

[NEWS FROM PARIS]

Cologne, June 24, 10 p.m. Letters of the 23rd from Paris have failed to arrive. A courier who has passed through Cologne has told us that when he left fighting had broken out in Paris between the people and the national guard,⁹⁷ and that he had heard heavy cannon-fire at some distance from Paris.⁹⁸

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REICHENSBERGER

Cologne, June 25. We have the misfortune to be good prophets. What we foretold in No. 19 has come to pass.^a Herr Reichensperger from Trier really has become President of the provincial court of justice. That is a consolation in these hard times. Guizot-Camphausen may have been overthrown, Duchâtel-Hansemann may be tottering—but the Guizot-Duchâtel system of corruption seems to be intent on striking new roots here. And what do the individuals matter, as long as the thing itself is at hand?—Incidentally, we would recommend Herr Reichensperger to read the address from Berncastel⁹⁹ in our special supplement published this morning.^b

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^a See this volume, p. 94.—*Ed.*

^b “Berncastel, 18. Juni”, *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 25, June 25, 1848.—*Ed.*

[NEWS FROM PARIS]

Cologne, June 25, 10 p.m. Letters from Paris have again failed to arrive; the Paris newspapers which came today are those of the 23rd and in the regular course of the postal service they should have arrived already yesterday evening. In these circumstances, the only sources at our disposal are the confused and contradictory reports of Belgian newspapers and our own knowledge of Paris. Accordingly we have tried to give our readers as accurate a picture as possible of the uprising of June 23.^a

There is no time for further comments. Tomorrow we shall publish a detailed account of our views^b as well as a detailed report of the meeting of the Paris Chamber on June 23.

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^a See next article.—*Ed.*

^b See this volume, pp. 128 and 130-33.—*Ed.*

DETAILS ABOUT THE 23rd OF JUNE

The insurrection is purely a workers' uprising. The workers' anger has burst forth against the Government and the Assembly which had disappointed their hopes, taken daily recourse to new measures which served the interests of the bourgeoisie against the workers, dissolved the Labour Commission at the Luxembourg, limited the national workshops and issued the law against gatherings.¹⁰⁰ The decidedly proletarian nature of the insurrection emerges from all the details.

The boulevards, the great arteries of Parisian life, became the scenes of the first gatherings. All the way from the Porte St. Denis down to the old rue du Temple was thronged with people. Workers from the national workshops declared that they would not go to Sologne to the national workshops there. Others related that they had left for that place yesterday but had waited in vain at the Barrière Fontainebleau for the travel papers and orders to start the journey which had been promised them the evening before.

Around ten o'clock the call went out for the erection of barricades. The eastern and south-eastern parts of Paris, starting with the Quartier and Faubourg Poissonnière, were quickly barricaded but, it seems, in somewhat unsystematic and desultory fashion. The rues St. Denis, St. Martin, Rambuteau, Faubourg Poissonnière and on the left bank of the Seine the approaches to the faubourgs St. Jacques and St. Marceau—the rues St. Jacques, La Harpe and La Huchette and the adjacent bridges—were more or less strongly fortified. Flags were raised on the barricades which bore the inscription: "Bread or Death!" or "*Work or Death!*"

Thus the insurrection was definitely based on the eastern part of the city which is predominantly inhabited by workers, first of all on

the “*aimables faubourgs*”,^a those of Saint Jacques, Saint Marceau, Saint Antoine, du Temple, Saint Martin and Saint Denis, then on the districts between them (quartiers Saint Antoine, du Marais, Saint Martin and Saint Denis).

The erection of the barricades was followed by attacks. The guard post of the boulevard Bonne Nouvelle, which in almost every revolution is first to be seized, had been occupied by the mobile guard.¹⁰¹ The post was disarmed by the people.

Soon afterwards, however, the bourgeois guard from the western parts of the city came to the rescue. It reoccupied the post. A second unit occupied the high pavement in front of the Théâtre du Gymnase which commands a large section of the boulevards. The people attempted to disarm the advanced posts, but, for the time being, neither side made use of arms.

At last the order came to capture the barricade across the boulevard at the Porte Saint Denis. The national guard, led by the Police Inspector, advanced; there were negotiations; a few shots were fired—it is not clear from which side—and the firing quickly became general.

Immediately, the guard post of Bonne Nouvelle also opened fire. A battalion of the second legion, which had occupied the boulevard Poissonnière, also advanced with loaded rifles. The people were surrounded on all sides. The national guard, firing from their advantageous and partially secure positions, caught the workers in an intense cross-fire. The workers defended themselves for half an hour. Finally, the boulevard Bonne Nouvelle and the barricades up to the Porte Saint Martin were seized. Here, too, the national guard, attacking around eleven o'clock from the direction of the Temple, had taken the barricades and occupied the approaches to the boulevard.

The heroes who stormed these barricades belonged to the bourgeoisie of the second arrondissement, which extends from the Palais Ex-Royal¹⁰² over the entire Faubourg Montmartre. The wealthy *boutiquiers*^b of the rues Vivienne and Richelieu and the boulevard des Italiens live here. Here, too, dwell the great bankers of the rues Laffitte and Bergère and also the merry gentlemen of private means of the chaussée d'Antin. Rothschild and Fould, Rougemont de Lowemberg and Ganneron live here. In a word, here lies the Stock Exchange, Tortoni¹⁰³ and all that is connected with or dependent on them.

^a As Louis Philippe called these suburbs.—*Ed.*

^b Shopkeepers.—*Ed.*

These heroes, who were threatened first and foremost by the red republic, were also the first on the scene. It is significant that *the first barricade of June 23 was captured by those who were conquered on February 24*. They advanced three thousand men strong. Four companies, marching at the double, captured an overturned omnibus. The insurgents, meanwhile, seemed to have entrenched themselves once again at the Porte Saint Denis, for towards noon General Lamoricière had to move up with strong detachments of the mobile guard, regular troops, cavalry and two cannon in order to seize a strong barricade in conjunction with the second legion (the national guard of the 2nd arrondissement). The insurgents forced a platoon of the mobile guard to retreat.

The battle on the boulevard Saint Denis was the signal for engagements in all eastern districts of Paris. The fighting was bloody. Over 30 insurgents were killed or wounded. The enraged workers vowed to attack from all sides during the following night and to fight the "municipal guard of the republic"¹⁰⁴ to the death.

At eleven o'clock fighting also took place in the rue Planche-Mibray (the continuation of the rue Saint Martin towards the Seine) and one man was killed.

There were also bloody clashes in the region of the Halles, the rue Rambuteau etc. Four or five dead were left lying.

At one o'clock a fight took place in the rue du Paradis-Poissonnière. The national guard fired but the result is unknown. After a bloody clash in the Faubourg Poissonnière, two non-commissioned officers of the national guard were disarmed.

The rue Saint Denis was cleared by cavalry charges.

During the afternoon heavy fighting took place in the Faubourg Saint Jacques. Barricades in the rues Saint Jacques and La Harpe and in the Place Maubert were assaulted with varying degrees of success and *much use of grape-shot*. In the Faubourg Montmartre troops were also using cannon.

The insurgents were on the whole pushed back. The Hôtel de Ville^a remained free. By three o'clock, the insurrection was confined to the faubourgs and the [Quartier du] Marais.

By the way, *few non-uniformed* national guardsmen (i.e. workers who do not have the money for the purchase of uniforms) were seen under arms. On the other hand, there were people among them who carried *luxury weapons*, hunting rifles etc. Men of the mounted national guards (traditionally the scions of the wealthiest families), too, had entered the ranks of the infantry on foot. On the boulevard

^a Town Hall.— *Ed.*

Poissonnière, national guardsmen calmly let themselves be disarmed by the people and then took to their heels.

At five o'clock the battle was still going on when it was all of a sudden suspended by a downpour.

In some places, however, the fighting lasted until late in the evening. At nine o'clock, there was still rifle-fire in the Faubourg St. Antoine, the centre of the working-class population.

Up to then the battle had not yet been fought with the full intensity of a decisive revolution. The national guard, with the exception of the second legion, seems for the most part to have hesitated to attack the barricades. The workers, angry though they were, understandably limited themselves to the defence of their barricades.

Thus, the two parties separated in the evening after making a date for the following morning. The first day of battle resulted in no advantages for the Government. The insurgents, who had been pushed back, could reoccupy the lost positions during the night, as indeed they did. The Government, on the other hand, had two important points against it: it had fired with grape-shot and it had been unable to crush the rebellion during its first day. With grape-shot, however, and one night, not of victory but of mere truce, *rebellion ceases and revolution begins.*

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NEWS FROM PARIS¹⁰⁵

Cologne, June 26. The news just received from Paris takes up so much space that we are obliged to omit all articles of critical comment.

Therefore only a few words to our readers. The latest news received from Paris is: *The resignation of Ledru-Rollin and Lamartine and their Ministers; the transfer of Cavaignac's military dictatorship from Algiers to Paris; Marrast the dictator in civilian clothes; Paris bathed in blood; the insurrection growing into the greatest revolution that has ever taken place, into a revolution of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.* Three days which sufficed for the *July revolution* and the *February revolution* are insufficient for the colossal contours of this *June revolution*, but the *victory of the people is more certain than ever. The French bourgeoisie has dared to do what the French kings never dared—it has itself cast the die.* This *second act of the French revolution* is only the beginning of the *European tragedy.*

Written by Marx on June 26, 1848

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THE NORTHERN STAR
ABOUT THE NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG¹⁰⁶

The *Northern Star*, the organ of the English Chartists, which is edited by Feargus O'Connor, G. Julian Harney and Ernest Jones, contains in its latest issue an appreciation of the manner in which the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* interprets the English people's movement and advocates democracy in general.

