its strength in order to save itself, nothing hinders it so much as the monarchy. If Italy is not to perish because of the monarchy, then above all the monarchy in Italy must perish.

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 263, April 4, 1849]

Now at last the events of the Piedmontese campaign right up to the victory of the Austrians at Novara lie before us frankly and clearly revealed.

While Radetzky deliberately caused the false rumour to be spread that he would keep on the defensive and retreat towards the Adda, he secretly concentrated all his troops around Sant Angelo and Pavia. Owing to the treachery of the pro-Austrian reactionary party in Turin, Radetzky was *fully* informed of all Chrzanowski's plans and arrangements and of the entire position of his army. On the other hand, he succeeded in completely deceiving the Piedmontese as to his own plans. This was why the Piedmontese army was drawn up on both sides of the Po, the sole calculation being to advance simultaneously from all sides in a concentric movement against Milan and Lodi.

Nevertheless, if strong resistance had been offered by the Piedmontese army in the centre, it would have been impossible to envisage the swift success that Radetzky has now achieved. If Ramorino's corps at Pavia had barred his way, there would still have been time enough to contest Radetzky's passage across the Ticino until reinforcements had been brought up. In the meanwhile the divisions on the right bank of the Po and at Arona could also have arrived; the Piedmontese army drawn up parallel to the Ticino would have covered Turin and been more than sufficient to put Radetzky's army to flight. One had, of course, to rely on Ramorino doing his duty.

But he did not do it. He allowed Radetzky to cross the Ticino, and this meant that there was a break-through in the centre of the Piedmontese army and the divisions on the other side of the Po were isolated. Thereby, in fact, the outcome of the campaign was already decided.

Radetzky then put his entire force of 60,000-70,000 men with 120 guns between the Ticino and the Agogna and took the five Piedmontese divisions along the Ticino in the flank. Thanks to his enormously superior force, he repelled the four nearest divisions at Mortara, Garlasco and Vigevano on the 21st, captured Mortara thereby compelling the Piedmontese to withdraw to Novara, and threatened the only road to Turin still open to them—that from Novara via Vercelli and Chivasso.

This road, however, was already lost for the Piedmontese. In order to concentrate their troops and, in particular, to be able to bring up Solaroli's division stationed on the extreme left flank round Arona,

they had to make Novara the nodal point of their operations, whereas otherwise they could have taken up a new position behind the Sesia.

Being therefore already as good as cut off from Turin, nothing was left to the Piedmontese but either to accept battle at Novara or to go into Lombardy, organise a people's war and to leave Turin to its fate, the reserves and the national guard. In that case, Radetzky would have taken good care not to advance farther.

But this presupposes that in Piedmont itself preparations were made for a *mass uprising* and precisely this was not the case. The bourgeois national guard was armed; but the mass of the people were unarmed, however loudly they demanded the arms stocked in the arsenals.

The monarchy did not dare to appeal to this irresistible force that had saved France in 1793.

The Piedmontese had, therefore, to accept battle at Novara, however unfavourable their position and however great the enemy's superiority of force.

40,000 Piedmontese (ten brigades) with relatively weak artillery confronted the entire Austrian army numbering at least 60,000 men with 120 guns.

The Piedmontese army was drawn up under the walls of Novara on both sides of the Mortara road.

The left flank, two brigades commanded by Durando, had the support of a fairly strong position, La Bicocca.

The centre, three brigades commanded by Bès, backed on a farmstead, La Cittadella.

The right flank, two brigades commanded by Perrone, backed on the Cortenuova plateau (the Vercelli road).

There were two reserve corps, one consisting of two brigades under the Duke of Genoa stationed on the left flank, the second consisting of a brigade and the guards under the Duke of Savoy, the present King, stationed on the right flank.

The disposition of the Austrians, judging from their communiqué, is less clear.

The second Austrian corps under d'Aspre was the first to attack the left flank of the Piedmontese, while behind it the third corps under Appel, as well as the reserves and the fourth corps, were deployed. The Austrians were completely successful in establishing their line of battle and simultaneously delivering a concentric attack on all points of the Piedmontese battle formation with such a superiority of force that the Piedmontese were crushed by it.

The key to the Piedmontese position was the Bicocca. If the Austrians had captured it, the Piedmontese centre and left flank would have been trapped between the (unfortified) town and the canal, and they could have been either scattered or forced to lay down their arms.

Hence the main attack was directed against the Piedmontese left flank, the chief support of which was the Bicocca. Here the battle raged with great violence, but for a long time without result.

A very lively attack was launched also against the centre. La Cittadella was lost several times but several times it was retaken by Bès.

When the Austrians saw that they were encountering too strong a resistance here, they again turned their main strength against the Piedmontese left flank. The two Piedmontese divisions were thrown back to the Bicocca and finally the Bicocca itself was captured by storm. The Duke of Savoy with his reserves hurled himself on the Austrians, but it was of no avail. The superiority of the imperial forces was too great; the position was lost, and that decided the battle. The only retreat left to the Piedmontese was towards the Alps, to Biella and Borgomanero.

And this battle, prepared for by treachery and won by superior force, the *Kölnische Zeitung*, which has so long been hankering for an Austrian victory, calls:

“a battle which in the history of war will *shine for all time* (!), since the victory won in it by old Radetzky is the result of *such skilful combined* movements and *such truly magnificent bravery* that *nothing like it has occurred since the days of Napoleon, the great demon of battles* (!!!).”^a

Radetzky or, rather, Hess, his chief of the general staff, carried out his plot with Ramorino quite well, we admit. It is also true that since Grouchy’s treachery at Waterloo,¹⁶⁶ certainly no such magnificent villainy has occurred as that of Ramorino’s. Radetzky, however, is not in the same class as Napoleon, the “demon of battles” (!), but in that of *Wellington*; the victories of both of them always cost more *ready money* than bravery and skill.

We shall not discuss at all the rest of the lies which the *Kölnische Zeitung* spread yesterday evening, i.e. that the democratic deputies have fled from Turin, and that the Lombards “behaved like a cowardly rabble” etc. They have already been refuted by the latest

^a Published in the section “Italien” in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 79, April 3, 1849.—*Ed.*

events. These lies prove nothing but the joy of the *Kölnische Zeitung* that great Austria has crushed—and that by means of treachery—little Piedmont.

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[FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

Recent news from the theatre of war is entirely lacking. Only individual details about events of which we already know are at hand. In the following we give the most important of these:

Lieutenant-Field Marshal *Schulzig* has been recalled because of his incompetent conduct of operations in Hungary, and transferred to the post of Commandant in Styria. The first of the much vaunted royal imperial Austrian generals of whom an example is made. More are in prospect.

Jellachich is said to be in Felegyhaza and his outposts four hours from Szegedin, which is said to be encircled and cut off from supplies from the Banat. A glance at any large-scale map giving the location of the swamps around Szegedin shows that this report is an empty boast.

About 2,500 Hungarian insurgents sought to effect an entry into Galicia in the district of Stryj, but were repulsed with casualties.

It is learnt that *as a rule the cadres of the Hungarian army reserve battalions consist of Polish veterans.*

The most recent order of Field Marshal Windischgrätz that no one *can be forced* to accept Hungarian banknotes (!!)^a has had no effect at all in Pest.

In another issue of the *Lithographierte Correspondenz* from Vienna we read:

“The Hungarians are continually advancing on Pest and will make every effort to relieve Arad, Komorn and Peterwardein, efforts that may be successful, since the Hungarian army is daily growing larger and more enthusiastic, while the imperial

^a This order, of March 21, 1849, was published in the *Wiener Zeitung* No. 74 (evening supplement), March 27, 1849.—*Ed.*

troops are reduced in numbers and disheartened as well by strenuous marches, bad provisioning and continuous skirmishes. Most recently a very violent engagement took place at Török Szent Miklos, in which both parties suffered heavy losses, the Hungarians however were left in possession of the battlefield. At Szegedin, a heavy encounter between the Hungarian army of the South under Vetter and Damjanich and the Serbian army corps is expected any day now. The Serbs have actually gone back to Serbia,^a lock, stock and barrel, and the unit numbering about 8,000 men will be greatly missed by the imperial generals. Peterwardein is still occupied by Hungarian troops and, as I learnt yesterday, the force there has resolved, after throwing into the casemates all suspect officers, to blow up the ancient rocks of Peterwardein rather than surrender. Hence the navigation on the Danube may well have been opened from Karlowitz, but not further upstream; for any boat that ventured near Peterwardein, which completely commands the whole Danube, would be sent to the bottom of the river. Komorn has been bombarded since March 17 without any success; large siege artillery is being sent by steamship down to Komorn every day. Bem has taken Hermannstadt and driven out the 3,000 Russians and 2,000 Austrians who were garrisoned there."

On Bem's capture of Hermannstadt, a Vienna correspondent of the *Börsen-Halle* writes:

"A look at the map shows the daring with which the insurgent leader has effected this coup, for, as the reports say, he made a 26 hours' forced march with 12,000 men from Vásárhely and attacked Hermannstadt before daybreak, surprised and disarmed the Russian garrison there which in part was still in barracks, and is said to have captured several guns. It is also reported that several Russians have been hanged. The Russian protection, which was promised with the arrival of the Russian relief-force, has consequently been of very little help to the unfortunate inhabitants of Hermannstadt."

A correspondent, who is an enthusiast of the royal imperial cause, has written as follows to the *Breslauer Zeitung* from the Hungarian border:

"The rumour of Prince Windischgrätz's resignation is daily growing stronger. For Windischgrätz is said to be not only disgruntled by the unsatisfactory progress of the war, which he attributes to the oft requested but never granted reinforcements to his troops, but to be particularly offended by the tutelage the Ministry has recently found it expedient to impose upon him in respect of the civil administration of the country. The affair of the banknotes caused the first rift in the *entente cordiale*^b between Windischgrätz and the Ministry, and the dispatch of Baron Kübek to Ofen to superintend the Hungarian finances was not designed to restore the shattered harmony either. It is asserted that Baron Welden in Vienna, recently promoted to the rank of Master of Ordnance, is destined to replace the austere Marshal in Hungary. Welden's post as Governor of the capital city of the Empire will be taken by Master of Ordnance Count Nugent, since the notorious incidents in Friuli in spring last year¹⁶⁷ have made it impossible for this general to remain in the field.—An air of mystery continues to hang over the terrible fate of *Maklar*. After the battle of Kapolna, this beautiful market town was badly damaged; hence Prince Windischgrätz caused compensation of 1,000 florins to be granted to it. Later it was said to have been razed

^a The reference is to the troops sent by the principality of Serbia to the Hungarian front.—*Ed.*

^b Friendly understanding.—*Ed.*

to the ground because of the alleged hold-up there of five royal imperial ammunition waggons. This report, however, is denied in Hungarian newspapers appearing in Pest under the eye of the Field Marshal, although the facts concerning the destruction of Maklar appear to have been incontrovertibly established."

The same correspondent sends the following details about Komorn, from which it follows that the capture of the fortress is out of the question. An "assault" on a fortress, particularly one as impregnable as Komorn, an assault to be made before the walls are breached, would be sheer madness. Nevertheless, the correspondent predicts the assault. One sees how the Austrian officers take the journalists in with the craziest nonsense.

In addition, we learn that the so-called Palatine line, which is supposed to have been taken long ago by the imperial forces, is still in Hungarian hands, and that only now the direct-fire batteries¹⁶⁸ have been brought into action against it. Hence there is still no question of the capture of this outwork.

The correspondent writes:

"The Komorn fortress has been shelled assiduously since the 20th of this month, but so far with little success. Two thousand shells are intended to be fired into the area of the fortress. Should the garrison still not surrender, a general assault will be ventured, which the royal imperial troops are impatiently awaiting, since their bivouac is not very inviting in 12 degrees of frost and, moreover, the townships in the whole of the surrounding area are so impoverished and plundered of everything that their inhabitants come into the Austrian camp to beg and gladly pay 30 Kr. for a loaf of army bread merely to be able to still their hunger. The batteries set up on the Sandberg alongside the Danube are intended to clear the island and dismantle the enemy guns of the outer works of the Palatine line; another battery is shelling the road running from the bridgehead through Neu-Szöny; long-distance mortars and rocket batteries commanded by First Lieutenant Jäger, well-known from Italy, complete the list. The garrison is courageously defying death, for the fortress commandant Mek, a young man who has risen in nine months from an artillery sergeant¹⁶⁹ to the rank of the Colonel, sees the scaffold in front of him and will sell his life dearly.

"In Debreczin the insurgent officers lead an extremely gay life, for money is available there in abundance; a glass of punch costs 1 florin C. M., and quite ordinary cylinder clocks which cost 35 florins in Germany, fetch 200 florins there. Gold and silver are also disappearing from circulation in the seat of the Hungarian junta; payments are now made solely in banknotes, not as though the Hungarian Government were short of talers and ducats, not at all; but solely because it is keeping hard cash under lock and key, both to increase Austria's embarrassments and to preserve hard coin ready for all eventualities. As everybody knows, the cunning of the agitator Kossuth has succeeded in getting his emissaries to spread the myth that the National Bank in Vienna is no longer solvent and has suspended payments. *Even in Pest the manoeuvre succeeded* and Prince Windischgrätz is *not a little angered* by this successful ruse of the enemy."

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[FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

Der Lloyd reports—and it is well known that *Der Lloyd* is an honourable man—that **the Magyars under Görgey have moved across the Theiss and are at Neograd.**^a Neograd is *seven miles*^b to the north of Pest and about 20 miles this side of the Theiss. Görgey has also occupied Kaschau and Gyöngyös, that is why the mail dispatched to Kaschau was returned to Pest even before it had reached Gyöngyös. The aim of this campaign is to relieve Komorn.

The Austrian papers had triumphantly proclaimed that Dembiński had relinquished his command because of disagreements with Görgey. Now the matter is being resolved. After some dissension between the generals, Kossuth succeeded in reconciling them. They have come to the following arrangement—Görgey retains the supreme command of all insurgent armies, while Dembiński becomes chief of the Hungarian general quartermaster staff, and the campaign *must* be conducted in strict accordance with the plans of operation laid down by him. Vetter, the former Austrian Staff Officer and currently General of the malcontents, assumes supreme command over Dembiński's corps; a Frenchman named Duchatel is in command of the forces at Arad.

Some time ago *Schlick* was in real danger of being taken prisoner; he was attacked by several Hungarian hussars and only the arrival of a Croat detachment saved him.

The *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* relates the following information on the Hungarian war, which shows the enormous

^a Engels, probably, refers to the article "Pesth, 24. März" in *Der Lloyd* No. 147 (evening edition), March 27, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b See footnote on p. 20.—*Ed.*

heroism with which the Magyars are fighting. The Magyar army is not a regular, organised, well-trained army. It has not even enough rifles to arm the newly arriving recruits of the *Landsturm*. Hence, behind each Magyar front line stands a crowd of unarmed and untrained men, who are only waiting to take up *the muskets of those who have fallen* and to fill the gaps torn in the Magyar ranks by the Austrian guns. And it is these improvised soldiers who hold at bay the royal imperial army and its Russian allies.

The well-known story of the recognition of Francis Joseph as King of Hungary by the Debreczin National Assembly has been put into circulation again by the martial-law *Figyelmező* (Observer) in Pest. Only this time the actual recognition is said to have been given on the basis of the Pragmatic Sanction, and on condition that the Hungarian Constitution be recognised. It is also said that Kossuth along with 15 others voted against it.¹⁷⁰

About Transylvania, the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* has received a report from Czernowitz (Bukovina), according to which the *whole of Transylvania except Kronstadt was in the hands of the Magyars*, and Bem was about to enter this town as well. It is "believed" that Malkowsky will advance towards Transylvania after he has only just been driven out! 30,000 Russians are expected to move in immediately.^a

Moreover, that Hungary *can only be subjugated by the Russians* is as good as *admitted* by the Austrian Ministers. We shall have to wait and see whether they will have the courage to let the Russians come.

The situation in the Banat looks bad. We quote the following report on the battle of Szolnok, sent from Kecskemét on March 15, from a Slav paper, the *Morawské Nowiny* (Moravian Newspaper):

"At 8 in the morning on March 5 a great battle was fought at Szolnok. Two battalions of infantry, half a cavalry regiment and three artillery batteries were on our side; but the mass of the enemy troops was enormous. As soon as we confronted them on the battlefield, they assaulted us with guns as well as with their entire infantry. When we realised that it was no longer possible to withstand them, we retreated. Then the enemy began to assail us forcefully from two sides, until we were wedged in between the narrow banks of the rivers Zagyva and Theiss which merge at Szolnok. Now things really began to happen; the hussars rushed upon us and cut into us so terribly that many of our men jumped into the water and were drowned. When we realised the great danger, we put up resistance and fired on the enemy. Luckily, our aim was good, and the hussars literally rained down from their horses and were compelled to retreat. Fortunately we succeeded in fighting our way out of this confined area on the banks of the rivers, where we were as good as captured already. It was terrible to see soldiers and horses drowning, and our men and the Magyars

^a "Cerr.owic, am 21. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 74, March 28, 1849.—Ed.

lying in pools of blood. Among our men, barely 34 of a company of 380 were left after this battle, and, although greatly weakened, we are nevertheless advancing. At Szolnok we threw away our knapsacks and reached Kecskemét (by way of Körös), where we are now expecting the enemy at any hour, since Kossuth is only three hours away from us."^a

Der Lloyd carries the following report about the fighting at Theresiopel:

"*Semlin*, March 19. After their capture of Zombor, intoxicated with victory, the Serbs under the command of Dragich and Stein and the Serb auxiliary corps under the leadership of Milija Stanojevich set off towards Maria-Theresiopel via Bajmok and Pacs. But the Serbs from the Serb principality, who together with the Austrian Serbs were just about to storm Theresiopel, suddenly received orders to return to their homeland, orders which they obeyed without question. When the Magyars heard of the recall of the Serbs, they sallied out of Theresiopel, which had not yet been cut off from Szegedin whence they obtained substantial reinforcements, and fell on the small Serb force left with the encouraging battle-cry: 'Forward, have no fear, the Turkish Raizen¹⁷¹ are no longer here!' The battle lasted fully three hours. Our forces had two guns of their own, an eighteen-pounder from Kničanin and a Racksa twelve-pounder, and held on bravely. The enemy simulated a retreat. Deceived by this into abandoning their advantageous positions, the Serbs impetuously pursued the enemy, who turned round unexpectedly, defeated the Serbs and put them to flight, capturing the guns mentioned above. In this battle the Chaikists¹⁷² suffered the heaviest losses, 200 of them ending their lives on the battlefield."^b

Incidentally, the spirit that reigns among the Serbs is shown by the following proclamation issued by Lieutenant-Field Marshal Rukavina in Temesvar:

"For some time now, among the population of this area opinions have emerged and remarks are being made openly in nearly all inns and coffee-houses, which show an ill will that can no longer be tolerated. Accordingly, the honourable mayoralty should with all the severity at its command, as the civil police authority, initiate in this respect a supervision which will give full attention to the inns and coffee-houses and will not tolerate in such places anything directed against the person of the Monarch, the Government, or existing conditions in general, and will eradicate any provocations by word or deed; it should make all innkeepers and coffee-house owners responsible for immediately reporting to the local commander and to the civil authorities concerned everyone who allows himself anything of that kind so that such persons can be arrested in good time. Anyone who neglects to make such a report will be punished for the first offence with arrest and a fine of 100 florins C.M., for the second offence with more rigorous detention and a fine of 200 fl., and for any repetition of the offence with trial by martial law and the closing down of his business. Similarly, all citizens who, having knowledge of such traitorous incitements, omit to report them and this comes afterwards to the knowledge of the local authorities, will become subject to martial law. Hereafter, not only will the honourable mayoralty itself take the

^a "Kecskemét, 15. März (M. N.)", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 74, March 28, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b "Semlin, 19. März", *Der Lloyd* No. 143 (evening edition), March 24, 1849.—*Ed.*

necessary measures within the fortress, but will also fully inform the lower courts of the contents of this decree and call for its strict application.”^a

Moreover, the *Südslavische Zeitung* has a report on the disagreements between Patriarch Rajachich and Lieutenant-Field Marshal Rukavina:

“*Becskerek*, March 13. The Serb Central Committee¹⁷³ and the Constitutional Committee yesterday sent a deputation to the Patriarch with the request that he convene a National Assembly as soon as possible. The Patriarch replied that he could not immediately comply with this request, as many areas in the Banat are still under Rukavina’s authority, in particular the comitat of Krasso and the Wallacho-Illyrian regiment. In private conversation the Patriarch expressed the opinion that the National Assembly will probably be convened after Easter.—In some districts petitions to the Patriarch for the early convening of a National Assembly are being signed.”^b

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^a “Temešvar, 17. März”, *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 73, March 27, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b “Bečkerek, 13. März (Südsl. Ztg.)”, *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 74, March 28, 1849.—*Ed.*

FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

The latest news completely confirms our report printed yesterday^a that the Magyars have advanced to the vicinity of Neograd. In the Miskolcz area, Görgey has broken through the dispositions of the imperial army and thereby—according to the *Lithographierte Correspondenz* from Vienna based on a message from Pest dated the 26th—forced Lieutenant-Field Marshal Ramberg to *withdraw as far as Waitzen* on the Danube, 20-25 miles beyond Miskolcz.

This report at last tells us something of Götz's and Jablonowsky's corps, which have been missing for so long, for it is precisely these two brigades which are commanded by Ramberg. They have thus moved to the Theiss by way of Kaschau, and here they have been driven back over the Hernad by the Magyars. While in Vienna the story has been put about that they were in Tokaj they have had to withdraw to Miskolcz—four miles further to the west, to avoid losing contact with the main army. And here all at once they are thrown back to 20-25 miles from Miskolcz thanks to a new, bold march by Görgey. Instead of advancing along the Theiss, the only alternative open to them is to try to obstruct the Magyars in their march on Komorn at the bend of the Danube where it leaves its easterly course to turn south.

A peculiar fate of all imperial units marching towards the Theiss from the High Carpathians is to be thrown out of their predetermined line of operations and back on to the main army operating from Pest. Schlick was the first to march down the Hernad to Tokaj. He had scarcely arrived when he was expelled by Görgey, who in the course of his brilliant retreat or rather triumphal march through Upper Hungary managed to get into Schlick's rear. Lieutenant-Field

^a See this volume, p. 181.—*Ed.*

Marshal Schlick had no alternative but to withdraw down the Theiss, unite with Windischgrätz and abandon eastern Upper Hungary to the Magyars. Ramberg thereupon descended the Hernad, and we have seen that he shared the same fate.

The great strategic advantage which the Magyars have thus gained is the liberation of by far the greatest part of Upper Hungary as far as the mountain towns and the Jablunka, the extension of their right wing to the Carpathians, the connection established with the volunteer corps in North-Eastern Slovakia and the opening of a road for the relief of Komorn. Even if they could not achieve all this without simultaneously bringing about a greater concentration of the imperial army, it is hardly a disadvantage for them in a country like Hungary where, owing to the terrain both in the mountains and on the plain, much more depends upon strategic combinations and success in guerilla warfare than upon large-scale battles. Precisely the deployment of the imperial army into a long battle-line outflanking the Magyars is the danger here, and precisely this deployment of the imperial troops is always disrupted; indeed, the position at present is that the Magyars are threatening to outflank the imperial troops.

Here, nothing can help the imperial forces once and for all, except reinforcements from Galicia strong enough to hold the Upper Theiss. And these can only be provided by the *Russians*, either by occupying Galicia and thus giving the royal imperial forces there a free hand, or by participating themselves in the march into Hungary. We recall that Hammerstein was supposed to have marched over the Carpathians with 12,000 Austrians and advanced to the Upper Theiss,^a and that this rumour proved to be false. Now it is being repeated, and indeed in an improved version.

The *Russians themselves* are supposed to be on their way to Hungary. The *Österreichischer Correspondent* writes from Pest:

“A traveller who arrived here by train assured us that he had learned from a reliable source that the *Russians had entered Galicia and intended to march immediately from there into Hungary.*”

This may help—nothing else will so easily. Whether these rumours are true or not, in any case they demonstrate the great significance the imperial generals attribute to the possession of Upper Hungary.

In the course of this new expedition of Görgey's the estates of several Hungarian magnates, among others the Pallavicini estates and those of Count Szirmay, have been utterly devastated. These

^a See this volume, pp. 152-53.—*Ed.*

gentlemen had betrayed their countrymen and intended to organise volunteer corps against the Magyars.

60,000 Russian troops are said to have marched into Transylvania.

On the 25th, there were reports in Pest that the *fortress of Arad* had been *stormed* and *captured* by the Magyars under the Frenchman Duchatel. 3,000 Magyars are said to have been killed.

Moreover, a number of martial-law inspired rumours are circulating in Vienna and Pest. Bem is said to be dead, Dembiński to have lost his right arm etc.

The following additional report is taken from the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*, which once again only reached us this morning:

In Pest on the 25th, there was not the slightest news either of Schlick or of Jellachich. They were presumed to be remaining inactive and awaiting reinforcements. "Moreover, the current state of the weather is too unfavourable to permit a campaign to be undertaken through the sea of mud of the Hungarian pusztas. The day before yesterday it snowed incessantly, while today and yesterday, a fine rain drizzled from the skies with great persistence. Already yesterday the post was delayed by ten hours."^a

On the other hand the regular navigation between Pest and Esseg on the Danube is said to have been re-opened—it remains to be seen for how long. In any case, Jellachich's march on Kecskemét has resulted in cutting off the Tolna comitat insurgents from the main force of the Magyars and apparently frustrating the movement the Magyars certainly intended to make from Szegedin towards the Danube. This movement was designed to achieve the same outflanking on the right wing of the imperial forces as the one Görgey has as good as executed on the left.

Komorn is still being unsuccessfully bombarded. A battle was fought in the fortress itself; the party inclined to surrender was defeated, and the revolutionary Magyars have now introduced a reign of terror, shooting every traitor. The Austrian siege troops have to endure the greatest hardship, snow and rain. On March 24 the snow lay 4 feet deep.

The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* has published an article, "Three Months of the Hungarian War",^b containing admissions all the more important given the dyed-in-the-wool black-and-yellow^c views of the author. We shall return to it.

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^a "Pest, 25. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 75, March 29, 1849.— *Ed.*

^b Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 88 (supplement), March 29, 1849.— *Ed.*

^c The Austrian imperial colours.— *Ed.*

FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

Today the news that the Hungarians have advanced by way of Gyöngyös into the area of Waitzen, 5 hours from Pest, is reaching us from all directions. Now nobody dares doubt it any more; the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*,^a all agree on this. The Austrians have had to retreat in all haste to Waitzen from Hatvan and Gödöllő on the worst country roads. Their flank is threatened by the Hungarians, who are simultaneously beginning to present a danger to the siege area around Komorn.

As a result of these successes on the part of the Hungarians the spirits of the inhabitants of Pest have risen again. Proclamations by Madarász, the Debreczin Minister of Police, in which the inhabitants of the two capitals¹⁷⁴ are urged to hold out in view of their impending liberation, have been distributed in great numbers in Pest.

Görgey has the supreme command of the advancing Magyar corps. The rumour about Dembiński's resignation on the grounds of his disagreements with Görgey is being repeated. *Vetter*, who together with Bem drafted the original plans of campaign, is said to have assumed command in his place.

Another piece of news which is similarly beyond doubt now is that of the entry of 30,000 new Russian auxiliaries into Transylvania. The

^a Engels refers to the following reports: "Pesth, 24. März", *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 78 (second edition), April 1, 1849; "Pesth, 27. März", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 92, April 2, 1849; "Pest, 27. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 78, April 1, 1849.—Ed.

Lloyd^a and several issues of the *Lithographierte Correspondenz* from Vienna announced this unanimously and simultaneously, and also the news that the *Bukovina too has been occupied by the Russians*.

Incidentally, the *Lloyd* reports in addition that Bem has been *utterly defeated* by the Russians and *compelled to retreat into Wallachia*.^b We are unable to judge whether the first part of this report is true or not, but it can scarcely be doubted that the second part is completely false. Bem had pursued the Russians as far as the Roterturm Pass, but had been unable to force this pass. If he was defeated, then it was only because of the newly arrived Russians, and these, needed precisely at Hermannstadt, had no means of access other than the Roterturm Pass. Thus Bem could not possibly have been expelled to Wallachian territory through this pass. To the right of the Roterturm Pass lie three other passes leading to Wallachia; but to reach these Bem would first have had to take Kronstadt, which was occupied by imperial troops and Russians and in addition covered by Puchner who had taken up positions on the Küküllo (Kokel). Here too, therefore, it would have been impossible for Bem to get across. Finally, the fifth of the Transylvanian-Wallachian passes, the Sill Pass, lies to the left of Hermannstadt. If he had used this pass then he would have been acting like a lunatic. If he was defeated at Hermannstadt the following courses were open to him: 1) the road along the Maros into Hungary, 2) the road to Klausenburg, and 3) the road to Maros-Vásárhely. In all three cases he would be able to remain at the place of battle and fall back upon Magyar corps to reinforce his troops. Crossing the Sill Pass on the other hand would have meant trampling on the most elementary rules of strategy, cutting himself off voluntarily from the Maros, his basis of operations, and crossing the frontier in a fit of dejection as it were. Thus, until we hear that hitherto unknown and unprecedented imperial advances have cut him off from an otherwise secure retreat we can at most believe in his defeat through Russian superiority, but not in his crossing into Wallachian territory.

