illiberal philistinism, to the detriment, of course, of our real interests. From the standpoint of this petty philistinism, the great question of Poland's liberation was therefore reduced to the paltry slogan calling for reorganisation of a part of the Province of Posen, while our enthusiasm for the Poles turned into shrapnel and lunar caustic.

War with Russia, we repeat, was the only possible means of upholding Germany's honour and Germany's interests. We shrank from it and the inevitable happened—the reactionary soldiery, beaten in Berlin, raised their head again in Posen; under the pretext of saving Germany's honour and national integrity they raised the banner of counter-revolution and crushed our allies, the revolutionary Poles—and for a moment the hoodwinked Germans exultantly applauded their victorious enemies. The new partition of Poland was accomplished, and only the sanction of the German National Assembly was still missing.

The Frankfurt Assembly still had a chance to mend matters: it should have excluded the whole of Posen from the German Confederation and left the border question open until it could be discussed with a restored Poland d'égal à égal.

But that would be asking too much of our professors, lawyers and pastors who sit in the Frankfurt National Assembly. The temptation was too great. These peaceful burghers, who had never fired a rifle, were, by simply rising or remaining seated, to conquer for Germany a country of 500 square miles and to incorporate 800,000 "Netze brethren", German Poles, Jews and Poles, even though this was to be done at the expense of the honour and of the real, lasting interests of Germany—what a temptation! They succumbed to it, they endorsed the partition of Poland.

What the motives were, we shall see tomorrow.

[Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 82, August 22, 1848]

Cologne. August 21. We shall leave aside the preliminary question as to whether the deputies from Posen should take part in the discussion and voting and proceed at once to the debate on the main question.

Herr Stenzel, the reporter, opened the debate with an appallingly confused and verbose speech. He poses as a historian and a conscientious man, he speaks of fortresses and field-works, of heaven and hell, of sympathies and German hearts. He goes back to the eleventh century to prove that the Polish nobility has always oppressed the peasants. He uses a few meagre facts from Polish history as an excuse for an unending stream of the most insipid
commonplaces about nobility, peasants, towns, benefactions of the absolute monarchy etc. He defends the partition of Poland in a clumsy and self-conscious manner; he explains the provisions of the Constitution of May 3, 1791, in such a completely muddled way that those members not already familiar with it now know even less about it. He is just about to turn to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw when he is interrupted by the exclamation: “This is too much!” and by the President.

Thrown into complete confusion, the great historian continues with the following touching words:

“I shall be brief. The question is—what are we to do? This question is quite natural” (!literally). “The nobility wants to restore the Empire. It asserts that it is democratic. I do not doubt that this is meant in honesty. However, gentlemen, it is quite natural (!) for certain estates to cherish great illusions. I believe completely in their sincerity, but when princes and counts must join the people, I do not know how the merging is to come about” (why should that concern Herr Stenzel!). “In Poland it is impossible” etc.

Herr Stenzel speaks as if in Poland there were no difference at all between nobility and aristocracy. Lelewel’s Histoire de Pologne, which he himself quotes, Mieroslawski’s Débat entre la révolution et la contrerévolution en Pologne and a great many other recent publications could disabuse the “man who has studied history for many years”. Most of the “princes and counts” mentioned by Herr Stenzel are precisely those against whom Polish democracy is fighting.

Therefore, Herr Stenzel thinks, the nobility with its illusions should be dropped and a Poland for the peasants set up (by incorporating one Polish district after another into Germany).

“You should, on the contrary, hold out your hands to the poor peasants so that these can rise up and perhaps (!) succeed in establishing a free Poland, and not only in establishing it but also in maintaining it. That, gentlemen, is the main thing!”

Elated with victory, the historian leaves the rostrum accompanied by exultant shouts of “Bravo!”, “Excellent!” from the national twaddlers of the Centre groups. To describe the new partition of Poland as a blessing for the Polish peasants, this astonishingly absurd turn of events was of course bound to bring tears of emotion to the eyes of the genial and philanthropic mass in the Centre of the Assembly!

Next comes Herr Goeden from Krotoszyn, a German Pole of the first water. He is followed by Herr Senff from Inowroclaw, a fine example of a “Netze brother”, devoid of guile. He put his name down as a speaker against the motion tabled by the committee but spoke for the motion and, as a result of this trick, a speaker against the motion lost his turn.
The way the "Netze brethren" behave here is the most ludicrous comedy one can imagine and shows once again what a genuine Prussian is capable of. We all know that the profit-hungry Jewish-Prussian small fry from Posen, who fought against the Poles, acted in close unity with the bureaucracy, the royal Prussian officers and the Brandenburg and Pomeranian squirearchy, in short with all who were reactionary and old-Prussian. The betrayal of Poland was the first insurrection of the counter-revolution, and no one was more counter-revolutionary than the "Netze brethren".