We thank the editors of the *Northern Star* for the friendly and genuinely democratic way in which they have mentioned our newspaper. At the same time we want to assure them that the *revolutionary Northern Star* is the only English newspaper for whose appreciation we care.

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THE 23rd OF JUNE

We are still finding numerous new facts about the battle of the 23rd. The available material is inexhaustible; time, however, allows us only to publish what is most important and characteristic.

The June revolution offers the spectacle of an embittered battle such as Paris and the world in general have never seen before. The fiercest fighting of all previous revolutions took place during the March days at Milan. An almost entirely unarmed population of 170,000 souls beat an army of 20,000 to 30,000 men! Yet the March days of Milan are child's play compared with the June days of Paris.

What distinguishes the June revolution from all previous revolutions is the *absence of all illusions and all enthusiasm*.

The people are not standing on the barricades as in February singing "*Mourir pour la patrie*".¹⁰⁷ The workers of June 23 are fighting for their existence and the fatherland has lost all meaning for them. The *Marseillaise* and all memories of the great Revolution have disappeared. The people as well as the bourgeoisie sense that the revolution which they are experiencing will be more significant than that of 1789 or 1793.

The June revolution is the revolution of despair and is fought with silent anger and the gloomy cold-bloodedness of despair. The workers know that they are involved in a *fight to the death* and in the face of the battle's terrible seriousness, even the cheerful French *esprit* remains silent.

History offers only two other examples which show similarities with the battle that is probably still being fought in Paris at this very moment: the Roman slave war and the 1834 insurrection at Lyons. The old Lyons motto "to work while one lives or to die fighting" has also suddenly reappeared after fourteen years and has been written on the banners.

The June revolution is the first which has actually divided all society into two large hostile armed camps which are represented by Eastern Paris and Western Paris. The unanimity of the February

revolution, that poetic unanimity full of dazzling delusions and beautiful lies so appropriately symbolised by that windbag and traitor Lamartine, has disappeared. Today the inexorable seriousness of reality tears up all the hypocritical promises of February 25. Today the February fighters are battling against each other, and—what has never happened before—all indifference is gone and every man who can bear arms really takes part in the fight either *inside* or *outside* the barricade.

The armies which are fighting each other in the streets of Paris are as strong as the armies which fought in the battle of the nations at Leipzig.¹⁰⁸ This fact alone proves the tremendous significance of the June revolution.

But let us go on to describe the battle itself.

The information which reached us yesterday led us to believe that the barricades had been constructed in somewhat haphazard fashion. The extensive reports of today prove the opposite. Never before have the defence works of the workers been constructed with so much composure and so methodically.

The city was divided into two armed camps. The dividing line ran along the north-eastern edge of the city from Montmartre down to the Porte St. Denis and from there down to the rue St. Denis across the Île de la Cité and along the rue St. Jacques up to the barrière. Everything east of that line was occupied and fortified by the workers. The bourgeoisie attacked from the western part and obtained its reinforcements from there.

Starting early in the morning, the people silently began to erect their barricades. They were higher and firmer than ever before. A colossal red flag was flying on the barricade at the entrance to the Faubourg St. Antoine.

The boulevard St. Denis was fortified very heavily. The barricades of the boulevard, the rue de Cléry, and the adjacent houses which had been transformed into regular fortresses formed a complete system of defence. Here, as we already reported yesterday, the first significant battle broke out. The people fought with indescribable defiance of death. A strong detachment of the national guard made a flanking attack upon the barricade of the rue de Cléry. Most of the barricade's defenders withdrew. Only seven men and two women, two beautiful young *grisettes*, remained at their post. One of the seven mounts the barricade carrying a flag. The others open fire. The national guard replies and the standard-bearer falls. Then a *grisette*, a tall, beautiful, neatly-dressed girl with bare arms, grasps the flag, climbs over the barricade and advances upon the national guard. The firing continues and the bourgeois members of the national

guard shoot down the girl just as she has come close to their bayonets. The other *grisette* immediately jumps forward, grasps the flag, raises the head of her companion and, when she finds her dead, furiously throws stones at the national guard. She, too, falls under the bullets of the bourgeoisie. The firing gets more and more intense and comes both from the windows and the barricade. The ranks of the national guard grow thinner. Aid finally arrives and the barricade is stormed. Of the barricade's seven defenders, only one is left alive and he is disarmed and taken prisoner. The lions and stock exchange wolves of the second legion have carried out this heroic deed against the seven workers and two *grisettes*.

After the joining of the two corps and the capture of the barricade, there is a short and ominous silence. But it is soon interrupted. The courageous national guard opens up a heavy platoon-fire against the unarmed and quiet masses of people who occupy part of the boulevard. They scatter in horror. The barricades, however, were not taken. It was only when Cavaignac himself moved up with infantry and cavalry units that the boulevard up to the Porte Saint Martin was taken after long fighting and only towards three o'clock.

A number of barricades had been erected in the Faubourg Poissonnière, particularly at the corner of the Allée Lafayette, where several houses also served the insurgents as fortresses. An officer of the national guard led them. The 7th Light Infantry Regiment, the mobile guard and the national guard moved against them. The battle lasted half an hour. The troops finally won but only after they had lost about 100 dead and wounded. This engagement took place after 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

Barricades had also been erected in front of the Palace of Justice, in the rue Constantine and the adjacent streets as well as on the Saint Michel Bridge where the red flag was waving. After prolonged fighting these barricades, too, were captured.

The dictator Cavaignac ordered his artillery to take up positions along the Notre-Dame Bridge. From here he took the rue Planche-Mibray and the Cité under fire and could easily bring it [the artillery] into play against the barricades of the rue Saint Jacques.

This latter street was intersected by numerous barricades and the houses were transformed into genuine fortresses. Only artillery could be effective here and Cavaignac did not hesitate for one moment to use it. The roar of the cannon could be heard during the entire afternoon. Grape-shot swept the street. At 7 o'clock in the evening only one barricade had still to be taken. The number of dead was very large.

Cannon were also fired along the Saint Michel Bridge and the rue Saint-André des Arts. Right at the north-eastern end of the city, at the rue Château Landon where a troop detachment had dared to advance, a barricade was also battered down with cannon-balls.

During the afternoon the fighting in the north-eastern faubourgs grew in intensity. The inhabitants of the suburbs of La Villette, Pantin etc. came to the aid of the insurgents. Barricades were erected again and again in very great numbers.

In the Cité a company of the republican guard, under the pretext of wanting to fraternise with the insurgents, had crept between two barricades and then opened fire. The people fell furiously upon the traitors and beat them to the ground one by one. Barely 20 of them found a chance to escape.

The intensity of the fighting grew all along the line. Cannon were fired everywhere as long as daylight prevailed. Later on the fighting was limited to rifle-fire which continued till late into the night. At 11 o'clock the sounds of the military rally could still be heard all over Paris and at midnight there was still shooting in the direction of the Bastille. The Place de la Bastille together with all its approaches was entirely controlled by the insurgents. The centre of their power, the Faubourg Saint Antoine, was heavily fortified. Cavalry, infantry, national guard and mobile guard units stood massed along the boulevard from the rue Montmartre to the rue du Temple.

At 11 p.m. there were already over 1,000 dead and wounded.

This was the first day of the June revolution, a day unequalled in the revolutionary annals of Paris. The workers of Paris fought all alone against the armed bourgeoisie, the mobile guard, the newly organised republican guard and against regular troops of all arms. They held their own with unprecedented bravery equalled only by the likewise unprecedented brutality of their foe. One becomes forbearing towards a Hüser, a Radetzky and a Windischgrätz if one observes how the Parisian bourgeoisie participates with genuine enthusiasm in the massacres arranged by Cavaignac.

The Society of the Rights of Man¹⁰⁹ which had again been set up on June 11, decided in the night of the 23rd-24th to make use of the insurrection in order to advance the *red flag* and accordingly to play its part in the uprising. The Society then held a meeting, decided upon the necessary measures and appointed two permanent committees.

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THE 24th OF JUNE

Paris was occupied by the military throughout the entire night. Strong pickets were stationed in the squares and boulevards.

At four o'clock in the morning the rally was sounded. An officer and several men of the national guard went from house to house and fetched out men of their company who had failed to report voluntarily.

At the same time the roar of the cannon resumes most violently in the vicinity of the Saint Michel Bridge which forms the juncture between the insurgents on the left bank and those of the Cité. General Cavaignac who this morning has been invested with dictatorial powers, is burning with the desire to employ them against the uprising. Yesterday the artillery was used only in exceptional cases and for the most part only in the form of grape-shot. Today, however, the artillery is brought everywhere into action not only against the barricades but also against houses. Not only grape-shot is used but *cannon-balls, shells* and *Congreve rockets*.

This morning a heavy clash began in the upper part of the Faubourg Saint Denis. Near the northern railway, the insurgents occupied several barricades and a house which was under construction. The first legion of the national guard attacked without, however, gaining any advantage. It used up its ammunition and lost about fifty dead and wounded. It barely held its own position until the artillery arrived (towards 10 o'clock) and blew the house and the barricades to smithereens. The troops reoccupied the northern railway. The battle in this whole neighbourhood (called Clos Saint Lazare which the *Kölnische Zeitung* has transformed into "courtyard of Saint Lazare") continued, however, for a long time and was conducted with great bitterness. "It is a veritable massacre," writes

the correspondent of a Belgian newspaper.^a Strong barricades went up at the *barrières* of Rochechouart and Poissonnière. The fortification at the Allée Lafayette was also built up again and yielded only in the afternoon to cannon-balls.