No news has been received about the capture of the *Arad citadel* by the Magyars. On the other hand even the most black-and-yellow^c newspapers admit that a considerable Hungarian army is concentrating in and around Alt-Arad, this "Magyar Saragossa",¹⁷⁵ and that evidently important battles are in preparation there.

Incidentally, Bem has exercised the same salutary terrorism against the Russians in Transylvania as against the Saxons and the

^a "Wien, 29. März", *Der Lloyd* No. 152 (morning edition), March 30, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b "Neuestes", *Der Lloyd* No. 151 (evening edition), March 29, 1849.—*Ed.*

^c The Austrian imperial colours.—*Ed.*

Romanians. Thus among other things he is said to have ordered the hanging of 300 Cossacks captured by his troops in the attacks on Hermannstadt, and to have said of the deed that it had been one of the most satisfying of his life.

As a punishment for this and other atrocities, the *Lloyd* reports, the Russians ordered the hanging of six captured staff officers of Bem's after the battle they are alleged to have won.^a

Komorn and Peterwardein will soon surrender, hopes the royal imperial press. One knows by now how often and how long these facts, so desirable to the imperial side, have been "hoped for". The rain has not let up, the roads are turning more and more into quagmires, the post arrives later every day, and military operations must also be restricted for the present.

In brief, the state of the royal imperial cause in Hungary is such that the Olmütz Government is seriously considering negotiations. It is said that a peace congress is to be held in Miskolcz. Of this the *Ost-Deutsche Post* writes:

"The Government appears to have made new decisions concerning Hungary. One of these is said to be the repeated demand for a surrender, in conjunction with the promise of full immunity (amnesty) for all those troops and officers who return to subordination."^b

The Serbs are growing more and more serious. The following dispatch in the *Lloyd* shows that they are demanding more than a merely rhetorical independence:

"*Semlin*, March 21. Besides the deputies sent to Vienna by the Serbian National Congress upon the demand of the Government, about whom I informed you in my dispatch the day before yesterday, a further two elected deputies, Alexander Kostich and Georg Stojakovich, have departed for Ofen to bring back from the Governor's palace all the documents concerning the Serbian nation as well as the Serbian National Funds and other institutions."^c

In short, if it were not for the Russians we should be shouting "*Finis Austriae!*" much sooner than "*Finis Hungariae!*" Now even the neighbouring journalist^d realises this at last.

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^a "Neuestes", *Der Lloyd* No. 151 (evening edition), March 29, 1849. The newspaper mentioned that five officers were to be hanged.—*Ed.*

^b "Wien, 28. März", *Ost-Deutsche Post* No. 59, March 29, 1849.—*Ed.*

^c "Semlin, 21. März", *Der Lloyd* No. 147 (evening edition), March 27, 1849.—*Ed.*

^d An allusion to the journalist Schwanbeck reporting the Hungarian war for the *Kölnische Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY

Cologne, April 3. The sitting of the French National Assembly on March 31 was marked by the speech of the "versatile little man", Monsieur *Thiers*, who with cynical frankness and unambiguous clarity defended the Vienna Treaties of 1815¹⁷⁶ and upheld them as the basis of the present political situation of Europe. Was the little man not perfectly justified in ridiculing the contradiction of allowing these treaties to exist in fact while disavowing them in legal phraseology? And that was the cautious course of action of the Provisional Government¹⁷⁷ as it was that of Cavaignac. Barrot's foreign policy was the necessary consequence of Cavaignac's policy, just as Cavaignac's foreign policy was the necessary consequence of Lamartine's policy. Lamartine, like the Provisional Government as a whole, of whose foreign policy he was the agent, betrayed Italy and Poland on the pretext of not hindering the internal development of the French Republic. The clang of arms would have sounded a dissonant note in Lamartine's oratorical propaganda. Just as the Provisional Government pretended that it could abolish the contradiction between the bourgeois class and the working class with a phrase about "fraternisation" and spirit away the class struggle, so it did also with regard to the contradiction between nations and foreign war. Under the aegis of the Provisional Government the oppressors of the Poles, Italians and Hungarians reconstituted themselves simultaneously with the French bourgeoisie, which at the end of June put into effect Lamartine's policy of fraternisation. Cavaignac maintained peace with foreign countries in order calmly to wage civil war within France and not endanger the destruction of the defeated red republic, the workers' republic, by the respectable moderate republic, by the bourgeois republic. Under Cavaignac the

old Holy Alliance was re-established in Europe, as in France was the new Holy Alliance of the legitimists, Philippists, Bonapartists and “respectable” republicans. The Government of this duplicate Holy Alliance is that of Odilon Barrot.¹⁷⁸ His foreign policy is the policy of this Holy Alliance. He needs the victory of the counter-revolution abroad, in order to complete the counter-revolution in France itself.

At the sitting of the National Assembly on March 31 the Provisional Government repudiated Cavaignac. Cavaignac rightly maintains that he is the legitimate offspring of the Provisional Government and, for his part, repudiated Odilon Barrot, who imperturbably takes delight in believing that the meaning of the February revolution lies in the Vienna Treaties of 1815. Flocon states—without being disavowed by Odilon Barrot—that two days ago the Government formally imposed an interdict on Italy, and all Frenchmen, Poles and Italians who want to go there *are being refused passports*. Does not Barrot deserve to become the Prime Minister of Henry V?

Incidentally, in his rejoinder to Thiers, Ledru-Rollin admitted:

“Yes, I must confess that I acted wrongly; the Provisional Government ought to have sent its soldiers to the frontiers, not in order to conquer, but to defend our oppressed brothers, and from that moment there would have been no more despots in Europe. But if we hesitated, at that time to begin a war, the blame lay on the monarchy, which had exhausted our finances and emptied our arsenals.”^a

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^a See *Le Moniteur universel* No. 91, April 1, 1849.—*Ed.*

[THE COMEDY WITH THE IMPERIAL CROWN]

Cologne, April 3. Herr Brandenburg yesterday told the Second Chamber what the King^a will do about the "German question". The temptation was too great: "the loyal Eckarts"^b of the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* with all their warnings have been ignored. The *King of Prussia will accept the proffered crown*, and in the near future therefore we may be able to look forward to solemn entry of His Christian-Germanic royal imperial Majesty into the residence of the "Imperial Government".

But, while accepting the imperial crown from the hands of the plebeian Frankfurt parliament, Frederick William at the same time gives a gentle kick to this parliament and the illusion of its sovereignty.

The Prime Minister

"recognises that the decision of the Frankfurt Assembly is a *big step forward* towards the realisation of German unity. But he has to take into account also the rights of the governments. He considers that *the decision will take effect only with the voluntary consent of the sovereigns and that it will be binding only for those German states the sovereigns of which have given this voluntary consent*. The Prussian Government for its part will make every effort to bring about this voluntary unification".^b

Very cunning! The imperial crown is always acceptable, particularly when it is an aim in life that has been desired in vain for a long time—compare von Radowitz's well-known pamphlet: How Frederick William IV did *not* become German Emperor.^c But to the

^a Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

^b From the statement made by Brandenburg, the Prime Minister, at the sitting of the Second Chamber on April 2, 1848.—*Ed.*

^c [Radowitz, J. M.,] *Deutschland und Friedrich-Wilhelm IV*, Hamburg, 1848.—*Ed.*

crown proffered by the Frankfurt parliament there adheres too much plebeian dirt, too much unpleasant memory of the unhappy days of the rule of the sovereign people, for a king by the grace of God and, moreover, one who has been rehabilitated, to be able to place it on his head without more ado.

Only when the other sovereigns, also crowned by the grace of God, have given their consent to it, only then will the new crown be cleansed by the grace of God from all sinful stains caused by the March events and consecrated; only then will he who has been chosen by 290 professors and Höfräte take it into his hands and say, as he did earlier in Berlin: "By the grace of God do I have this crown, and woe to him who encroaches on it!"¹⁷⁹

What new stage in the German imperial chaos will result from the imperial comedy, and especially from recognition or non-recognition on the part of the individual governments, is a matter which we leave to the wisdom of the *Kölnische Zeitung* to determine.

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[THE CALL-UP OF THE ARMY RESERVE
IN PRUSSIA]¹⁸⁰

Cologne, April 3. In Posen the whole army reserve of the Grand Duchy has been called up and has already been marched off to Schleswig-Holstein.¹⁸¹

In the area of Cleves the army reserve has similarly been called up and sent to Schleswig-Holstein.

And now—we hear—the whole *Eighth* (Rhenish) *Army Corps* is to be mobilised and **all army reserves in the Rhine Province are to be called up**. It is reported that the Eighth Army Corps is to move to the French border. It is quite impossible to understand what purpose it will serve there.

However, the reason for the army reserve on the Rhine being called up at all can most certainly be understood. In all those provinces whose loyalty to the House of Hohenzollern and to the Royal Prussian Monarchy by God's Grace is suspect they intend to *render harmless all young men capable of bearing arms* by placing them in rank and file under the command of Prussian officers and throwing them amongst troops of the line in an army corps. They then intend to send these suspect army reserves, which are thus being kept in check by martial law and other royal Prussian measures, together with other more reliable troops into foreign provinces in order to use them as need arises for suppressing the spirit of recalcitrance, which has recently been gaining ground.

By law the army reserve is only to be used against *external enemies*. To make this very law provide the excuse for the Government to trample it into the dirt, the Danish war has been expressly invented. Once the army reserve has been transported to Schleswig-Holstein, then the means will very soon be found to transport it even further, to East Prussia or to Silesia. Our Rhenish young men are to perform

the same honourable services there for which the Silesian army reserves were used in Posen last April and May.¹⁸²

The same ethnic baiting, which the royal imperial Austrian Government is pursuing on a grand scale by....

Written by Engels on April 3, 1849

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WAGE LABOUR AND CAPITAL¹⁸³

[I]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 264, April 5, 1849]

Cologne, April 4.^a From various quarters we have been reproached with not having presented the *economic relations* which constitute the material foundation of the present class struggles and national struggles. We have designedly touched upon these relations only where they directly forced themselves to the front in political conflicts.

The point was, above all, to trace the class struggle in current history, and to prove empirically by means of the historical material already at hand and which is being newly created daily, that, with the subjugation of the working class, the class which had made February and March, its opponents were simultaneously defeated—the bourgeois republicans in France and the bourgeois and peasant classes which were fighting feudal absolutism throughout the continent of Europe; that the victory of the “respectable republic” in France was at the same time the downfall of the nations that had responded to the February revolution by heroic wars of independence; finally, that Europe, with the defeat of the revolutionary workers, had relapsed into its old double slavery, the *Anglo-Russian* slavery. The June struggle in Paris, the fall of Vienna, the tragedy-comedy of Berlin’s November,^b the desperate exertions of Poland, Italy and Hungary, the starving of Ireland into submission¹⁸⁴—these were the concentrated expressions of the European class struggle between bourgeoisie and working class, by means of which we proved that every revolutionary upheaval, however remote from the class struggle its goal may appear to be, must fail

^a In separate editions of *Wage Labour and Capital*, including that of 1891, the dates printed at the beginning of each article are omitted.—*Ed.*

^b In the 1891 edition “1848” is added here.—*Ed.*

until the revolutionary working class is victorious, that every social reform remains a utopia until the proletarian revolution and the feudalistic counter-revolution measure swords in a *world war*. In our presentation, as in reality, *Belgium* and *Switzerland* were tragicomic genre-pictures akin to caricature in the great historical tableau, the one being the model state of the bourgeois monarchy, the other the model state of the bourgeois republic, both of them states which imagine themselves to be as independent of the class struggle as of the European revolution.

Now, after our readers have seen the class struggle develop in colossal political forms in 1848, the time has come to deal more closely with the economic relations themselves on which the existence of the bourgeoisie and its class rule, as well as the slavery of the workers, are founded.

We shall present in three large sections: 1) the relation of *wage labour to capital*, the slavery of the worker, the domination of the capitalist; 2) *the inevitable destruction of the middle bourgeois classes and of the peasant estate^a under the present system*; 3) *the commercial subjugation and exploitation of the bourgeois classes of the various European nations by the despot of the world market—England*.

We shall try to make our presentation as simple and popular as possible and shall not presuppose even the most elementary notions of political economy. We wish to be understood by the workers. Moreover, the most remarkable ignorance and confusion of ideas prevails in Germany in regard to the simplest economic relations, from the accredited defenders of the existing state of things down to the **socialist miracle workers** and the **unrecognised political geniuses** in which fragmented Germany is even richer than in sovereign princes.

Now, therefore, for the first question: **What are wages? How are they determined?**

If workers were asked: “How much are your wages?” one would reply: “I get a franc^b a day from my bourgeois”; another, “I get two francs”, and so on. According to the different trades to which they belong, they would mention different sums of money which they receive from their respective bourgeois for a particular labour time or^c for the performance of a particular piece of work, for example,

^a The 1891 edition has “*the so-called burgher estate*” instead of “*the peasant estate*”.—*Ed.*

^b 1 franc equals 8 Prussian silver groschen. (In the 1891 edition the word “mark” is used everywhere instead of “franc”).—*Ed.*

^c The words “for a particular labour time or” are omitted in the 1891 edition.—*Ed.*

weaving a yard of linen or type-setting a printed sheet. In spite of the variety of their statements, they would all agree on one point: wages are the sum of money paid by the bourgeois^a for a particular labour time or for a particular output of labour.

The bourgeois,^b therefore, *buys* their labour with money. They *sell* him their labour for money.^c For the same sum with which the bourgeois has bought their labour,^d for example, two francs, he could have bought two pounds of sugar or a definite amount of any other commodity. The two francs, with which he bought two pounds of sugar, are the *price* of the two pounds of sugar. The two francs, with which he bought twelve hours' labour,^e are the price of twelve hours' labour. Labour,^f therefore, is a commodity, neither more nor less than sugar. The former is measured by the clock, the latter by the scales.

The workers exchange their commodity, labour,^f for the commodity of the capitalist, for money, and this exchange takes place in a definite ratio. So much money for so much labour.^g For twelve hours' weaving, two francs. And do not the two francs represent all the other commodities which I can buy for two francs? In fact, therefore, the worker has exchanged his commodity, labour,^f for other commodities of all kinds and that in a definite ratio. By giving him two francs, the capitalist has given him so much meat, so much clothing, so much fuel, light, etc., in exchange for his day's labour. Accordingly, the two francs express the ratio in which labour^f is exchanged for other commodities, the *exchange value* of his labour.^f The exchange value of a commodity, reckoned in *money* is what is called its *price*. *Wages* are only a special name for the *price of labour*,^h for the price of this peculiar commodity which has no other repository than human flesh and blood.

^a The 1891 edition has "capitalist" here instead of "bourgeois".—*Ed.*

^b The 1891 edition has "capitalist" here and the words "it seems" are added.—*Ed.*

^c In the 1891 edition here follows the passage: "But this is merely the appearance. In reality what they sell to the capitalist for money is their labour *power*. The capitalist buys this labour power for a day, a week, a month, etc. And after he has bought it, he uses it by having the workers work for the stipulated time".—*Ed.*

^d The 1891 edition has "the capitalist has bought their labour power" instead of "the bourgeois has bought their labour".—*Ed.*

^e The 1891 edition has "use of labour power" instead of "labour".—*Ed.*

^f The 1891 edition has "labour power" instead of "labour".—*Ed.*

^g The 1891 edition has "so long a use of labour power" instead of "so much labour".—*Ed.*

^h The 1891 edition has "the price of labour power, commonly called the *price of labour*" instead of "the *price of labour*".—*Ed.*

Let us take any worker, say, a weaver. The bourgeois^a supplies him with the loom and yarn. The weaver sets to work and the yarn is converted into linen. The bourgeois takes possession of the linen and sells it, say, for twenty francs. Now are the wages of the weaver a *share* in the linen, in the twenty francs, in the product of his labour? By no means. Long before the linen is sold, perhaps long before its weaving is finished, the weaver has received his wages. The capitalist, therefore, does not pay these wages with the money which he will obtain from the linen, but with money already in reserve. Just as the loom and the yarn are not the product of the weaver to whom they are supplied by his bourgeois, so likewise with the commodities which the weaver receives in exchange for his commodity, labour.^b It was possible that the bourgeois found no purchaser at all for his linen. It was possible that he did not get even the amount of the wages by its sale. It is possible that he sells it very profitably in comparison with the weaver's wages. All that has nothing to do with the weaver. The capitalist buys the labour^b of the weaver with a part of his available wealth, of his capital, just as he has bought the raw material—the yarn—and the instrument of labour—the loom—with another part of his wealth. After he has made these purchases, and these purchases include the labour^b necessary for the production of linen, he produces only with the *raw materials and instruments of labour belonging to him*. For the latter include now, true enough, our good weaver as well, who has as little share in the product or the price of the product as the loom has.

Wages are, therefore, not the worker's share in the commodity produced by him. Wages are the part of already existing commodities with which the capitalist buys for himself a definite amount of productive labour.^b

Labour^b is, therefore, a commodity which its possessor, the wage-worker, sells to capital. Why does he sell it? In order to live.

But^c labour is the worker's own life-activity, the manifestation of his own life. And this *life-activity* he sells to another person in order to secure the necessary *means of subsistence*. Thus his life-activity is for him only a *means* to enable him to exist. He works in order to live. He does not even reckon labour as part of his life, it is rather a sacrifice of his life. It is a commodity which he has made over to another. Hence, also, the product of his activity is not the object of his activity. What he produces for himself is not the silk that he weaves, not the gold that he draws from the mine, not the palace that he builds.

^a The 1891 edition has here and below "capitalist" instead of "bourgeois".—*Ed.*

^b The 1891 edition has "labour power" instead of "labour".—*Ed.*

^c The 1891 edition has after this: "the exercise of labour power".—*Ed.*

What he produces for himself is *wages*, and silk, gold, palace resolve themselves for him into a definite quantity of the means of subsistence, perhaps into a cotton jacket, some copper coins and a lodging in a cellar. And the worker, who for twelve hours weaves, spins, drills, turns, builds, shovels, breaks stones, carries loads, etc.—does he consider this twelve hours' weaving, spinning, drilling, turning, building, shovelling, stone-breaking as a manifestation of his life, as life? On the contrary, life begins for him where this activity ceases, at table, in the public house, in bed. The twelve hours' labour, on the other hand, has no meaning for him as weaving, spinning, drilling, etc., but as *earnings*, which bring him to the table, to the public house, into bed. If the silkworm were to spin in order to continue its existence as a caterpillar, it would be a complete wage-worker.

Labour^a was not always a *commodity*. Labour was not always wage labour, that is, *free* labour. The *slave* did not sell his labour^a to the slave owner, any more than the ox sells its services to the peasant. The slave, together with his labour,^a is sold once and for all to his owner. He is a commodity which can pass from the hand of one owner to that of another. *He is himself* a commodity, but the labour^a is not *his* commodity. The *serf* sells only a part of his labour.^a He does not receive a wage from the owner of the land; rather the owner of the land receives a tribute from him. The serf belongs to the land and turns over to the owner of the land the fruits thereof. The *free labourer*, on the other hand, sells himself and, indeed, sells himself piecemeal. He sells at auction eight, ten, twelve, fifteen hours of his life, day after day, to the highest bidder, to the owner of the raw materials, instruments of labour and means of subsistence, that is, to the capitalist. The worker belongs neither to an owner nor to the land, but eight, ten, twelve, fifteen hours of his daily life belong to him who buys them. The worker leaves the capitalist to whom he hires himself whenever he likes, and the capitalist discharges him whenever he thinks fit, as soon as he no longer gets any profit out of him, or not the anticipated profit. But the worker, whose sole source of livelihood is the sale of his labour,^a cannot leave the *whole class of purchasers, that is, the capitalist class*, without renouncing his existence. *He belongs not to this or that bourgeois, but to the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois class,*^b and it is his business to dispose of himself, that is to find a purchaser within this bourgeois class.^c

^a The 1891 edition has "labour power" instead of "labour".—*Ed.*

^b The 1891 edition has "*not to this or that capitalist, but to the capitalist class*" instead of "*not to this or that bourgeois, but to the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois class*".—*Ed.*

^c The 1891 edition has "capitalist class" instead of "bourgeois class".—*Ed.*

Now, before going more closely into the relation between capital and wage labour, we shall present briefly the most general relations which come into consideration in the determination of wages.

Wages, as we have seen, are the *price* of a definite commodity, of labour.^a Wages are, therefore, determined by the same laws that determine the price of every other commodity.

The question, therefore, is, *how is the price of a commodity determined?*

^a The 1891 edition has "labour power" instead of "labour".—*Ed.*

[II]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 265, April 6, 1849]

Cologne, April 5. By what is the *price* of a commodity determined? By competition between buyers and sellers, by the relation of inquiry to delivery, of demand to supply. Competition, by which the price of a commodity is determined, is *three-sided*.

The same commodity is offered by various sellers. With goods of the same quality, the one who sells most cheaply is certain of driving the others out of the field and securing the greatest sale for himself. Thus, the sellers mutually contend among themselves for sales, for the market. Each of them desires to sell, to sell as much as possible and, if possible, to sell alone, to the exclusion of the other sellers. Hence, one sells cheaper than another. Consequently, *competition* takes place *among the sellers*, which *depresses* the price of the commodities offered by them.

But *competition* also takes place *among the buyers*, which in its turn *causes* the commodities offered to *rise* in price.

Finally, *competition* occurs *between buyers and sellers*; the former desire to buy as cheaply as possible, the latter to sell as dearly as possible. The result of this competition between buyers and sellers will depend upon how the two above-mentioned sides of the competition are related, that is, whether the competition is stronger in the army of buyers or in the army of sellers. Industry leads two armies into the field against each other, each of which again carries on a battle within its own ranks, among its own troops. The army whose troops beat each other up the least gains the victory over the opposing host.

Let us suppose there are 100 bales of cotton on the market and at the same time buyers for 1,000 bales of cotton. In this case, therefore, the demand is ten times as great as the supply.

Competition will be very strong among the buyers, each of whom desires to get one, and if possible all, of the hundred bales for himself. This example is no arbitrary assumption. We have experienced periods of cotton crop failure in the history of the trade, when a few capitalists in alliance have tried to buy, not one hundred bales, but all the cotton stocks of the world. Hence, in the example mentioned, one buyer will seek to drive the other from the field by offering a relatively higher price per bale of cotton. The cotton sellers, who see that the troops of the enemy army are engaged in the most violent struggle among themselves and that the sale of all their hundred bales is absolutely certain, will take good care not to fall out among themselves and depress the price of cotton at the moment when their adversaries are competing with one another to force it up. Thus, peace suddenly descends on the army of the sellers. They stand facing the buyers as *one* man, fold their arms philosophically, and there would be no bounds to their demands were it not that the offers of even the most persistent and eager buyers have very definite limits.

If, therefore, the supply of a commodity is lower than the demand for it, then only slight competition, or none at all, takes place among the sellers. In the same proportion as this competition decreases, competition increases among the buyers. The result is a more or less considerable rise in commodity prices.

It is well known that the reverse case with a reverse result occurs more frequently. Considerable surplus of supply over demand; desperate competition among the sellers; lack of buyers; disposal of goods at ridiculously low prices.

But what is the meaning of a rise, a fall in prices; what is the meaning of high price, low price? A grain of sand is high when examined through a microscope, and a tower is low when compared with a mountain. And if price is determined by the relation between demand and supply, what determines the relation between demand and supply?

Let us turn to the first bourgeois we meet. He will not reflect for an instant but, like another Alexander the Great, will cut this metaphysical knot with the multiplication table. If the production of the goods which I sell has cost me 100 francs, he will tell us, and if I get 110 francs from the sale of these goods, within the year of course—then that is sound, honest, legitimate profit. But if I get in exchange 120 or 130 francs, that is a high profit; and if I get as much as 200 francs, that would be an extraordinary, an enormous profit. What, therefore, serves the bourgeois as his measure of profit? The *cost of production* of his commodity. If he receives in exchange for this

commodity an amount of other commodities which it has cost less to produce, he has lost. If he receives in exchange for his commodity an amount of other commodities the production of which has cost more, he has gained. And he calculates the fall or rise of the profit according to the degree in which the exchange value of his commodity stands below or above zero—the *cost of production*.

We have thus seen how the changing relation of demand and supply causes now a rise and now a fall of prices, now high, now low prices.

If the price of a commodity rises considerably because of inadequate supply or disproportionate increase of the demand, the price of some other commodity must necessarily have fallen proportionately, for the price of a commodity only expresses in money the ratio in which other commodities are given in exchange for it. If, for example, the price of a yard of silk material rises from five francs to six francs, the price of silver in relation to silk material has fallen and likewise the prices of all other commodities that have remained at their old prices have fallen in relation to the silk. One has to give a larger amount of them in exchange to get the same amount of silks.

What will be the consequence of the rising price of a commodity? A mass of capital will be thrown into that flourishing branch of industry and this influx of capital into the domain of the favoured industry will continue until it yields the ordinary profits or, rather, until the price of its products, through over-production, sinks below the cost of production.

Conversely, if the price of a commodity falls below its cost of production, capital will be withdrawn from the production of this commodity. Except in the case of a branch of industry which has become obsolete and must, therefore, perish, the production of such a commodity, that is, its supply, will go on decreasing owing to this flight of capital until it corresponds to the demand, and consequently its price is again on a level with its cost of production or, rather, until the supply has sunk below the demand, that is, until its price rises again above its cost of production, for the *current price of a commodity is always either above or below its cost of production*.

We see how capital continually migrates in and out, out of the domain of one industry into that of another. High prices bring too great an immigration and low prices too great an emigration.

We could show from another point of view how not only supply but also demand is determined by the cost of production. But this would take us too far away from our subject.

We have just seen how the fluctuations of supply and demand continually bring the price of a commodity back to the cost of production. *The real price of a commodity, it is true, is always above or below its cost of production; but rise and fall reciprocally balance each other,* so that within a certain period of time, taking the ebb and flow of the industry together, commodities are exchanged for one another in accordance with their cost of production, their price, therefore, being determined by their cost of production.

This determination of price by cost of production is not to be understood in the sense of the economists. The economists say that the *average price* of commodities is equal to the cost of production; that this is a *law*. The anarchical movement, in which rise is compensated by fall and fall by rise, is regarded by them as chance. With just as much right one could regard the fluctuations as the law and the determination by the cost of production as chance, as has actually been done by other economists. But it is solely these fluctuations, which, looked at more closely, bring with them the most fearful devastations and, like earthquakes, cause bourgeois society to tremble to its foundations—it is solely in the course of these fluctuations that prices are determined by the cost of production. The total movement of this disorder is its order. In the course of this industrial anarchy, in this movement in a circle, competition compensates, so to speak, for one excess by means of another.

We see, therefore, that the price of a commodity is determined by its cost of production in such manner that the periods in which the price of this commodity rises above its cost of production are compensated by the periods in which it sinks below the cost of production, and vice versa. This does not hold good, of course, for separate, particular industrial products but only for the whole branch of industry. Consequently, it also does not hold good for the individual industrialist but only for the whole class of industrialists.

The determination of price by the cost of production is equivalent to the determination of price by the labour time necessary for the manufacture of a commodity, for the cost of production consists of 1) raw materials and instruments of labour,^a that is, of industrial products the production of which has cost a certain amount of labour days and which, therefore, represent a certain amount of labour time, and 2) of direct labour, the measure of which is, precisely, time.

^a The 1891 edition has "depreciation of instruments" instead of "instruments of labour".—*Ed.*

Now, the same general laws that regulate the price of commodities in general of course also regulate *wages*, the *price of labour*.

Wages will rise and fall according to the relation of demand and supply, according to the turn taken by the competition between the buyers of labour, the capitalists, and the sellers of labour,^a the workers. The fluctuations in wages correspond in general to the fluctuations in prices of commodities. *Within these fluctuations, however, the price of labour will be determined by the cost of production, by the labour time necessary to produce this commodity—labour.*^b

What, then, is the cost of production of labour^c?

It is the cost required for maintaining the worker as a worker and for developing him into a worker.

The less the period of training, therefore, that any work requires the smaller is the cost of production of the worker and the lower is the price of his labour, his wages. In those branches of industry in which hardly any period of apprenticeship is required and where the mere bodily existence of the worker suffices, the cost necessary for his production is almost confined to the commodities necessary for keeping him alive.^c The *price of his labour* will, therefore, be determined by the *price of the necessary means of subsistence*.

Another consideration, however, also comes in.

The manufacturer in calculating his cost of production and, accordingly, the price of the products takes into account the wear and tear of the instruments of labour. If, for example, a machine costs him 1,000 francs and wears out in ten years, he adds 100 francs annually to the price of the commodities so as to be able to replace the worn-out machine by a new one at the end of ten years. In the same way, in calculating the cost of production of simple labour,^d there must be included the cost of reproduction, whereby the race of workers is enabled to multiply and to replace worn-out workers by new ones. Thus the depreciation of the worker is taken into account in the same way as the depreciation of the machine.

The cost of production of simple labour, therefore, amounts to the *cost of existence and reproduction of the worker*. The price of this cost of existence and reproduction constitutes wages. Wages so determined are called the *wage minimum*. This wage minimum, like the determination of the price of commodities by the cost of production

^a The 1891 edition has "the buyers of labour power" and "the sellers of labour power" instead of "the buyers of labour" and "the sellers of labour".—*Ed.*

^b The 1891 edition has "*labour power*" instead of "*labour*".—*Ed.*

^c In the 1891 edition the words "and capable of working" are added here.—*Ed.*

^d The 1891 edition has here and in the next paragraph "simple labour power" instead of "simple labour".—*Ed.*

in general, does not hold good for the *single individual* but for the *species*. Individual workers, millions of workers, do not get enough to be able to exist and reproduce themselves; but the *wages of the whole working class* level down, within their fluctuations, to this minimum.