Now let us here in Frankfurt take a look at these rabidly Prussophile schoolmasters and officials with their "God for King and Fatherland," who call their counter-revolutionary betrayal of Polish democracy a revolution, a real and genuine revolution in the name of the sovereign "Netze brotherhood", who trample historical rights under foot and over the allegedly dead Poland exclaim: "Right is on the side of the living!"

But that's how the Prussian behaves: on the Spree by "the grace of God", on the Warta the sovereign people; on the Spree mob riots, on the Warta the revolution; on the Spree "historical right which does not have no date"; on the Warta the right of the living facts which date from yesterday—but for all that his faithful Prussian heart is devoid of guile, is honest and upright!

Let us hear Herr Goeden.

"This is the second time that we are having to defend a cause which is so important and so momentous for our country that, had it not of itself turned out (!) to be entirely right as far as we are concerned, it would have been necessary to make it so (!!). Our right is rooted not so much in the past as in the fast beating pulse" (and especially in beatings with the butt-end) "of the present."

"As a result of the" (Prussian) "occupation, the Polish peasants and townspeople found themselves in a state of security and well-being which they had never known previously." (Especially not since the time of the Polish-Prussian wars and the partitions of Poland.)

"The infringement of justice implied in the partition of Poland is completely expiated by the humane attitude of your" (the German) "people" (and in particular by the floggings ordered by Prussian officials), "by its diligent work" (on Polish land which has been stolen and given away), "and in April of this year also by its blood!"

The blood of Herr Goeden from Krotoszyn!

"The revolution is our right and we are here on the strength of it!"

"The proof that we have been legally incorporated into Germany does not consist of parchment documents, turned yellow with age; we have not been acquired through

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a These words are taken from the decree on the establishment of an army reserve issued by Frederick William III on March 17, 1813.—Ed.
b Modified quotation from Schiller's "An die Freunde".—Ed.
c This ungrammatical phrase occurred in a speech of the Right-wing Deputy Lichnowski (see this volume, p. 369).—Ed.
marriage, inheritance, purchase or exchange; we are Germans, and belong to our fatherland because a sovereign will which is rational and just impels us, a will which is based on our geographical position, our language and customs, our numbers (!), our property, but above all on our German way of thinking and our love of our fatherland."

“Our rights are so secure and rest so firmly in the modern concept of the world, that one does not even need a German heart to be compelled to recognise this!”

Long live the “sovereign will” of the Prussian-Jewish “Netze brotherhood”, a will which rests in the “modern concept of the world”, relies on the shrapnel “revolution” and is rooted in the “fast beating pulse” of the present, with its martial law! Long live the German nationalism of the bureaucrats’ salaries in Posen, of the plunder of church and state property and of loans à la Flottwell!

The oratorical knight of superior rights is followed by the impertinent “Netze brother”. Even Stenzel’s motion is still too polite towards the Poles for Herr Senff of Inowroclaw; he therefore proposes a somewhat ruder wording. With the same impudence with which he used this pretext to put his name down as a speaker against the motion, he now declares that to debar the Posen deputies from voting was a disgraceful injustice.

“I believe that the deputies from Posen are especially competent to take part in the voting, for it is the most important rights of those who have sent us here which are at issue.”

Herr Senff then talks about Poland’s history since the first partition, elaborating it with a series of deliberate falsifications and gross lies so that, in comparison, Herr Stenzel is a pitiable dabbler. Everything that is tolerable in Posen owes its inception to the Prussian Government and the “Netze brethren”.

“The Grand Duchy of Warsaw was set up. The Prussian officials were replaced by Polish officials and, in 1814, hardly a trace remained of the benefits these provinces derived from Prussian rule.”

Herr Senff is quite right. “No trace remained” of serfdom or of the cash contributions that Polish districts had to pay to Prussian educational institutions, e.g. the University of Halle, or of the extortions and brutalities perpetrated by Prussian officials who did not speak Polish. But Poland was not yet lost for, thanks to Russia, Prussia began to thrive once more and Posen was again incorporated into Prussia.

“From that time on, the Prussian Government renewed its efforts to improve conditions in the Province of Posen.”