The barricades in the *rues* Saint Martin, Rambuteau and du Grand Chantier could likewise only be captured with the aid of cannon.

The Café Cuisinier opposite the Saint Michel Bridge was destroyed by cannon-balls.

The main battle, however, took place towards three o'clock in the afternoon on the *Quai aux Fleurs* where the famous clothing store *La Belle Jardinière* was occupied by 600 insurgents and transformed into a fortress. Artillery and regular troops attack. A corner of the wall is smashed in. Cavaignac, who here commands the firing himself, calls on the insurgents to surrender, otherwise they will all be put to the sword. The insurgents reject this demand. The cannonade begins anew and finally incendiary rockets and shells are poured in. The house is totally destroyed, burying eighty insurgents under the rubble.

The workers also fortified themselves on all sides in the *Faubourg Saint Jacques*, in the neighbourhood of the *Panthéon*. Every house had to be besieged as in *Saragossa*.¹¹⁰ The efforts of dictator Cavaignac to storm these houses proved so fruitless that the brutal Algerian soldier declared that he would set them on fire if the occupants refused to surrender.

In the *Cité*, girls were firing from windows at the troops and the civic militia. Here, too, howitzers had to be used in order to achieve any success at all.

The Eleventh Battalion of the mobile guard which attempted to join the insurgents was wiped out by the troops and the national guard. So at least goes the story.

Around noon the insurrection had definitely gained the advantage. All *faubourgs*, the suburbs of *Les Batignolles*, *Montmartre*, *La Chapelle* and *La Villette*, in brief, the entire outer rim of Paris from the *Batignolles* to the *Seine* as well as the greater part of the left bank of the *Seine* were in their hands. Here they had seized 13 cannon which they did not use. In the centre, in the *Cité* and in the lower part of the *rue Saint Martin*, they advanced towards the *Hôtel de Ville* which was guarded by masses of troops. Nevertheless, *Bastide* declared in the Chamber that within an hour the *Hôtel de Ville* might fall to the insurgents and the stupefaction which this piece of

^a *L'Indépendance belge* No. 179, June 27, 1848, p. 3, column 2.—Ed.

news evoked caused the Chamber to proclaim a dictatorship and martial law. Cavaignac had hardly been endowed with his new powers when he took the most extreme and cruel measures, such as never before have been used in a civilised city, measures that even Radetzky hesitated to employ in Milan. Once again the people were too magnanimous. Had they used arson in reply to the incendiary rockets and howitzers, they would have been victorious by the evening. They had, however, no intention to use the same weapons as their opponents.

The ammunition of the insurgents consisted mostly of gun-cotton, large amounts of which were produced in the Faubourg Saint Jacques and in the Marais. A cannon-ball foundry was set up in the Place Maubert.

The Government continuously received support. Troops were rolling into Paris throughout the entire night. National guards arrived from Pontoise, Rouen, Meulan, Mantes, Amiens and Le Havre. Troops came from Orléans and artillery and sappers from Arras and Douai; a regiment came from Orléans. On the morning of the 24th, 500,000 rounds of ammunition and twelve artillery pieces arrived in the city from Vincennes. By the way, the railway workers on the northern railway have torn up the tracks between Paris and Saint Denis in order to prevent the arrival of further reinforcements.

These combined forces and that unprecedented brutality succeeded in pushing back the insurgents during the afternoon of the 24th.

The fact that not only Cavaignac but the national guard itself *wanted to burn down* the entire quarter of the Panthéon shows how savagely the national guard fought and how well it knew that it was fighting for its very survival!

Three points were designated as headquarters of the attacking troops: the Porte Saint Denis where General Lamoricière was in command, the Hôtel de Ville where General Duvivier stood with 14 battalions, and the Place de la Sorbonne whence General Damesme attacked the Faubourg Saint Jacques.

Towards noon the approaches to the Place Maubert were taken and the square itself was encircled. At one o'clock the square fell; fifty members of the mobile guard were killed there! At the same time, after an intense and persistent cannonade, the Panthéon was taken, or rather, it surrendered. The 1,500 insurgents who had entrenched themselves here capitulated, probably upon the threat of M. Cavaignac and the infuriated bourgeoisie to set fire to the entire quarter.

At the same time, the "defenders of order" advanced further and further along the boulevards and captured the barricades of the adjacent streets. At the rue du Temple, the workers were forced to retreat to the corner of the rue de la Corderie. Fighting was still going on in the rue Boucherat and also on the other side of the boulevard in the Faubourg du Temple. Single rifle shots were still being fired in the rue Saint Martin and one barricade was still holding out at the Pointe Saint Eustache.

Around 7 p.m. General Lamoricière received two national guard battalions from Amiens which he immediately used to encircle the barricades behind the Château d'Eau.^a The Faubourg Saint Denis and also almost the entire left bank of the Seine were at that time peaceful and free. The insurgents were besieged in a part of the Marais and the Faubourg Saint Antoine. These two quarters were, however, separated by the boulevard Beaumarchais and the Saint Martin Canal behind it, and the latter could be used by the military.

General Damesme, the commander of the mobile guard, received a bullet wound in his thigh at the barricade of the rue l'Estrapade. The wound is not dangerous. Nor are the representatives Bixio and Dornès as severely injured as was at first believed.

The wound of General Bedeau is also light.

At nine o'clock the Faubourg Saint Jacques and the Faubourg Saint Marceau were as good as captured. The battle had been exceptionally fierce. General Bréa was in command there at the time.

General Duvivier at the Hôtel de Ville had less success. But even here the insurgents were pushed back.

General Lamoricière had cleared the faubourgs Poissonnière, Saint Denis and Saint Martin up to the barrières after overcoming heavy resistance. Only in the Clos Saint Lazare were the workers still holding out; they were entrenched in the Louis Philippe Hospital.

This same information was given by the President^b to the National Assembly at 9:30 p.m. He was forced, however, to disavow his own statements several times. He admitted that heavy shooting was still going on in the Faubourg Saint Martin.

Thus the situation in the evening of the 24th was as follows:

The insurgents still held about half the terrain which they had occupied in the morning of the 23rd. This terrain consisted of the eastern part of Paris, i.e. the faubourgs St. Antoine, du Temple, St. Martin and the Marais. The Clos St. Lazare and a few barricades along the Botanical Gardens formed their outposts.

^a Water Tower.—*Ed.*

^b Senard.—*Ed.*

All the rest of Paris was in the hands of the Government.

What is most striking in this desperate battle is the savagery with which the "defenders of order" fight. They who in former times displayed such tender feelings for every drop of "citizen's blood" and who had even sentimental fits over the death of the municipal guards¹¹¹ on February 24, shoot down the workers like wild beasts. Not a word of compassion or of reconciliation and no sentimentality whatever, but violent hatred and cold fury against the insurgent workers reign in the ranks of the national guard and in the National Assembly. The bourgeoisie, fully conscious of what it is doing, conducts a war of extermination against them. The workers will wreak terrible vengeance on the bourgeoisie no matter whether it wins for the moment or is defeated at once. After a battle like that of the three June days, only *terrorism* is still possible whether it be carried out by one side or the other.

We shall end by quoting some passages from a letter written by a captain of the republican guard who describes the events of the 23rd and 24th as follows:

"I am writing to you while muskets are rattling and cannon are thundering. By about 2 o'clock we had captured three barricades at the head of the Notre-Dame Bridge. Later we moved to the rue St. Martin and marched down its entire length. When we arrived at the boulevard, we saw that it was abandoned and as empty as at 2 o'clock in the morning. We ascended the Faubourg du Temple and stopped before reaching the barracks. Two hundred paces further on there was a formidable barricade supported by several others and defended by about 2,000 people. We negotiated with them for two hours, but in vain. The artillery finally arrived towards 6 o'clock. The insurgents opened fire first.

"The cannon replied and until 9 o'clock windows and bricks were shattered by the thunder of the artillery. The firing was terrible. Blood flowed in streams while at the same time a tremendous thunderstorm was raging. The cobblestones were red with blood as far as one could see. My men are falling under the bullets of the insurgents; they defend themselves like lions. Twenty times we mount an assault and twenty times we are driven back. The number of dead is immense and the number of injured much greater still. At 9 o'clock we take the barricade with the bayonet. Today (June 24) at 3 o'clock in the morning we are still up. The cannon are thundering incessantly. The Panthéon is the centre. I am in the barracks. We guard *prisoners* who are being brought in all the time. There are many injured among them. *Some are shot out of hand.* I have lost 53 of my 112 men."

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THE 25th OF JUNE

Every day the intensity, violence and fury of the battle increased. The bourgeoisie became more and more ruthless towards the insurgents the more its brutality failed to lead to immediate success, the more it was itself becoming exhausted as a result of fighting, night-watches and bivouacking, and the closer it came to final victory.

The bourgeoisie declared the workers to be not ordinary enemies who have to be defeated but *enemies of society* who must be destroyed. The bourgeois spread the absurd assertion that the workers, whom they themselves had forcibly driven to revolt, were interested only in plunder, arson and murder and that they were a gang of robbers who had to be shot down like beasts in the forest. Yet, for 3 days the insurgents held a large part of the city and behaved with great restraint. Paris would have been reduced to ruins but they would have triumphed had they used the same violent means as were employed by the bourgeoisie and its mercenaries led by Cavaignac.