Now that we have arrived at an understanding of the most general laws which regulate wages like the price of any other commodity, we can go into our subject more specifically.

[III]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 266, April 7, 1849]

Cologne, April 6. Capital consists of raw materials, instruments of labour and means of subsistence of all kinds, which are utilised in order to produce new raw materials, new instruments of labour and new means of subsistence. All these component parts of capital are creations of labour, products of labour, *accumulated labour*. Accumulated labour which serves as a means of new production is capital.

So say the economists.

What is a Negro slave? A man of the black race. The one explanation is as good as the other.

A Negro is a Negro. He only becomes a *slave* in certain relations. A cotton-spinning jenny is a machine for spinning cotton. It becomes *capital* only in certain relations. Torn from these relationships it is no more capital than *gold* in itself is *money* or sugar the *price* of sugar.

In production, men enter into relation not only with nature.^a They produce only by co-operating in a certain way and mutually exchanging their activities. In order to produce, they enter into definite connections and relations with one another and only within these social connections and relations does their relation with nature,^b does production, take place.

These social relations into which the producers enter with one another, the conditions under which they exchange their activities and participate in the whole act of production, will naturally vary according to the character of the means of production. With the invention of a new instrument of warfare, firearms, the whole

^a The 1891 edition has "not only act on nature but also on one another" instead of "enter into relation not only with nature".—*Ed.*

^b The 1891 edition has "action on nature" instead of "relation with nature".—*Ed.*

internal organisation of the army necessarily changed; the relationships within which individuals can constitute an army and act as an army were transformed and the relations of different armies to one another also changed.

Thus the social relations within which individuals produce, the social relations of production, change, are transformed, with the change and development of the material means of production, the productive forces. The relations of production in their totality constitute what are called the social relations, society, and, specifically, a society at a definite stage of historical development, a society with a peculiar, distinctive character. Ancient society, feudal society, bourgeois society are such totalities of production relations, each of which at the same time denotes a special stage of development in the history of mankind.

Capital, also, is a social relation of production. It is a *bourgeois production relation*, a production relation of bourgeois society. Are not the means of subsistence, the instruments of labour, the raw materials of which capital consists, produced and accumulated under given social conditions, in definite social relations? Are they not utilised for new production under given social conditions, in definite social relations? And is it not just this definite social character which turns the products serving for new production into *capital*?

Capital consists not only of means of subsistence, instruments of labour and raw materials, not only of material products; it consists just as much of *exchange values*. All the products of which it consists are *commodities*. Capital is, therefore, not only a sum of material products; it is a sum of commodities, of exchange values, of *social magnitudes*.

Capital remains the same, whether we put cotton in place of wool, rice in place of wheat or steamships in place of railways, provided only that the cotton, the rice, the steamships—the body of capital—have the same exchange value, the same price as the wool, the wheat, the railways in which it was previously incorporated. The body of capital can change continually without the capital suffering the slightest alteration.

But while all capital is a sum of commodities, that is, of exchange values, not every sum of commodities, of exchange values, is capital.

Every sum of exchange values is an exchange value. Every separate exchange value is a sum of exchange values. For instance, a house that is worth 1,000 francs is an exchange value of 1,000 francs. A piece of paper worth a centime^a is a sum of exchange values of

^a In the 1891 edition the word “pfennig” is used here and below instead of “centime”.—*Ed.*

one-hundred hundredths of a centime. Products which are exchangeable for others are *commodities*. The particular ratio in which they are exchangeable constitutes their *exchange value* or, expressed in money, their *price*. The quantity of these products can change nothing in their quality of being *commodities* or representing an *exchange value* or having a definite *price*. Whether a tree is large or small it is a tree. Whether we exchange iron for other products in ounces or in hundredweights, does this make any difference in its character as commodity, as exchange value? It is a commodity of greater or lesser value, of higher or lower price, depending upon the quantity.

How, then, does any amount of commodities, of exchange values, become capital?

By maintaining and multiplying itself as an independent social power, that is, as the power of a *portion of society*, by means of its *exchange for direct, living labour*.^a The existence of a class which possesses nothing but its capacity to labour is a necessary prerequisite of capital.

It is only the domination of accumulated, past, materialised labour over direct, living labour that turns accumulated labour into capital.

Capital does not consist in accumulated labour serving living labour as a means for new production. It consists in living labour serving accumulated labour as a means for maintaining and multiplying the exchange value of the latter.

What takes place in the exchange between capital and wage labour^b?

The worker receives means of subsistence in exchange for his labour,^c but the capitalist receives in exchange for his means of subsistence labour, the productive activity of the worker, the creative power whereby the worker not only replaces what he consumes but gives to the accumulated labour a greater value than it previously possessed. The worker receives a part of the available means of subsistence from the capitalist. For what purpose do these means of subsistence serve him? For immediate consumption. As soon, however, as I consume the means of subsistence, they are irretrievably lost to me unless I use the time during which I am kept alive by them in order to produce new means of subsistence, in order during consumption to create by my labour new values in place of

^a The 1891 edition has "*labour power*" instead of "*labour*".—*Ed.*

^b The 1891 edition has "between capitalist and wage-worker" instead of "between capital and wage labour".—*Ed.*

^c The 1891 edition has "*labour power*" instead of "*labour*".—*Ed.*

the values which perish in being consumed. But it is just this noble reproductive power that the worker surrenders to capital in exchange for means of subsistence received. He has, therefore, lost it for himself.

Let us take an example: a tenant farmer gives his day labourer five silver groschen a day. For these five silver groschen the labourer works all day on the farmer's field and thus secures him a return of ten silver groschen. The farmer not only gets the value replaced that he has to give the day labourer; he doubles it. He has therefore employed, consumed, the five silver groschen that he gave to the labourer in a fruitful, productive manner. He has bought with the five silver groschen just that labour and power of the labourer which produces agricultural products of double value and makes ten silver groschen out of five. The day labourer, on the other hand, receives in place of his productive power, the effect of which he has bargained away to the farmer, five silver groschen, which he exchanges for means of subsistence, and these he consumes with greater or less rapidity. The five silver groschen have, therefore, been consumed in a double way, *reproductively* for capital, for they have been exchanged for labour power which produced ten silver groschen, *unproductively* for the worker, for they have been exchanged for means of subsistence which have disappeared forever and the value of which he can only recover by repeating the same exchange with the farmer. *Thus capital presupposes wage labour; wage labour presupposes capital. They reciprocally condition the existence of each other; they reciprocally bring forth each other.*

Does a worker in a cotton factory produce merely cotton textiles? No, he produces capital. He produces values which serve afresh to command his labour and by means of it to create new values.

Capital can only increase by exchanging itself for labour,^a by calling wage labour to life. The wage labour^b can only be exchanged for capital by increasing capital, by strengthening the power whose slave it is. *Hence, increase of capital is increase of the proletariat, that is, of the working class.*

The interests of the capitalist and those of the worker are, therefore, *one and the same*, assert the bourgeois and their economists. Indeed! The worker perishes if capital does not employ him. Capital perishes if it does not exploit labour,^a and in order to exploit it, it must buy it. The faster capital intended for production, productive

^a The 1891 edition has "labour power" instead of "labour".—*Ed.*

^b The 1891 edition has "The labour power of the wage-worker" instead of "The wage labour".—*Ed.*

capital, increases, the more, therefore, industry prospers, the more the bourgeoisie enriches itself and the better business is, the more workers does the capitalist need, the more dearly does the worker sell himself.

The indispensable condition for a tolerable situation of the worker is, therefore, the *fastest possible growth of productive capital*.

But what is the growth of productive capital? Growth of the power of accumulated labour over living labour. Growth of the domination of the bourgeoisie over the working class. If wage labour produces the wealth of others that rules over it, the power that is hostile to it, capital, then the means of employment [*Beschäftigungsmittel*], that is, the means of subsistence, flow back to it from this hostile power, on condition that it makes itself afresh into a part of capital, into the lever which hurls capital anew into an accelerated movement of growth.

To say that the interests of capital and those of labour^a are one and the same is only to say that capital and wage labour are two sides of one and the same relation. The one conditions the other, just as usurer and squanderer condition each other.

As long as the wage-worker is a wage-worker his lot depends upon capital. That is the much-vaunted community of interests between worker and capitalist.

^a The 1891 edition has “workers” instead of “labour”.—Ed.

[IV]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 267, April 8, 1849]

Cologne, April 7. If capital grows, the mass of wage labour grows, the number of wage-workers grows; in a word, the domination of capital extends over a greater number of individuals. Let us assume the most favourable case: when productive capital grows, the demand for labour grows; consequently, the price of labour, wages, goes up.

A house may be large or small; as long as the surrounding houses are equally small it satisfies all social demands for a dwelling. But let a palace arise beside the little house, and it shrinks from a little house to a hut. The little house shows now that its owner has only very slight or no demands to make; and however high it may shoot up in the course of civilisation, if the neighbouring palace grows to an equal or even greater extent, the occupant of the relatively small house will feel more and more uncomfortable, dissatisfied and cramped within its four walls.

A noticeable increase in wages presupposes a rapid growth of productive capital. The rapid growth of productive capital brings about an equally rapid growth of wealth, luxury, social wants, social enjoyments. Thus, although the enjoyments of the worker have risen, the social satisfaction that they give has fallen in comparison with the increased enjoyments of the capitalist, which are inaccessible to the worker, in comparison with the state of development of society in general. Our desires and pleasures spring from society; we measure them, therefore, by society and not by the objects which serve for their satisfaction. Because they are of a social nature, they are of a relative nature.

In general, wages are determined not only by the amount of commodities for which I can exchange them. They embody various relations.

What the workers receive for their labour^a is, in the first place, a definite sum of money. Are wages determined only by this money price?

In the sixteenth century, the gold and silver circulating in Europe increased as a result of the discovery of America.^b Hence, the value of gold and silver fell in relation to other commodities. The workers received the same amount of coined silver for their labour as before. The money price of their labour remained the same, and yet their wages had fallen, for in exchange for the same quantity of silver they received a smaller amount of other commodities. This was one of the circumstances which furthered the growth of capital and the rise of the bourgeoisie in the sixteenth century.

Let us take another case. In the winter of 1847, as a result of a crop failure, the most indispensable means of subsistence, cereals, meat, butter, cheese, etc., rose considerably in price. Assume that the workers received the same sum of money for their labour as before. Had not their wages fallen? Of course. For the same money they received less bread, meat, etc., in exchange. Their wages had fallen, not because the value of silver had diminished, but because the value of the means of subsistence had increased.

Assume, finally, that the money price of labour remains the same while all agricultural and manufactured goods have fallen in price owing to the employment of new machinery, a favourable season, etc. For the same money the workers can now buy more commodities of all kinds. Their wages, therefore, have risen, just because the money value of their wages has not changed.

Thus, the money price of labour, nominal wages, do not coincide with real wages, that is, with the sum of commodities which is actually given in exchange for the wages. If, therefore, we speak of a rise or fall of wages, we must keep in mind not only the money price of labour, the nominal wages.

But neither nominal wages, that is, the sum of money for which the worker sells himself to the capitalist, nor real wages, that is, the sum of commodities which he can buy for this money, exhaust the relations contained in wages.

^a The 1891 edition has here and in the two paragraphs below "labour power" instead of "labour".—*Ed.*

^b The 1891 edition has "the discovery of richer and more easily worked mines in America" instead of "the discovery of America".—*Ed.*

Wages are, above all, also determined by their relation to the gain, to the profit of the capitalist—comparative, relative wages.

Real wages express the price of labour in relation to the price of other commodities; relative wages, on the other hand, express the price of direct labour in relation to the price of accumulated labour, the relative value of wage labour and capital, the reciprocal value of the capitalist and worker.^a

Real wages may remain the same, they may even rise, and yet relative wages may fall. Let us suppose, for example, that all means of subsistence have gone down in price by two-thirds while wages per day have only fallen by one-third, that is to say, for example, from three francs to two francs. Although the worker can command a greater amount of commodities with these two francs than he previously could with three francs, yet his wages have gone down in relation to the profit of the capitalist. The profit of the capitalist (for example, the manufacturer) has increased by one franc; that is, for a smaller sum of exchange values which he pays to the worker, the latter must produce a greater amount of exchange values than before. The value of capital relative to the value of labour has risen.^b The division of social wealth between capital and labour has become still more unequal. With the same capital, the capitalist commands a greater quantity of labour. The power of the capitalist class over the working class has grown, the social position of the worker has

^a In the 1891 edition Engels changed the part of the paragraph beginning with the words “relative wages” in the following way: “relative wages, on the other hand, express the share of direct labour in the new value it has created in relation to the share which falls to accumulated labour, to capital.

“We said above, page 14 [see this volume, p. 202]: ‘Wages are not the worker’s share in the commodity produced by him. Wages are the part of already existing commodities with which the capitalist buys for himself a definite amount of productive labour power.’ But the capitalist must replace these wages out of the price at which he sells the product produced by the worker; he must replace it in such a way that there remains to him, as a rule, a surplus over the cost of production expended by him, a profit. For the capitalist, the selling price of the commodity produced by the worker is divided into three parts: *first*, replacement of the price of the raw materials advanced by him together with replacement of the depreciation of the tools, machinery and other means of labour also advanced by him; *secondly*, the replacement of the wages advanced by him, and *thirdly*, the surplus left over, the capitalist’s profit. While the first part only replaces *previously existing values*, it is clear that both the replacement of the wages and also the surplus profit of the capitalist are, on the whole, taken from the *new value created by the worker’s labour* and added to the raw materials. And *in this sense*, in order to compare them with one another, we can regard both wages and profit as shares in the product of the worker.”—*Ed.*

^b In the 1891 edition this sentence reads: “The share of capital relative to the share of labour has risen.”—*Ed.*

deteriorated, has been depressed one step further below that of the capitalist.

What, then, is the general law which determines the fall and rise of wages and profit in their reciprocal relation?²

They stand in inverse ratio to each other. The exchange value of capital,^a profit, rises in the same proportion as the exchange value of labour,^b wages, falls, and vice versa. Profit rises to the extent that wages fall; it falls to the extent that wages rise.

The objection will, perhaps, be made that the capitalist can profit by a favourable exchange of his products with other capitalists, by increase of the demand for his commodity, whether as a result of the opening of new markets, or as a result of a momentarily increased demand in the old markets, etc.; that the capitalist's profit can, therefore, increase by overreaching other capitalists, independently of the rise and fall of wages, of the exchange value of labour^c; or that the capitalist's profit may also rise owing to the improvement of the instruments of labour, a new application of natural forces, etc.

First of all, it will have to be admitted that the result remains the same, although it is brought about in reverse fashion. True, the profit has not risen because wages have fallen, but wages have fallen because the profit has risen. With the same amount of labour,^d the capitalist has acquired a greater amount of exchange values, without having paid more for the labour on that account; that is, therefore, labour is paid less in proportion to the net profit which it yields the capitalist.

In addition, we recall that, in spite of the fluctuations in prices of commodities, the average price of every commodity, the ratio in which it is exchanged for other commodities, is determined by its *cost of production*. Hence the overreachings within the capitalist class necessarily balance one another. The improvement of machinery, new application of natural forces in the service of production, enable a larger amount of products to be created in a given period of time with the same amount of labour and capital, but not by any means a larger amount of exchange values. If, by the use of the spinning jenny, I can turn out twice as much yarn in an hour as before its

^a The 1891 edition has "*Capital's share*" instead of "*The exchange value of capital*".—*Ed.*

^b The 1891 edition has "*labour's share*" instead of "*the exchange value of labour*".—*Ed.*

^c The 1891 edition has "labour power" instead of "labour".—*Ed.*

^d The 1891 edition has "other people's labour" instead of "labour".—*Ed.*

invention, say, one hundred pounds instead of fifty, then^a I will receive for these hundred pounds no more commodities in exchange than formerly for the fifty pounds, because the cost of production has fallen by one-half, or because I can deliver double the product at the same cost.

Finally, in whatever proportion the capitalist class, the bourgeoisie, whether of one country or of the whole world market, shares the net profit of production within itself, the total amount of this net profit always consists only of the amount by which, on the whole, accumulated labour has been increased by living labour.^b This total amount grows, therefore, in the proportion in which labour augments capital, that is, in the proportion in which profit rises in comparison with wages.

We see, therefore, that even if we remain *within the relation of capital and wage labour, the interests of capital and the interests of wage labour are diametrically opposed.*

A rapid increase of capital is equivalent to a rapid increase of profit. Profit can only increase rapidly if the exchange value^c of labour, if relative wages, decrease just as rapidly. Relative wages can fall although real wages rise simultaneously with nominal wages, with the money value of labour, if they do not rise, however, in the same proportion as profit. If, for instance, in times when business is good, wages rise by five per cent, profit on the other hand by thirty per cent, then the comparative, the relative wages, have *not increased* but *decreased*.

Thus if the income of the worker increases with the rapid growth of capital, the social gulf that separates the worker from the capitalist increases at the same time, and the power of capital over labour, the dependence of labour on capital, likewise increases at the same time.

To say that the worker has an interest in the rapid growth of capital is only to say that the more rapidly the worker increases the wealth of others, the richer will be the crumbs that fall to him, the greater is the number of workers that can be employed and called into existence, the more can the mass of slaves dependent on capital be increased.

We have thus seen that:

Even the *most favourable situation* for the working class, the *most rapid possible growth of capital*, however much it may improve the material existence of the worker, does not remove the antagonism

^a In the 1891 edition the words "in the long run" are added here.—*Ed.*

^b The 1891 edition has "direct labour" instead of "living labour".—*Ed.*

^c The 1891 edition has "price" instead of "exchange value".—*Ed.*

between his interests and the interests of the bourgeoisie, the interests of the capitalist. *Profit and wages* remain as before in *inverse proportion*.

If capital is growing rapidly, wages may rise; the profit of capital rises incomparably more rapidly. The material position of the worker has improved, but at the cost of his social position. The social gulf that divides him from the capitalist has widened.

Finally:

To say that the most favourable condition for wage labour is the most rapid possible growth of productive capital is only to say that the more rapidly the working class increases and enlarges the power that is hostile to it, the wealth that does not belong to it and that rules over it, the more favourable will be the conditions under which it is allowed to labour anew at increasing bourgeois wealth, at enlarging the power of capital, content with forging for itself the golden chains by which the bourgeoisie drags it in its train.

[V]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 269, April 11, 1849]

Cologne, April 10. Are *growth of productive capital and rise of wages* really so inseparably connected as the bourgeois economists maintain? We must not take their word for it. We must not even believe them when they say that the fatter capital is, the better will its slave be fed. The bourgeoisie is too enlightened, it calculates too well, to share the prejudices of the feudal lord who makes a display by the brilliance of his retinue. The conditions of existence of the bourgeoisie compel it to calculate.

We must, therefore, examine more closely:

How does the growth of productive capital affect wages?

If, on the whole, the productive capital of bourgeois society grows, a *more manifold* accumulation of labour takes place. The capitals increase in number and extent. The *numerical increase* of the capitals increases the *competition between the capitalists*. The *increasing extent* of the capitals provides the means for *bringing more powerful labour armies with more gigantic instruments of war into the industrial battlefield*.

One capitalist can drive another from the field and capture his capital only by selling more cheaply. In order to be able to sell more cheaply without ruining himself, he must produce more cheaply, that is, raise the productive power of labour as much as possible. But the productive power of labour is raised, above all, by a *greater division of labour*, by a universal introduction and continual improvement of *machinery*. The greater the labour army among whom labour is divided, the more gigantic the scale on which machinery is introduced, the more does the cost of production proportionately decrease, the more fruitful is labour. Hence, a general rivalry arises among the capitalists to increase the division of

labour and machinery and to exploit them on the greatest possible scale.

If, now, by a greater division of labour, by the utilisation of new machines and their improvement, by more profitable and extensive exploitation of natural forces, one capitalist has found the means of producing with the same amount of labour or of accumulated labour a greater amount of products, of commodities, than his competitors, if he can, for example, produce a whole yard of linen in the same labour time in which his competitors weave half a yard, how will this capitalist operate?

He could continue to sell half a yard of linen at the old market price; this would, however, be no means of driving his opponents from the field and of enlarging his own sales. But in the same measure in which his production has expanded, his need to sell has also increased. The more powerful and costly means of production that he has called into life *enable* him, indeed, to sell his commodities more cheaply, they *compel* him, however, at the same time to sell more commodities, to conquer a much *larger* market for his commodities; consequently, our capitalist will sell his half yard of linen more cheaply than his competitors.

The capitalist will not, however, sell a whole yard as cheaply as his competitors sell half a yard, although the production of the whole yard does not cost him more than the half yard costs the others. Otherwise he would not gain anything extra but only get back the cost of production by the exchange. His possibly greater income would be derived from the fact of having set a larger capital into motion, but not from having made more of his capital than the others. Moreover, he attains the object he wishes to attain, if he puts the price of his goods only a small percentage lower than that of his competitors. He drives them from the field, he wrests from them at least a part of their sales, by *underselling them*. And, finally, it will be remembered that the current price always stands *above* or *below the cost of production*, according to whether the sale of the commodity occurs in a favourable or unfavourable industrial season. The percentage at which the capitalist who has employed new and more fruitful means of production sells above his real cost of production will vary, depending upon whether the market price of a yard of linen stands below or above its hitherto customary cost of production.

However, the *privileged position* of our capitalist is not of long duration; other competing capitalists introduce the same machines, the same division of labour, introduce them on the same or on a larger scale, and this introduction will become so general that the

price of linen is reduced not only *below its old*, but *below its new cost of production*.

The capitalists find themselves, therefore, in the same position relative to one another as *before* the introduction of the new means of production, and if they are able to supply by these means double the product at the same price, they are *now* forced to supply the double product *below* the old price. On the basis of this new cost of production, the same game begins again. More division of labour, more machinery, enlarged scale of exploitation of division of labour and machinery. And again competition brings the same counteraction against this result.

We see how in this way the mode of production and the means of production are continually transformed, revolutionised, how *the division of labour is necessarily followed by greater division of labour, the application of machinery by still greater application of machinery, work on a large scale by work on a still larger scale*.

That is the law which again and again throws bourgeois production out of its old course and which compels capital to intensify the productive forces of labour, *because* it has intensified them—the law which gives capital no rest and continually whispers in its ear: “Go on! Go on!”

This law is none other than that which, within the fluctuations of trade periods, necessarily levels out the price of a commodity to its *cost of production*.

However powerful the means of production which a capitalist brings into the field, competition will make these means of production universal and from the moment when it has made them universal, the only result of the greater fruitfulness of his capital is that he must now supply *for the same price* ten, twenty, a hundred times as much as before. But, as he must sell perhaps a thousand times as much as before in order to outweigh the lower selling price by the greater amount of the product sold, because a more extensive sale is now necessary, not only in order to make profit^a but in order to replace the cost of production—the instrument of production itself, as we have seen, becomes more and more expensive—and because this mass sale becomes a question of life and death not only for him but also for his rivals, the old struggle begins again *all the more violently the more fruitful the already discovered means of production are. The division of labour and the application of machinery, therefore, will go on anew on an incomparably greater scale*.

^a The 1891 edition has “more profit” instead of “profit”.—Ed.

Whatever the power of the means of production employed may be, competition seeks to rob capital of the golden fruits of this power by bringing the price of the commodities back to the cost of production, by thus making cheaper production—the supply of ever greater amounts of products for the same total price—an imperative law to the same extent as production can be cheapened, that is, as more can be produced with the same amount of labour. Thus the capitalist would have won nothing by his own exertions but the obligation to supply more in the same labour time, in a word, *more difficult conditions for the augmentation of the value of his capital*. While, therefore, competition continually pursues him with its law of the cost of production and every weapon that he forges against his rivals recoils against himself, the capitalist continually tries to get the better of competition by incessantly introducing new machines, more expensive, it is true, but producing more cheaply, and new division of labour in place of the old, and by not waiting until competition has rendered the new ones obsolete.

If now we picture to ourselves this feverish *simultaneous* agitation on the *whole world market*, it will be comprehensible how the growth, accumulation and concentration of capital results in an uninterrupted division of labour, and in the application of new and the perfecting of old machinery precipitately and on an ever more gigantic scale.

But how do these circumstances, which are inseparable from the growth of productive capital, affect the determination of wages?

The greater *division of labour* enables *one* worker to do the work of five, ten or twenty; it therefore multiplies competition among the workers fivefold, tenfold and twentyfold. The workers do not only compete by one selling himself cheaper than another; they compete by *one* doing the work of five, ten, twenty; and the *division of labour*, introduced by capital and continually increased, compels the workers to compete among themselves in this way.

Further, as the *division of labour* increases, labour *is simplified*. The *special skill* of the worker becomes worthless. He becomes transformed into a simple, monotonous productive force that does not have to use intense bodily or intellectual faculties. His labour becomes a labour that anyone can perform. Hence, competitors crowd upon him on all sides, and besides we remind the reader that the more simple and easily learned the labour is, the lower the cost of production needed to master it, the lower do wages sink, for, like the price of every other commodity, they are determined by the cost of production.

Therefore, as labour becomes more unsatisfying, more repulsive,

competition increases and wages decrease. The worker tries to keep up the amount of his wages by working more, whether by working longer hours or by producing more in one hour. Driven by want, therefore, he still further increases the evil effects of the division of labour. The result is that *the more he works the less wages he receives*, and for the simple reason that he competes to that extent with his fellow workers, hence makes them into so many competitors who offer themselves on just the same bad terms as he does himself, and that, therefore, in the last resort he *competes with himself, with himself as a member of the working class.*

Machinery brings about the same results on a much greater scale, by replacing skilled workers by unskilled, men by women, adults by children. It brings about the same results, where it is newly introduced, by throwing the hand workers onto the streets in masses, and, where it is developed, improved and replaced by more productive machinery, by discharging workers in smaller batches. We have portrayed above, in a hasty sketch, the industrial war of the capitalists among themselves; *this war has the peculiarity that its battles are won less by recruiting than by discharging the army of labour. The generals, the capitalists, compete with one another as to who can discharge most soldiers of industry.*

The economists tell us, it is true, that the workers rendered superfluous by machinery find *new* branches of employment.

They dare not assert directly that the same workers who are discharged find places in the new branches of labour. The facts cry out too loudly against this lie. They really only assert that new means of employment will open up for *other component sections of the working class*, for instance, for the portion of the young generation of workers that was ready to enter the branch of industry which has gone under. That is, of course, a great consolation for the disinherited workers. The capitalist gentlemen will never want for fresh exploitable flesh and blood, and will let the dead bury their dead. This is a consolation which the bourgeois give themselves rather than one which they give the workers. If the whole class of wage-workers were to be abolished owing to machinery, how dreadful that would be for capital which, without wage labour, ceases to be capital!

Let us suppose, however, that those directly driven out of their jobs by machinery, and the entire section of the new generation that was already on the watch for this employment, *find a new occupation.* Does any one imagine that it will be as highly paid as that which has been lost? *That would contradict all the laws of economics.* We have seen how modern industry always brings with it the substitution of a more

simple, subordinate occupation for the more complex and higher one.

How, then, could a mass of workers who have been thrown out of one branch of industry owing to machinery find refuge in another, unless the latter *is lower, worse paid?*

The workers who work in the manufacture of machinery itself have been cited as an exception. As soon as more machinery is demanded and used in industry, it is said, there must necessarily be an increase of machines, consequently of the manufacture of machines, and consequently of the employment of workers in the manufacture of machines; and the workers engaged in this branch of industry are claimed to be skilled, even educated workers.

Since the year 1840 this assertion, which even before was only half true, has lost all semblance of truth because ever more versatile machines have been employed in the manufacture of machinery, no more and no less than in the manufacture of cotton yarn, and the workers employed in the machine factories, confronted by highly elaborate machines, can only play the part of highly unelaborate machines.

But in place of the man who has been discharged owing to the machine, the factory employs maybe *three* children and *one* woman! And did not the man's wages have to suffice for the three children and a woman? Did not the minimum of wages have to suffice to maintain and to propagate the race? What, then, does this favourite bourgeois phrase prove? Nothing more than that now *four times* as many workers' lives are used up in order to gain a livelihood for *one* worker's family.

Let us sum up: *The more productive capital grows, the more the division of labour and the application of machinery expands. The more the division of labour and the application of machinery expands, the more competition among the workers expands and the more their wages contract.*

In addition, the working class gains recruits from the *higher strata of society* also; a mass of small industrialists and small rentiers are hurled down into its ranks and have nothing better to do than urgently stretch out their arms alongside those of the workers. Thus the forest of uplifted arms demanding work becomes ever thicker, while the arms themselves become ever thinner.

That the small industrialist cannot survive in a war,^a one of the first conditions of which is to produce on an ever greater scale, that is, precisely to be a large and not a small industrialist, is self-evident.

^a The 1891 edition has "contest" instead of "war".—Ed.

That the interest on capital decreases in the same measure as the mass and number of capitals increase, as capital grows; that, therefore, the small rentier can no longer live on his interest but must throw himself into industry, and consequently, help to swell the ranks of the small industrialists and thereby of candidates for the proletariat—all this surely requires no further explanation.