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a The words are from the Polish national anthem.—Ed.
Those who want to know more about this should read Flottwell's memorandum of 1841. Up to 1830, the Government did nothing at all. Flottwell found only four miles of highway in the whole Grand Duchy! Shall we enumerate Flottwell's benefactions? Herr Flottwell, a cunning bureaucrat, sought to bribe the Poles by building roads, opening up rivers, draining marshes etc.; but he bribed them not with the money of the Prussian Government, but with their own money. All those improvements were, in the main, carried through with the aid of private and district resources and, though the Government occasionally contributed some money, this was only a small fraction of the amount it extracted from the province as taxes and revenues from the Polish state and church domains. The Poles, moreover, are indebted to Herr Flottwell not only for the continuing suspension (since 1826) of district council elections, but especially for the gradual expropriation of Polish landowners as a result of the Government buying up the auctioned estates of noblemen and reselling them only to loyal Germans (Order in Council of 1833). The last benefaction of Flottwell's administration was the improvement of the educational system. But this too was a measure designed to further Prussianisation. Prussian teachers were to Prussianise the young noblemen and future Catholic priests in the secondary schools, and the peasants in the primary schools. In an unguarded outburst, Herr Wallach, the Regierungspräsident of the Bromberg administrative district, has divulged the purpose of these educational establishments. He writes to Herr Beurmann, the Oberpräsident, that the Polish language is one of the chief obstacles to the dissemination of education and well-being among the rural population. This is indeed quite true if the teacher does not speak Polish.

Incidentally, it was again the Poles themselves who paid for these schools. For, first of all, the majority, including the most important institutes, which did not, however, directly serve the goal of Prussianisation, were founded and endowed by private contributions or by the Provincial Estates and, secondly, even the schools designed to Prussianise the population were maintained out of the revenues of monasteries secularised on March 31, 1833, and only 21,000 talers a year, for ten years, were granted by the treasury.

Herr Flottwell admits, moreover, that all reforms were initiated by the Poles. The fact that the greatest benefactions of the Prussian Government consisted in the collection of large revenues and taxes

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a "Denkschrift des Oberpräsidenten Herrn Flottwell, ueber die Verwaltung des Gros-Herzogthum Posen, vom Dezember 1830 bis zum Beginn des Jahres 1841."—Ed.
and in enlisting young men into the Prussian military service, is passed over in silence by Herr Flottwell, just as it is by Herr Senff.

In short, all the benefactions of the Prussian Government simply amount to the provision of posts for Prussian non-commissioned officers in Posen, be it as drill-master, schoolmaster, policeman or tax-collector.

We cannot discuss in detail the other unfounded accusations which Herr Senff levels against the Poles, nor his false statistical data. It is sufficient to say that the purpose of Herr Senff's speeches is simply to make the Assembly detest the Poles.

Herr Robert Blum follows. As usual, he delivers what is called a profound oration, i.e. an oration which contains more opinion than reason and more rhetoric than opinion, and which, incidentally, as a piece of rhetoric—as we have to admit—produces no greater effect than the "modern concept of the world" of Herr Goeden from Krotoszyn. Poland is the rampart against Nordic barbarism ... if the Poles have vices it is the fault of their oppressors ... old Gagern declares that the partition of Poland is the nightmare that weighs on our time ... the Poles warmly love their fatherland and, in this respect, we might take a leaf out of their book ... danger is imminent from Russia ... if the red republic were victorious in Paris and desired to liberate the Poles by force of arms, what then, gentlemen?... Let us not be prejudiced etc., etc.

We are sorry for Herr Blum, but when all these fine observations are divested of their rhetorical flourishes, nothing remains but the most vapid political hot air, be it political hot air on a grand scale and in high style—as we gladly admit. Even when Herr Blum asserts that, to be consistent, the National Assembly must act in Schleswig, Bohemia, the Italian Tyrol, the Russian Baltic provinces and Alsace according to the same principle as in Posen, the argument is justified only with regard to the stupid lies about nationality and the convenient inconsistency of the majority. When, again, he asserts that, if Germany wants to behave decently, she can conduct negotiations on Posen only with an already existing Poland, we shall not deny this, but merely observe that this argument—the only weighty one of his speech—had been advanced hundreds of times before by the Poles themselves and in a much more convincing way, whereas Herr Blum, with great "restraint and indulgent moderation", shoots it quite ineffectively, like a blunt rhetorical arrow, at the callous breast of the majority.

Herr Blum is right when he says that shrapnel is no argument, but he is wrong—and he knows it—when he tries impartially to take a
"moderate" superior standpoint. Herr Blum may not clearly understand the Polish question, but that is his own fault. He is in a sorry plight however, first, when he hopes to prevail upon the majority to demand even a report from the Central Authority, and secondly, when he imagines he will gain anything by virtue of a report furnished by the Ministers of this Central Authority, who, on August 6, submitted so disgracefully to the Prussian desire for sovereignty. To sit with the "extreme Left" one must first of all entirely discard indulgent moderation and refrain from attempts to secure anything, however small, from the majority.

Whenever the Polish question is debated, almost the entire Left indulges, as usual, in declamation or even in extravagant rhapsody, without discussing the facts and the actual content of the question. Yet, with regard to this question in particular, there is ample material available and the facts are extremely convincing. But this requires that one really studies the problem, and one can of course save oneself the trouble, since, having passed through the purgatory of the election, one is no longer accountable to anybody.

We shall return to the few exceptions to this rule in the course of the debate. Tomorrow we shall say a few words to Herr Wilhelm Jordan, who is no exception, but who this time, in the literal sense and for definite reasons, follows the multitude.

[Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 86, August 26, 1848]

Cologne, August 25. At last, thank God, we leave the low sandy plain of vapid political hot air and enter the more elevated Alpine regions of great debate. At last we mount the cloud-covered peak where eagles nest, where man finds himself face to face with the gods and looks down disdainfully on the diminutive rabble that far, far below grapples with the few arguments at the disposal of the ordinary human intellect. At last, after the skirmishes of a Blum with a Stenzel, a Goeden, a Senff of Inowroclaw, the great battle begins, during which Ariostian heroes scatter the splintered arrows of their mind all over the battlefield.

The ranks of the combatants open reverentially and Herr Wilhelm Jordan of Berlin advances with drawn sword.

Who is Herr Wilhelm Jordan of Berlin?

In the heyday of German men of letters, Herr Wilhelm Jordan of Berlin was one such in Königsberg. Semi-legal meetings were held in
the Böttchershöfchen. Herr Wilhelm Jordan went to one, read a poem of his—"Der Schiffer und sein Gott" [The Skipper and His God]—and was expelled.

Herr Wilhelm Jordan of Berlin went to Berlin. Certain student meetings were held there. Herr Wilhelm Jordan recited a poem—"Der Schiffer und sein Gott"—and was expelled.

Herr Wilhelm Jordan of Berlin went to Leipzig. There, too, some innocuous meetings were held. Herr Wilhelm Jordan recited a poem—"Der Schiffer und sein Gott"—and was expelled.

Herr Wilhelm Jordan, moreover, published several of his writings: a poem "Glocke und Kanone" [Bell and Cannon]; a collection of Lithuanian folk-songs, including some of his own manufacture, in particular songs of Poland written by himself; translations of George Sand's works; a periodical, the incoherent "comprehended world" etc.—all this in the service of the renowned Herr Otto Wigand, who has not yet got on so far as his French original, M. Pagnerre; furthermore, he published a translation of Lelewel's Histoire de Pologne, with an introduction full of enthusiasm for Poland etc.

The revolution came. En un lugar de la Mancha, cuyo nombre no quiero acordarme—En a locality in the German Mancha, in Brandenburg, where Don Quixotes still thrive, a locality the name of which I do not like to remember, Herr Wilhelm Jordan of Berlin proposed himself as candidate for the German National Assembly. The peasants of the district were amiably constitutional men. Herr Wilhelm Jordan delivered several impressive speeches, full of the most constitutional amiability. The delighted peasants elected the great man as their deputy. As soon as he arrived in Frankfurt, the noble "irresponsible" man took his seat on the "extreme" Left and voted with the republicans. The peasants who, as electors, have produced this parliamentary Don Quixote, send him a vote of no confidence, reminding him of his promises and recalling him. But Herr Wilhelm Jordan considers that his word is as little binding as that of a king and at every opportunity continues to sound his "bell and cannon" in the Assembly.

Each time Herr Wilhelm Jordan mounted the pulpit of St. Paul's Church, he in fact recited only a poem—"Der Schiffer und sein Gott"—but this does not mean that he therefore deserves to be expelled.

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a Die begriffene Welt. Blätter für wissenschaftliche Unterhaltung.—Ed.
b "At a certain village of La Mancha, which I shall not name"—the words with which Cervantes' Don Quixote begins.—Ed.
c The meeting place of the German National Assembly in Frankfurt.—Ed.
Let us listen to the great Wilhelm Jordan’s latest ringing of the bell and the most recent roar of his cannon about Poland.

"On the contrary I believe that we must raise ourselves to the world-historical standpoint, from which the Posen affair has to be examined in terms of its significance as an episode in the great Polish drama."

The powerful Herr Wilhelm Jordan has, with one move, raised us high above the clouds to the lofty, snow-capped Chimborazoo of the "world-historical standpoint" and unfolds an infinite prospect before us.

But, to begin with, he remains for a moment in the commonplace sphere of "special" deliberation, and with much success at that. Here are a few examples:

"It" (the Netze district) “later, as a result of the Treaty of Warsaw” (i.e. the first partition), “came under Prussian rule and has since remained in Prussia, if one leaves out of account the short interlude of the Duchy of Warsaw.”

Herr Jordan speaks here of the Netze district as distinct from the rest of Posen. What source does he use here, this knight of the world-historical standpoint, the expert in Polish history, the translator of Lelewel? None other than the speech of Herr Senff of Inowroclaw! He sticks so closely to this source, that he quite forgets that, in 1794, the other, Polish part of Posen “came under Prussian rule and, if one leaves out of account the short interlude of the Duchy of Warsaw, has since remained in Prussia”. But the “Netze brother” Senff never mentioned this, and the “world-historical standpoint” consequently knows merely that the administrative district of Posen “came under Prussian rule” only in 1815.