All the details show with what barbarism the bourgeois conducted themselves during the fighting. Disregarding for the moment the grape-shot, the shells, and the incendiary rockets which they used, it is an established fact that *they gave no quarter at most of the captured barricades*. The bourgeois massacred everyone they found there without exception. In the evening of the 24th over 50 captured insurgents were shot in the Allée de l'Observatoire without any trial. "It is a war of extermination," writes a correspondent of the *Indépendance belge*^a which itself is a bourgeois paper. On all the

^a "Paris, dimanche, 23 juin, 2 heures de relevée", *L'Indépendance belge* No. 179, June 27, 1848.—Ed.

barricades it was understood that the insurgents would be killed without exception.

When Larochejaquelein said in the National Assembly that something should be done to counteract this belief, the bourgeois would not even let him finish speaking but made such a clamour that the President had to put on his hat and suspend the session. The same kind of clamour broke out again when M. Senard himself later (see below, session of the Assembly^a) wanted to say a few hypocritical words of mildness and reconciliation. The bourgeois did not want to hear of forbearance. Even at the risk of losing part of their property by a bombardment, they were determined to put an end once and for all to the enemies of order, to plunderers, robbers, incendiaries and communists.

Yet the bourgeois did not display any of that heroism which their journals attempted to attribute to them. From today's session of the National Assembly it is clear that the national guard was paralysed with fear at the outbreak of the insurrection. In spite of all the pompous phrases, reports from all the newspapers of the most diverse trends reveal that on the first day the national guard was very weak, that on the second and third day Cavaignac had to get them out of bed and that he had a corporal and four soldiers lead them into battle. The fanatical hatred of the bourgeois for the revolutionary workers was not capable of overcoming their natural cowardice.

The workers on the other hand fought with unequalled bravery. Although they were less and less capable of replacing their casualties and more and more pushed back by superior strength, they did not tire for one moment. Already from the morning of the 25th they must have realised that the chance of victory had decisively turned against them. Masses upon masses of new troops arrived from all regions. Large contingents of the national guard came to Paris from the outskirts and more distant towns. The regular troops who fought on the 25th numbered 40,000 more men than the normal garrison. In addition, there was the mobile guard of 20,000 to 25,000 men as well as national guard units from Paris and other towns. Moreover, there were several thousand men from the republican guard. The entire armed force which took the field against the insurrection on the 25th certainly numbered some 150,000 to 200,000 men, whereas the workers had at most a quarter of that strength, had less ammunition, no military leadership and no serviceable cannon. Yet they fought silently and desperately against colossal superior

^a "Schluss der Sitzung der Nationalversammlung vom 25. Juni", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 29, June 29, 1848.—*Ed.*

strength. Masses upon masses of troops moved on the breaches in the barricades which the heavy guns had created; the workers met them without uttering a sound and fought everywhere down to the last man before they let a barricade fall into the hands of the bourgeois. On Montmartre the insurgents called out to the inhabitants: Either we shall be cut to pieces or we shall cut the others to pieces, but we will not budge. Pray God that we may win because otherwise we shall burn down all Montmartre. This threat, which was not even carried out, counts, of course, as a "despicable plan", whereas Cavaignac's shells and incendiary rockets "are skilful military measures which are admired by everyone"!

On the morning of the 25th, the insurgents occupied the following positions: the Clos Saint Lazare, the suburbs of St. Antoine and du Temple, the Marais and the Quartier Saint Antoine.

The Clos Saint Lazare (the former monastery precinct) is a large expanse of land which is partly built on and partly covered as yet only with houses in construction, streets merely laid out etc. The Northern Railway Station is situated exactly in its middle. In this quarter, which has many irregularly placed buildings and a lot of building material, the insurgents had established a mighty stronghold. Its centre was the Louis Philippe Hospital which was under construction. They had raised imposing barricades which were described by eyewitnesses as quite impregnable. Behind them was the city wall which was hemmed in and occupied by the insurgents. From there their fortifications ran to the rue Rochechouart, that is to the area of the barrières. The barrières of Montmartre were heavily defended and Montmartre itself was completely occupied by them. Forty cannon, which had been firing at them for two days, had not yet reduced them.

Once again the 40 cannon bombarded these fortifications during the entire day. At last, at 6 in the evening, the two barricades at the rue Rochechouart were taken and soon thereafter the Clos Saint Lazare also fell.

At 10 a.m. the mobile guard captured several houses on the boulevard du Temple from which the insurgents had directed their bullets into the ranks of the attackers. The "defenders of order" had advanced approximately to the boulevard des Filles du Calvaire. The insurgents, in the meantime, were driven further and further into the Faubourg du Temple. The Saint Martin Canal was seized in places and from here as well as from the boulevard, the broad and straight streets were taken under heavy artillery fire. The battle was unusually violent. The workers knew full well that here the core of their position was being attacked and they defended themselves

furiously. They even recaptured barricades which they had earlier been forced to abandon. After a long battle, however, they were crushed by the superiority of numbers and weapons. One barricade after another fell. At nightfall, not only the Faubourg du Temple, but, by way of the boulevard and the canal, the approaches to the Faubourg Saint Antoine and several barricades in the faubourg had also been captured.

At the Hôtel de Ville, General Duvivier made slow but steady progress. Moving from the direction of the quays, he made a flanking attack upon the barricades of the rue Saint Antoine and, at the same time, used heavy guns against the Île St. Louis and the former Île Louvier.¹¹² Here, too, a very bitter battle was fought, details of which are lacking, however. All that is known is that at four o'clock the *Mairie* of the ninth arrondissement and the adjacent streets were captured, that one after another the barricades of the rue Saint Antoine were stormed and that the Damiette Bridge, which gave access to the Île Saint Louis, was taken. At nightfall, the insurgents here had everywhere been driven off and all access routes to the Place de la Bastille had been freed.

Thus the insurgents had been driven out of all parts of the city with the exception of the Faubourg Saint Antoine. This was their strongest position. The many approaches to this faubourg, which had been the real focus of all Paris insurrections, were guarded with special skill. Slanting barricades covering each other, reinforced by cross-fire from the houses, represented a terrifying objective for an attack. Storming them would have cost an infinite number of lives.

The bourgeois, or rather their mercenaries, were encamped in front of these fortifications. The national guard had done little that day. The regular troops and the mobile guard had accomplished most of the work. The national guard occupied the quiet and conquered parts of the city.

The worst conduct was displayed by the republican guard and the mobile guard. The newly organised and purged republican guard fought the workers with great animosity and thereby won its spurs as the republican municipal guard.¹¹³

The mobile guard, which was mostly recruited from the Paris lumpenproletariat, has already during its brief period of existence, thanks to good pay, transformed itself into the praetorian guard of whoever was in power. The organised lumpenproletariat has given battle to the unorganised working proletariat. It has, as was to be expected, placed itself at the disposal of the bourgeoisie, just as the *lazzaroni* in Naples placed themselves at the disposal of

Ferdinand.^a Only those detachments of the mobile guard that consisted of *real* workers changed sides.

But in what a contemptible light the entire present state of affairs in Paris appears when one observes how these former beggars, vagabonds, rogues, gutter-snipes and small-time thieves of the mobile guard are being pampered, praised, rewarded and decorated when only in March and April every bourgeois described them as a ruffianly gang of robbers capable of all sorts of reprehensible acts, no longer to be tolerated. These “young heroes”, these “children of Paris”, whose courage is unrivalled, who climb barricades with the most dashing bravery etc., are treated that way because these ignorant barricade fighters of February now fire just as ignorantly upon the working proletariat as they had formerly fired upon soldiers, because they let themselves be bribed to massacre their brothers for thirty sous a day! Honour to these corrupt vagabonds because they have shot down the best and most revolutionary part of the Parisian workers for thirty sous a day!

The courage with which the workers have fought is truly marvellous. For three full days, 30,000 to 40,000 workers were able to hold their own against more than 80,000 soldiers and 100,000 men of the national guard, against grape-shot, shells, incendiary rockets and the glorious war experiences of generals who did not shrink from using methods employed in Algeria! They have been crushed and in large part massacred. Their dead will not be accorded the honour that was bestowed upon the dead of July and February. History, however, will assign an entirely different place to them, the martyrs of the first decisive battle of the proletariat.

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^a See this volume, p. 25.—*Ed.*

THE JUNE REVOLUTION¹¹⁴

The workers of Paris were *overwhelmed* by superior strength, but they were not *subdued*. They have been *defeated* but their enemies are *vanquished*. The momentary triumph of brute force has been purchased with the destruction of all the delusions and illusions of the February revolution, the dissolution of the entire moderate republican party and the division of the French nation into two nations, the nation of owners and the nation of workers. The tricolour republic now displays only *one colour*, the colour of the defeated, the *colour of blood*. It has become a *red republic*.

None of the big republican figures, whether of the *National* or the *Réforme*,¹¹⁵ sided with the people. In the absence of leaders and means other than rebellion itself, the people stood up to the united forces of the bourgeoisie and army longer than any French dynasty with the entire military apparatus at its disposal was ever able to stand up to any group of the bourgeoisie allied with the people. To have the people lose its last illusions and break completely with the past, it was necessary that the customary poetic trimmings of French uprisings—the enthusiastic bourgeois youth, the students of the *école polytechnique*, the *tricornes*—should be on the side of the suppressors. The medical students had to deny the wounded plebeians the succour of their science. Science does not exist for the plebeian who has committed the heinous, unutterable crime of fighting this time for his own existence instead of for Louis Philippe or Monsieur Marrast.