Finally, as the capitalists are compelled, by the movement described above, to exploit the already existing gigantic means of production on a larger scale and to set in motion all the mainsprings of credit to this end, there is a corresponding increase in earthquakes,^a in which the trading world can only maintain itself by sacrificing a part of wealth, of products and even of productive forces to the gods of the nether world—in a word, *crises* increase. They become more frequent and more violent, if only because, as the mass of production, and consequently the need for extended markets, grows, the world market becomes more and more contracted, fewer and fewer markets^b remain available for exploitation, since every preceding crisis has subjected to world trade a market hitherto unconquered or only superficially exploited. But capital does not *live* only on labour. A lord, at once aristocratic and barbarous, it drags with it into the grave the corpses of its slaves, whole hecatombs of workers who perish in the crises. Thus we see: *if capital grows rapidly, competition among the workers grows incomparably more rapidly, that is, the means of employment, the means of subsistence, of the working class decrease proportionately so much the more, and, nevertheless, the rapid growth of capital is the most favourable condition for wage labour.*

(To be continued)¹⁸⁵

Written by Marx on the basis of lectures delivered by him in the second half of December 1847

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Nos. 264-267 and 269, April 5-8 and 11, 1849

^a The 1891 edition has "industrial earthquakes" instead of "earthquakes".—*Ed.*

^b The 1891 edition has "new markets" instead of "markets".—*Ed.*

THE SOUTHERN SLAVS AND THE AUSTRIAN MONARCHY

Not a word from the theatre of war. Not a syllable confirming the fabulous report of Bem's crossing into Wallachia, which may now be regarded as pure martial-law rumour, since after the arrival of the alleged courier no Bulletin has appeared.

There is, on the other hand, interesting news of the Austrian Slavs. Among the *Czech* townspeople and peasants, says the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*,^a Kossuth's name is regarded with the same respect and wonder as Napoleon's, and people were arrested in Prague for raising a cheer for Kossuth. The *Südslavische Zeitung* writes from *Vinkovci*, March 24:

"Travellers today brought us the news that extraordinary excitement reigns in *Semlin*. Street processions in Hungarian costume, Hungarian freedom songs, *Eljens* and *Zivios*^b for Kossuth resounding through the town."

Todorovich has withdrawn from Kanizsa to Kikinda (between the Theiss and the Maros), and has thus by no means united with Jellachich. The blockade of Szegedin and Theresiopel has therefore been *completely raised*. This retreat obviously took place as a result of the discontent among the Serbs.

The cause of this dampening down of the Serbian lust for plunder is Austria's vacillating policy, making promises to the Serbs today, to the Magyars tomorrow, and regarding the rich Hungarian aristocracy (which can easily be restored to power and influence again after an Austrian victory) as a better ally in the long run than the chaos of classes, interests and conditions of the South-Slav and especially the Serbian provinces.

^a "Prag, 25. März," Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 91, April 1, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b "Long live!" in Hungarian and Serbo-Croatian.—*Ed.*

For the amusement of our readers we print the latest martial-law rumour:

Kossuth is said to be involved in negotiations with the Government and to be making the following condition for Hungary's complete and immediate submission: the acceptance of the Constitution drafted by the Imperial Diet¹⁸⁶ for the whole monarchy and his appointment as the Governor of Hungary!!!

Baja has *not* yet been retaken, Nugent bombarded it in vain.

Bem has imposed a contribution of 100,000 florins on Hermannstadt. The Romanians are quite discouraged; a *Landsturm* can no longer be raised.

Written by Engels on April 4, 1849

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April 5, 1849

Published in English for the first
time

THE WAR IN HUNGARY

Cologne, April 5. It is a fact that the Austrians, when they win battles in Hungary, only do so because of the longer and more regular arms drill of their soldiers; they win them not *because* of their commanders but *in spite of their commanders*. The thoroughly exercised military drill and the coherent *compact mass* resulting from this is their only strength. This compact military mass has been employed by the generals from the inception of the war until now with a mediocrity, with a lack of talent which is quite unparalleled. There is no grand design, no daring, no dexterity in manoeuvres, no trace of a worked out plan, no attempt to surprise the enemy or to impress him. With a triviality of calculation which does not go beyond the four fundamentals of strategy (*s'il y en a*^a), the Austrian armies keep marching directly toward the point to be conquered sticking as punctiliously as possible to a straight line, unconcerned about what is happening to the right or to the left of them, and if an unexpected manoeuvre by the Magyars throws them out of this line then they are at a loss and good for nothing until they have once again found some other straight line leading to their appointed goal. Nothing creates a more dreadful impression than to see that even the most unexpected and brilliant manoeuvres of the Hungarian generals are incapable of imparting even the slightest animating thought to the unwieldy body of the Austrian army and of inducing it to produce an adroit idea, however slight. It is nothing but the simple and honest old strategy of the Coburgs, Clerfayts, Wurmsers

^a If such there be.—*Ed.*

& Co., of yore, which has, thank God, for about a hundred years been harping on the axiom that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points.

Thus while the Austrians slowly but by no means surely plod forward and demonstrate an unparalleled poverty of strategic thought, we find an astounding wealth of strategic genius at the head of the Magyar army. The whole campaign is conducted according to a plan whose mastery becomes daily more evident; and between the individual elements of this great plan a series of episodes occur each of which is more brilliantly contrived and more surprisingly and dextrously executed than the last. The Magyars, though inadequately drilled and armed, oppose everywhere the most subtle calculation, the most masterly use of the terrain, the clearest overall view of the situation and the most daring and swift execution to the indolent and mindless but well-drilled mass of the Austrian armies. Superiority in genius is here doing battle with superiority in numbers, weapons and arms drill. Observing the bold, rapid marches of the Magyar corps, it is hardly possible to grasp how an almost completely untrained, poorly armed and ill-equipped army can undertake such movements and carry them through to completion. We need only recall Görgey's brilliant march from Pest through the Slovakian mountain towns, along the Carpathians, through the Zips to the Theiss and from there back to within six miles^a of Pest again, and Bem's repeated lightning triumphal expeditions through Transylvania.

Today's reports from the Theiss, admittedly unofficial but nevertheless coming unanimously from the most various sources and therefore less subject to doubt than all the martial-law bulletins, at last permit us to pass sound judgment on the latest movements between the Theiss and the Danube.

Once again these movements form one of the most brilliant and inspired manoeuvres perhaps ever to figure in the history of war. By means of manoeuvres whose design was as bold and superior as their execution was lightning fast, the Magyar commanders Görgey and Dembiński (and this manoeuvre is the best proof that he still holds his command) have completely disconcerted an army which would certainly have proved superior to them in regular, open pitched battle, they have driven it back a whole 20 miles, frustrated all its plans and even threatened its line of retreat.

The most recent dispositions of the two armies are known:

^a See footnote on p. 20.—*Ed.*

The Magyars on and behind the Theiss: Görgey at Tokaj, Dembiński at Polgar and Tisza-Füred, Vetter at Szolnok, Damjanich at Szegedin.

The imperial forces on the opposite bank: Ramberg along the Hernad up to Miskolcz, Schlick from Miskolcz to Szegléd, Jellachich from Szegléd to Kecskemét and Felegyhaza.

Suddenly Görgey broke away from the Theiss, marched by way of a detour (evidently through the Zemplen comitat) north towards Kaschau and threw Ramberg's division (the Götz and Jablonowsky brigades) out of the Sáros and the Abauj comitat. Götz and Jablonowsky—at least so the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* would have it^a—held Eperies and Kaschau, but on the other hand the open country was everywhere swept clean of imperial troops. Only stopping briefly Görgey now proceeded along the Hernad once more towards the south, driving the remnants of Ramberg's troops constantly before him, took Miskolcz and then headed west; by way of Rimaszombat he went to Losoncz, and took up a position on the Ipoly (Eipel) between Losoncz and Balassa-Gyarmat. His vanguard is said to have pushed forward as far as Nograd.

The heroic Ramberg beat a hasty retreat by way of Hatvan on the very worst roads to *Waitzen* on the Danube, *four miles above Pest*. There he immediately built a pontoon bridge to withdraw his corps to the right bank of the Danube and thus put the river between Görgey and himself.

While Görgey was advancing by way of Miskolcz, Dembiński crossed the Theiss at Czibakháza and with 30,000 men broke through Schlick's disposition at its weakest point between Jasz-Berény and the battlefield of Kapolna, marched through the middle of the country occupied by the enemy and linked up with Görgey on the other side of the Mátra mountains.

To cover Pest Schlick left part of his forces behind at Hatvan (the same place the Magyars had visited in February). With the other part he "pursued", as they say, Dembiński's army. What is meant by this "pursuit" is absolutely incomprehensible unless he is anxious to be cut off and thrown back against the Hernad into a purely Hungarian area.

At the same time Jellachich's army was being pushed back by Damjanich from Szegedin and Vetter from Szolnok. As is well known, Jellachich had occupied Kecskemét and advanced his headquarters another four miles to Felegyhaza. Damjanich expelled

^a Engels refers to the article "Pesth, 27. März" in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 92, April 2, 1849.—*Ed.*

him from there, forced him to leave Kecskemét, defeated him at Nagy-Körös and drove him back to Szepléd. According to the latest reports Jellachich is said to have abandoned this place as well and withdrawn his headquarters to Pilis, *four miles from Pest.*

Thus the Austrians are being driven back at all points, and the theatre of war is again situated but a few miles from Pest.

But this time the Magyars are operating with completely different forces, and have taken up a disposition quite different from that of six weeks ago when they stood at Hatvan.

Then they were drawn up in a line from the Mátra mountains on the right to the Theiss on the left. To begin with they only had the aim of threatening Pest.

This time things are different. The main thing now is to relieve Komorn and support the insurrection on the right bank of the Danube in the rear of the imperial forces. Hence the much greater degree of daring and the much greater ingenuity in the co-ordination of the movements.

The Magyars are positioned in two long curved lines, the one drawn up to the north-east of Pest and the other to the south-east of it. The first extends from Erlau and Gyöngyös, occupied by Dembiński, to Balassa-Gyarmat and Neograd, where Görgey is. While Dembiński holds Schlick in check and threatens Pest, Görgey has driven Ramberg over the Danube and presents such a serious threat to the besieged area of Komorn, hardly two days' march distant, that troops from there have already been sent against him and the encirclement of the fortress is at present very slack. At the same time he is in a position to cause the adjoining Magyar comitats on the Danube, particularly Gran, to rise again in revolt, to interrupt river communications between Pest and the besieging army and, in the rear of the Austrians, to call into being an enemy who at the least will force them to weaken their main army. In the event of a defeat he once again has the possibility of a retreat into the Slovakian mountains.

The second Magyar army is positioned to the south-east of Pest, one flank on the Danube, the other on the Theiss, its centre in Kecskemét, Nagy-Körös, or perhaps by now already in Szepléd. This corps threatens Pest from the other side, and is equally capable of throwing auxiliary troops across the Danube into Stuhlweissenburg and the Tolna comitat to support the insurrection here too. Only some thousand Honveds¹⁸⁷ with light artillery and a few hussars would be needed to rouse the whole of the Bakony Forest from the Danube to the Raab into full rebellion in the rear of the main Austrian army, to isolate the besieging troops at Komorn and to

necessitate the detachment of whole army corps against the rebels. Thus weakened, the imperial army would be unable to put up much resistance against the united Hungarian armies.

And the Hungarians undertake these rapid and daring marches at a time when, thanks to the bad weather and the muddy roads, the Austrian army cannot take a single step forward, but only steps backwards!

Incidentally, one can see from the whole design that something more serious is intended this time than last. Previously single corps, but now it is the whole main army of the Austrians that has been pressed back under the walls of Pest. Pest itself is obviously the goal. This is recognised very clearly in the town itself. The Hungarian banknotes¹⁸⁸ have *risen again*. The reserve has been returned to Pest from Gödöllő (three miles away) and its baggage carried over the Danube to Ofen. The garrison of Pest and Ofen was confined all day long to its barracks and to the citadel.

In short, the Austrians have been forced back towards Pest on all sides, the Magyar army is more concentrated than ever, Szegedin has been liberated, the link-up between Jellachich and the Serbs has been foiled, the siege area of Komorn has been breached, the mountain towns threatened, the guerillas in Slovakia and on the right bank of the Danube supported and Pest more seriously threatened than ever—these are the immediate results of this concentric movement of the four Magyar Theiss corps, its conception was as bold and skilful as its execution has been precise and rapid.

In *Transylvania* Bem's situation is also beginning to clarify. First of all Bem defeated Puchner and drove him to Hermannstadt. On March 10 he sent a representative under a flag of truce and demanded surrender. Instead of an answer the Russian general ordered the representative to be whipped with the knout. Thereupon Bem attacked and took the town on March 11. No quarter was given to the Russians, a revolutionary committee was set up and many Cossacks hanged. Puchner escaped to Wallachia, the Russian general is said to have remained. On March 14 Bem marched against Kronstadt. In the meantime 40,000-50,000 Russians marched in by way of the Roterturm and the Törzburg passes (near Kronstadt), attacked Bem and defeated him thanks to their double superiority in numbers. Bem withdrew into Szeklerland.¹⁸⁹ The story of the five hanged Polish officers has been confirmed; their names were Bilski, Prince Woroniecki, Dumanski, Podalecki and Wronski.^a Moreover,

^a "Wien, 31. März", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 93, April 3, 1849. See also this volume, p. 190.—Ed.

another 70 or so officers and NCOs are said to have been hanged by the Russians. The rumour about Bem having been forced to enter Wallachia is scarcely mentioned any more; a second rumour sounds almost as wild, claiming that he has fled to the Magyar Theiss army. The terror inspired in the imperial forces by the name Bem is so great that they are already claiming that it was he who planned and commanded the daring move across the Theiss.

Nothing new from the Banat, except that Rukavina has *conceded* the Patriarch^a *all his demands concerning Serbian nationhood*.

Komorn and Peterwardein are holding out. Welden himself has left for the former. *Nous verrons!*^b

Written by Engels on April 5, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 265, April 6, 1849

Published in English for the first time

^a Rajachich.—*Ed.*

^b We shall see!—*Ed.*

FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

No fresh news at all has arrived from the theatre of war. Only from Transylvania do we have two *Magyar* bulletins today, signed by Bem himself, brought by the Debreczin official *Közlöny*.^a

"1. Hermannstadt Headquarters, March 15. In my dispatch of March 13 I had the fortune to declare that I had sent a corps to the Roterturm Pass (Vöröstorony) in order to sever as far as possible communications with Wallachia. This army corps was unable to advance very far, however, since the whole Austrian army was positioned in Frek, and thus only separated from the defile by a mountain ridge, and so the flank of my advancing troops was threatened. By way of a detour I gained control of this defile, however, and I shall not only hold it, but at the same time press the enemy towards Kronstadt, from where he would only be able to cross the Carpathians with great difficulty, if, that is, he should wish to escape into Wallachia. I shall commence these operations of war this very day.

"Yesterday our troops once again captured a staff officer, Colonel Kopet. The names of the two staff officers previously captured are Baron Berger (Lieutenant-Colonel) and Teichbert (Major).

"The capture of Hermannstadt was of inestimable value to us, a great number of weapons have fallen to us from all sides, while the vital artery of the enemy has been severed."

"2. Roterturm (Vöröstorony) Headquarters, March 16. My operations yesterday designed to dislodge the Russians from the Roterturm Pass were crowned by such good fortune that we had ejected the Russians from this strong position by 11 o'clock the same night. The 'March 15', the anniversary of the Liberty of Nations, could not have been celebrated in more worthy fashion.¹⁹⁰ Today at 5 o'clock in the afternoon the Russians have taken to the wildest headlong flight. Four Austrian generals: Puchner, Pfersmann, Gräser and Jovich have fled to Wallachia with approximately 3 companies. I myself have inspected the Roterturm Pass most carefully, and have made such arrangements that the Russians will find it hard to penetrate here again with hostile intent. I have dispatched another part of my army in pursuit of the Austrians, who according to the statements of prisoners of war are demoralised and making for Kronstadt in disorder. Their main force is at Fogaras, the rearguard, however, has

^a The following passage is from *Közlöny* No. 59, March 22, 1849.—*Ed.*

just left Frek. The enemy had demolished the bridge over the Olt behind him, which hindered the energetic pursuit of him for a time. Now that the bridge has been rebuilt I shall continue the pursuit with the utmost vigour. I hope to take Kronstadt within 3 or 4 days, thereby the imperial Austrian army will be partly destroyed, and partly dispersed, and in any case rendered harmless as far as the internal tranquillity of this country is concerned. And then the return to obedience of those Wallachian bands which still operate in isolation will be so much the easier.

"*Post scriptum.* After taking Kronstadt I shall immediately leave for Hungary with an army corps."

(As our readers already know, General Bem did not succeed in taking Kronstadt.)^a

The extent to which the Pest revolutionaries have been encouraged by the recent gains of the Magyar army may be inferred from the following report in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.

"*Pest, March 30. A secret committee appears to exist here which is in contact with the Debreczin revolutionary government.* For a large number of printed posters in the Hungarian language are daily found in every street, containing partly war bulletins from the Debreczin Government, and partly its orders and decrees. By means of such posters Bem's capture of Hermannstadt was already known here on March 22. The police *have not yet succeeded* in tracking down these secret information centres. If one is to believe such a poster, countless copies of which were distributed yesterday, *then the Hungarian Lieutenant-Colonel Gaal stormed and captured the fortress of Arad on March 23.* But the imperial officer commanding the fortress, Lieutenant-Field Marshal Baron Berger, is said to have made good his escape.—The Ban, Master of Ordnance Baron Jellachich, *is^b ... here.* The plan of advancing on Szegedin *has been abandoned.* The theatre of war has *shifted back about 40 miles nearer the Austrian border,* and thanks to this an area of about 300 square miles has been abandoned to the Magyars. The imperial army is now altogether *restricted to the defensive.* Among the officers the conviction is also generally expressed that *without substantial reinforcements a decisive victory is scarcely conceivable.*—Yesterday the Jewish community here had to pay a fine of 40,000 guildens because two local Jews were sentenced for deliveries made to Debreczin.—Colonel Horváth is advancing on Baja, which the insurgents have occupied with 4,000 men. His task is to clear the Danube line and to destroy the insurgents' ships."

According to this, Jellachich, after three or four attempts on the Theiss, has returned to Pest for the fifth time; and just as he previously discovered that the Theiss cannot be crossed at Szolnok and marched towards Szegedin, he has now discovered that Szegedin cannot be taken. These repeated retreats are the "laurels" of the "chivalrous Ban Jellachich"! "Poor Jellachich! Poor *Kölnische Zeitung*!"

Herr Welden has issued a bloodcurdling proclamation to the garrison at Komorn, which has the following positive content after many inflated words:

"Wherefore I grant a further grace of 12 hours so that every man may return to the royal imperial flag. Upon the expiry of this grace, however, I shall continue with the

^a See this volume, p. 235.—*Ed.*

^b There is a blank in the newspaper due to bad printing.—*Ed.*

destruction of Komorn so long as I have one trusty soldier and my cannon the wherewithal to shoot. God will assist us! Outside Komorn, March 26, 1849."^a

The rumour that the Russians have entered Galicia is emphatically contradicted.

Martial-law reports announce: "We still lack *consoling* (!!!) news from Hungary."

Letters from Jassy announce that in Moldavia great preparations for some war or other are being made, especially as Russian troops in great numbers are arriving from all directions and General Paskevich is expected any day now.

The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* today prints a document of the erstwhile Palatine of Hungary, Archduke *Stephan*,¹⁹¹ from which it becomes clear that the betrayal of Hungary which is now practically complete was contemplated and projected as early as March last year. The document reads as follows:

"*Your Majesty*, the condition of Hungary is so critical at the moment that the most violent eruption can be expected any day. Anarchy reigns in Pest. The authorities have been ousted from their spheres of action by committees of public safety, and—while the Governor's Council at least maintains the outward form of its authority under the powerful leadership of Count Zichy—the Exchequer has been reduced to practically nothing. The nobility" (it appears to be implied from the context later on that the rural population is meant, since the nobility has already enjoyed rights) "has rebelled in several places in order to win real rights for itself.

"In this anomalous and dangerous situation every man expects his salvation from the impending formation of a responsible government."¹⁹²

"Even if we regard this plan as a calamity, the question now at issue, however, is which is the least calamity?"

"I shall now attempt briefly to adduce the three means by which *alone* I can still hope to achieve anything in Hungary. The first means would be to remove the whole of the armed forces from the country and abandon it to total devastation; passively to observe the destruction and arson, and passively to watch the bitter struggles between the nobility and the peasants.

"The second would be to negotiate with Count Batthyány (who is now the people's only hero;—if we hesitate for long his star too is likely to fade—) concerning the proposed legislation, in order to save as much as can still be saved. One must know in advance, however, what is to be done if in the event of his dissatisfaction he should perhaps resign.

"Finally, the third means would be to furlough the Palatine immediately and to send to Pressburg a Royal Commissioner invested with extraordinary powers and accompanied by a considerable military force, who after dissolving the Diet there would leave for Pest and there continue to run the government with a strong hand as long as conditions demand it.

"I frankly confess that I myself recoil in horror from the first alternative. It is immoral, and it is perhaps also not proper for a government to forsake its subjects completely, some of whom at least are well disposed, and to abandon them as victims

^a The proclamation is given in the report "Pressburg, 31. März", *Der Lloyd* No. 157 (evening edition), April 2, 1849, and is dated March 30, 1849.—*Ed.*

to all the cruelties of a rebellion (!). Moreover, the example this would set to the undisciplined rude masses would produce the most damaging effect in the other provinces.

“The second alternative on the other hand is a good one, and although at first glance it has the semblance of separation, yet for the present it is the only means of retaining this province, provided that the gentlemen to be newly appointed are capable of exercising complete influence over internal developments—which can admittedly no longer be claimed with complete certainty in advance. With the coming of more propitious times much may be organised differently which might cause a separation at present. I am not certain that one might not achieve something by way of proper negotiations through Batthyány and Deák—but solely through them—for if they deliberate in Pressburg¹⁹³ everything is to be feared. At this juncture, however, I must, as a faithful servant of the state, make so free as to draw Your Majesty’s attention to a circumstance of the greatest significance: what will happen if in the event of unsuccessful negotiations Batthyány should hazard everything and be ready to resign?

“Here I consider it my duty not to exaggerate but to observe in accordance with the truth that one must be prepared for this eventuality in order to be able to meet with armed force the demonstrations along the Danube and on the road from Pressburg to Vienna which will certainly be instigated by the youth of Pressburg and a section of the nobility. In this case the third alternative would remain, provided that neither the will nor the possibility of its employment were lacking. This third means would have to be used with great dispatch. Four questions arise in this connection, however:

“a) is there sufficient money available? That is, is it not impossible to send a fairly large military force, by which I understand at least 40,000 to 50,000 men, to Hungary? Or

“b) is this force available and able to be concentrated quickly? Is, further,

“c) a Royal Commissioner available who is both willing and fitted to take over this task? Finally, however,

“d) is there also no doubt that this means is sufficient for achieving the end desired? And whether later in the winter an accommodation will not be brought about, and whether the other hereditary provinces will remain tranquil upon perceiving this? Will one not need a substantial military force in Galicia and in Italy?

“If to all these questions, which I am unable to judge from my own position, a favourable answer can be given according to which the execution of the plan is possible without illusions and without, for instance, calculations which perhaps later prove to be incorrect, then I have no further comment to add against its being carried out, provided that the settlement with Count Batthyány is attempted, and in addition that the dignitaries of the country, who have to be summoned in any case, are asked.

“I frankly confess that in the present state of affairs I must pronounce myself to be for the second alternative, and I do not doubt that the dignitaries of the country—although I have not yet spoken with them—are of the same opinion. I have definite knowledge only of the opinion of Supreme Judge of the country Mailáth.

“If, however, Your Majesty in Your wisdom should consider the first or the third means to be more to the purpose, then Your Supreme Highness will without doubt command me in accordance with the prevailing laws and customary practice as to whether for the time being I shall remain in Vienna in this event or whether I ought to travel elsewhere.

Your Majesty’s most faithfully obedient subject,

Stephan m. p.^a

Vienna, March 24, 1848.”

^a *Manu propria*—with one’s own hand.—*Ed.*

We refrain from all further discussion of this document, which is self-revealing indeed. In the margin of the original document there are comments by Archduke Stephan in his own hand and a dispatch note: "Stephanus 23 March 1848" and "Kiads Marcz 24èn 1848" (i.e. dispatched on March 24, 1848).

We have found the following additional information in the papers which have arrived this morning:

The village of Aszod, four miles from Pest on the road to Hatvan, was captured by the Magyars. They had already left it again the following day, however, in order to advance further in the direction of Neograd and the Waag. The Slovakian guerillas have once again been so encouraged by Görgey's sudden appearance on the Eipel that they are ranging as far as the Moravian border.

Götz and Jablonowsky are in Waitzen. The report that they had held Eperies and Kaschau against Görgey was therefore *untrue*. The whole of the Zips, and indeed *the whole* of *Upper Hungary*, are thus once more in the hands of the Magyars, and the imperial forces now occupy only the western and southern borders, also the land between the Danube and the Drava and the immediate environs of Pest.

"Ban Jellachich," states the Pest Observer (*Figyelmezô*), "is not only a hero, but also an *astute diplomatist*. He caused a sensation in Kecskemét. He summoned the Gipsy bands of Körös and Kecskemét, marched through the town to the accompaniment of the most genuine Hungarian melodies, and has so enthused the whole population with his Magyar conduct that they declared: 'Even if he were to land us in the middle of the Theiss, we should follow him!'"^a

Ban Jellachich is daily revealing himself as more of a buffoon and a Don Quixote.

The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* reports the following fact, which may once again serve as proof of the genuinely revolutionary character of the Hungarian war:

"While the young Count Esterházy holds a command in the fortress of Komorn and will probably be executed for high treason should this be taken, the old Count Esterházy, the young Count's father, has just presented 160 casks of wine to the siege troops as encouragement for them to storm the fortress!"^b

Written by Engels about April 6, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

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Published in English for the first time

^a A similar account is also published in "Wien, 31. März", *Der Lloyd* No. 155 (evening edition), March 31, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b "Pesth, 29. März", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 93, April 3, 1849.—*Ed.*

FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

Today we have gladdening news. *Bem's bulletins*, which we printed yesterday,^a are *confirmed to the very last letter*.

Bem has driven the Russian garrison of Hermannstadt right out of Transylvania, has destroyed the Austrian army and is advancing on Kronstadt. Puchner and his generals have fled to Wallachia.

Bem had captured Hermannstadt on March 11 and beaten the Russians so soundly that only 2,000 of them found their way over the Roterturm Pass into Wallachia. The remainder, between 2,000 and 6,000 men (the reports are contradictory) were partly cut down, partly taken prisoner. On March 12 and 13 Bem pursued them to the defile.

In the meantime unlucky old Puchner had set out from Mediasch to pursue Bem. He arrived before Hermannstadt exactly fifteen hours too late and stationed his troops at Frek on the Aluta, to one side of Hermannstadt and the Roterturm. Now, on March 15, Bem drove the Russians right out of the defile and on March 16 he destroyed the Austrian army. The childish old Puchner and his generals Pfersmann, Gedeon and Schurter likewise escaped into Wallachia together with three companies. Command of the defeated corps was assumed by Major-General Kalliani; he fled with his men in great disorder to Fogaras on the Aluta, eight to ten miles from Hermannstadt.

Bem fortified the Roterturm Pass in such a way that, as he affirms, the Russians will no longer get through. Then he immediately headed for Kronstadt, hoping to take it in 3-4 days. The Russians, who immediately sent considerable forces to Transylvania (20,000

^a See this volume, pp. 237-38.—*Ed.*

men with 50 cannon are mentioned), will probably arrive too late as they are taking a circuitous route through Wallachia, and perhaps Bem will still succeed in occupying and fortifying the Törzburg, Tömös and Boha passes (two to three miles from Kronstadt) before the Russians get there. That the latter are counting on considerable resistance and only very uncertain success is evident from the fact that they are sending a second corps of occupation into Transylvania by way of the Bukovina.

The capture of Hermannstadt was of incalculable significance for Bem. All the depots of arms, munitions and provisions of Puchner's army were here. All these supplies have fallen into his hands and such a skilled and active insurrectionary general as Bem, who can obtain soldiers with ease, will be able to make excellent use of precisely these weapons.

The capture of Kronstadt completes Bem's conquest of Transylvania. He promises, as soon as he succeeds in this enterprise, to head for Hungary with an army. Even if the Russians, who are exerting themselves to the utmost to revenge the humiliating reverse they have suffered, do not permit him to reach the Theiss, it will nevertheless be possible for the fast-moving Bem to create a diversion by marching into the Banat, and just there his presence may prove decisive.¹⁹⁴

To avoid the suspicion that these facts, which incidentally *reach us from all sides simultaneously*, are fabricated, we print the few melancholy lines in which the *official Wiener Zeitung* itself announces them:

"According to reports from Bucharest Master of Ordnance Puchner was in Rimnik (Wallachia) on March 19. Bem had occupied the Roterturm and the Russians the quarantine.^a A courier from Kronstadt brought the news to Czernowitz on March 26 that the royal imperial Transylvanian corps, after arriving too late for the relief of Hermannstadt, had retired to Kronstadt in order to cover the town. On account of illness Master of Ordnance Puchner has handed over the command of this corps to Major-General Kalliani, and he himself has withdrawn to Rimnik with the General Command."

The martial-law reports of the arrival of two Russian columns by way of the Roterturm and the Törzburg passes^b were thus *totally untrue*. Unfortunately for the *Kölnische Zeitung* they were not published by Magyar but by genuine imperial journals. On the contrary, this time the "Magyar boasting" has been corroborated word for word.