“Furthermore, from time immemorial, the western districts of Birnbaum, Meseritz, Bomst and Fraustadt\(^a\) have been German as regards the overwhelming majority of their inhabitants—you can see this even from the names of these towns.”

And the district of Międzychód, Herr Jordan, was “from time immemorial Polish”, as regards the overwhelming majority of its inhabitants—you can see this even from the name, can’t you, Herr Jordan?

The district of Międzychód is nothing but the district of Birnbaum. Międzychód is the Polish name of the town.

What backing will these etymological chambers of reunion of the “world-historical standpoint” of the “comprehended world” obtain from the Christian-German Herr Leo! Not to mention the fact that Mailand, Lüttich, Genf, Kopenhagen\(^b\) have been “German from

\(^a\) The Polish names are Międzychód, Międzyrzecz, Babimost, Wschowa.—Ed.
\(^b\) The German names for Milan, Liége, Geneva and Copenhagen.—Ed.
time immemorial, as you can see even from their names”. Does not the “world-historical standpoint” also deduce the immemorial Germanity of Haimons-Eichicht, Welsch-Leyden, Jenau and Kaltenfelde “even from their names”? True, he will have trouble finding these primevally German names on the map and when he learns that they denote Le Quesnoi, Lyons, Genoa and Campo Freddo, he will only have Herr Leo, who manufactured them, to thank for his embarrassment.

What will the world-historical standpoint say, if presently the French claim Cologne, Coblenz, Mayence and Frankfort as primevally French territory? Woe then to the world-historical standpoint!

But let us dwell no longer on these petites misères de la vie humaine, they also befall greater men. Let us follow Herr Wilhelm Jordan of Berlin, as he soars to higher spheres. He says of the Poles that one “likes them more the further away one is from them and the less one knows about them, and one likes them less the closer one gets to them”. Hence the reason for “this affection is not some superior quality of the Polish character but rather a certain cosmopolitan idealism”.

But how does the world-historical standpoint explain that the peoples of the world do not “like” a certain nation, either when they are “at a great distance from it” or when they “get closer” to it, and that, with rare concurrence, they despise, exploit, deride and spurn this nation? This is the German nation.

The world-historical standpoint will say, this is due to “cosmopolitan materialism”, thus extricating himself.

Quite untroubled by such petty objections, however, the world-historical eagle on his mighty pinions soars higher and higher, until he reaches the pure ether of the idea that exists in itself and for itself, and gives vent to the following heroic world-historical Hegelian hymn:

“Even if one vindicates history, which in the course of its necessary progress inexorably crushes with its iron heel a nation that is no longer strong enough to maintain its position among equal nations, it would nevertheless be inhuman and barbaric to feel no sympathy when one observes the long suffering of such a people, and I am far from harbouring such callous thoughts.” (God will not fail to reward you for this, noble Jordan!) “But it is one thing to be moved by a tragedy, and quite another to attempt to undo this tragedy. It is precisely the fact that the hero succumbs to iron necessity that turns his fate into true tragedy and, trying to interfere with the course of destiny and out of human considerations attempting to stay the revolving wheels of history and turn them back once more, is to expose oneself to the danger of being crushed by them. The desire to restore Poland simply because her ruin justly fills us with sorrow, is, to my mind, imbecile sentimentality!”

\[^{a}\text{ Small mishaps of life.— Ed.}\]
What an abundance of ideas! What profound wisdom! What stirring language! Thus speaks the world-historical standpoint, once he has corrected the shorthand reports of his speeches.

The Poles have the choice; if they want to stage a "true tragedy" they have to submit humbly to being destroyed by the iron heel and the revolving wheels of history and say to Nicholas: Thy will be done! If, however, they want to rebel and, for a change, try to use the "iron heel of history" to crush their oppressors, then there is no "true tragedy", and Herr Wilhelm Jordan of Berlin can no longer take any interest in them. Thus speaks the world-historical standpoint whose aesthetic knowledge stems from Professor Rosenkranz.

What was the inexorable, the iron necessity which has temporarily destroyed Poland? It was the decline of the noblemen’s democracy based on serfdom, that is the development of a big aristocracy within the nobility. This was a step forward, as it was the only way out of the antiquated noblemen’s democracy. What was the result? The iron heel of history, i.e. the three Eastern autocrats, crushed Poland. The aristocracy was compelled to enter into an alliance with foreign states, in order to cope with the noblemen’s democracy. The Polish aristocracy until recently, and partially even up to the present, remained the faithful ally of Poland’s oppressors.