The Executive Committee,¹¹⁶ that last official vestige of the February revolution, vanished like a ghost in the face of these grave events. Lamartine's fireworks have turned into the incendiary rockets of Cavaignac.

Fraternité, the brotherhood of antagonistic classes, one of which exploits the other, this *fraternité* which in February was proclaimed

and inscribed in large letters on the façades of Paris, on every prison and every barracks—this *fraternité* found its true, unadulterated and prosaic expression in *civil war*, civil war in its most terrible aspect, the war of labour against capital. This brotherhood blazed in front of all the windows of Paris on the evening of June 25, when the Paris of the bourgeoisie held illuminations while the Paris of the proletariat was burning, bleeding, groaning in the throes of death.

This brotherhood lasted only as long as there was a fraternity of interests between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Pedants sticking to the old revolutionary tradition of 1793; socialist doctrinaires who begged alms for the people from the bourgeoisie and who were allowed to deliver lengthy sermons and compromise themselves so long as the proletarian lion had to be lulled to sleep; republicans who wanted to keep the old bourgeois order *in toto*, but without the crowned head; members of the dynastic opposition¹¹⁷ on whom chance imposed the task of bringing about the downfall of a dynasty instead of a change of government; legitimists,¹¹⁸ who did not want to cast off their livery but merely to change its style—these were the allies with whom the people had fought their February revolution. What the people instinctively hated in Louis Philippe was not Louis Philippe himself, but the crowned rule of a class, capital on the throne. But magnanimous as always, the people thought they had destroyed their enemy when they had overthrown the enemy of their enemies, their *common* enemy.

The *February revolution* was the *nice* revolution, the revolution of universal sympathies, because the contradictions which erupted in it against the monarchy were still *undeveloped* and peacefully dormant, because the social struggle which formed their background had only achieved a nebulous existence, an existence in phrases, in words. The *June revolution* is the *ugly* revolution, the nasty revolution, because the phrases have given place to the real thing, because the republic has bared the head of the monster by knocking off the crown which shielded and concealed it.

Order! was Guizot's war-cry. *Order!* shouted Sébastiani, the Guizotist, when Warsaw became Russian. *Order!* shouts Cavaignac, the brutal echo of the French National Assembly and of the republican bourgeoisie.

Order! thundered his grape-shot as it tore into the body of the proletariat.

None of the numerous revolutions of the French bourgeoisie since 1789 assailed the existing *order*, for they retained the class rule, the slavery of the workers, the *bourgeois order*, even though the political

form of this rule and this slavery changed frequently. The June uprising did assail this *order*. Woe to the June uprising!

Under the *Provisional Government* it was considered good form and, moreover, a *necessity* to preach to the magnanimous workers—who, as a thousand official posters proclaimed, “*placed three months of hardship at the disposal of the republic*”—it was both politic and a sign of enthusiasm to preach to the workers that the February revolution had been carried out *in their own interests* and that the principal issue of the February revolution was the *interests of the workers*. With the *opening* of the National Assembly the speeches became more prosaic. Now it was only a matter of *leading labour back to its old conditions*, as Minister Trélat said. Thus the workers fought in February in order to be engulfed in an industrial crisis.

It is the business of the National Assembly to undo the work of February, at least as far as the workers are concerned, and to fling them back to their old conditions. But even this was not done, because it is not within the power of any assembly any more than of a king to tell a universal industrial crisis—*advance up to this point and no further*. In its crude eagerness to end the embarrassment of the February phraseology, the National Assembly did not even take the measures that were *possible* on the basis of the old conditions. Parisian workers aged 17 to 25 were either pressed into the army or thrown onto the street; those from other parts were ordered out of Paris to Sologne without even receiving the money normally due to them under such an order; adult Parisians could for the time being secure a pittance in workshops organised on military lines on condition that they did not attend any public meetings, in other words on condition that they ceased to be republicans. Neither the sentimental rhetoric which followed the February events nor the brutal legislation after May 15¹¹⁹ achieved their purpose. A real, practical decision had to be taken. For whom did you make the February revolution, you rascals—for *yourselves* or for *us*? The bourgeoisie put this question in such a way that it had to be answered in June with grape-shot and barricades.

The entire National Assembly is nevertheless struck with paralysis, as one representative of the people^a put it on June 25. Its members are stunned when question and answer make the streets of Paris flow with blood; some are stunned because their illusions are lost in the smoke of gunpowder, others because they cannot understand how the people dare stand up *on their own* for their *own vital interests*. *Russian money, British money, the Bonapartist eagle, the lily*, amulets of

^a Ducoux.—*Ed.*

all kinds—this is where they sought an explanation of this strange event. *Both parts* of the Assembly feel however that a vast gulf separates them from the people. None of them dares stand up for the people.

As soon as the stupor has passed frenzy breaks out. The majority quite rightly greets with catcalls those pitiful utopians and hypocrites guilty of the anachronism of still using the term *fraternité*, brotherhood. The question at issue was precisely that of doing away with this term and with the illusions arising from its ambiguity. When the legitimist *Larochejaquelein*, the chivalrous dreamer, protested against the infamy of those who cried “*Vae victis! Woe to the vanquished!*” the majority of the deputies broke into a St. Vitus’s dance as if stung by a tarantula. They shouted *woe!* to the workers in order to hide the fact that it is precisely they themselves who are the “*vanquished*”. Either the Assembly must perish now, or the republic. And that is why it frantically yells—long live the republic!

Is the deep chasm which has opened at our feet to be allowed to mislead the democrats, to make us believe that the struggle over the form of the state is meaningless, illusory and futile?

Only weak, cowardly minds can pose such a question. Collisions proceeding from the very conditions of bourgeois society must be fought out to the end, they cannot be conjured out of existence. The best form of state is that in which the social contradictions are not blurred, not arbitrarily—that is merely artificially, and therefore only seemingly—kept down. The best form of state is that in which these contradictions reach a stage of open struggle in the course of which they are resolved.

We may be asked, do we not find a tear, a sigh, a word for the victims of the people’s wrath, for the national guard, the mobile guard, the republican guard and the troops of the line?

The state will care for their widows and orphans, decrees extolling them will be issued, their remains will be carried to the grave in solemn procession, the official press will declare them immortal, European reaction in the East and the West will pay homage to them.

But the plebeians are tormented by hunger, abused by the press, forsaken by the doctors, called thieves, incendiaries and galley-slaves by the respectabilities; their wives and children are plunged into still greater misery and the best of those who have survived are sent overseas. It is the *right* and the *privilege of the democratic press* to place laurels on their clouded threatening brow.

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THE KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG
ON THE JUNE REVOLUTION

Cologne, June 30. If one reads the following passages from the *London Telegraph* and compares them to the babble about the Paris June revolution that emanates from the German liberals, especially Herr Brüggemann, Herr Dumont and Herr Wolfers, one will have to admit that the English bourgeois, apart from many other distinctions, surpass the *German philistines* in at least *this* regard: although they judge great events from a bourgeois point of view, they judge them as *men* and not in the manner of *gutter-snipes*.

The *Telegraph* comments in its issue No. 122:

"... And here we may be expected to say something of the origin and consequence of this terrible bloodshed.

"At once it proclaims itself a complete battle between classes."

(A kingdom for such a thought—is the mental exclamation of the august *Kölnische Zeitung* and its "Wolfers".)

"It is an insurrection of the workmen against the government they believed themselves to have created, and the classes who now support it. How the quarrel immediately originated is less easy to explain, than to detect its lasting and ever present causes. *The revolution of February* was chiefly effected by the *working classes* [...] and it was proclaimed *to have been made for their advantage*. It was a social, more than a political revolution. The masses of discontented workmen have not all of a sudden sprung, endowed with all the capabilities of soldiers, into existence; nor are their distress and their discontent the offspring merely of the events of the last four months. On Monday only we quoted the statement, perhaps exaggerated, of M. Leroux, which was made, however, in the National Assembly, and not denied [...] that there are in France 8,000,000 beggars and 4,000,000 workmen who have no secure wages. He spoke generally, and meant expressly to describe the time *before* the revolution; for his complaint was, that *since* the revolution nothing had been done to remedy that great disease. The theories of Socialism and Communism which had become rife in France, and now exercise such influence over the public mind, grew

from the terribly depressed condition of the bulk of the population under the government of Louis Philippe [...]. The main fact to be kept in view is *the distressed condition of the multitude as the great living cause of the revolution*. [...]

... "The National Assembly [...] speedily voted to deprive the workmen of the advantages which the politicians of the revolution [...] had so hastily and unthinkingly conferred on them. In a *social*, if not *political*, point of view, a *great reaction* was apparent, and authority was invoked, backed by a large part of France, to *put down the men who had given that authority existence* [...]. That they should from such proceedings—first flattered and fed, then divided and threatened with starvation, drafted off to the country, where all the labour connections were destroyed, and a deliberate plan adopted to annihilate their power—that they should have been irritated can surprise no man; that after accomplishing one successful revolution they should have spontaneously thought they could bring about another, is not astonishing, and their chances of success against the armed force of the government, from the great length of time they have already resisted, seem greater than most people were prepared to expect. According to this view, which is confirmed by no political leaders having been detected amongst the people, and by the fact that the *ouvriers* ordered to quit Paris [...] proceeded no further than just outside the banners and then returned, *the insurrection is the consequence of a general feeling of indignation amongst the working classes and not of any political agency*. They fancy their interest is again betrayed by their own government, and they have taken up arms now as they took them up in February to fight against the terrible distress of which they have so long been the victims.