^a See this volume, p. 279.—*Ed.*

^b *Ibid.*, p. 235.—*Ed.*

Let us turn from Transylvania to the *Banat*. Here on March 16 and 18 the Szegedin and Theresiopel Magyars inflicted serious defeats on the Serbs at Kanizsa on the Theiss. After this they are said to have advanced into the Banat as far as Zenta and to have caused great devastation. As a result of these defeats the Patriarch^a ordered the *Landsturm* to be recalled in the whole of the Voivodina. However, the latest news from this area (Semlin, March 28) mentions a new victory of the Serbs over the Hungarians by which the former are said to have regained their previous advantageous position.^b

Baja on the Lower Danube is still occupied by a band of insurgents. Colonel Horváth received the order to expel them, to clear the Danube line completely and to this end to destroy the insurgents' ships. These pirate barges appear to be the principal reason for refusing the request of the steamship transport company agency here to be allowed to sail the stretch of the Danube to Esseg.

Horváth, however, returned with his mission unaccomplished. He does not appear to have got further than Kis-Körös (eight to ten miles from Baja).

There is very little to be heard from the *Theiss* today. An Austrian column which had dared advance as far as Losoncz was suddenly attacked by the Honveds and completely wiped out. In an imperial bread store at Gödöllő (three miles from Pest) considerable supplies have been spoilt by the rain. The state of things here may be judged from the following dirge from a Vienna correspondent of the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*:

"I am very much afraid of this Hungarian business, and were I a Minister I should be unable to sleep in peace because of it. Would you find it incredible if I were to report that *Windischgrätz will actually be relieved of his command?* Things have gone so far that *the plans of the battle at Kapolna have been sent to the Emperor at Olmütz to demonstrate the Marshal's incompetence.* The officers before Komorn have held their own council of war, and it took Welden's energy and the proven confidence of the troops in him to settle a great many differences. Welden is expected to return tonight and thus we shall already be able to read a report on the operations at Komorn tomorrow evening; my wish is that it may be favourable, but I dare not hope so."^c

An issue of the *Lithographierte Correspondenz* from Vienna states that Dembiński *has crossed the Danube* below Pest with an army corps and *is threatening Stuhlweissenburg*. This remains to be proved. Several days ago we were already saying that Magyar corps would cross the

^a Rajachich.—*Ed.*

^b "Semlin, 28. März", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 81, April 5, 1849.—*Ed.*

^c "LC Wien, 3. April", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 81, April 5, 1849.—*Ed.*

Danube in this area^a; it is quite possible that they are threatening Weissenburg; but whether merely guerillas are involved or considerable army corps cannot yet be ascertained. In any case it may be assumed that Dembiński is not commanding them; according to the latest reports he and his troops have taken up positions significantly further northwards, on the Zagyva and the Mátra mountains.

From the camp at Komorn Herr Welden has brought back a long account of the operations against the fortress, which in spite of all its rhetoric and deliberate vagueness does not give the least consolation to the imperial side. Not the faintest prospect of capture. It merely contains a dry enumeration of events to date. The following is an extract from it:

“In the summer of 1848 Komorn was re-equipped, provided with nearly 300 cannon and victuals for at least a year; in the month of September the Magyars raised the red-green-and-white flag^b there and handed over the general command to Baron Jessenak. The garrison of the fortress still comprises the following military units: 6 companies of the Alexander regiment,¹⁹⁵ 2 companies of Prussian infantry, 8 Honved battalions, 700 Honved artillery troops and two squadrons of Austrian hussars who changed sides. All attempts at attacking the fortress with the enormous masses of troops under Windischgrätz came to nothing; the encirclement commenced in January with the advance on Leopoldstadt was abandoned as futile, and only towards March 10 did the Austrians make an attack in earnest. Siege equipment, cannon and technical detachments were sent down from Vienna; in vain, however, for the bad weather conditions and the bottomless roads hindered both the transport and the mounting of the cannon. On March 24, 42 twelve- and 18-pound cannon, mortars and howitzers opened a murderous fire on the fortress from the Sandberg. The besieged troops replied likewise with heavy fire and on March 31 in particular tried to hinder the erection of the batteries; on this day the siege troops threw a bridge across the Danube at Nemes-Oers. On the day mentioned the Austrian Lieutenant-Field Marshal Simunich began the closer encirclement of Komorn; he ordered the troops to march in part along the Waag and after they had taken up their positions pickets of the besieged caused considerable damage with intensive small arms fire, to Sossay's brigade in particular.—The damage inflicted on the enemy section which crossed the Danube by the Hungarians with the fire they maintained from 10 o'clock in the morning to 4 o'clock in the afternoon is naturally given out as very slight by the official press. At the same time Veigl's brigade too advanced on the Waag bridgehead in three sections, while the raiding party under Cremeville formed the reserve. The first section moved on Batföldre which the Hungarians had set fire to, the second against the fortified brick wall, and the third moved by way of Lisza on the left bank of the Danube against the powder tower where the fire was liveliest. The Austrian side suffered very considerable losses during this operation.—Thus the western, northern and eastern sides of Komorn were surrounded by a line of fire; finally, 42 pieces of artillery were bombarding the fortress and the Danube bridgehead from the Sandberg. During the night four 24-pounders forced the bridgehead and bombarded

^a See this volume, pp. 234-35.—*Ed.*

^b The national colours of Hungary.—*Ed.*

the fort with red-hot cannon-balls. In the course of April 1 another 12 heavy cannon and two 60-pound mortars arrived and were disembarked opposite Nemes-Oers."^a

The only positive thing to emerge from this account is that the *Palatine redoubts* so often alleged to have been conquered by the imperial forces are *still in the hands of the Hungarians*, as is also the *Danube bridgehead*, and that there can be no talk yet of direct-fire batteries, let alone breach batteries.¹⁹⁶

In *Debreczin* spirits are high and the mood is very cheerful. Bem has sent seven captured Russian cannon there, which have been decked with garlands and put on public display. It is said that the Debreczin National Assembly *has been convoked for April 15 in Pest*.¹⁹⁷

A report has arrived from Croatia which indicates a curiously sudden indulgence of the imperial Government towards the Slavs. As is known the Southern Slavs had protested against the continuation of the military dictatorship in the Military Border area.¹⁹⁸ The imposed Constitution declared that in the border area everything must remain as of old. Hence particularly the discontent of the Croats and the Serbs, who saw their country split by this into two halves set against each other. Now, when the Slavs are needed more than ever, the following poster was suddenly put up on March 30 in Agram:

"We learn from a reliable source that *all the decisions of our world-historic Diet*¹⁹⁹ of the year 1848 and in particular *Article 26* concerning the future state of the *Military Border area* have been *ratified* by His Majesty our youthful Emperor and King Francis Joseph. The man to whom, besides the grace of the Emperor, our thanks are most due for this favourable turn of events, will be divined in the heart of every true patriot. Southern Slavs! Dear brothers! Do not despair! We shall thus have a fatherland and consequently love Austria again; then shall the gaping wounds of our people, inflicted on so many battlefields in the struggle for the power and the glory of Austria, be healed. Then, brothers, will it be our glory so courageously to have contributed to reconstruction in the South of Europe in which we shall take our allotted place as members in the free dwelling house of so many nations, and forgetting the pain and tribulation of the past, we shall be able to exclaim: Long live the constitutional King and Emperor Francis Joseph! Long live the darling of the nation, the brave Ban Jellachich!"^b

There was no signature at all on this poster, but it was considered to have originated with Minister Kulmer and to be semi-official. The decisions of 1848 referred to demanded: subordination of the civil

^a "Bericht über die Verhältnisse vor Comorn", *Wiener Zeitung* No. 79, April 3, 1849; *Die Presse* No. 80, April 4, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b "Freudige Nachricht", *Agramer Zeitung*, March 31, 1849. Printed also in *Der Lloyd* No. 157 (evening edition), April 2, 1849 and in *Österreichischer Correspondent* No. 77, April 4, 1849.—*Ed.*

administration of the Military Border area to the ministries concerned, so that only the military organisation should remain with the Ministry of War, and the restriction of the borderers' obligation to service abroad by fixing a definite contingent in proportion to the rest of the monarchy. For hitherto the civil administration in the border area has also been made over to the military authorities, and all borderers between 16 and 60 years of age could be enlisted for active service abroad. It was precisely the borderers thus conscripted whose massive presence decided the war in Austria's favour in Italy in August and in Hungary on the Drava and in the Banat in October last year. If the poster in Agram is not merely a royal imperial Austrian puff, then the trick of being able to stamp soldiers out of the earth has come to an end with it.

Written by Engels about April 7, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

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[FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

The Hungarian correspondent of the *Breslauer Zeitung* reports today that on March 20 Bem captured *Kronstadt* and moreover without striking a blow. The remainder of the Austrians and Russians are said to have withdrawn to Wallachia. Hermannstadt and Kronstadt had each to pay 1,000 florins in cash per day to the Russians and in addition they were subjected to the most shameless requisitioning and thieving. Bem has proclaimed a general amnesty in these two towns. The Saxons are said to have at once publicly declared that the Austrians had *compelled* them to call in the Russians (this is certainly not true).

On March 29 the imperial forces under Welden are said to have attempted (?) to take Komorn by storm and to have suffered so great a defeat that they have abandoned the siege of Komorn; only an observation corps²⁰⁰ still remains at Gönyö. Wimpffen's Italian battalion is said to have gone over to the Hungarians. We print these news items with the greatest reservation, although recently the essential facts in the reports of the Hungarian correspondent have as a rule proved correct.

Banknotes continue to be printed by the Hungarians in *Debreczin*, for a considerable amount of currency paper has been smuggled in.

"On March 15, the anniversary of the Hungarian insurrection,²⁰¹ a great public celebration was held near Debreczin and a large number of people assembled there. Two whole oxen and many pigs and lambs were roasted, there was plenty of wine and Gipsies played Hungarian airs and marches. A number of speeches were made and toasts proposed with the indispensable *Eljen*.^a There are no troops stationed in Debreczin and the national guards are on duty. They wear bright red ribbons on their shakos and hats. Incidentally, half the companies of every battalion in the

^a Long live (in Hungarian).— *Ed.*

country must always be in the field to face the enemy, and after three months they are relieved by the other three companies that stayed at home. This explains the strength of the military forces of the insurgents and also why their battalions are unable to withstand any bayonet charge by the imperial troops" (*Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*).

Schlick and Jellachich are again (for the tenth time) holding a council of war in Pest. According to Austrian reports, General Jablonowsky has advanced towards Losoncz.

"Business letters sent from Lemberg on the 31st of this month have caused a new wave of anxiety. The leading business houses report from there that the entire garrison of Lemberg is expected to leave for Hungary and it is feared that after its departure a revolutionary move or diversion in favour of the Hungarians will take place" (*Lithographierte Correspondenz*).

It seems that the Agram poster announcing the concessions^a is all humbug. Up to now no one has come forward to defend it, and it is generally believed to be an imposture.

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^a See this volume, p. 246.—*Ed.*

AUSTRIAN LAMENTATIONS

Not the smallest news item from anywhere, especially since the Breslau newspapers, generally the best informed, did not arrive today because of the recent holiday.

From Komorn the *Wiener Zeitung* officially reports the following unenlightening fact:

“In connection with the operations and events at Komorn announced on April 3, we learn from the latest reports:

“Closer encirclement began on April 2; the remaining heavy guns were brought into No. 8 battery during the night of April 1, and at daybreak the 24-pounders of this very aptly sited battery began firing hot shots against the old fortress. The enemy returned the fire only moderately from the Palatine line, the old fortress, and the bridgehead.”^a

Now even the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* has to admit that the army on the Theiss has been substantially decimated by fever:

“The incidence of sickness in the flooded areas on the Theiss is said to be enormous.”

The same paper reports “From the Drava, March 30” that in the Banat things are also beginning to take a disagreeable turn for Austria. Listen to the lamentations of the royal imperial martial-law correspondent on this most unwelcome “concurrence” of circumstances:

“The terrain of operations has special difficulties; moreover, among the border troops the army has also less experienced ranks and has been weakened by garrisoning. The size of the area of Hungary and Transylvania should likewise be considered and taken into account. The rebels, on the other hand, are more concentrated and are pushing towards the Banat. Hence, the imperial Serbian corps

^a *Wiener Zeitung* No. 81, April 5, 1849.—*Ed.*

of Major-General Todorovich, which, as I reported last time, had marched from the area of Theresiopel towards Kikinda, is in *serious trouble*, or even—if the news about Karlowitz is not misleading—dispersed.

“The siege corps at Peterwardein has received 3 battalions as reinforcements, and is working hard on the entrenchments. When (!) Komorn is taken (!) a considerable number of troops will no doubt be moved to this point, for *next to Transylvania no area needs reinforcements more urgently than this one*, not only because of the fortress but because of the probability of enemy pressure. The mood in the Voivodina is very black, not among the lower orders, but in the middle and upper strata of society. The extent to which this makes itself felt in the Mitrovic Odbor²⁰² and the atmosphere there may be judged by the fact that Lieutenant-Colonel Puffer, who when a captain distinguished himself by his resolution during the well-known outrage in Reichenberg, does not think it advisable for him *as a German* to take up the regimental command of the Peterwardein regiment, although a section of the regiment has petitioned for his appointment as colonel.”^a

In conclusion, here is the deeply affecting distress call of a Vienna correspondent of the same paper who has at last seen a glimmer of light and already has an inkling of what is going on:

“Now blows are coming thick and fast from Hungary! What used to be whispered here in the night can now be read in plain words in the evening edition of the *Wiener Zeitung*: the valiant Puchner has been pushed into Wallachia—he does not even appear to have kept his entire corps together, otherwise he would surely have been able to hold his ground at the Roterturm Pass. *Where are our friends, the Russians?* And why do our troops not push into Transylvania from Hungary? The areas on the Theiss are said to be completely impassable, *but how is it that the Magyars find a way through the areas on the Theiss and across it?* In Szegedin bread is very dear and in Komorn it is said to be very bad—such is the pass we have come to—but *Honveds are still to be had cheaply, in masses, and, it appears, of tolerable quality.* ‘Oh, Lord in Heaven, behold!’ If this goes on, then—ah well, *we must not prophesy!*”

This is “the Austria of old,
For feats and victories oft extolled!”^b

Written by Engels about April 9, 1849

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^a “Von der Drave, 30. März”, *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 81, April 5, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b From Ernst Moritz Arndt’s poem “Des Teutschen Vaterland” (music by Gustav Reichardt).—*Ed.*

FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

That Bem is master of all Transylvania is no longer open to doubt. The Austrians who have hurriedly withdrawn from Hermannstadt to Kronstadt and the Russian garrison there, offered no resistance. Allegedly "for lack of ammunition" they also left Kronstadt without striking a blow, and withdrew to Wallachian territory. Some 22,000 men, 3,000 horses and 50 guns are supposed to be there, besides 8,000 Russians, and on the Bessarabian-Moldavian border another corps of 15,000 men which has already received orders to cross the Pruth. Thus reports the *Wiener Zeitung*.^a

Whether the information in the *Wiener Zeitung* is correct remains to be seen. This much is, however, certain: *if* it is correct, Bem's forces must have swollen enormously to be able to drive out 25,000 Austrians with 50 guns and 6,000 to 10,000 Russians from an area so rich in advantageous positions as the environs of Kronstadt. In spite of the Russians we can therefore be easy about the fate of Transylvania. For nobody will be taken in by the fib that the imperial troops had to flee "for lack of ammunition" when Kronstadt is their second main depot after Hermannstadt.

All the reports received so far show that the *Wiener Zeitung* has given only a fifth of the real number of *Russian* soldiers in Wallachia.

Quoting an eye witness, a Saxon from Hermannstadt, the Magyar correspondent of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* confirms a report carried earlier by the *Breslauer Zeitung* about the capture of Hermannstadt. Bem is said to have restrained his troops from any excesses and to have promised a general amnesty except for those who called in the Russians. But these are said to have already fled.

^a *Wiener Zeitung* No. 82 (evening supplement), April 5, 1849.—*Ed.*

According to a Cracow report in the same paper the "depressing news" which the Royal Imperial Consul in Belgrade, Herr Mayerhofer, is taking to Vienna is said to convey that the Turkish Government has protested against the Russian intervention in Transylvania which is being conducted from Turkish territory, asserting its exclusive right to intervene from its own territory.

Incidentally, even the royal imperial martial-law reports admit that Bem, far from being threatened in his position, is rather himself *threatening Wallachia and Bucharest*. Should circumstances indicate an incursion there as appropriate, he will appeal to the suppressed Wallachian revolution²⁰³ and to the ambition of the Turks which has been offended by the Russian invasion. The Russian appetite for the Danube provinces and the alliance of the Austrians and Russians have moreover roused much sympathy for the Magyar cause among the Turks.

No changes have occurred in the positions of the two armies on the *Theiss* since yesterday's news. Yet the lamentations of the Austrians are becoming more frequent, and their situation apparently more depressing every day. Some 13,000 soldiers are said to be lying wounded and sick in Pest, and the active army on the *Theiss* to have dwindled to 45,000 men. Windischgrätz is reported to have handed over the command to Jellachich (?). The courage and power of the Magyars, on the other hand, are growing day by day. They are drawn up in a great semi-circle round Pest from Waitzen to Szegléd; their mobile units patrol as far as Komorn and the Moravian border. Kossuth has had banknotes issued for another 15 million guildens, and thereby covered the costs of his army for a further six months.

The Imperial Command is making every effort to improve the situation of the army on the *Theiss*. A corps has withdrawn from the close encirclement of Komorn (where 5,000 Austrians are said to have already died of sickness or in battle) and has marched towards Pest; three battalions have marched from Vienna, and two squadrons of cuirassiers and one regiment and one battalion of infantry from Olmütz. In addition considerable preparations are being made in Moravia and Galicia. Ten thousand Russians are to be called to Lemberg, so that Hammerstein can at last move off to Hungary with the entire Austrian garrison (see under "Poland"^a). The best officers of Radetzky's army, Lieutenant-Field Marshal Baron Hess, generals Benedek and Mayerhofer have been called to Hungary, and in spite of all this the Austrians' hope of success is so

^a The reference is to a report from Lemberg (Lvov) which was published in the section "Poland" in the same issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.—Ed.

slight that they do not intend to “begin operations in Hungary in earnest before May”.

In the *south*, things are equally disagreeable for the imperial forces. True enough, there is again talk of the victory of the Serbs at Zenta and of the inevitable cruelties which they afterwards committed. On the other hand, the bonds between Serbs and Austrians are now so far dissolved that the latter have to fear the worst.

“Recently, Lieutenant-Field Marshal Rukavina has declared categorically that the three Banat border regiments, and—as regards the internal administration—also the three comitats, Temes, Krasso and Torontal, must obey his orders unconditionally, failing which he would be forced to take the most serious measures against all offenders. This declaration and the half-hearted action of the General Staff excited the greatest hostility among the people, and after fruitless endeavours to win Rukavina back to the national cause, the Patriarch^a yesterday felt obliged to dispatch the courier Jovan Nedeljovich to His Highness Prince zu Windischgrätz with the request for 20,000 rifles to arm those Serbs who are fit to bear arms, and to instruct generals Rukavina and Todorovich to work more sincerely in the Serbian nation. cause, *failing which he would find himself in the most disagreeable position of having to treat with the Magyars.* People are looking anxiously into the future.”

This is how they write to the Austrian papers from Semlin.

Moreover, the Magyars have made another incursion into *Galicja*. The *Wiener Zeitung* writes:

“A band of 800 Hungarian insurgents attacked the village of Brzywka in Sambor district, situated hard on the Hungarian border, drove away all the cattle and then withdrew. The verger, who wanted to raise the alarm by ringing the church bell, was shot by the insurgents.”^b

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^a Rajachich.—*Ed.*

^b *Wiener Zeitung* No. 82 (evening supplement), April 5, 1849.—*Ed.*

FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

Nothing has happened in the theatre of war. The imperial forces have held a big council of war in Pest and have decided to confine themselves to the defensive for the next four weeks and in the meantime round up reinforcements (50,000 men are mentioned!). The Magyars, however, are acting so challengingly that Windischgrätz could not help showing his teeth—loose already—once more, despite this decision. On April 4 he advanced to Gödöllő three miles^a from Pest, and made his headquarters there. The *Ost-Deutsche Post* concludes from this that a battle is near. At Hatvan and also at Szegled people say they have heard gun-fire, but what happened there is as yet quite unknown.²⁰⁴

Because of an announcement recently disseminated by the insurgents that Kossuth's paper money²⁰⁵ is to be regarded as legal tender and must be accepted on pain of martial-law treatment, the Government again insists that these money tokens are invalid and worthless and gives particular warning against accepting the ten-florin notes recently issued by Kossuth, since they will not only be subject to confiscation, but anyone on whom they are found is liable to penalties.

Baja, which had briefly fallen into the hands of the imperial forces, has been regained by the Magyars, who in general seem to be making considerable progress in the Banat. The Austrians can spread as many martial-law rumours as they like, such as that Szegedin has been conquered and is in flames; their own papers are forced to contradict them and to admit that the Magyars are making

^a See footnote on p. 20.—*Ed.*

considerable progress in the Bacska (between the Danube and Theiss).

Komorn is being heavily bombarded, but what good is that with a fortress in which *every building is bomb-proof*. To show their contempt for the imperial cannon, the garrison the other day made a man in dressing-gown and white nightcap walk about on the wall and dust it very carefully with a white handkerchief. The imperial cannon-balls whistled by on all sides, but the genial Hungarian did not allow himself to be at all disturbed in his absorbing occupation.

There is nothing new from Transylvania. A martial-law report asserts that the Russians have invaded in superior strength and retaken the position recently conquered by the Magyars. Such brazen lies have rarely been told. Another report claims that, on the contrary, Bem has already arrived at the Theiss and declared that Transylvania was secure and that he had left 20,000 men there to garrison the country and the passes. The one assertion is as false as the other. Bem holds the whole of Transylvania and is still there, and in a few days he will perhaps hold all the country to the Danube and the Pruth.

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[THE EXTRADITION OF POLITICAL REFUGEES]

Cologne, April 12. By the issue of warrants for the arrest of Austrian, German and non-German so-called political criminals, especially Kossuth, Bem, Perczel and other Hungarian heroes, the Prussian Government has already proved the close connection between Prussian constitutional freedom and blood-stained royal imperial martial law. That an *entente cordiale* between Potsdam and Olmütz²⁰⁶ existed, despite the question of the imperial crown, the German question, the Schleswig-Holstein and other questions, was a fact which could be overlooked only by the diplomatising literary moles from the *Kölnische Zeitung* and other shrewd journals. But that this *entente cordiale* was to sink to the lowest depths of vileness, to the infamy of the *extradition of political refugees* to the Austrians—that is what our glorious Government still had in store for us.

*If Robert Blum had escaped from Vienna into Prussia, the Prussian Government would have handed him over to his executioners.*²⁰⁷

On April 4 of this year the Prussian Government handed over the Viennese cadet Höcke, a comrade-in-arms of Robert Blum's, to the bloodhounds of Austrian martial law. The *Oberschlesische Lokomotive* published the following report from *Ratibor* dated April 4:

"Yesterday at midday the Viennese cadet Höcke was brought here in a special conveyance under police guard from Breslau, to which town he had fled not long ago, being charged with high treason for his part in the October revolution in Vienna. In a letter to his family in Vienna, Höcke had given his Breslau address. This letter must have shared the fate of many others, i.e. it was opened at some Austrian post station, for soon afterwards the police authorities in Breslau received the order to arrest the aforesaid Höcke at the place where he lived, and to hand him over to the Austrians.

"Accordingly, the prisoner arrived here at noon yesterday under escort, where a very serious illness, from which he has suffered for a long time, delayed the continuation of his journey to judgment by court martial. He was put in the town gaol

under a strong military guard, but already at 5 a.m. today he was taken across the frontier under the escort of two men of the town guard and a policeman. The much-vaunted Prussian human feeling did not allow him on this last journey of two-and-a-half hours to leave the vehicle even once, although it was a necessity in view of his illness. Nor was he allowed any kind of refreshment, for the purchase of which no money was available although, according to the prisoner's statement, 80 talers were taken from him when arrested in Breslau, and the cost of transport, as we know for certain, amounted to only (!) 30 talers.

"It is the most urgent duty of German newspapers forcefully to draw the attention of the Austrian fugitives to the danger to which they are exposed by staying on Prussian, and especially Silesian, soil. The old extradition treaty continues to operate in all its old glory.²⁰⁸ The great German fundamental law, called martial law, is recognised in Prussia just as it is in Austria, and it is being put into effect with relish."

Such an example from the heroes of martial law in the various countries where a state of siege has been proclaimed should not be given us in vain. Just as they assist one another now, so the democrats of all nations, too, will assist one another when the day of reckoning comes.

The royal and ministerial scum of half Europe found a safe refuge in England last spring.²⁰⁹

We assure Herr Manteuffel, Herr Brandenburg and Co. that in the next revolution which they themselves are so busily expediting, no obstacle will be put in the way of England handing *them* over to the victorious German people thirsting for revenge. Arrangements for that have already been made.

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FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR.—
THE GERMAN NAVY

Schleswig-Holstein. The Danes have left Hadersleben and the town has been re-occupied by the imperial army.²¹⁰ A few particulars have come in on the fighting in the Sundewitt area, according to which losses on both sides were fairly high. The imperial army has taken a number of prisoners.

North-German papers are still largely occupied with that remarkable stroke of luck in the port of Eckernförde.²¹¹ This unique and quite unexpected event will probably figure as the greatest imperial military feat until the next German revolution. It has become clear that the Danes had definite orders to carry out the crazy attempt on Eckernförde. Obviously, in the prevailing circumstances they were bound to suffer such a defeat. Moreover, this whole affair shows what a droll institution the German Navy is. For the German Navy, which still exists only on paper, in spite of all the money, earrings, bracelets and false jewels sent to Frankfurt, is now at last to become a reality. It is to be built from—the wreckage of the Danish battleship *Christian den ottende* which was blown to smithereens! We are not joking. All Eckernförde, along with the victorious imperial troops stationed there, is busy fishing for splinters, gun-carriages, water kegs, yards, etc. as these are driven ashore, and storing them for the building of the German Navy. The Hamburg *Börsen-Halle* reports all this with appropriate seriousness. For our part, we predict that the gloriously captured *Gefion* will be brilliantly recaptured by the Danes as soon as she shows herself on the high sea.

Four Danish blockade ships, three frigates and a corvette, are already again lying off the Elbe. The frigate *Havfruen* is lying off the Oder. This is a good opportunity for the German Navy to show itself, but it will fight shy of that. The whole German Navy served no

other purpose except for too much boasting and excellent profits for the Hamburg, American and English shipping companies which palmed off their discarded ships on the Frankfurt imperial powerlessness for vast sums of money. The whole flotilla, which is lying in the Elbe and can already be seen in lithographs in all the picture shops, is unseaworthy; still less can the lightly-built ex-merchantmen and ex-steamboats from the Weser, promoted to warships, carry the weight of the guns or withstand the recoil of firing them. Not to mention the elegantly equipped erstwhile transatlantic steamships which the other day brilliantly ran aground and are lying in the Weser.

The whole story of the German Navy is sheer plagiarism, it has all *happened before*. Many years ago the Belgian model state (on the water Germany's model state as well) bought from a Liverpool shipping company the steamship *The British Queen* for 1,200,000 francs in order to open up a steamship line between Antwerp and New York. On the masts of this ship was hoisted the black-red-and-gold flag which the German fatherland also has in common with the Belgian model state.²¹² But what happened? On the very first voyage it became clear that *The British Queen* was not seaworthy, and this cast-off Liverpool ship was lying in the Antwerp dock ever since until at last, some little time ago, it was resold for 130,000 francs under the description "old wood".

That is the German Navy! When the Danes next take a German ship, they will auction it also in Copenhagen for "old wood".

That the Germans will never become a naval power is the fault of their geographical position. But they could have a navy which would at least protect their coasts and rule in the Baltic, in spite of Danes and Russians. But even that they will never get so long as the black-red-and-gold and black-and-white²¹³ imperial trash prevails. A German Navy will only be possible when the red flag is hoisted on its masts.

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FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR.—
WINDISCHGRÄTZ'S COMMENTS
ON THE IMPOSED CONSTITUTION

As the Breslau and Vienna letters and journals did not arrive tonight, little material is available today on the events of the Hungarian war. The imperial side once again speaks of victories which it claims to have won over the Hungarians. Jellachich is said to have captured 17 guns from the Magyars at Szegléd, Jablonowsky is again said to have advanced to Losoncz, Schlick to have thrown back the Magyars all along the line at Hatvan etc. This was reported to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* from Pest on April 4.^a Other reports of the same date say nothing of this and assert that the Austrian army is still in full retreat and that the Magyars of Pest have never been more cheerful than they are at present. Certainly, the Magyars' resolute advance has remarkably thwarted Windischgrätz's well-intentioned plan to impose a four weeks' truce on the Hungarians until he had received reinforcements of 50,000 men. Windischgrätz realises that he cannot avoid a decisive battle now, decisive for the imperial side if he is beaten, but not at all decisive if the Magyars are beaten. The Hungarians can always retreat into the impassable swamps and the pusztas²¹⁴ on the Theiss, behind which they are entrenched as in the most formidable fortress; the imperial troops, who have no basis of operations, having behind them 60 miles of hostile country, must retreat in a rout towards Vienna in case of defeat, just as Napoleon had to retreat towards the Rhine after the battle of Leipzig.²¹⁵ Few will escape, and those who do will no longer form an army.