What is the reason for the inexorable, the iron necessity for Poland’s liberation? It is the fact that the rule of the aristocracy in Poland, which has continued, since 1815, at least in Posen and Galicia, and to some extent even in Russian Poland, is today just as antiquated and hollow as was the democracy of the lower nobility in 1772. It is the fact that the establishment of a form of agrarian democracy has become vital to Poland, not only politically but also socially; the fact that agriculture, the source of existence of the Polish people, will be ruined, if the peasants who are serfs or liable to labour services, do not become free landowners, and the fact that an agrarian revolution cannot possibly be carried through without simultaneously winning a national existence and taking possession of the Baltic coast and the estuaries of the Polish rivers.

And Herr Jordan of Berlin calls this attempting to stay the revolving wheels of history and trying to turn them back once more!

It is true that the old Poland of the noblemen’s democracy died and was buried long since, and only Herr Jordan can expect that anyone wants to nullify the “true tragedy” of this Poland, but the “hero” of this tragedy has produced a strapping son, and many a foppish
Berlin literary man may indeed shudder at the thought of making his closer acquaintance. This son, who is still only preparing to act out his drama and to put his shoulder to the “revolving wheels of history”, but who is bound to achieve success, this son is the Poland of the peasant democracy.

Some stale literary flourishes, a little imitated contempt of the world—which in Hegel was a sign of audacity, but becomes a cheap and nonsensical platitude in Herr Jordan—in short a sample of the bell and cannon, “sound and fury” expressed in inadequate sentences and, in addition, incredible confusion and ignorance of quite ordinary historical circumstances—this is what the world-historical standpoint amounts to.

Long live the world-historical standpoint and its comprehended world!

Cologne, August 26. The second day of battle provides an even grander picture than the first. True, we miss Herr Wilhelm Jordan of Berlin, whose lips captivated the hearts of all who heard him, but let us be modest, a Radowitz, Wartensleben, Kerst and Rodomont-Lichnowski are not to be despised.

Herr Radowitz mounts the rostrum first. The speech of the leader of the Right is short, firm and calculated. No more declamation than necessary. Wrong premises, but concise rapid conclusions based on these premises. An appeal to the fear of the Right. Cold-blooded certainty of success which banks on the cowardice of the majority. Profound contempt for the entire Assembly, for the Right as well as the Left. These are the outlines of the short speech delivered by Herr Radowitz, and we understand very well the effect these few icy and unostentatious words were bound to produce in an assembly used to hearing the most pompous and shallow rhetorical exercises. Herr Wilhelm Jordan of Berlin would have been delighted, if with his entire “comprehended” and not comprehended world of images he had produced a tenth of the effect Herr Radowitz produced with his short and, basically, also quite superficial speech.

Herr Radowitz is not a man of “character”, not a steadfast worthy, but he is a person with clear-cut, distinct traits; one needs only to read one of his speeches to know him thoroughly.

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We have never coveted the honour of being an organ of any particular group of the parliamentary Left. On the contrary, because of the various different elements from which the democratic party has been formed in Germany, we have considered it essential to keep an especially close watch on the democrats. In view of the lack of energy, of decision, of talent and of knowledge we have encountered among the leaders, with a few exceptions, of all parties, we are pleased that Herr Radowitz is at least a worthy opponent.

Herr Radowitz is followed by Herr Schuselka. In spite of all previous warnings, he nevertheless makes a touching appeal to the heart. An immensely long-winded discourse, interspersed with a few historical arguments and occasionally some Austrian common sense. On the whole, it has a wearisome effect.

Herr Schuselka has gone to Vienna, having been elected a member of the Imperial Diet which meets in that city. This is the right place for him. If in Frankfurt he sat on the Left, there he will find himself in the Centre. If in Frankfurt he had some influence, his first speech in Vienna will prove a failure. This is the fate of all literary and philosophical great pot-house politicians, who use the revolution only to improve their own position—if for a moment they are placed on really revolutionary ground, they disappear at once.

The ci-devant Count von Wartensleben follows. Herr Wartensleben steps forth as a portly, honest man overflowing with benevolence, who tells anecdotes about his march as a member of the army reserve to the Polish frontier in 1830, he then turns into Sancho Panza and speaks in proverbs to the Poles, e.g. a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush, and, at the same time, he quite innocently manages to slip in the following perfidious remark:

“What is the reason that even Polish officials were not prepared to take over the reorganisation of the part that was to be ceded? I fear they are themselves afraid, they feel that they are not yet advanced enough to be able to organise the population in an orderly manner, and consequently merely pretend that it is Polish patriotism which prevents them from making even the initial preparations for a happy resurrection!”

In other words, the Poles have, for eighty years, been continuously fighting and sacrificing their lives and property for a cause which they themselves regard as impossible and absurd.

In conclusion Herr Wartensleben is in agreement with Herr Radowitz.

Mr. Janiszewski from Posen, a member of the Posen National Committee, mounts the rostrum.