"The present battle, then, [...]^a is but a continuation of the battle which took place in February [...]. The contest is only a continuation of that struggle which pervades all Europe, more or less, for a fairer distribution of the annual produce of labour. Put down in Paris now it probably will be; for the force which the new authority has inherited from the old authority that it displaced, is apparently overwhelming. But, however successfully put down, it will be again and again renewed, till government either makes a fairer distribution of the produce of labour, or, finding that impossible, retreats from the awful responsibility of attempting it and leaves it to be decided by the [...] open competition of the market.... The real fight is for the means of comfortable subsistence; the middle classes have been deprived of them by the politicians who undertook to guide the revolution; they have been savaged as well as the workmen; the strongest passions of both are now roused into mischievous activity; and, forgetting their brotherhood, they make brutal war on each other. The ignorant if not ill-meaning government, which seems to have no conception of its duty in this extraordinary crisis, [...] has first hurled the workmen on the middle classes, and is now helping the middle classes to exterminate the deceived, deluded, and indignant workmen. The principle of the Revolution, the resolve to fight against distress and oppression, must not be suffered to bear the blame of this great calamity, it must be thrown rather on those ignorant meddling politicians who have so aggravated all the disasters bequeathed to them by Louis Philippe."

Thus writes a London newspaper of the bourgeoisie about the June revolution, a newspaper which represents the principles of Cobden, Bright etc. and which after the *Times* and the *Northern Star*, the two despots of the English press, according to the *Manchester Guardian*, is the most widely read paper in England.

^a Modified quotation. The *Telegraph* has: "The battle, then, that was raging on Friday, Saturday and Sunday."

Let us compare No. 181 of the *Kölnische Zeitung*! This remarkable newspaper transforms the *battle between two classes* into a *battle between respectable people and rogues*! What a worthy paper! As if the two classes did not hurl these epithets at each other. It is the same newspaper which *at first*, when rumours about the June uprising began to circulate, admitted *its total ignorance as to the nature* of the insurrection, and *then* had to get the information *from Paris* that an *important social revolution* was taking place whose scope would not be circumscribed *by one defeat*. Finally, strengthened by *one* defeat of the workers, it sees in the insurrection nothing but a battle between “the enormous majority” and a “wild horde” of “cannibals, robbers and murderers”.

What was the Roman slave war? *A war between respectable people and cannibals!* Herr *Wolfers* will write Roman history and Herr *Dumont* and Herr *Brüggemann* will enlighten the *workers*, the “unfortunate ones”, as to their real rights and duties and

“initiate them into *the science* which leads to order and which *forms* the true citizen”!

Long live the *science of Dumont-Brüggemann-Wolfers*, the secret science! To cite *one* example of this *secret science*: This praiseworthy triumvirate has told its gullible readers throughout two issues that General Cavaignac *wants to mine the district of St. Antoine*. The district of St. Antoine happens to be somewhat *larger than the golden city of Cologne*. The scientific triumvirate, however, that we recommend to the German National Assembly for ruling Germany, the triumvirate *Dumont-Brüggemann-Wolfers*, have overcome this difficulty; they know how to blow up the city of Cologne with one mine! Their notions of the mine which blows up the Faubourg St. Antoine correspond to the notion of the subterranean forces which undermine modern society, caused the Paris earthquake in June and spat up bloody lava from its revolutionary crater.

But dearest triumvirate! Great *Dumont-Brüggemann-Wolfers*, great personalities proclaimed by the world of advertisement! Cavaignacs of the world of advertisement! *We* modestly bowed our heads, bowed them before the greatest historical crisis that has ever broken out: the *class war between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat*. We have not created the fact, we have stated it. We have stated that one of the classes is *the conquered one* as *Cavaignac himself* says.¹²⁰ On the grave of the conquered, we have cried “*woe!*” to the victors and even Cavaignac shrinks from his historical responsibility! And the National Assembly charges with cowardice every member who does not openly accept the terrible historical responsibility. Did we open up the Sibylline Book for the *Germans* so that they should burn it? Do we ask the

Germans to become Englishmen when we describe the battle between the Chartists and the English bourgeoisie?

Germany, however, ungrateful Germany, you may know the *Kölnische Zeitung* and its advertisements but you do not know your greatest men, your *Wolfers*, your *Brüggemann* and your *Dumont*! How much sweat of the brain, sweat of the face and sweat of the blood has been shed in the *battle between classes*, in the battle between free men and slaves, patricians and plebeians, feudal lords and serfs, capitalists and workers! *But only because there was no Kölnische Zeitung*. But, most courageous triumvirate, if modern society produces “criminals”, “cannibals”, “murderers” and “plunderers” in such masses and with such energy that their insurrection shakes the basis of official society, what kind of society is this? What anarchy in alphabetical order! And you believe that you can heal the schism, that you have uplifted the actors and spectators of this terrible drama by dragging them down into a servant tragedy à la Kotzebue.

Among the *national guardsmen of the faubourgs St. Antoine, St. Jacques and St. Marceau* only 50 could be found who followed the call of the bourgeois bugle. Thus reports the *Paris Moniteur*, the official newspaper, the paper of Louis XVI, *Robespierre, Louis Philippe and Marrast-Cavaignac*! There is nothing simpler for the *science* which “turns” a man into a *true citizen*! The three largest faubourgs of Paris, the three most industrialised faubourgs of Paris, whose patterns made the muslins of Dacca and the velvet of Spitalfields pale and fade, are supposed to be inhabited by “cannibals”, “plunderers”, “robbers” and “criminals”. So says *Wolfers*!

And *Wolfers* is an honourable man!^a He has bestowed honours upon the rogues by having them fight greater battles, produce greater works of art and accomplish more heroic deeds than those of Charles X, Louis Philippe, Napoleon and the spinners of Dacca and Spitalfields.

We were just now mentioning the *London Telegraph*. Yesterday our readers heard *Emil Girardin*. The working class, he says, after allowing its debtor, the February revolution, to delay paying off its debts for a month, the working class, the creditor, knocked at the debtor’s house with the musket, the barricade and its own body! But *Emil Girardin*! Who is he? No anarchist! Heaven forbid! He is, however, a *republican of the coming day, a republican of the morrow (républicain du lendemain)* whereas the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the *Wolferses, Dumonts and Brüggemanns* are all *republicans of the day before yesterday, republicans before the republic and republicans of the eve (répub-*

^a Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, Act III, Scene 2.—Ed.

licains de la veille)! Can *Emil Girardin* give evidence by the side of *Dumont*?

Admire the patriotism of the Cologne newspaper as it *gloats with malicious pleasure over the deportations and hangings*. It only wants to prove to the world, to the incredulous, stone-blind German world, that the *republic is more powerful than the monarchy* and that the republican National Assembly with Cavaignac and Marrast was able to carry out what the constitutional Chamber of Deputies with Thiers and Bugeaud was unable to do! *Vive la république!* Long live the republic! exclaims the Spartan Cologne paper at the sight of Paris, bleeding, moaning and burning. The crypto-republican! That is why this paper is suspected of being *cowardly and unprincipled* by a *Gervinus*, by an *Augsburg paper*^a! The immaculate one! The Charlotte Corday of Cologne!

Please notice that *not one Paris newspaper*, not the *Moniteur*, not the *Débats* and not the *National*, speaks of “*cannibals*”, “*plunderers*”, “*robbers*” and “*murderers*”. There is only one newspaper, the paper of *Thiers*, the man whose immorality was condemned by *Jacobus Venedey* in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the man against whom the Cologne paper screamed at the top of its voice:

They are not going to get it,
Our own free German Rhine,^b

it is *Thiers*' paper, the *Constitutionnel*, from which the Belgian *Indépendance* and Rhenish science embodied in *Dumont*, *Brüggemann* and *Wolfers* derive their knowledge!

Examine now in a critical vein these scandalous anecdotes with which the *Kölnische Zeitung* brands the oppressed, the same newspaper which *at the outbreak of fighting* declared its complete *ignorance* of the nature of the struggle, which *during the battle* declared it to be an “*important social revolution*”, and which *after the battle* calls it a boxing match between *the police and the robbers*.

They *looted!* But what did they loot? *Weapons, ammunition, surgical dressings* and the *most necessary items of food*. The robbers wrote on the window shutters: “*Mort aux voleurs!*” *Death to the robbers!*

They “*murdered like cannibals*”. The cannibals did not willingly permit the *national guardsmen*, who advanced upon the barricades *behind the regular troops*, to *smash the skulls* of their *wounded*, to shoot their overwhelmed comrades and to stab their women. The cannibals who *exterminated* during a *war of extermination* as a French bourgeois

^a *Allgemeine Zeitung*.—Ed.

^b Nikolaus Becker, “Der deutsche Rhein”.—Ed.

newspaper writes! They *set on fire*? Yet the *sole* incendiary torch which they hurled against the *legitimate* incendiary rockets of Cavaignac in the 8th arrondissement was a *poetic, imaginary* torch, as the *Moniteur* confirms.

"Some," says Wolfers, "held up high the programme of Barbès, Blanqui and Sobrier, the others hailed Napoleon and Henry V."

The chaste *Cologne* newspaper, which has not been pregnant either with the descendants of Napoleon or with Blanqui, declared already on the second day of the insurrection that the "fight was waged in the name of the *red republic*". What then is she babbling about *pretenders*? She is, however, as has already been intimated, an obdurate *crypto-republican*, a female Robespierre that scents pretenders everywhere, and these pretenders cause her morality to shudder.