^a The news items mentioned by Engels can be found in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* Nos. 99 to 101, April 9 to 11, 1849 under the datelines "Pesth, 4. April", "Pesth, 5. April" and "Pesth, 6. April".— *Ed.*

Moreover, the sole definite advantage which the imperial troops have gained by their concentration at Pest appears to be that Görgey, since he has been joined by Klapka and his corps, which had been roving in Slovakia till then, has given up his plan to advance to Komorn by the side of the mountains. He has marched a little further south, so as to meet Schlick's corps head-on, jointly with the main Magyar force which is at Hatvan and Gyöngyös. The victory of the Magyars in this area is of course much more important than a passing raid, even a highly successful one, against the Komorn siege force.

In the *south*, the Magyars have gained decisive advantages at the points where fighting is still in progress, namely in the Bacska. The alleged victory of the Serbs at Zenta has vanished into—the martial-law—thin air. Moreover, we learn now that the Magyars have moved from Theresiopel and Szegedin to the south with irresistible force, driving the Serbs before them; that they have occupied Zombor and Verbasz, conquered the entire Bacška etc. and are threatening the siege area of Peterwardein. Verbasz lies, in fact, only a few miles from Peterwardein, and we shall receive important news from this area shortly. It was Vetter-Damjanich's corps which carried out this surprisingly rapid march, having left behind an observation brigade against Jellachich, who was retreating to the north. This march is of the greatest importance, not only for the relief of Peterwardein, but particularly because of the Serbs. It is known that they are already on very strained terms with the imperial side and have threatened several times to negotiate with the Magyars. And nothing would be more likely to bring these negotiations to a rapid conclusion than just such a sudden and surprising display of strength by the Magyars in the Voivodina.

In the *north*, General Hammerstein, who is in command in Lemberg, is said to have started for Hungary with 15 battalions. We recall that news of his departure was carried once before in all the papers; he was reported to have crossed the Theiss and to have advanced to Nyiregyhaza, 8 miles from Debreczin, and there was not a word of truth in it. We refer the reader, by the way, to our report from Lemberg^a of the day before yesterday, which indicated no such rapid departure.

According to the *Lloyd* of April 7,^b 20,000 Russians have already started for **Transylvania** and General Muraviev is approaching in haste from Bessarabia with a corps of 20,000 men. The Turks too

^a Published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 269, April 11, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b "Wien, 6. April", *Der Lloyd* No. 166 (morning edition), April 7, 1849.—*Ed.*

have marched to the border to guard Wallachia. The Turkish troops, about 6,000 men who hitherto were garrisoning Galatz and Ibrail, made for Bucharest on March 21 and in a few days a new Turkish garrison is expected in Galatz.

Needless to say, these reports are again purely martial-law rumours.

From the Bukovina we learn that Malkowsky, whom various martial-law papers had already drawn up between Bistritz and Maros-Vásárhely, is not on Transylvanian soil at all. So far from advancing, he has, on the contrary, had to send a considerable part of his troops from the Bukovina to Galicia. These are now at Delatyn, about 15 miles from the border of the Bukovina, where a Magyar invasion is feared.

We conclude with a document which the Pest *Figyelmező*^a quotes with the following introductory remark:

"The following explanation of the Austrian Constitutional Charter²¹⁶ with reference to Hungarian conditions has been issued. Although it has not reached us officially, it has however been communicated to the Royal Commissioners for distribution in the country, therefore we shall not delay its publication."

The document itself reads:

"By order of His Majesty Our Emperor and King Francis Joseph I, I, as Plenipotentiary of His Majesty, make hereby known the following declarations and explanations relating to the constitutional Charter in force throughout the Empire from March 4, as far as the Charter concerns Hungarian conditions. His Majesty Our Most Gracious Emperor and King has deigned to issue and to publish a constitutional Charter for the one and indivisible monarchy which intimately links the whole realm in a mutual connection, bestows unity upon the whole while maintaining the independence and capacity for development of the individual parts and at the same time guarantees equal rights to every nation. His Majesty wishes this Charter, accompanied by the Manifesto to His peoples issued by His Majesty, to be made known without delay also to the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Hungary in their language. His Majesty is fully confident in the belief that the peoples of Hungary will recognise the enlargement and guarantee of their political rights, vouched for by this constitutional Charter under which they are authorised to take their constitutional share in the common affairs of the realm, which in future will embrace with the bond of common rights the peoples united under a single ruler by the Pragmatic Sanction.²¹⁷ His Majesty expects that His peoples will see in this Charter a strong guarantee of their permanence, of their well-being and of a constitutional future, and will know how to appreciate those beneficial fruits which are bound to result from the welding together of material interests and the community of truly liberal political institutions. In carrying out this great work, which has become the task of His life, it has been the endeavour of the Emperor duly to consider Hungarian conditions; it is His supreme desire that this great work of unification, which commends itself to all the peoples for their own good, should come into force with just consideration of the existing conditions and careful thought for those institutions which time and

^a Reprinted in the article "Pesth, 4. April," *Die Presse* No. 83, April 7, 1849.—*Ed.*

experience have proved to be beneficial to the community and vitally necessary; that accordingly the legally guaranteed freedom of religious belief be maintained, while the free sphere of action for Hungarian national law should remain untouched and limited only by the power necessary to maintain the unity of the realm and its strong government, and handled in the constitutional spirit; a sphere of action which makes necessary the passing of an internal national reform taking cognisance of the concessions which Our illustrious predecessor^a in government made to the agricultural class in the spring of 1848. No sooner will peace and order be restored and the armed uprising, which unfortunately is still in existence in part of the realm, put down, than His Majesty will assign to Hungarian national law its legal sphere of action. It is for the joint co-operation of His order- and peace-loving peoples with His Majesty and His troops to restore the desired state of affairs with all speed. Until then, His Majesty will regard it as His duty and His right to employ every means with the help of which order, peace and a settled internal administration can be achieved, the numerous wounds inflicted on the unfortunate country can be healed, and a renewal of revolutionary ventures can be made impossible. His Majesty will know how to live with their rights and how to respond to their profession, and He confidently expects that all men of goodwill will endeavour to support Him in this, so that they and their compatriots may participate in the benefits which they must extend to everyone by helping in the rebirth of a great realm and the unification of all forces towards a great aim.

Given at my headquarters in Ofen, March 20, 1849.

Prince Windisch-Grätz, Field Marshal."

Written by Engels about April 12, 1849

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^a Ferdinand I.—*Ed.*

[RUMOURS OF THE EXTERMINATION
OF THE REBELS]

At last we perceive again an official royal imperial sign of life in the Vienna papers which came this morning. The following poster was displayed in Pest and Ofen:

"A brigade of the corps of His Excellency the Ban^a yesterday encountered an enemy detachment on the way from Jasz-Bereny. Although the enemy was numerically superior to our troops, he was at once attacked, dispersed and deprived of 17 guns. This is the *beginning of operations* which will end with the extermination of the rebels (!!).

Ofen, April 5, 1849

Count Lad. Wr̄bna,
Lieutenant-Field Marshal and Commander
of the 2nd Army Corps"

A commentary on this bulletin is provided by the *Ost-Deutsche Post* in a report from Pest, also dated April 5, where we read:

"Yesterday an encounter took place. The air was pregnant with rumours. Commotion grew when about 7 p. m. the pontoons were brought back, followed by ammunition carts, empty gun-carriages and individual small detachments of soldiers. At the same time an order went out to the inhabitants of the houses on the fortified bank of the Danube next to the suspension bridge to keep themselves in readiness for the evacuation of their quarters. Today waggons full of wounded came in and the rumour spread that the Ban had suffered a reverse and the insurgents were closing in on the city from Szegléd. The soldiers coming in were from his corps."^b

This looks more like a defeat than a victory, and it is well known that the *Ost-Deutsche Post* is by no means on the side of the Magyars.

This then is, in Herr Wr̄bna's words, "the beginning of operations which will end with the extermination of the rebels". We therefore

^a Jellachich.—*Ed.*

^b "Pest, 5. April," *Ost-Deutsche Post* No. 68, April 8, 1849.—*Ed.*

have every prospect to learn of more serious fighting shortly. By the way, even the *Kölnische Zeitung* no longer believes Herr Wrba's tale of the "extermination of the rebels".

It appears that the gentlemen of the Pest War Council are offended that their incompetence is to be alleviated by bringing in allegedly more capable officers from Italy. *À tout prix* they want to "exterminate the rebels" before the victors of Novara arrive.²¹⁸ *Nous verrons.*

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[A MAGYAR VICTORY]

*Cologne, April 12. We are publishing a second edition today, not to inform our readers of yesterday's basically quite unimportant debates at Frankfurt but to report something much more important, namely that the Magyars have gained a significant victory over the imperial army, and that the imperial army, beaten all along the line, has withdrawn to below the walls of Pest. (See "Hungary".)^a*²¹⁹

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^a See this volume, pp. 268-70.—*Ed.*

[A MAGYAR VICTORY]

After a prolonged period of depression the *Kölnische Zeitung* suddenly raises its shrewd head and speaks:

"After a long interval the Austrians have recommenced operations and the blow now about to fall *will, in all probability, be decisive.*"^a

Thus the *Kölnische Zeitung* gratefully refers to the 40,000 Russians and 50,000 Austrians who were recently marshalled against Hungary and who were especially provided in order to extricate the *Kölnische Zeitung* from the complicated situation in which it had landed itself as a result of its bellicose military operations in Hungary.

The *Kölnische Zeitung* proposes but Dembiński disposes.

A few hours after our worthy paper has ascribed such "decisive", miraculous powers to the Austrian attack, in strange disregard of the failure of its threefold victorious march to Debreczin, the report has been received in Cologne that

"Dembiński has beaten the Austrians all along the line and driven them back to the walls of Pest".

"Truly, that's how it is. It really is so. I have had it in writing."

Windischgrätz himself does not deny it. Bulletin No. 34 has arrived.^b In it Windischgrätz whines about the superiority of the enemy, especially in light cavalry, which is decisive on the Hungarian plains, and also about the "numerous cannon" at the disposal of the

^a This and the following quotation are taken from a report published in the section "Ungarn" in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 88, April 13, 1849.—Ed.

^b "34. Armee-Bulletin. Vom 9. April 1849."—Ed.

Magyars and declares that *he wants to wait for reinforcements from Pest*. The Bulletin reads:

"Vienna, April 9. Communications from His Highness Field Marshal Prince Windischgrätz, from Pest on the evening of the 7th, give the outcome of the reconnaissance-in-force—mentioned previously—undertaken against enemy troops on the 4th and 5th of this month and led by the Field Marshal in person. For these enemy troops commanded by Görgey and Klapka, allegedly 50,000 men with a considerable number of cannon and *extremely strong in cavalry*, had advanced from Miskolcz to Mező-Kövesd towards Gyöngyös, while their advance guard under Dembiński moved forward almost to Hatvan.

"It was this which was attacked on the 2nd of this month by Lieutenant-Field Marshal Count Schlick and driven back to Hort with considerable losses in cannon and in prisoners. Another body of insurgents on the right bank of the River Theiss between Szolnok and Jasz Apáti was advancing towards Baron Jellachich, the Master of Ordnance.

"The 3rd corps under Lieutenant-Field Marshal Count Schlick was drawn up behind the Zagya while the first corps was deployed near Tapio-Bicske. This being the situation, the Field Marshal wanted to estimate the disposition and strength of the enemy for himself and therefore came to Gödöllő on the 4th, where a part of the 2nd Army Corps had likewise been sent, leaving its left wing in position in Balassa-Gyarmat and Vadkert.

"The reconnaissance undertaken revealed the whole strength of the enemy who, anticipating an attack, directed his main forces first against the third and then against the first army corps.

"There must have been approximately *four enemy corps* which had now joined forces near Gyöngyös and Szolnok and attempted to attack our centre around Tot-Almas.

"An advance by the third corps, in the enemy's right flank, a splendid encounter near Tapio-Bicske which, as already stated, was fought by Master of Ordnance Baron Jellachich, *brought home* to the Field Marshal the *superiority of the enemy, especially in light cavalry*, in a quite open terrain. In order to make contact with his reserves which were coming up from all sides, he issued orders to the first and third corps as well as to the second corps, hitherto held in reserve between Waitzen and Pest, to join forces thus establishing a long concentrated position in front of Pest so that the city would remain encircled by a great arc extending from Palotta and Keresztúr to Soroksar.

"In the course of this manoeuvre which *the enemy followed with great speed* and launched his attack especially against the first army corps drawn up near Isaczeg while supposing that he was engaging the third army corps deployed near Gödöllő,^a—battle was joined about midday on the 6th during which the Fiedler Brigade, reinforced by a detachment from the Lobkowitz division, forced the enemy to retreat, which he afterwards sought to cover by a large-scale attack by 12 squadrons of cavalry. But this was thwarted by a flank attack made by two squadrons of Kress' light cavalry and one squadron of Max Auersperg's cuirassiers, as a result six more cannon were captured from the enemy who left many dead on the battlefield, for the well-directed fire of our guns wreaked havoc in his ranks. Master of Ordnance Baron Jellachich, too, made a spirited attack on the enemy and then took up the positions assigned to him.

"His Highness the Field Marshal is *determined* there to *await reinforcements* which at this moment are advancing against Hungary from all sides and since his army is completely concentrated this enables him to operate in all directions with such forces as circumstances may require."

^a See this volume, p. 274.—Ed

We must, alas, reserve our comments on this edifying and, as we hope, final Bulletin of the imperial army until tomorrow owing to lack of space.

We can merely add today that according to reports in the *Breslauer Zeitung*, the Magyar army commanded by *Dembiński* has partly cut off the corps commanded by Jellachich from the main army and that the same is said to have happened to a part of the corps commanded by Schlick. We shall know by tomorrow night to what extent these reports are correct. But this much is certain: since the beginning of the campaign the imperial forces have not suffered two such reverses as those inflicted by Bem in Transylvania and Dembiński near Gödöllö. May it do them good!

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AN AUSTRIAN DEFEAT

We are returning to the two Army Bulletins issued by Windischgrätz.

The 33rd Bulletin^a begins:

"His Highness, Field Marshal Prince zu Windischgrätz *had learned* that important rebel forces are concentrating between Gyöngyös and Hatvan and has therefore ordered Lieutenant-Field Marshal Count Schlick to undertake a reconnaissance in that area."

"Had learned"! Windischgrätz undoubtedly "learned" this in a most poignant fashion in the battles which forced his troops to retreat from Kaschau to Waitzen and from Felegyhaza to Pilis, a distance of from 20 to 30 miles, in face of the victorious Magyars.

But to come to the point.

This "reconnaissance" by Schlick on April 2 initiated a series of engagements which lasted for five days and ended on the 6th with the general retreat of the imperial forces to the walls of Pest. Let us try to describe the course of these engagements on the basis of the totally inadequate information available and especially on the basis of the imperial Bulletins themselves in order not to ascribe too great an advantage to the Hungarians.

According to Bulletin No. 34^b the position of the imperial forces was as follows:

The Austrian army was extended in a long line from Balassa-Gyarmat via Waitzen and Aszod to Szegléd. The second army corps commanded by Ramberg constituted the left wing, and its most

^a Dated April 7, 1849, published in the *Wiener Zeitung* No. 84, April 9, 1849 and in *Der Lloyd* No. 169 (evening edition), April 9, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b See this volume, pp. 268-70.—*Ed.*

advanced brigades (Götz and Jablonowsky) occupied positions not at Losoncz, as was previously boasted, but six miles further back near Balassa-Gyarmat, Vadkert and Waitzen. Schlick with the third corps were in the centre and had taken up positions in the vicinity of Hatvan and Aszod behind the Zagyva. Jellachich with the first corps made up the right wing which was extended from Szegléd to the vicinity of Jasz-Bereny and was likewise behind the Zagyva, but a little further back.

This was the position of the imperial forces according to the Bulletins.

Confronting them were two of the main bodies of Magyars. The northern corps under Dembiński, Görgey and Klapka advanced on Schlick from the direction of Gyöngyös. A second corps, whose commanders are not named, confronted Jellachich and was a few miles from his main forces, from Jasz Apáti to Szolnok. The River Zagyva separated the hostile forces along the whole line.

Schlick moved out of his position on April 2 and crossed the Zagyva near Hatvan. But, as was stated in Bulletin No. 33,

"the strength of the enemy forces was so much superior to his own that he found it preferable to establish himself in a strong position near Gödöllő until the arrival of more reinforcements. In the course of this withdrawal Capt. von Kalchberg of the Prohaska Infantry was ordered to destroy the bridge behind Hatvan.

"Captain Kalchberg and his very brave company carried out this order with most exemplary endurance under very fierce cannon and small-arms fire, thus delaying the enemy to such an extent that he was hardly able to molest the retreating corps."

So—a lost engagement for the Austrians and a retreat halfway back to Pest. All they could achieve was reduced to the fact that "the retreating corps *could hardly be molested*".

The Zagyva near Hatvan is only a small, narrow stream, hardly seven miles from its source. The demolition of the bridge could, at best, only delay pursuit by artillery, perhaps also by the infantry, but certainly not by hussars. And it is precisely pursuit by light cavalry which is most unpleasant for a retreating army in this undulating terrain merging into plains.

In Bulletin No. 34 this first Austrian reverse is already transformed into a victory.

"It was this" (the Magyar advance guard commanded by Dembiński) "which was attacked on the 2nd of this month by Lieutenant-Field Marshal Schlick and driven back to Hort with considerable losses (!) in cannon and in prisoners (!!)."

Windischgrätz credits his readers with such short memories that he believes they will already have forgotten by the 9th of April what he had printed on the 7th.

If this passage means anything at all, it is that “considerable losses in cannon and in prisoners” applies not to the Magyars but to the *imperial forces*.

As a result of this reverse, Windischgrätz was compelled to concentrate his forces further. The Csorich division from the left wing (2nd corps) was hurriedly sent for and moved from Waitzen to Gödöllő. Jellachich was ordered to move up and maintain contact with Schlick. Windischgrätz himself went to Gödöllő on the 3rd and to Aszod on the 4th. (This was stated in Bulletin No. 33. According to Bulletin No. 34 Windischgrätz came to Gödöllő only on the 4th. This is how these Bulletins agree!)

Jellachich moved his corps in a north-westerly direction from Szegléd closer to Gödöllő. It was attacked during the course of this operation near Tapio-Bicske, on the 4th. The Bulletin now declares:

“Major-General Rastic quickly went over to the offensive, attacked the superior advancing enemy forces with the bayonet and threw them back, on this occasion 12 cannon were seized, four of which were harnessed and immediately taken to safety, while the remaining 8 were spiked. We took many more prisoners but we also deplore the loss of brave Major Baron Riedesel and Cavalry Captain Gyurkovics of the Banderial hussars.²²⁰”

At first, it was 17 cannon that had been captured; then it was 14, finally it was 12, but these were harnessed and taken to safety. Now, at last, it is admitted that although 12 cannon *were* captured, eight of them had, unfortunately, to be left behind. They were, however, spiked, so it is said. Not much value can be attached to this either. But it is precisely the fact that eight captured cannon had to be left behind, which shows how victorious the action near Tapio-Bicske was. If one is victorious one remains master of the battlefield, and if one is master of the battlefield one is also master of unharnessed cannon on it.

The “glorious action” near Tapio-Bicske is thus at bottom, once again, a reverse, the second suffered by the imperial forces during their “reconnaissance-in-force”.

Now however Windischgrätz himself took charge of the army and achieved the following gains:

“On the 5th of this month the Field Marshal launched an attack on the enemy forces stationed near Hatvan in the course of which a division²²¹ of Civalart’s Uhlans and three squadrons of Kress’ light cavalry attacked four divisions of enemy hussars with remarkable bravery and gained a brilliant success with the small loss of two dead and ten wounded.

“Sixty dead hussars, including two officers, were left on the battlefield. In addition the insurgents suffered forty wounded and thirty-two taken prisoner, including one officer.”

Windischgrätz relates some incidental deeds of heroism performed by a few squadrons of the imperial cavalry on this occasion; but what we are not told is what was the outcome of the *whole* "attack". Obviously in this case too an isolated, momentarily favourable episode is singled out from an engagement that was, on the whole, unsuccessful, in order to cover up the adverse results of the whole action.

The result of this engagement was—the retreat of the imperial forces to the walls of Pest. These engagements, Windischgrätz tells us, brought home to him "the superiority of the enemy, especially in light cavalry, in the quite open terrain" and he was therefore compelled to concentrate, as quickly as possible, all three army corps in the immediate vicinity of Pest.

Incidentally, this movement of his troops was the result far less of strategical calculations than of dire necessity. Windischgrätz admits that the enemy

"followed him *with great speed* and launched his attack especially against the first army corps drawn up near Isaczeg while supposing that he was engaging the 3rd army corps deployed near Gödöllö."

Thus during a hard pressed retreat the only satisfaction Windischgrätz had was that the Magyars routed a different corps from the one they intended.

In the course of this retreat battle was again joined on the 6th

"during which the Fiedler Brigade, reinforced by a detachment from the Lobkowitz division, forced the enemy to retreat, which he afterwards sought to cover by a large-scale attack by 12 squadrons of cavalry. But this was thwarted by a flank attack made by two squadrons of Kress' light cavalry and one squadron of Max Auersperg's cuirassiers, as a result six more cannon were captured from the enemy who left many dead on the battlefield, for the well-directed fire of our guns wreaked havoc in his ranks".

Even the *Kölnische Zeitung* has not written a more colossal piece of nonsense about strategic matters. A brigade, reinforced by a divisional detachment, compels the victorious and overwhelmingly superior Magyars to retreat! In order to cover this retreat the Magyars launch a large-scale attack with *twelve* squadrons of hussars—against such a small force of infantry! But even better: these *twelve* Magyars squadrons are put to flight by *three* squadrons of the imperial cavalry, and, finally, six cannon are captured!! One can see that Windischgrätz, accustomed to victory, was forced once again to single out a few favourable incidents from an engagement which, taken as a whole, ended most unfavourably and so to provide an

historical fable much more fantastic than all the Münchhausen stories in the world put together.

Things went no better with the brave Ban Jellachich.

"He, too, made a spirited attack on the enemy and then took up the positions assigned to him."

These few words provide sufficient proof that Jellachich had to face an arduous engagement and to fight his way through in order to be able to withdraw to Pest. What the losses were we shall soon know.

Windischgrätz, in this position in front of Pest, is now

"determined to await those reinforcements which at this moment are advancing against the Hungarians from all sides and since his army is fully concentrated, this enables him to operate in all directions with such forces as circumstances may require".

Görgey and Dembiński may already have foiled the noble Field Marshal's well-intentioned plan as also his final ludicrous boasting.

If the two Bulletins are taken together, it emerges that the imperial forces have been driven back all along the line and are confining themselves to the defence of Pest. No doubt we shall soon be hearing about Dembiński's assault of Pest or the measures he is taking in the rear of the imperial forces.

All non-official dispatches report that the defeats suffered by the imperial forces are far more significant than the Bulletins admit. The sound of uninterrupted gun-fire all along the line has been heard in Pest since the 2nd. The withdrawal in the streets of Pest began from the 3rd and 4th onwards. Munition and pack-waggons, reserve gun-carriages, waggons carrying wounded, individual unarmed men who were not wounded, alternated. Defence measures were taken in the whole town, at various points houses were requisitioned for the military; personnel are held ready to destroy the pontoon bridges at a moment's notice.

In Pest, Hungarian banknotes rose in value, in Breslau Austrian securities fell, following private letters from Pressburg which spoke of a *decisive victory by the Magyars near Gödöllö*. We will disregard for the time being the report in the *Breslauer Zeitung* that Jellachich had been cut off and that Schlick was threatened with the same fate, since the gains made by the Hungarians, already *admitted* by the imperial forces, are quite sufficient.

The *Kölnische Zeitung* threatens that within twelve days 30,000 Italian troops will be arriving in Hungary. We shall examine this tomorrow. In addition, it talks menacingly about the advance of 40,000 Russians on Transylvania and finally about 18 battalions commanded by Hammerstein which are to force their way across the

Zips.^a The Russians are not yet there and Hammerstein has so far only given the *order* for the mustering of an army corps near Dukla on the Galician-Hungarian frontier. By the time he has finished doing this the Magyars may be far off.

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^a The reference is to the item "Wien, 8. April" and a report published in the section "Ungarn" in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 88, April 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

No further definite news has arrived from Pest today. The Vienna *Lithographierte Correspondenz* reports though that the Austrian army has evacuated Pest completely, has withdrawn to the right bank of the Danube and that the Hungarian generals entered Pest on the evening of the 7th, greeted by a torchlight procession and general jubilation. This report, however, is certainly premature. The battle around Pest which began on the 2nd and which raged right under the walls of Pest on the 5th and 6th, continued on the 7th and, if we may believe one isolated report, still continued on the 8th. It is not hard to grasp that the victory at Pest is not such an unimportant matter as many would like to believe. The imperial forces have two advantages, firstly, their rear is covered by the Danube, the Ofen fortress and by the town itself whose fortified approaches would suffice to hold up the enemy in the event of a retreat while the defeated imperial forces crossed the river. Secondly, their positions are more concentrated than those of the Magyars. They form a semi-circle around Pest and the Magyars, in their turn, form a larger semi-circle around the imperial forces. Added to which is the fact that the clumsy, slow but stubborn and obedient character of the Austrian army makes it pre-eminently suited to a defensive position. It is therefore probable that the imperial forces have continued to fight around Pest for two more days.²²² But that in the end they were cut to pieces and driven across the Danube cannot be doubted in view of the reports coming in from all sides about the unexpected strength and incredible bravery of the Magyar army. The retreat of the imperial baggage trains through Pest and across the Danube was going on continuously for 48 hours. The thunder of gun-fire resounded about the gates of the city.

At any rate these reports seem to indicate that the Magyars do not want to compel the imperial forces to abandon their position around

Pest by means of strategic manoeuvres but are waging the decisive battle under the walls of Pest itself. In our opinion, and according to reports so far received, success cannot be in doubt.

It was reported in Vienna that *Kossuth* is with the Magyar army, that Klapka has been badly wounded; according to other reports he was taken prisoner near Jasz-Bereny etc. If this last report were true we would already have read it in the Bulletins.

We shall take this opportunity to give some information about Klapka. He is not a Pole as has been asserted here and there, but a Hungarian, a Magyar Slav from Temesvar where his father as mayor was head of the municipal council for many years. While he was still a youth his lust for adventure drew him to military life. He distinguished himself greatly in mathematics and military science in the School of the Bombardier Corps in Vienna and in 1841 was posted to the Hungarian Guard of Nobles. The morale and spirit of this corps were not such as to make a peacetime garrison post on the frontiers of the monarchy—to which he was transferred after six years—seem attractive and he resigned his commission as a first lieutenant. Later we find him in Bucharest offering his services to the *Hospodar*^a as an organiser of artillery. Even the idea of a journey to India seemed to attract him. But then came March 1848 and by April he was already in Pest, in the closest contact with the Radical Party. He now rose, for he was a most ardent Magyar and after Görgey was the most outstanding talent in the National Army of Insurrection.

Incidentally, the Magyars seem to have spread out suddenly from all sides. The masses of reserve troops between the Theiss and Maros, which Kossuth trained to become efficient soldiers, have suddenly appeared on the battlefield. The *Hungarians are victorious not only in Transylvania, not only around Pest, but also in the Banat and are surging forward with incredible speed.* As we wrote yesterday, the Banat as well as the whole of Bacska have been occupied by them. We did not want to report that a Magyar corps under Perczel had fought its way through the besieging Austrians to Peterwardein, because it seemed to us to be too incredible to be true. And yet it seems to be beyond doubt, for the *Agramer Zeitung*, the organ of the Croat Government, itself prints it. Perczel and Batthyány (ex-commandant of Peterwardein) have broken through the blockading cordon and entered the fortress with fresh troops. The siege appears to have been completely abandoned. Nugent has again turned westwards towards Zombor where the Magyars have occupied the town and its

^a George Bibesco.—Ed.

environs. Everything imperial has withdrawn from Peterwardein and its environs to Syrmien and Slavonia.

As a result of these recent advances by the Magyars, the *Serbs in the Banat are completely isolated* just as Puchner had been previously isolated in Transylvania. It is clear that this isolation can only have a favourable influence on the negotiations which still continue between the Serbs and the Magyars.

In *Transylvania*, finally, Bem's conquests seem to be completely secured. The Austrian soldiers who fled into Wallachia and whose numbers have only now been officially made known, are *abandoning any attempt to return to Transylvania*. By way of Wallachia they will go to the Banat. Happy journey!

The following is the official report about this printed in the *Wiener Zeitung* itself:

"Latest reports from Transylvania say that the royal imperial troops arrived in the vicinity of Hermannstadt on March 13, and were drawn up near Geroldsau in order to link up with the Russians holding the Falmatsch position. On the 15th the royal imperial troops marched towards Kronstadt and the Russians in accordance with the royal imperial quarantine regulations entrenched themselves in the most extreme border area. The Transylvanian headquarters, Lieutenant-Field Marshal von Puchner and several royal imperial generals as well as 1,200 men of the royal imperial infantry who had also withdrawn into Wallachia had set off for Rimmnik. The Transylvanian royal imperial army corps arrived in Kronstadt on the 18th with the aim of holding this town which was occupied by the Russians under the command of General Engelhardt. The rebels, under the command of Bem, arrived likewise in the vicinity of Kronstadt. Meanwhile, however, General Lüders had given orders to evacuate Kronstadt. This, together with the fact that the royal imperial troops had no munitions, were short of many other necessities and were exhausted, determined the officer commanding these troops, General von Kalliani, to evacuate Kronstadt and on March 20 to move on to Wallachia together with the Russians. The army corps consisted of 8,140 men of the infantry and artillery, 900 cavalrymen and 42 cannon. Major Baron Hayde, who was in command of 1,200 infantrymen and 240 cavalrymen, hurried towards Törzburg and was expected in Campulung, in Wallachian territory, on March 21. Thus there were now 12,000 men of the royal imperial forces in Wallachia. The main force under General Kalliani is stationed in Campina, Ploesti and Konkurrenz and is to rest for 10 or 12 days. The Government of the country has helped as much as possible with regard to supplies. The former Hungarian Minister of War^a is said to be now in command in Hermannstadt and Bem—to lead the rebels in Kronstadt, from whence it is believed he will seek to march to Bukovina. The number of refugees who have left Transylvania to seek protection in Wallachia is very large. The royal imperial Major von Reichetzer, the Adjutant of the General Command, arrived in Bucharest from Craiova on March 27, in order to organise the march of the royal imperial troops from Campina to the Banat by way of Craiova and Orsova."^b

^a Lázár Mészáros.—Ed.