Mr. Janiszewski’s speech is the first piece of truly parliamentary eloquence to be delivered from the rostrum of St. Paul’s Church. At
last we hear a speaker who does not simply try to win the approval of the hall, but whose language is marked by true dynamic passion, and who, for this reason, produces an effect quite different from that produced by any of the preceding speakers. Blum's appeal to the conscience of the Assembly, Jordan's cheap bombast, Radowitz's cold logic, Schuselka's genial prolixity, all, without exception, sink into insignificance by the side of this Pole who fights for the existence of his nation and demands the restoration of his legitimate rights. Janiszewski speaks in an impasioned and forceful way, but without declamation. He merely reports facts with the justified indignation, without which a correct description of such facts is impossible and which is doubly justified after the shameless misrepresentations made earlier in the debate. His speech, which in fact constitutes the core of the debate, refutes all earlier attacks against the Poles, makes amends for the mistakes of the supporters of the Poles, leads the debate back to the only real and just basis, and deprives speakers of the Right who are to follow of the most high-sounding arguments in advance.

"You have swallowed the Poles, but, by God, you shall not digest them!"231

This striking summary of Janiszewski's speech will endure, as will also the pride with which he replies to the begging speeches of the supporters of the Poles:

"I do not come to you as a beggar, I come relying on my legitimate right; I do not ask for sympathy but only for justice."

Mr. Janiszewski is followed by Herr Kerst, a head-master from Posen. The Pole fighting for the existence and the social and political freedom of his people is followed by a Prussian schoolmaster who has immigrated to Posen and is fighting for his salary. The fine passionate indignation of the oppressed is followed by the trite impudence of the bureaucrat who lives on oppression.

The partition of Poland "which today is called a disgrace" was at the time "a quite ordinary event".

"The right of peoples to separate according to nationality is a brand-new right recognised nowhere.... It is only actual possession which matters in politics."

These are a few of the pithy expressions on which Herr Kerst bases his arguments. They are followed by the most clumsy contradictions:

"As a result of the acquisition of Posen, a piece of land has been incorporated into Germany which is indeed predominantly Polish", and a little later: "As far as the Polish part of Posen is concerned, it has not asked to be joined to Germany and, as far as I know, you, gentlemen, do not intend to admit this part against its will!"
In this connection he gives statistical data about the population ratio, data which correspond to the famous survey of the "Netze brethren", according to which only those are regarded as Poles who do not speak any German, and all those are deemed Germans who speak a little broken German. Finally comes a most artificial calculation, by which he proves that the minority that voted for joining Germany, when the vote was taken in the Posen Provincial Diet—a minority of 17 to 26—was really a majority:

"It is true that under the Provincial Law there must be a majority of $\frac{2}{3}$ to pass resolutions. Now, it is true that 17 is not quite $\frac{2}{3}$ of 26, but the missing fraction is so small that over such a serious question it cannot really be taken into consideration."

Thus, if the minority is $\frac{2}{3}$ of the majority, then it is "under the Provincial Law" a majority! The old Prussians will greatly honour Herr Kerst for this discovery.— But in fact the position is this—in order to make an application, $\frac{2}{3}$ must vote for it. Admission into the German Confederation was such an application. Application for admission was therefore only legal if $\frac{2}{3}$ of the Assembly, i.e. $\frac{2}{3}$ of the 43 who took part in the division, voted for it. But, instead, almost $\frac{2}{3}$ voted against it. But what does it matter? For 17 is almost "$\frac{2}{3}$ of 43"!

It is not surprising that the Poles are not so well "educated" as are the citizens of the "Staat der Intelligenz" if this intelligent state sends them teachers who are such expert arithmeticians.

Herr Clemens from Bonn makes the correct observation that the Prussian Government was not interested in the Germanisation of Posen but in its Prussianisation, and compares the attempts to Prussianise Posen with similar attempts in the Rhineland.

Herr Ostendorf of Soest, the son of red soil, reads from a compendium of political platitudes and twaddle, he indulges in possibilities, probabilities and conjectures, jumping from one subject to another, from Herr Jordan to the French, from the red republic to the redskins of North America, and puts the Poles on a par with them, and the "Netze brethren" on a par with the Yankees. An audacious comparison worthy of the red soil! Imagine Herr Kerst, Herr Senff and Herr Goeden as backwoodsmen in a log hut with shotgun and spade—what a priceless comedy!