"Almost all of them had money and several of them had considerable sums."

There were from 30,000 to 40,000 workers and "almost all of them had money" during this time of want and business slump! The money was probably *so scarce because the workers had hidden it!*

The Paris *Moniteur* has published with the greatest conscientiousness all cases where *money* was found on the insurgents. There were at most *twenty* such cases. Different newspapers and correspondents have repeated these cases and cited different sums. The *Kölnische Zeitung*, with its tried critical tact, which takes all these different reports of the *twenty* cases for so many different cases and then still adds all the cases circulated by rumours, might at best perhaps arrive at 200 cases. And that entitles the paper to state that almost all the 30,000 to 40,000 workers had money! All that has been established is that legitimist, Bonapartist and perhaps Philippist emissaries provided with money mingled or intended to mingle with the barricade fighters. M. Payer, that most conservative member of the National Assembly, who spent 12 hours as a prisoner among the insurgents, declares:

"*Most of them were workers who had been driven to desperation by four months of misery. They said: Better to die of a bullet than of starvation!*"

"*Many, very many of the dead,*" affirms Wolfers, "bore the ominous mark with which society stigmatises crime."

That is one of the base lies, shameful calumnies and infamies which *Lamenais*, the foe of the insurgents and the man of the *National*, has stigmatised in his *Peuple constituant*—and which the always chivalrous legitimist *Larochejaquelain* has stigmatised in the National Assembly. The entire lie is based upon the quite

unconfirmed assertion of *one* press-agency, which has *not been corroborated* by the *Moniteur*, that *eleven corpses* had been discovered which were marked with the letters T. F.^a And in which revolution have the eleven corpses not been found? And which revolution will not brand with these letters eleven times 100?

Let us note that the newspapers, proclamations and illuminations of the victors testify that they starved out, drove to desperation, bayoneted, fusilladed, buried alive and deported the vanquished and desecrated their corpses. And against the conquered there are only *anecdotes*, and only anecdotes that are related by the *Constitutionnel*, reprinted by the *Indépendance* and translated into German by the *Kölnische*. There is no greater insult to truth than to try to prove it by an *anecdote*, says—*Hegel*.^b

The women are sitting in front of the houses of Paris and scraping *lint* for dressings for the wounded, even the wounded insurgents. The editors of the *Kölnische Zeitung* pour *sulphuric acid* into their wounds.

They have denounced *us* to the bourgeois *police*. We recommend in return that the *workers*, the “*unfortunate ones*”, let themselves “be enlightened as to their real rights and duties and initiated into the *science* which leads to order and which forms the true citizen”, by the immortal triumvirate *Dumont-Brüggemann-Wolfers*.

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^a Convict brand (*travaux forcés*: forced labour).— *Ed.*

^b G. W. F. Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes*. VI. “Der Geist”, § Die Bildung und ihr Reich der Wirklichkeit.— *Ed.*

THE JUNE REVOLUTION¹²¹

[THE COURSE OF THE PARIS UPRISING]

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 31, July 1, 1848]

Gradually we gain a more comprehensive view of the June revolution; fuller reports arrive, it becomes possible to distinguish facts from either hearsay or lies, and the nature of the uprising stands out with increasing clarity. The more one succeeds in grasping the interconnection of the events of the four days in June, the more is one astonished by the vast magnitude of the uprising, the heroic courage, the rapidly improvised organisation and the unanimity of the insurgents.

The workers' plan of action, which Kersausie, a friend of Raspail and a former officer, is said to have drawn up, was as follows:

The insurgents, moving in four columns, advanced concentrically towards the Hôtel de Ville.

The first column, whose base of operations was the suburbs of Montmartre, La Chapelle and La Villette, advanced southwards from the barrières of Poissonnière, Rochechouart, St. Denis and La Villette, occupied the boulevards and approached the Hôtel de Ville through the rues Montorgueil, St. Denis and St. Martin.

The second column, whose base was the faubourgs du Temple and St. Antoine, which are inhabited almost entirely by workers and protected by the St. Martin Canal, advanced towards the same centre through the rues du Temple and St. Antoine and along the quays of the northern bank of the Seine as well as through all other streets running in the same direction in this part of the city.

The third column based on the Faubourg St. Marceau advanced towards the Île de la Cité through the rue St. Victor and the quays of the southern bank of the Seine.

The fourth column, based on the Faubourg St. Jacques and the vicinity of the Medical School, advanced along the rue Saint Jacques

also to the Cité. There the two columns joined, crossed to the right bank of the Seine and enveloped the Hôtel de Ville from the rear and flank.

Thus the plan, quite correctly, was based on the districts in which only workers lived. These districts form a semicircular belt, which surrounds the entire eastern half of Paris, widening out towards the east. First of all the eastern part of Paris was to be cleared of enemies, and then it was intended to move along both banks of the Seine towards the west and its centres, the Tuileries and the National Assembly.

These columns were to be supported by numerous flying squads which, operating independently alongside and between the columns, were to build barricades, occupy the smaller streets and be responsible for maintaining communications.

The operational bases were strongly fortified and skilfully transformed into formidable fortresses, e.g. the Clos St. Lazare, the Faubourg and Quartier St. Antoine and the Faubourg St. Jacques, in case it should become necessary to retreat.

If there was any flaw in this plan it was that in the beginning of the operations the western part of Paris was completely overlooked. Here there are several districts eminently suitable for armed action on both sides of the rue St. Honoré near the Halles and the Palais National, which have very narrow, winding streets inhabited mainly by workers. It was important to set up a fifth centre of the insurrection there, thus cutting off the Hôtel de Ville and at the same time holding up a considerable number of troops at this projecting strongpoint. The success of the uprising depended on the insurgents reaching the centre of Paris as quickly as possible and seizing the Hôtel de Ville. We cannot know what prevented Kersausie from organising insurgent action in this district. But it is a fact that no uprising was ever successful which did not at the outset succeed in seizing the centre of Paris adjoining the Tuileries. It suffices to mention the uprising which took place during General Lamarque's funeral¹²² when the insurgents likewise got as far as the rue Montorgueil and were then driven back.

The insurgents advanced in accordance with their plan. They immediately began to separate their territory, the Paris of the workers, from the Paris of the bourgeoisie, by two main fortifications—the barricades at the Porte Saint Denis and those of the Cité. They were dislodged from the former, but were able to hold the latter. June 23, the first day, was merely a prelude. The plan of the insurgents already began to emerge clearly (and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* grasped it correctly at the outset, see No. 26, special

supplement^a), especially after the first skirmishes between the advanced guards which took place in the morning. The boulevard St. Martin, which crosses the line of operation of the first column, became the scene of fierce fighting, which, partly due to the nature of the terrain, ended with a victory for the forces of "order".

The approaches to the Cité were blocked on the right by a flying squad, which entrenched itself in the rue Planche-Mibray; on the left by the third and fourth columns, which occupied and fortified the three southern bridges of the Cité. Here too a very fierce battle raged. The forces of "order" succeeded in taking the St. Michel Bridge and advancing to the rue St. Jacques. They felt sure that by the evening the revolt would be suppressed.

The plan of the forces of "order" stood out even more clearly than that of the insurgents. To begin with, their plan was merely to crush the insurrection with all available means. They announced their design to the insurgents with cannon-ball and grape-shot.

But the Government believed it was dealing with an uncouth gang of common rioters acting without any plan. After clearing the main streets by the evening, the Government declared that the revolt was quelled, and the stationing of troops in the conquered districts was undertaken in an exceedingly negligent manner.

The insurgents made excellent use of this negligence by launching the great battle which followed the skirmishes of June 23. It is quite remarkable how quickly the workers mastered the plan of campaign, how well-concerted their actions were and how skilfully they used the difficult terrain. This would be quite inexplicable if in the national workshops the workers had not already been to a certain extent organised on military lines and divided into companies, so that they only needed to apply their industrial organisation to their military enterprise in order to constitute immediately a fully organised army.

On the morning of the 24th they had not only completely regained the ground they had lost, but even added new terrain to it. True, the line of boulevards up to the boulevard du Temple remained in the hands of the troops, thus cutting off the first column from the centre, but on the other hand the second column pushed forward from the Quartier St. Antoine until it almost surrounded the Hôtel de Ville. It established its headquarters in the church of St. Gervais, within 300 paces of the Hôtel de Ville. It captured the St. Merri monastery and the adjoining streets and advanced far beyond the Hôtel de Ville, so that together with the columns in the Cité it almost

^a See this volume, pp. 124-27.—*Ed.*

completely encircled the Hôtel de Ville. Only one way of approach, the quays of the right bank, remained open. In the south the Faubourg St. Jacques was completely reoccupied, communication with the Cité was restored, reinforcements were sent there, and preparations were made for crossing to the right bank.

There was no time to be lost. The Hôtel de Ville, the revolutionary centre of Paris, was threatened and was bound to fall unless the most resolute measures were taken.

[*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 32, July 2, 1848]

Cavaignac was appointed dictator by the terrified National Assembly. Accustomed as he was in Algeria to "energetic" action, he did not have to be told what to do.

Ten battalions promptly moved towards the Hôtel de Ville along the wide Quai de l'École. They cut off the insurgents in the Cité from the right bank, secured the safety of the Hôtel de Ville and even made it possible to attack the barricades surrounding it.