^b "Siebenbürgen, 9. Apr.", *Wiener Zeitung* No. 86 (evening edition), April 10, 1849.—Ed.

From this it follows: (1) that Bem must have a very considerable army if he was able to defeat over 12,000 Austrians and 10,000-15,000 Russians; (2) that the Russians, too, are at present not keen on returning to the Transylvanian area and thus Transylvania is at last *secured* and with Transylvania the rear of the Hungarian revolutionary army.

The 40,000 Russians thus do not seem to be willing to come to the aid of the *Kölnische Zeitung*.^a But it still has Hammerstein's 15 battalions and Haynau's 30,000 men.

Eh bien! According to the most recent and direct reports Schlick was still in Lemberg trying to induce its citizens to send him a petition inviting the Russians to come in. At the same time he gave orders for an army corps to be *assembled* near Dukla, 25 miles from Lemberg. Three or four weeks at least must elapse before this corps can be concentrated there and equipped with munitions, provisions, transport etc. and who knows where the Magyars will be by then.

As far as Haynau's famous 30,000 men are concerned, who are supposed to arrive on Hungarian soil within 12 days (!), these are even more harmless. Haynau had to abandon the blockade of Venice and advance into Lombardy. We know how the Brescians kept him occupied on March 31 and April 1.²²³ We know that he cannot leave his position until he is relieved by Radetzky—and Radetzky is still not able to do this. And when he is finally relieved, he has still to cover between 150 and 170 German miles^b before arriving at Pest. True, part of the journey can be covered by rail, but when it is a matter of transporting 30,000 men along with their artillery, cavalry, baggage train etc., railways do not speed things up very much. The "twelve days" can therefore easily become six weeks and meanwhile the Magyars will have time enough to teach Windischgrätz's army some very serious lessons. Who knows—perhaps the Magyars will meet Herr Haynau halfway!

Written by Engels on April 14, 1849

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^a See this volume, p. 275.—*Ed.*

^b See footnote on p. 20.—*Ed.*

[PARLIAMENTARY DECISIONS ARE DISREGARDED.—
MANTEUFFEL'S SPIES]

Berlin, April 13. Of course no notice at all is being taken of the motion passed by the Second Chamber that goods up to 5 lbs. should be post-free. The decision has been taken and although it is the custom in constitutional states for the House to decide matters of this kind independently, Herr von der Heydt has different ideas about these things. To date he has not even thought it worth the trouble to express his opinion on the matter in question.

As is well known, Herr *von Meusebach* is the most indispensable of all government counsellors. Nobody understands how to make the best and most valuable use of his eyes and ears, as he does, and always to provide his friend Manteuffel with the best and up-to-the-minute reports about the frame of mind and intentions etc. of the Berliners. It is quite natural that the author of the "Revelations" should have great skill in matters which in ordinary language are called spying! He makes use of various literary rogues for these noble aims. His most intimate friends and most skilful tools are *Gödsche*, the well-known columnist of the *Kreuz-Zeitung*, and *Röhrdanz*, the writer.*

A note has also arrived from Mecklenburg which expresses opposition to the definite acceptance of the imperial crown by the King of Prussia.²²⁴

Written by Marx on April 13, 1849

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time

* Herr Röhrdanz was suspected of similar activities in Paris as early as 1844 and is hereby challenged to answer these accusations. *The Editors of the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung"*.

STATEMENT

Cologne, April 14. Citizens K. Marx, K. Schapper, Fr. Anneke, H. Becker and W. Wolff (as deputy) met today as the District Committee of Rhenish Democratic Associations.

Citizens Marx, Schapper, Anneke and Wolff issued the following joint statement.

“We consider that the present organisation of the Democratic Associations includes too many heterogeneous elements for any possibility of successful activity in furtherance of the cause.

“We are of the opinion, on the other hand, that a closer union of the Workers’ Associations is to be preferred since they consist of homogeneous elements, and therefore we hereby from today withdraw from the Rhenish District Committee of Democratic Associations.²²⁵”

“*Fr. Anneke, K. Schapper, K. Marx, H. Becker, W. Wolff (deputy)*”

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[FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

The imperial troops have been driven further and further back; the Magyars have reached the Rakos plain,²²⁶ the field where the Hungarian kings used to be elected, half an hour from Pest, and are offering battle.

This is the latest news from Pest, of the 8th. The other information received is less certain. For instance, somebody has written to the *Breslauer Zeitung* that Windischgrätz would not accept battle and had already retreated to Pest with his troops. Those with pro-imperial views believe that the Magyars would not dare attack Pest, on the one hand because of the strong entrenchments thrown up there, on the other so as not to expose their capital to destruction. In the meantime things look grim in Pest. Windischgrätz returned first to Pest, then to Ofen, but without giving any indication of how the battle is going. Of course, this has deeply hurt the "loyal subjects" and greatly cheered the Magyars.

At the same time Herr Wrba has had the following proclamation posted up on the 7th of this month:

"The cities of Ofen and Pest are in a state of siege, hence all meetings in squares and streets are prohibited; but as this order has not been observed for some days, I feel compelled to remind the inhabitants herewith that they must stay at home and also avoid unnecessary travel; patrols are authorised to intervene in any gathering with full use of arms. A further consequence of any kind of riotous movement would be the immediate bombardment of the city, for which everything is in readiness."

Many loyal subjects of His Apostolic Majesty, who no longer feel safe in Pest, have already moved across to Ofen, into the fortress; refugees from Pest have already arrived even in Vienna. The Pest Magyars are jubilant; the Austrians, on the other hand, are threatening. Two loaded twelve-pounders from the Ofen side of the

pontoon bridge, and many heavy guns from the Ofen citadel, are aimed at Pest, to give emphasis to Welden's threat.

The intensity of the Magyar attack is said to exceed all expectations of the Austrians. In particular the countless Magyar hussars have been giving no rest by day or by night to the imperial troops for five days, and the audacity of these hussars is beyond all Austrian calculation.

The imperial troops, by the way, have mustered everything so as to stand their ground. The garrisons of Waitzen and Vesprim have gone to Pest; reinforcements are approaching by forced marches from Komorn, Vienna etc., but will in any case be too late for the decisive battle.

On April 11 the news spread at the Vienna Stock Exchange that the Hungarians had been beaten off at Pest. We regard this rumour as a mere speculators' bluff. Not much more trustworthy is another rumour according to which Görgey is said to have relieved Komorn with one Magyar corps, and to have compelled the siege army to march against him and so relinquish the fortress. Nothing is more probable than that Hungarian or Slovak volunteers in the comitats of Neutra, Gran and Nograd are raiding and harassing the Komorn siege corps; but that the main Magyar army should send off Görgey with an important corps while it is waging a decisive battle at Pest, is not credible.

The matter of Jellachich's victory, announced in the 33rd Bulletin (he thereupon "took up the positions assigned to him", as the comical placard-maker Welden expressed it in the 34th Bulletin), is also given away by the *Lloyd*, reporting from Pest that the people there had to believe that the Ban was a prisoner, and were much surprised to get further news from him.^a

Further details are available about the Magyar army. Klapka is *not* a prisoner, as some papers have maintained, but is in charge of a detachment in the Magyar centre. The left wing of the Hungarian army is led by Damjanich, a Banat Serb, who earlier led an army corps against Nugent and Dahlen in the Baranya comitat and then in the Bacska and at Szegedin. If some martial-law papers say that he has *now* sold (!) himself to the Magyars, this is a lie as silly as it is contemptible. The earlier Austrian Bulletins are there to prove the contrary.

The decisive battle was to be fought on the 8th. We know that it was fought, and fought very violently; but as regards the outcome we only have the rumours quoted above.

^a "Pest, 8. April", *Der Lloyd* No. 171 (evening edition), April 10, 1849.—*Ed.*

If Windischgrätz is driven to the right bank of the Danube, he can immediately withdraw his troops beyond the Raab and relinquish Komorn. He has not a single line of defence as far as the Leitha, and whether he can hold even that will depend entirely on the morale of his beaten army. In any event, with Windischgrätz's defeat Hungary will for the time being be cleared of imperial troops, while a rebuff of the Magyar attack would not take the Austrians further than the Theiss. On the Theiss the old game of trick-track would in the meantime begin again, until royal imperial reinforcements of 50,000-60,000 men arrive.

It is confirmed in the Banat that the Magyars have conquered the whole of the *Bacska* and have relieved Peterwardein. The Nugents, *père et fils*, have once again made fools of themselves.

In conclusion we give the following details from a Vienna *Lithographierte Correspondenz* concerning certain Hungarian generals and the Hungarian army:

Among the Hungarian generals *Görgey* deserves special mention. He is still very young, but most talented and extremely active, untiring and personally courageous; it is perhaps not saying too much to describe him as the soul of all the military operations, since, as everyone knows, Kossuth, in his career as a lawyer, had little opportunity to distinguish himself in the military sciences. Among the foreigners the Englishman *Guyon* is outstanding. His daring knows no limit. For instance, recently he stormed a mountain (which can only be reached by a road with seven bends and which was held by an adequate garrison of Austrian troops and guns) at the head of his column, with a loss of 400 men, although it would have been possible to bypass it, but with considerable loss of time.

The courageous *Guyon* shrinks from no obstacle and is as cool-headed as he is fearless, one of the most daring partisans of this in its way unique campaign. The *Honveds*, who initially were poorly clad and fed, are now in much better shape. In the winter it was not uncommon to find some ill-clad *Honveds* frozen to death by the road. They have learned to bear the hardships of the campaign and fight with the courage of disciplined troops. The lull Windischgrätz granted the Hungarians at the beginning they used in the best possible way, and in particular they proceeded with the training of the *Honveds* by employing them in small raids so as to accustom them gradually to warfare.

In the meantime their military training was completed as far as possible. At present the *Honveds* are significantly advanced in their development and have already distinguished themselves in individual engagements. The main strength of the Hungarian army, of course, is its excellent cavalry which daily arouses more respect in the Austrian cavalry; even the Wallmoden cuirassiers, known for their courage, have often had opportunity to get to know the might of the Hungarian hussars and have succumbed to their impetuous attacks more than once.

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FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

Still no decisive news from the Rakos plain. On the 8th there appears to have been little fighting; the main battle was expected on the 9th. The most contradictory rumours have been circulating in Vienna. According to one the Hungarians have marched victoriously into Pest; according to another they were beaten and Schlick had encircled 5,000 Honveds²²⁷ and taken them prisoner. What is certain is that neither a Bulletin nor a telegraphic dispatch, nor any other official report has arrived, and that, for the time being, is sufficient proof that as far as the imperial side is concerned matters are not going very well. Moreover, Windischgrätz is said to have sent his son with his *resignation* to Olmütz. The Supreme Command in Hungary has been offered to both Hess and Welden; both have so far rejected the offer as they have not been given a completely free hand.

The black-and-yellow^a side in Pest relies on the Hungarians not wishing to subject their own capital to bombardment and flames. Dembiński, moreover, is said to have declared against it, saying that Poland had been vanquished in 1831²²⁸ only because much too great strategic importance had been ascribed there to Warsaw, the capital.

In the Bacska the Magyars are pressing irresistibly forward. It is confirmed that Perczel and Batthyány have marched into Neusatz. Neusatz lies directly opposite Peterwardein on the other (left) bank of the Danube, and like Peterwardein itself is occupied by the Magyars. The fortifications of Sz. Thomas, so stubbornly defended by the Serbs last year, have been stormed by the Magyars; Zombor and Becse (Base) are also in their hands. They are threatening the left bank of the Theiss; Patriarch Rajachich has had to leave

^a The Austrian imperial colours.—*Ed.*

Becskerek and is going via Pancsova to Semlin. Kničanin has suddenly reappeared on the battlefield to help the Austrians in their predicament.

Transylvania is safe. The *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* reports the following from Czernowitz:

“Czernowitz, April 5. It has been settled, 60,000 Russians are to occupy Galicia and remain there as a garrison. Lieutenant-Field Marshal Baron von Hammerstein is going to Hungary with 25 battalions and a proportionate number of cannon. Today Lieutenant-Field Marshal von Malkowsky is departing to relieve Lieutenant-Field Marshal Puchner who is ill. All Transylvania is barricaded, Bem is commanding an army of 100,000 men, including 10,000 men of the Polish Legion, a legion of Vienna academics²²⁹ and proletarians. The Bukovina is again afraid of an incursion of Hungarians who, according to recent travellers, have a particular sympathy for the Bukovina. Moreover, the departure of the 4th battalion of Baron Sivkovich's regiment has indeed been stopped for the time being, because there appears, after all, to be some inclination to resistance.”^a

For Bem is recruiting very actively among the Transylvanian Wallachians and Saxons. Anyone able to carry arms is put into the Honveds, trained and used against the Austrians. Clearly, Bem is taking heavy vengeance for the Austrian recruiting system which forced Viennese prisoners to fight against Magyars, and Hungarian prisoners to fight against Italians. In Hermannstadt a great banquet was held to celebrate the fraternisation of Wallachians and Magyars.

As a result of the news from Hungary all the Ministers have been summoned to Olmütz by telegraph.

Yesterday's *Abend-Lloyd*^b reports as authentic that Lieutenant-Field Marshal Wohlgemuth has taken over the command of the army corps which is concentrated at Komorn.

Written by Engels about April 16, 1849

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^a “Černowic, 5. April”, *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 87, April 12, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b A reference to the item “Neustes” published in *Der Lloyd* No. 173 (evening edition), April 11, 1849.—*Ed.*

FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR.—
PEASANT WAR IN THE BUKOVINA

The Magyars have suddenly broken off the fighting at Pest and marched off to Waitzen, leaving their outposts behind. Waitzen is situated north of Pest on the Danube just at the corner where it leaves the eastern direction and turns south. *Waitzen, the key to the road to Komorn, has been taken by the Hungarians.* Jellachich is on the *right bank of the Danube* at Szent Endré!

This news was known in Vienna on the 13th at midday and had a "very depressing effect". As early as the 14th Welden was supposed to go to the army fighting in Hungary.

Further details on this new turn in the fighting and this strategically most important success of the Hungarians are still lacking. Hence we cannot know whether the Hungarian army is really marching to Komorn to relieve it or whether it simply wants to entice the imperial troops from their fortified positions at Pest and engage them in battle in the open field without exposing Pest to the danger of bombardment.

The rest of the news is contradictory to the highest degree. Nothing at all is known either about the position of the Magyar army in the recent battles at Pest, or about the details of the battle itself. Windischgrätz is not allowing anybody to leave the Pest lines. We know only that nothing happened on the 8th (Easter Sunday) except some outpost skirmishes. Nor were any guns fired on the 9th. This was the day when the Magyar main force appears to have started for Waitzen. Two Austrian brigades marched off in the same direction.

South of Pest, at Raczkeve, the Magyars under Vetter are said to have attempted to throw a bridge over the Danube, but to have been prevented from doing so.

Otherwise the most fantastic and contradictory rumours are circulating. The fear of the Black-and-Yellows makes Bem arrive from Transylvania with 20,000 men and operate against Kalocsa on the Danube (on the border of the Bacska), so as to go from there to the right bank and to advance in the rear of the Austrians. In this area, by the way, Perczel is taking one important position after another from the Serbs. Peterwardein, recently besieged, is now the main support point of his operations.

Another rumour born of the Austrians' fear makes Görgey stand already at Bruck on the Leitha, a few hours' march from Vienna!

Incidentally, the Serb Voivodina has at last been promised by the Government that it shall join the ranks of the independent crown lands. It may be doubted whether this will tend to make the mood of the Serbs—now moving daily further towards unity with the Magyars—more favourable towards the Government. The Serbs no longer trust a Government which has so often tried to trick them. The correspondent of the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* writes from the Drava:

“Perhaps I shall soon write to you *while in flight!*”^a

From Transylvania not a word. Just as little news from Galicia concerning the alleged entry of the Russians. On the other hand the long lost nation of the Huzuls²³⁰ has reappeared in the Bukovina, with its peasant king, Kobylica, at its head. Here, in this most remote corner of the united monarchy, the struggle is developing between peasants and nobility which the implementation of the imposed redemption laws²³¹ is bound to produce everywhere in Austria. Kobylica is directly allied with the Magyars. Just listen to the *Bucovina* (which appears in Czernowitz) of April 4 on this subject^b:

“The notorious Kobylica with his dangerous agent Birla Mironiuk has reappeared in the mountains among the (Ruthenian²³²) Huzuls and is deluding the villages with dangerous misrepresentations; he is egging them on to trespass on the baronial woods and pastures and maintain a rebellious attitude: he would soon come with a Hungarian army to help them. The excitement this has induced has taken on a dubious character particularly in the neighbourhood of Berhometh, hence the District Office has seen fit to dispatch a complete company to this area and to take other energetic measures. In accordance with the instructions of the local District Office the company has been stationed in and around Berhometh. District Commissioner Wex is in charge of the official action which is to comprise, first, prevention of trespass and damage to baronial woods and fenced pastures in the area, questioning and punishing the guilty

^a “Von der Drave, 7. April”, *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 88, April 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b The following report under the date-line “Bukowina. Czernowitz, 4. April” was also published in the *Ost-Deutsche Post* No. 72, April 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

severely, the instruction and surveillance of the villages, the harshest and most relentless treatment of all disturbers of the peace and agitators, keeping an eye and a tight rein on rural people and capturing Kobylica and his agent Birla Mironiuk.—These strong measures should at last bring about the definitive pacification of the Ruthenian mountain villages.”

Good luck to the Austrian peasant war!

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ELKEMANN

Cologne, April 18. Yesterday in Berlin the Second Chamber voted on the question whether the entire Bill to suppress the right of association, brought in by Herr Manteuffel, should be rejected lock, stock and barrel or not. Rejection of the Bill failed by 137 votes to 141. Thus the Left was in a minority of only four votes. Among these four votes, all of which were of the Left Centre, was Pastor Elkemann from Worringen, deputy of the rural constituency of Cologne and Mülheim. One may ask his intermediate and primary electors whether the Pastor, who acted the extreme liberal at the time, was elected by them to help get rid of the few still remaining civil liberties?

Written by Engels on April 18, 1849

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FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

The Hungarians' plan of operations after Windischgrätz was pushed back by them to the Danube is now fairly clear. While Dembiński kept the Austrian centre under Schlick "fully occupied" (Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*^a), Görgey with greatly increased strength turned on the imperial army's left wing at Waitzen, commanded by Windischgrätz himself, beat him back and took Waitzen. Almost every report maintains complete silence about what has become of Jellachich and the Austrian right wing. As we wrote already yesterday, one report makes him stationed at Szent Endré, between Ofen and Waitzen on the right bank of the Danube.^b This is today confirmed directly from Pest. He can only have marched there to cover the threatened left wing by abandoning his earlier position on the right wing. Besides the great strength of the Hungarians at Waitzen, the fact that the Croats can no longer be brought into the firing line by the "chivalrous" Ban and show a daily growing respect for the Hungarian hussars, may perhaps explain this otherwise quite inexplicable movement. At the same time, they have been plundering and raping in Pest and its neighbourhood with such gusto that the Croat Don Quixote felt compelled to have a number of those keenest on plundering shot summarily. Also we are still hearing of desertions among the Croats. Evidently, this most charming of all the corps gathered at Pest can therefore only be used as a reserve. This is also confirmed in a Vienna report of the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, according to which 5,000 to 6,000 Croats are said to have been sent to Pest to serve as a reserve.

^a "Wien, 12. April", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 105, April 15, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b See this volume, p. 288.—*Ed.*

On the other hand, the Magyars have by no means kept their left wing, facing the Austrian right wing, inactive. It is beyond doubt that they have already crossed the Danube at least at one point below Pest, and that without meeting with any significant resistance, since all the imperial troops of this area have marched to Pest. Vetter, who is here in command (he was previously a major in the 37th imperial infantry regiment), is operating against Pentele and Földvár, and is according to consistent rumours already on the march to Stuhlweissenburg. In the Bacska Batthyány's and Perczel's main force seems also to be pressing ahead against the Danube and Drava, so as to cut off Nugent and the Serbs from direct contact with the Austrian main army, or to force Nugent to make a hurried retreat to Esseg or Agram.

Thus, Windischgrätz is threatened on all sides and outflanked both on the left and the right. Tonight we may receive definite information that Görgey is at Gran and Vetter at Stuhlweissenburg. God knows what will become of the imperial troops when both their lines of retreat are thus cut off.

Now that the Magyars have had time to train, the imperial side speaks with one voice of how they fight. The *Ost-Deutsche Post* says:

"The fanaticism of our opponents and the money which is apparently at their disposal, attract to them masses where we only have ranks. Like an impetuous mountain torrent they break through the strong wall facing them."^a

And the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*:

"The hussars fight with a bravery which makes any advance of the imperial army impossible without considerable reinforcements. These Magyars are no Piedmontese (!), even Radetzky's entire army would find it hard going here."^b

The Black-and-Yellows in Pest, on the other hand, are completely demoralised. They flee from Pest in droves, some to Ofen, others in the direction of Gran or even so far as Raab.

Benedek has arrived in Vienna. He is to command the advance guard of Hammerstein's corps which, according to the Austrian martial-law boasts, is already in Kaschau! Haynau's corps will *not* go to Hungary. We said at once that it could not be spared in Italy.^c

Herr Welden, remembered for his incendiarism, the man who wanted to take Komorn by storm like an Italian village, is now to help the imperial troops in their predicament. He has departed for the theatre of war.

^a "Pest, 11. April", *Ost-Deutsche Post* No. 73, April 14, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b "Wien, 12. April", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 105, April 15, 1849.—*Ed.*

^c See this volume, p. 280.—*Ed.*

In the Banat and in the Bacska things are likewise daily getting worse for the imperial side. The *Südslavische Zeitung* bewails the fall of Szent Thomas, christened Srbobran (Serb Bulwark)^a by the Serbs as the scene of their heroic deeds of last year. The Bacska has been abandoned altogether by the imperial troops; Nugent is on the defensive beyond the Danube and will be glad if he can keep Syrmien. The mood of the Serbs is becoming more and more "sinister"; if they formerly hated the Magyars, now this has given place to *hatred of the Germans*. The bad turn the war has taken is directly ascribed to a deliberate, planned abandonment of the Serbs by the Austrian officers. Kničanin is again expected with Serb auxiliaries; according to others the well-known Vučić is to command them. Moreover, the Austrian Government has at last recalled Rukavina and pensioned him off, and thus initiated a series of concessions to the Serbs.

Not a word from Transylvania. Yesterday the *Kölnische Zeitung* had the Russians and Puchner march in again. The news came from the *Bukurester Zeitung*, it passed from there into the *Wiener Zeitung* and finally into the *Kölnische*. But it merely gave the positions which Puchner and the Russians occupied after the capture of Hermannstadt by Bem, before they fled through the Roterturm Pass. The *Kölnische Zeitung* could have known that as well as we; but in its pleasure at seeing the imperial troops at last advance again at any point, it fell into the trap and promptly reprinted this ancient news, *deliberately* put into the *Wiener Zeitung* to confuse the reader. That is how history is made.

Written by Engels on April 18, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

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^a This report of the *Südslavische Zeitung* was reprinted in the article "Mitrović, 5. April" in the *Ost-Deutsche Post* No. 74, April 15, 1849.—Ed.

SITTING OF THE SECOND CHAMBER
IN BERLIN. APRIL 13

Cologne, April 19. For a change, let us return once more to our dear Second Chamber in Berlin. It has checked the elections, issued Addresses, produced standing orders, and with quite exceptional interest it has discussed a question which, as is well known, belongs to the feature section of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, i.e. the question of the German Emperor.²³⁵ All this passed quite unnoticed in view of the cannonades at Novara and Pest, and even the "naval battle" at Eckernförde and the storming of the Düppel fortifications²³⁴ made a greater impression than all the speeches from the Right and the Left in the Prussian people's representative body.

Now, however, when the honourable Chamber is busy with the three gagging laws²³⁵—the law on posters, the law on associations and the law on the press—when it has already finished dealing with one of them, the law on posters, now the matter more closely concerns us, now it will be more interesting to see how our deputies do their utmost to make up deficiencies in the imposed Constitution.

Let us look at the verbatim report of the 26th sitting on April 13.^a

First of all Deputy Lisięcki put a question to the Ministry about the use of the Polish army reserve in the war against Denmark.

According to § 61 of the law on the army reserve,²³⁶ it can only be mobilised in the event of unexpected hostile attacks on the country. Its entire organisation is so constituted that in general it is only to be employed when the standing army and reserves are insufficient. But now the army reserve is being mobilised in the war against little

^a *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen der durch das Allerhöchste Patent vom 5. Dezember 1848 einberufenen Kammern. Zweite Kammer. Bd. 2, S. 462-65.— Ed.*

Denmark, which can be dealt with by the troops of the line of a single army corps!

That is not all. Although the allegedly German part of Posen could be tricked into joining the German Confederation only through breach of faith and brutal violence, although, according to all the treaties, the part of Posen lying on the other side of the famous demarcation line has nothing to do with the German Confederation,²³⁷ part of the army reserve sent to Schleswig from Posen has been taken from both sides of the demarcation line.

These army reserve men of purely Polish nationality, half of whom do not even belong to the German Confederation, are being sent to Schleswig to let themselves be killed there for the greater glory of *Germany* as *German* imperial troops with the *German* black-red-and-gold^a imperial cockade on their helmets!

The Croats decided the outcome of the “*German war*” in Lombardy; the Czechs, Ruthenians²³⁸ and, again, the Croats decided the outcome of the “*German*” struggle against Vienna; the *Poles* will decide the outcome of the “*German*” war in Schleswig. It is with such soldiers that nowadays the “victories of German arms” are being won!

And that is how the King keeps the promise he gave the Poles on April 11 through his plenipotentiary commissioner^b:

“Accordingly, no recruits born in the Grand Duchy of Posen are to be incorporated in a Silesian or other German regiment and, conversely, no German recruits are to be incorporated in a Polish regiment. The training and commanding of troops are to be in their own language ... all arms of the Polish military service are likewise to form a *completely independent entity*” etc.

Lisiecki enumerated these various points in a calm, but resolute, tone. In conclusion he drew attention to the special malice shown by recruiting three battalions of the army reserve precisely in the one province which last year had suffered heavily from the civil war imposed on it by Prussia.

Herr Strotha, Minister of War, rose to speak.

The Minister delivered a lecture to the Assembly at some length to the effect that

“the entire Prussian army organisation is based on a combination of troops of the line and the army reserve, and in war this combination in the composition of corps and divisions reaches as far as the composition of brigades”, that the dispatch of “mere troops of the line without the army reserve to a distant theatre of war essentially hinders the organic formation of several troop units and gives rise to many kinds of serious drawbacks when mobilising the remaining units” etc.

^a The colours of the movement for the unification of Germany.—*Ed.*

^b Wilhelm Willisen.—*Ed.*

All this was very suitable for opening the eyes of the philistines and civil officials in the Chamber to the organisation of "My glorious army",²³⁹

It may be so. It is possible that "the troops of the line of My glorious army" cannot manage without "the army reserve of My glorious army". It may be that the dangerous potato war²⁴⁰ with Denmark compels the Government to set in motion all the chicanery of the glorious Prussian military organisation. But why is it that precisely the *Poles* have been made the victims of this fate, which derives from the glorious Prussian military organisation?

Because—well, "because *it is justified by the immediate circumstances!*"

That is all we are told. That is how a Prussian Minister of War answers questions.

There still remains the reply to the legal question: should not German troops be used in German imperial wars? On this Herr Strotha stated:

1) "The Grand Duchy of Posen, with the exception of a small part ... belongs to Germany."

That is the Prussian translation of last year's phrases to the effect that Posen should become Polish, "with the exception of a small part" of the frontier, which must become German. Things have now gone far enough for the phrases to be dispensed with and the perpetrated swindles to be admitted in blunt words.

2) "The delimitation of military areas in the entire Grand Duchy of Posen has so far undergone no change. Accordingly (!), therefore (!), the three mobilised battalions consist to the extent of about half of inhabitants from one side of the demarcation line and one half of inhabitants from the other side of the demarcation line."

In plain language that means: the whole farce with the demarcation line merely served to incorporate two-thirds of Posen into Germany directly, and the remaining one-third indirectly. And in order that the Poles finally abandon the illusion that this demarcation line has any practical meaning, we have at this very time recruited our imperial troops from those districts through which the demarcation line passes.

3) "In utilising troops of the line drawn from the Grand Duchy of Posen, no other consideration has ever been taken into account than that demanded by *state reasons.*"

And if the solemn pledges of March and April 1848 in regard to the troops of the line have been trampled under foot, then why should not the same happen in regard to the army reserve? Cannot a

Polish army reserve man become as good a “soldier of the imperial troops” as a Polish regular soldier?

We have taken into consideration only “state reasons”!

And what are these “state reasons”?

They are quite obvious. Men capable of bearing arms and trained in the use of arms who live in areas not yet sufficiently merged in the “Prussian fatherland” are to be removed from their homeland. Objectionable primary electors who voted in an un-Prussian way are to be punished. The authorities wish to inculcate in these primary electors a better notion of the duties of a citizen by making them undergo a supplementary course of instruction in the school of “My glorious army”. By this Prussian treatment many a hated elector will be provoked to insubordination and then, with the greatest nonchalance, he can under martial law be awarded 15 years’ confinement in irons and perhaps even gunpowder and lead.

It is for this that the army reserve has been mobilised in Posen and also in part of the Rhine Province and Westphalia. Herr Strotha does not mention the Rhine Province, nevertheless the Clever battalion has already been sent to Schleswig. Or does Herr Strotha want to introduce a demarcation line in the Rhine Province as well and declare: The Rhine Province, “with the exception of a small part”, belongs to Westphalia?

But what has not yet happened can happen. Although up to now the greater part of the Rhine Province has been spared from mobilisation, we are nevertheless aware that, in spite of all official denials, *there exists a firm intention* to mobilise also the army reserve of the *Eighth Corps*, i.e. of the Rhine Province. Preparations for this have already been made, and the order will not be long in coming.

Of course, this also is dictated by “state reasons” and is justified by the “immediate circumstances”.

And if the Rhenish deputies put down a parliamentary question, Herr Strotha will reply to them just as he now replies to Herr Lisiecki: the matter “is in fact already settled” since “the Rhenish division is already concentrated at Flensburg”!

After Herr Strotha had concluded his speech, Herr Lisiecki wanted to make a factual correction. But the standing orders forbid factual corrections to replies by Ministers. And the standing orders are quite right. What un-Prussian insolence to imagine that a ministerial reply could be capable of undergoing factual correction!

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THE SLOVAKS.—
THE SO-CALLED DEMBIŃSKI BULLETIN

Owing to the non-arrival of the Berlin train we are without any recent news from the theatre of war. The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which now carries all the news from Vienna and Hungary one day late, has nothing new either, of course. The report of its "reliable" Vienna correspondent on the latest military events contains nothing but nonsense and most glaringly contradicts geography. For example, he says that the insurgents want to erect a bridge "at Szent Endré",^a though two arms of the Danube and an island four miles^b long and a half mile wide lie between Szent Endré and the Magyars etc.

The *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* yesterday carried a long article "from Slovakia",^c which in the last analysis amounts to a doleful lamentation about the Austrian Government doing nothing to foster pan-Slavist separatist aspirations against Hungary among the Slovaks. Every line indicates how much they deplore that it is quite impossible to arouse pan-Slavist Magyar hatred in the Slovaks, that the Slovak peasants give their allegiance above all to the party which definitely assures them of liberation from their feudal burdens, that the Magyar nobility is naturally pro-Magyar and the German middle class of the towns is also favourably inclined towards the Magyars. The notorious boasting at the Olmütz Court about the "Slovak trusted representatives"²⁴¹ is disowned even here:

"The common people naturally know little or nothing of the election of 'Slovak trusted representatives'; educated Slovaks shrug their shoulders at a blunder that

^a "Wien, 13. April", Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 106, April 16, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b See footnote on p. 20.—*Ed.*

^c "Aus der Slovakei", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 89, April 14, 1849.—*Ed.*

could hardly have been worse. Kollár, the only poet among them, is a name everywhere popular and respected; the rest are lawyers whom not a soul knows in Slovakia, who have never wielded a pen in favour of the Slovaks, never taken a step, never spoken a word which could have given them a claim to the honourable title of 'trusted representatives' of a nation, even if in other respects their honourable private character is in no way disputed. In Slovakia they are, Kollár excepted, 'mistrusted representatives'. To put a Hungarian lawyer in charge of Slovak affairs is an unfortunate idea. Perhaps this was why the *Slovenski pozornik* (Slovak Observer), mentioning the trusted representatives in its first issue, did not even bother to give their names, Kollár again excepted, to whom due respect is paid."

Since last night, an alleged "27th Battle Report of General Dembiński to Kossuth", dated Gödöllő, April 7,^a is being circulated here in Cologne. This report is printed in Frankfurt, whence false news on Austria has already come more than once. But even if it is not genuine, it is a good imitation made from the available material. Dates and military positions are everywhere sufficiently in accord with those of the Austrian Bulletins; the Bulletin only contains something new on the fighting which took place before April 2. The main content is as follows:

Dembiński, acting here as commander of the centre and General-in-Chief (Vetter has the right wing, Görgey the left), has first totally defeated an enemy corps at Erlau and then beaten the rearguard again at Gyöngyös. In this second battle the Hungarians are said to have captured 16 cannon and made 1,200 prisoners, which, however, is somewhat exaggerated.

On the 5th the Austrians were driven from Hatvan to Gödöllő, where a major battle took place on the 6th. Here the Hungarians were completely victorious, took 26 cannon, 7 flags, 38 ammunition carts and 3,200 prisoners, and drove the Austrians back to the walls of Pest. The imperial troops are said to have lost 6,000 dead and wounded, the Hungarians 2,000.

As can be seen, the Bulletin contains nothing new except that it gives figures; these, even if it were genuine, are probably not too correct. In the first flush of victory enemy losses always tend to be exaggerated.

So it is really immaterial whether the Bulletin is genuine or simply a fake, since it only gives known *results*.

What makes its authenticity very suspect, however, is the date. A Bulletin from Gödöllő dated the 7th could not have been received again on the 10th printed in Debreczin. Had it been printed by the army and distributed in Pest or Ofen, we would have heard the news

^a This report was published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 95, April 21, 1849.—*Ed.*

already in other ways. Moreover, the leaflet gives its source only in the words “translated from the Hungarian”. It neither says where the original was printed nor whence it comes. Even if the content can be accepted as authentic, its form is certainly very suspect. But, as we have said, it is immaterial whether this leaflet is authentic or fabricated, since it reports nothing new at all.

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[FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR]

According to the letters and papers which have arrived from Eastern Germany only this evening (Thursday), the Hungarians are masters of the left bank of the Danube to the point at which the Gran flows into it from the north, five miles below Komorn. On the 12th Pest was still besieged by a Hungarian corps which could be observed quite clearly from the roofs with the naked eye, and which is supposed to have occupied the Pest railway station. To avoid exposing it to bombardment, and because from here it would be impossible to effect a crossing of the Danube under the guns of Ofen, this corps has not attacked the city itself.

The most contradictory rumours are current about the battle at Waitzen, but they all agree that the left wing of the Austrians has suffered a complete defeat there. One report asserts that Götz is not dead but severely wounded and in the hands of the Hungarians. After their defeat, part of the Austrian corps which linked up at Waitzen retreated across the Danube, while another part, two brigades strong, drew back behind the Gran. Here, five brigades of reinforcements, which have arrived from Austria etc., are said to have been stationed for a considerable time (!), the force is estimated at 25,000 men (!!) by the *Wanderer*. These five brigades are probably not more than a few regiments who marched away from the former siege corps of Komorn, for had five brigades been stationed on the Gran, four miles from Waitzen, they would hardly have remained there while the Hungarian guns thundered at Waitzen!

The *Wanderer* is nothing but a martial-law paper printing reassuring news. It had to report that Waitzen had been captured by the Magyars without a battle, and that only one volunteer corps was

stationed there, whereas all the other papers speak of a violent battle and it is certain that Götz, Jablonowsky and Csorich were there, not counting the troops which Windischgrätz took with him when he personally went there. The *Wanderer* further believes that there is no threat at all to Pest (!!), otherwise the imperial forces would surely have removed their wounded and constructed a second pontoon bridge. But the imperial generals have never shown much concern for their wounded, and all they do care for, the baggage, munitions and above all the money, has long been dispatched to Ofen. They have even *stolen the gold and silver reserve of the Hungarian National Bank*, 1,700,000 guldens C.M.,²⁴² which were kept as backing for the Hungarian 1- and 2-florin notes, and incorporated them in the state treasury in Ofen. As concerns the second bridge, the Austrians obviously have much greater need of their pontoon trains on the long battle-front from Pest to Waitzen and Gran than in Pest, which no longer forms their centre but their left flank.

This *Wanderer* has now also suddenly to estimate the imperial army at 100,000, namely 50,000 men at Pest, plus the above non-existent 25,000 at Gran, plus the 10,000 reinforcements from Galicia under Vogl, plus Nugent's force, a total of 100,000 men; that is supposed to be reassuring. We are quite willing to believe that Windischgrätz had 50,000 men before the recent battles, and now still has 40,000. But the 25,000 men at Gran amount to 10,000 at most, scattered along both sides of the Danube from Raab and Gran to Neuhäusel, the remainder of the siege corps at Komorn, reinforced by newly arrived troops. Vogl is still in Galicia, and Nugent is hard-pressed in Syrmien. The imperial forces were indeed over 200,000 strong at the beginning of the war, but the Hungarians have made a clean sweep and scattered the imperial troops to all points of the compass. Puchner is in Wallachia, Kničanin back in Serbia, the Banat volunteers have gone home, large numbers of Croats have been disbanded, and of the whole army at most 120,000 effective troops are scattered over the wide Hungarian territory; of these, perhaps 50,000-55,000 face the main Magyar army.

The rumour persists that a Magyar corps has crossed the Danube south of Pest in the Bacska area and is marching on Stuhlweissenburg, but there is as yet no positive information on this corps' position.

Komorn is already virtually relieved. The siege area has been considerably reduced by the advance of the Magyars. As a substantial part of Windischgrätz's troops had earlier been moved to Pest, the remainder obviously had to march to Gran, to face the Magyars approaching from that direction. Even prior to this, the garrison is

said to have made a sortie against the weak besieging troops, scattered them and captured all the siege artillery. Now a report in the *Ost-Deutsche Post* says, moreover, that Komorn has sufficient provisions for two years, and that its garrison is united and resolved to defend it to the utmost.

In the small area of Upper Hungary still occupied by the imperial forces, the end of their rule is now approaching. According to the *Österreichischer Correspondent*, a Magyar column reputed to be composed of 800 infantrymen, 200 cavalrymen and five guns, under the command of a Polish officer, Bernicki, marched into Leutschau on April 4, into Neudorf on the 5th, and into Rosenau on the 6th. One of Welden's battalions garrisoning the neighbouring area was called to Eperies, which was threatened by this movement. Nevertheless, the Magyar corps captured Eperies and drove the royal imperial troops, together with the notorious Slovak *Landsturm*, into the Carpathians, to the Galician border.

The name of *Bem*, who at one time was said to be at Debreczin and at another time already at Kalocsa on the Danube, currently looms like a spectre over the *Banat*. It is also reported from Alt-Orsova, on the 2nd of the month, that Bem is preparing an expedition of 10,000 against the *Banat*. Rukavina is, incidentally, not pensioned off there but merely relieved of the civil administration, which has been transferred to the Patriarch.^a Rukavina retains command of the *Banat Military Border* area,²⁴³ and Major-General Mayerhofer, serving under him, will be in command on the *Syrmien* border.

By the way, the Magyars have not rested content with the seizure of the *Bacska*. They have crossed the *Theiss* and occupied the districts of *Kikinda* and *Neu-Becse*.

In their hour of greatest need the imperial authorities have no other cure but to take radical measures. The official report of *Windischgrätz's* dismissal and *Welden's* appointment to supreme command in Hungary has at last arrived. At the same time, *Wohlgemuth* has set off with *Welden* (whom *Böhm* replaces in *Vienna*) for Hungary, where he is to command a corps of six brigades. *Benedek* has gone to *Galicia* to be given a command in *Vogl's* corps of 10 battalions; the corps is said to be marching via *Eperies*. *Wrbna* is to be retired.

But not even that is the end of this revolution in the army.

They have realised that *without the Russians they cannot cope with the Magyars*. *Russian assistance has therefore been directly asked for*. **30,000 Russians are expected to arrive in Hungary via Cracow.**

^a Rajachich.—*Ed.*

In the Banat also the endangered slogan: *svoboda a slavjanstvo* (freedom and Slavdom) will be kept up with *Russian assistance*. Already there is talk of the approach of Russian troops and, to hasten matters, delegates were sent to Duhamel in Bucharest from an assembly held in Semlin on the 5th.

We may hope that the arrival of the Russians will everywhere be too late, and that they will find that the war has already taken so decisive a turn that the most they will be able to do is to look on while the brave Magyars and the Viennese, who may also soon reappear on the field of battle, prepare an ignominious end for

"the Austria of old,
For feats and victories oft extolled".^a

Today again the latest Vienna and Breslau papers have not arrived.

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^a From Ernst Moritz Arndt's poem "Des Teutschen Vaterland" (music by Gustav Reichardt).—*Ed.*

[“MAGYAR RODOMONTADE”
OF THE *KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG*]

We have been informed that none of the current issues of the Vienna and Breslau newspapers arrived yesterday evening with the last train from Berlin. Hence the assertion of the *Kölnische Zeitung* that it has nevertheless received these Vienna newspapers is simply “Magyar rodomontade”.

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THE NEW CROATIAN-SLAVONIAN-DALMATIAN
ROBBER STATE.

Agram. While in Hungary proper the royal imperial united monarchy is being shaken in its very foundations by the victorious Magyar armies, the national separatist movement in the South-Slav countries is continually creating new difficulties for the Austrian Government. The Croats have now conceived the idea of a Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian triune kingdom, to serve as the focal point for pan-Slav aspirations in the south. This trinity of Pandours, Serezhans and Haiduks, this kingdom of red-coats, was at once "taken in hand", to use the Austrian Croat-German phraseology, by the Croatian-Slavonian Committee of the Diet, and the appropriate Bill produced by the Committee is available in print.²⁴⁴ The document is remarkable.^a There is not a trace in it of hatred for the Magyars or of any precautions against *Magyar* transgressions. But it plainly bears the marks of *hatred for the Germans*, of safeguards against *German* transgressions and of the pan-Slav alliance *against the Germans*. That is what our constitutional-patriotic wailers of the Holy Roman Empire have got for their enthusiasm for the Croats.²⁴⁵ We have already earlier informed our readers that the same hatred and the same mistrust of the Germans is prevalent in the Serbian Voivodina.^b

The trinity of red-coated cut-throats begins its existence at once with conquests. Apart from the fact that it tears from Hungary the whole of Croatia and Slavonia, it demands the Mur Island, i.e. the

^a Published in the report "Wien, 16. April", *Ost-Deutsche Post* No. 75, April 17, 1849.—*Ed.*

^b See this volume, p. 294.—*Ed.*

corner of the comitat of Zala lying between the Drava and the Mur, and the Quarnero islands of the district of Istria and Trieste, i.e. a small fragment of *Germany* as well as one of Hungary.

In addition it demands the following rights: (1) the internal relations of Croatia-Slavonia with Dalmatia are to be decided by their respective Diets; (2) their relations with the Serbian Voivodina are to be decided by mutual agreement; (3) also,

“*closer political union* is to be established with the remaining neighbouring *Slav* provinces of the Austrian Empire on the basis of mutual agreement!”

i.e. a *pan-Slav separatist union*²⁴⁶ to be formed *against the Germans and the Magyars* within the royal imperial united monarchy. And this right of separatism is, according to the Pandour-Serezhan way of thinking, the first right of man:

“This *natural* (!) right of union cannot *under any pretext* be either denied or hindered in either the triune kingdom or in the Austro-Slav areas which wish to unite with the kingdom by reason of” (Croat German!) “the same or related nationality.”

That is, our first, “*natural*” right of man is the revival of the Prague Slav Congress²⁴⁷ as the *legislative authority*. How naive a demand to put to a Schwarzenberg-Stadion Government!

These conquests and pan-Slav alliances are followed by a solemn declaration:

“The triune kingdom has never been a *German country*” (*Dieu merci!*), “nor does it wish to become such or even a part or *member of the German Empire*, and consequently the triune kingdom cannot in future be drawn, without its express consent, into *any kind of union* with *Germany* which Austria may enter into either now or in the future.”

Such solemn declarations vis-à-vis the *Germans* are considered to be urgently necessary, although to our knowledge no one has ever regarded Croatia and other areas inhabited by cut-throats as a “*German country*”, and although Germany at the moment has not the slightest wish to incorporate the Otočac²⁴⁸ and Serezhan gentlemen into the German Empire.

There is not a single mention of the *Magyars* in the whole document, not a single paragraph designed to safeguard the desired triune robber state against the much-lamented Magyar oppression!

But the object of the whole thing is quite clear: the united, centralised Austria for which the Government is striving and in which the Germans as the most civilised nation will in the long run certainly be morally dominant, frightens the pan-Slav trinity a thousand times more than the Magyars, whom they consider to be

defeated. Moreover, it is clear that among these petty robber nations hatred of the Germans far exceeds their hatred of the Magyars. And yet these petty robber nations are the allies of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, that German patriot!

These general principles are then followed by a long series of stipulations with which the South-Slav robber states seek to safeguard themselves against Austrian centralisation, i.e. against German oppression.

Thus the document proposes that all functions which this law does not expressly assign to the central government shall remain the prerogative of the provincial government. The authority of the central government, however, is only recognised in the following fields: (1) foreign affairs, with the exception of the above proviso regarding relations with Germany, changes in which require a two-thirds majority in the Diet; (2) financial administration, insofar as this is absolutely necessary; (3) military affairs, but only insofar as they concern the standing army; (4) commercial affairs; (5) roads and waterways.

Furthermore, in addition to representation in the Imperial Diet, the trinity of robber states demands

“consideration for the sons of the triune kingdom in appointments to relevant central government posts on the basis of the population proportions and the necessary qualifications”

(elegant Croat German again!), dealings with the central government to be conducted in the official language, a separate robber-state Minister in the central government, and a separate administrative section for the robber states in every relevant ministry.

Apart from that, the robber states will be governed by a “State Council of the Triune Kingdom”, and the armed forces, the army as well as the Banderial units,²⁴⁹ the levy in mass and the National Guard will be under the command of the Ban. But the Ban may command only the army according to the orders of the Central Authority; for his command of the remaining sections of the armed forces he is responsible to “the nation”.

In internal affairs, the following changes are demanded: (1) the triune robber state shall provide contingents of troops no larger than any other Austrian province in relation to the size of its population; and (2) in civil matters the Military Border is to be subject to the ordinary civil administration and jurisdiction; the military administration and military jurisdiction operate only for those borderers who are actually under arms. But with that the whole of the royal imperial Military Border will automatically cease to be. We shall return to this.

This is the draft plan for the new triune Otočac-Pandour-Croat robber state which they want to set up on the south-eastern borders of Germany if the revolution and the Magyars permit it.

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THE RUSSIANS

Cologne, April 21. When the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* began to be published almost eleven months ago, it was the first newspaper to point out the concentration of Russian armies on our Eastern frontier.^a At that time many virtuous citizens spoke of exaggeration, of unnecessary cries of alarm etc.

It has become clear whether we were exaggerating or not. The Russians, who at first were merely protecting their frontiers, passed more and more to the offensive as the counter-revolution achieved successes. The June victory in Paris brought them to Jassy and Bucharest; the fall of Vienna and Pest brought them to Hermannstadt and Kronstadt.

A year ago Russia was not prepared for war; at that time, in the first panic terror at the omnipotence of the sudden revolution, it was easy to drive the 30,000-40,000 Russians out of Poland and establish a free Poland. That was what was called for, but the desire for it was lacking. The Russians were given time to arm, and now a Russian army of 500,000-600,000 men surrounds us from the Niemen to the Danube and Aluta. Along the Prussian frontier alone, according to the *Ostsee-Zeitung*, some 150,000 men are stationed; the remainder are in the interior, on the Galician frontier, in Moldavia, Wallachia, Lithuania, Podolia and Volhynia, and in the fortresses of Novo-Georgievsk (Modlin), Brest-Litovsk, Demblin and Zamosye, which according to the *Ostsee-Zeitung* have depots with arms and reserves for 250,000 men.

The same newspaper writes:

^a See the article "The Russian Note" (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 307-13).—Ed.

“Food depots are set up with the aid of requisitioning notes, which oblige every landowner to deliver a certain quantity of produce that is to be used as provisions for the army. Next year these notes will be accepted in payment of taxes. This, therefore, is the source of the recently spread rumour that the Russian Government in Poland has ordered taxes to be collected one year in advance.”

What the state of affairs is as regards the acceptance of these notes we learn from another quarter.

At the end of last year and the beginning of this year, Polish landlords had to make enormous deliveries, but these were taken into account in the payment of taxes. It was believed that thereby everything was settled, but it turns out now that the taxes until the end of this year have to be paid in advance.

Even from this compulsory method of ensuring supplies for the army it is evident what enormous masses of Russian troops must be concentrated in Poland.

Another newspaper, the *Posen Zeitung des Osten*, reports from Posen on April 13:

“The number of Russian troops in the West is as follows: Within the Polish Kingdom is the Rüdiger Corps—half of the Fourth Rüdiger Corps together with reserves, altogether approximately 120,000 men. In Lithuania is the so-called Grenadier Corps (formerly the Shakhovskoy Corps), and part of the First Corps. The Guards are expected to arrive later—there has been talk of their arrival for several months already. In Volhynia, where the staff headquarters is in Dubno, is the remaining part of the Fourth Chegodayev Regiment. In Kiev there is a Second Auxiliary Corps, in Krzemieniec a mobile corps (Pavlov’s) of about 6,000-8,000 men. Finally in Moldavia and Wallachia is the Lüdgers Corps with about 65,000 men.”

As to why these troops are there, they themselves very naively make the following admission:

“Rank-and-file Russians, as well as the officers, are less reserved in their conversation. It is noteworthy that to the question why they are stationed on the frontier they all give the same reply, viz: Our Emperor^a is the brother-in-law of the King of Prussia.^b After the French were defeated by the Russians in the great war, all the land right up to Paris belonged to the Emperor; he entrusted the administration to various small German *knyazes*^c (princes), and appointed his brother-in-law, the Prussian *knyaz*, as supreme military governor. Now the French and Germans have risen in revolt, and so the German *knyazes* as well as the supreme governor have asked for help from the Emperor, and that is why we are stationed here on the frontier. If calm is not soon established, we shall cross the frontier and restore order.”

But that is not all. Emperor Nicholas has ordered another call-up of recruits of eight men per thousand to be carried out in the western part of his Empire. The order lists 21 provinces where recruits are to be called up.

^a Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

^b Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

^c Here and later on Engels uses the Russian word *knyaz*.—*Ed.*

That is how things look on the other side of the frontier. Half a million armed and organised barbarians are only waiting for an opportunity to fall on Germany and turn us into feudal serfs of the orthodox Tsar.

Just as Transylvania was once before occupied by the Russians, just as at the present time the incursion of 30,000 Russians into that same region is being demanded, and another 30,000 to be sent across Galicia, just as the Banat Serbs are also imploring the orthodox Tsar for help, so it will be with us. We shall yet reach the point when the Government and the bourgeoisie *invite the Russians into our country*, as happened recently in Transylvania. And things are bound to go that way. The victory of counter-revolution in Vienna and in Berlin has not sufficed for us. But when Germany has once felt the Russian knout, it will behave somewhat differently.

The Russians are the true liberators of Germany, we said in June last year.^a We repeat this also today, but today we are no longer the only ones to say it!

Written by Engels on April 21, 1849

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^a See "The Agreement Assembly of June 15" (present edition, Vol. 7, p. 90).— *Ed.*

FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

The *Wiener Zeitung* which failed to arrive the evening before yesterday, and following it, all the Vienna evening papers report:

“The Hungarian insurgents’ plan to relieve Komorn has been completely thwarted. The advantage they gained by their temporary occupation of Waitzen has also been wrested from them, for Lieutenant-Field Marshal Csorich’s division has driven them out of this position again. With the imposing reinforcements proceeding to the royal imperial army from all directions, a most successful resumption of the offensive by the royal imperial troops already in the very near future can be predicted.”^a

This royal imperial martial-law report, however, can already now almost certainly be affirmed to be a *pure lie*. If there were anything in it, a Bulletin would have been issued within the next 24 hours at the latest, and that has not happened. Moreover, all the other reports contradict this assertion, made without either a date or any detail.

We have no wish to repeat the many rumours circulating in Vienna and Breslau, to the effect that Komorn has been relieved, Görgey is marching on Vienna, Dembiński and Vetter have outflanked the imperial army and cut off its retreat to Vienna, that the *Landsturm* has been raised in all comitats on both sides of the Danube etc. So long as the postal connection between Pest and Vienna is not cut, little credence can be given to these rumours.

Up to the 18th, there was no mention of the post from Pest having failed to arrive in Vienna. The latest news from there was dated the afternoon of the 14th. This contains not a word about the recapture of Waitzen.

^a *Wiener Zeitung* No. 91 (evening supplement), April 16, 1849.—*Ed.*

It will be remembered that some days ago the *Ost-Deutsche Post* already reported that Waitzen had been recaptured. It is quite possible that Waitzen had to be taken twice, and that the imperial forces re-occupied it temporarily before finally being driven out. The fact that at a moment of great peril the official paper designed to dispense reassuring news writes with jesuitical reservations about this temporary re-occupation, is quite consistent with the previous practice of the Bulletins.

On the 14th nothing at all was known in Pest of the alleged capture of Waitzen. On the contrary, the *Lloyd* in a report of this date wrote:

“For the present, the Hungarians are behaving pretty arrogantly in Waitzen. They send off letters and parcels which pass through and arrive here safely, except that they are first opened and searched and officially sealed by the Hungarian Defence Council.²⁵⁰ Under such a cover a dispatch arrived here yesterday containing the news that Major-General Götz was buried in the Hungarian camp with full military honours. Twelve battalions are said to have been paraded for the solemn occasion.”^a

All the other Pest news of the same date simply provides further evidence of the fear of the Austrians there. The *Spiegel* has this report:

“I am writing to you when I am just on the point of bringing my family to safety. Last night it was rumoured that all Germans were to be murdered (!). This and similar rumours are following each other at a frantic pace; the fanaticism of the Magyars threatens to erupt at any moment.”

Visits to the camp are prohibited, the bell-towers are occupied; the Magyars in Pest are said to have intended to ring the alarm at the first attack from outside. Outside Pest itself, little has happened since the 11th. At noon on the 14th a few skirmishes took place when the Hungarian outposts showed themselves in the vicinity. It is also claimed that the thunder of guns has been heard.

The royal imperial finances appear to be in a bad way too. Windischgrätz announced on the 10th that the *imperial authorities* are now issuing *Hungarian paper money*, drafts on the Hungarian revenues, *at a fixed rate of exchange*, in denominations of 5, 10, 100 and 1,000 florins. With these scraps of paper the royal imperial army will pay for the provisions supplied to them, and so, just before quitting, they will steal a few millions from Hungary. Such a dirty system of robbery as carried on by the honourable friends of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, a system composed of elements from all levels of civilisation, from the plundering by Croat-Tartar nomads down to the most modern paper-money swindling and fraudulent bill-jobbing, is wholly unprecedented.

^a “Pest, 14. April”, *Der Lloyd* No. 181 (evening edition), April 16, 1849.—*Ed.*

And while even the Austrian banknotes are subject to exchange fluctuation, these notes must be accepted at their full face value in private dealing!

All these items of news confirm the expectation of an imminent Austrian retreat from Pest rather than the claim that Waitzen has been taken.

An occupation of Waitzen is moreover almost impossible on strategic grounds. By all reports, the imperial forces have been everywhere thrown back over the Danube and the Gran, Pest being the sole point they hold on the left bank. Pest could not be left without cover; hence the attack could only take place from the right bank, the imperial armies would have had to cross the Danube under fire of the superior Hungarian artillery and then to drive a superior army out of Waitzen. To do all this would be quite impossible; and even if it were possible, it could not be done without a great battle. But no one, not even the *Wiener Zeitung*, knows anything about such a battle. All this is supposed to have been done by Csorich's division. *One division!*

Windischgrätz is happily in Olmütz. Welden is not yet with the army, but he has sent out in advance pompous proclamation to his soldiers, these "heroes (!) on whom the gaze of half the world (!) is fixed", a proclamation which could have been written by the *Kölnische Zeitung* in those glorious days of its Theiss manoeuvres. He describes his opponents as "infamous villains", who have made Hungary into a "tool of venal Poles", threatens them with destruction, and then adds: "But once more we offer our hand in reconciliation to our brother who has been led astray!"^a Herr Welden *therefore wants to negotiate*. The Magyars will be much obliged.

Little is heard of the reinforcements which the Austrians are supposed to have already received. Eight battalions (?) are said to be stationed at Neuhäusel on the Waag; that is how much the five brigades on the Gran^b must have shrunk already.

Six battalions are reported to be on the march from Vienna and the Fleischhackerstrasse is said to be choked with the waggons on which the reinforcements are arriving.

A reserve camp of 25,000 men is *supposed* to be formed on the Marchfeld near Vienna, another at Pettau (Styria) of 15,000 men, and a third of 20,000 to 30,000 men at Tábor and Budweis in Bohemia—everything to be quite ready by the 10th of May! Where

^a "An die K. K. Armee in Ungarn." Proklamation von F. Welden. Vom 17. April 1849.—*Ed.*

^b See this volume, p. 302.—*Ed.*

are these troops to come from!! Haynau's corps is *not* coming, Radetzky cannot spare it. Instead he has sent all his light cavalry. Finally, Vogl is said to be expected in Eperies.

We defer the news from the Banat and Transylvania until the second edition, since it contains nothing of urgency.

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