The rue Planche-Mibray, and its continuation, the rue Saint Martin, were cleared and kept permanently clear by cavalry. The Notre-Dame Bridge, which lies opposite and leads to the Cité, was swept by heavy guns, and then Cavaignac advanced directly on the Cité in order to take "energetic" measures there. The "*Belle Jardinière*", the main strongpoint of the insurgents, was first shattered by cannon and then set on fire by rockets. The rue de la Cité was also seized with the aid of gun-fire; three bridges leading to the left bank were stormed and the insurgents on the left bank were pressed back. Meanwhile, the 14 battalions deployed on the Place de Grève and the quays freed the besieged Hôtel de Ville and reduced the church of Saint Gervais from a headquarters to a lost outpost of the insurgents.

The rue St. Jacques was not only bombarded from the Cité but also attacked in the flank from the left bank. General Damesme broke through along the Luxembourg to the Sorbonne, seized the Quartier Latin and sent his columns against the Panthéon. The square in front of the Panthéon had been transformed into a formidable stronghold. The forces of "order" still faced this unassailable bulwark long after they had taken the rue St. Jacques. Gun-fire and bayonet attacks were of no avail until finally exhaustion, lack of ammunition and the threat of the bourgeois to set the place on fire compelled the 1,500 workers, who were completely hemmed in, to surrender. At about the same time, the Place Maubert fell into the hands of the forces of "order" after a long and courageous resistance, and the insurgents,

deprived of their strongest positions, were forced to abandon the entire left bank of the Seine.

Meanwhile the troops and national guards stationed on the boulevards of the right bank of the Seine were likewise put into action in two directions. Lamoricière, who commanded them, had the streets of the faubourgs St. Denis and St. Martin, the boulevard du Temple and part of the rue du Temple cleared by heavy artillery and swift infantry attacks. By the evening he could boast of brilliant successes. He had cut off and partly surrounded the first column in the Clos St. Lazare; he had pushed back the second column and by advancing along the boulevards had thrust a wedge into it.

How did Cavaignac win these advantages?

First, by the vastly superior force he was able to use against the insurgents. On the 24th he had at his disposal not only the 20,000-strong Paris garrison, the 20,000 to 25,000 men of the mobile guard and the 60,000 to 80,000 available men of the national guard, but also the national guard from the whole environs of Paris and from many of the more distant towns (20,000 to 30,000 men) and in addition 20,000 to 30,000 soldiers who were called in with the utmost dispatch from the neighbouring garrisons. Even on the morning of the 24th he had well over 100,000 men at his disposal, and by the evening their numbers had increased by half. The insurgents, on the other hand, numbered 40,000 to 50,000 men at most!

Secondly, by the brutal means he used. Until then cannon had been fired in the streets of Paris only once, i.e. in Vendémiaire 1795, when Napoleon dispersed the insurgents in the rue Saint Honoré with grape-shot.¹²³ But no artillery, let alone shells and incendiary rockets, was ever used against barricades and against houses. The people were unprepared for this, they were unable to defend themselves, for the only counteraction they could take was to set fire to houses, but this was repugnant to their sense of what was right. Up till then the people had no idea that this brand of Algerian warfare could be used right in the centre of Paris. They therefore retreated, and their first retreat spelt their defeat.

On the 25th Cavaignac attacked with even larger forces. The insurgents were confined to a single district, the faubourgs Saint Antoine and du Temple; in addition they still held two outposts, the Clos St. Lazare and a part of the St. Antoine district up to the Damiette Bridge.

Cavaignac, who had received further reinforcements of 20,000 to 30,000 men as well as a substantial park of artillery, first attacked the isolated outposts of the insurgents, especially the Clos St. Lazare. The insurgents were entrenched here as in a fortress. After a

12-hour bombardment with cannon and mortar shells, Lamoricière finally succeeded in dislodging the insurgents and occupying the Clos St. Lazare, but not until he had mounted a flank attack from the rues Rochechouart and La Poissonnière, and had demolished the barricades by bombarding them with 40 guns on the first day and with an even greater number on the next.

Another part of his column penetrated through the Faubourg Saint Martin into the Faubourg du Temple, but was not very successful. A third section moved along the boulevards towards the Bastille, but it did not get very far either, because a number of the most formidable barricades there resisted for a long time and only succumbed after a fierce cannonade. The houses here suffered appalling destruction.

Duvivier's column advancing from the Hôtel de Ville pressed the insurgents back still further with the aid of incessant artillery fire. The church of St. Gervais was captured, a long stretch of the rue Saint Antoine well beyond the Hôtel de Ville was cleared, and several columns moving along the quay and streets running parallel to it seized the Damiette Bridge, which connected the insurgents of the St. Antoine district with those of the St. Louis and Cité islands. The Saint Antoine district was outflanked and the insurgents had no choice but to fall back into the faubourg, which they did in fierce combat with a column advancing along the quays to the mouth of the St. Martin Canal and thence along the boulevard Bourdon skirting the canal. Several insurgents who were cut off were massacred, hardly any were taken prisoner.

The St. Antoine district and the Place de la Bastille were seized in this operation. Lamoricière's column managed to occupy the whole boulevard Beaumarchais by the evening and join up with Duvivier's troops on the Place de la Bastille.

The capture of the Damiette Bridge enabled Duvivier to dislodge the insurgents from the Île St. Louis and the former Île Louvier. He did this with a commendable display of Algerian barbarity. Hardly anywhere in the city was heavy artillery used with such devastating effect as in the Île St. Louis. But what did that matter? The insurgents were either driven out or massacred and among the blood-stained ruins "order" triumphed.

One more post remained to be seized on the left bank of the Seine. The Austerlitz Bridge, which east of the St. Martin Canal links the Faubourg St. Antoine with the left bank of the Seine, was heavily barricaded and had a strong bridgehead on the left bank where it adjoins the Place Valhubert in front of the Botanical Gardens. This bridgehead, which after the fall of the Panthéon and the Place

Maubert was the last stronghold of the insurgents on the left bank, was taken after stubborn resistance.

Only their last bulwark, the Faubourg St. Antoine and a part of the Faubourg du Temple, was thus left to the insurgents on the following day, the 26th. Neither of these faubourgs is very suitable for street-fighting; the streets there are fairly wide and almost perfectly straight, offering full play for the artillery. Their western side is well protected by the St. Martin Canal, but the northern side is completely exposed. Five or six perfectly straight, wide streets run from the north right into the centre of the Faubourg Saint Antoine.

The principal fortifications were at the Place de la Bastille and in the rue Faubourg St. Antoine, the main street of the whole district. Remarkably strong barricades were set up there, built partly of big flagstones and partly of wooden beams. They were constructed in the form of an angle pointing inward in order partly to weaken the effect of the gun-fire, partly to offer a larger defensive front making cross-fire possible. Openings had been made in the fire-proof walls of the houses so that the rows of houses were connected with each other, thus enabling the insurgents to open rifle-fire on the troops or withdraw behind the barricades as circumstances demanded. The bridges and quays along the canal as well as the streets running parallel to it were also strongly fortified. In short, the two faubourgs the insurgents still held resembled a veritable fortress, in which the troops had to wage a bloody battle for every inch of ground.

On the morning of the 26th the fighting was to be resumed, but Cavaignac was not keen on sending his troops into this maze of barricades. He threatened to shell them; mortars and howitzers were brought up. A parley was held. Cavaignac meanwhile ordered the nearest houses to be mined, but this could only be done to a very limited extent, because the time was too short and because the canal covered one of the lines of attack; he also ordered internal communication to be established between the occupied houses and the adjoining houses through gaps in the fire-proof walls.

The negotiations broke down and fighting was resumed. Cavaignac ordered General Perrot to attack from the Faubourg du Temple and General Lamoricière from the Place de la Bastille. The barricades were heavily shelled from both directions. Perrot pushed forward fairly rapidly, occupied the remaining section of the Faubourg du Temple and even penetrated into the Faubourg St. Antoine at several points. Lamoricière's advance was slower. The first barricades withstood his guns, although his grenades set the first houses of the faubourg on fire. He began once more to negotiate. Watch in hand he awaited the moment when he would have the

pleasure of shelling and razing to the ground the most thickly populated district of Paris. Some of the insurgents at last capitulated, while others, attacked in the flank, withdrew from the city after a short battle.

It was the end of the June barricade fighting. Skirmishes still continued outside the city, but they were of no significance. The insurgents who fled were scattered in the neighbourhood and were one by one captured by cavalry.

We have given this purely military description of the struggle to show our readers with what heroic courage, unity, discipline and military skill the Paris workers fought. For four days 40,000 of them opposed forces four times their strength, and were within a hairbreadth of victory. They almost succeeded in gaining a footing in the centre of Paris, taking the Hôtel de Ville, forming a Provisional Government and doubling their number not only by people from the captured parts of the city joining them but also from the ranks of the mobile guard, who at that time needed but a slight impetus to make them go over to their side.

German newspapers assert that this was the decisive battle between the red and the tricolour republics, between workers and bourgeois. We are convinced that this battle will decide *nothing* but the disintegration of the victors. Moreover, the whole course of events proves that, even from a purely military standpoint, the workers are bound to triumph within a fairly short space of time. If 40,000 Paris workers could achieve such tremendous things against forces four times their number, what will the whole mass of Paris workers accomplish by concerted and co-ordinated action!

Kersausie was captured and by now has probably been shot. The bourgeois can kill him, but cannot take from him the fame of having been the *first to organise street-fighting*. They can kill him, but no power on earth can prevent his techniques from being used in all future street-fighting. They can kill him, but they cannot prevent his name from going down in history as the *first commander-in-chief of barricade fighting*.

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