Herr Franz Schmidt from Löwenberg mounts the rostrum. He speaks calmly and unostentatiously. This is all the more commendable since Herr Schmidt belongs to a profession which is usually

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b Westphalia.—Ed.
excessively fond of declamation, i.e. the German Catholic priesthood. Herr Schmidt’s speech, after that of Janiszewski, is certainly the best of the whole debate, because it is the most convincing and best informed. Herr Schmidt demonstrates that the committee’s display of learning (the content of which we have already examined*) hides abysmal ignorance of actual conditions. Herr Schmidt, who has lived for many years in the Grand Duchy of Posen, shows that even with regard to this small district, which he knows in great detail, the committee has made the crudest blunders. He shows that the committee has failed to give the Assembly adequate information about any of the decisive questions and has even called upon the Assembly to make decisions at random without any factual data or any knowledge of the matter. He demands in the first place information about the actual state of affairs. He proves that the proposals of the committee are incompatible with their premises. He quotes Flottwell’s memorandum and calls upon Flottwell, who is also present as a deputy, to make a statement should the document not be genuine. He finally makes public the fact that the “Netze brethren” came to Gagern and, by false news about an alleged uprising in Posen, tried to persuade him to bring the debate to a rapid close. True, Gagern denied this, but Herr Kerst has loudly boasted of it.

The majority has taken revenge on Herr Schmidt for his bold speech by seeing to it that the speech was falsified in the stenographic reports. Herr Schmidt himself three times rectified the nonsense inserted in one passage, but it was nevertheless printed. Table-banging against Schlöffel,\textsuperscript{b} crude violence against Brentano\textsuperscript{292} and falsification against Schmidt—the gentlemen of the Right are indeed subtle critics!

Herr Lichnowski concludes the sitting, but we shall save this friend of ours for the next article; one should not act precipitately when dealing with a speaker of Herr Lichnowski’s calibre!

\textit{[Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 91, September 1, 1848]}

\textit{Cologne, August 31. The bel-homme of the Assembly, the German Bayard, the knight without fear and without reproach, the ex-Prince (Paragraph 6 of the Fundamental Rights\textsuperscript{283}) von Lichnowski mounts the rostrum with chivalrously courteous propriety and a self-satisfied smile. With the pure accents of a Prussian lieutenant and with

\textsuperscript{a} See this volume, pp. 337-49.—\textit{Ed.}

\textsuperscript{b} Ibid., p. 18.—\textit{Ed.}
disdainful nonchalance, he divests himself of the few disconnected thoughts he has to communicate to the Assembly.

The handsome knight is definitely a necessary element in this debate. If there is anyone to whom Herr Goeden, Herr Senff and Herr Kerst have still not demonstrated the worth of the German Poles sufficiently clearly, the example of the knight Lichnowski will show him what a disgusting phenomenon—despite the comely figure—is the Prussianised Slav. Herr Lichnowski and the German Poles are kindred spirits; by his mere appearance on the rostrum, Herr Lichnowski makes the dossier more complete. The *slachcie* from Upper Silesia who has been transformed into a Prussian squire from the backwoods provides a living example of what the loving Prussian Government intends to do with the nobility of Posen. Herr Lichnowski, despite all his protestations, is not a German, he is a "reorganised" Pole; he does not speak German, he speaks Prussian.

Herr Lichnowski begins with the assertion that he feels the most chivalrous sympathy for the Poles, he pays compliments to Mr. Janiszewski, he upholds the Poles' claim to "the great poetry of martyrdom", and then he suddenly makes an about turn and asks: Why has this sympathy waned? Because "the Poles fought in the first line at the barricades" in all insurrections and revolutions! This is indeed a crime that will no longer be committed once the Poles are "reorganised". Incidentally, we can give Herr Lichnowski the reassuring information that even among the "Polish emigrants" and even among the Polish nobility in exile who, according to Herr Lichnowski, have sunk so low, there are people who have remained entirely uncontaminated by any contact with the barricades.

Now follows an amusing scene.

Lichnowski: "The gentlemen of the Left, who trample under foot documents that have turned yellow with age, have, in a conspicuous way, evoked historical rights. There is no justification for stressing one date as against another in the interest of the Polish cause. With regard to historical right there does not exist no date." (Loud laughter on the Left.)

"With regard to historical right there does not exist no date." (Loud laughter on the Left.)

President: "Gentlemen, allow the speaker to finish the sentence, do not interrupt him."

Lichnowski: "Historical right does not have no date." (Laughter on the Left.)

President: "Please do not interrupt the speaker, silence, please!" (Agitation.)

Lichnowski: "As regards historical right, no date exists" (cheers and hilarity on the Left) "which could vindicate a greater degree of right than any earlier date!"

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* A Polish nobleman.—Ed.

* This ungrammatical phrase of Lichnowski's is used several times by Engels in this series of articles.—Ed.
Were we not justified in saying that the noble knight speaks not German, but Prussian?

The historical right which "does not have no date" encounters a formidable adversary in our noble paladin.

"If we go further back into history, we find" (in Posen) "many districts which were Silesian and German; if we go back still further, we reach the time when Leipzig and Dresden were built by Slavs, and we then arrive at Tacitus, and God only knows, where the gentlemen would lead us if we were to broach this subject."

The world must be in a bad way. The estates of the Prussian knights must be mortgaged beyond redemption, the pressure of their Jewish creditors must have become formidable, their promissory notes must be coming due for payment in rapid succession, public auction, imprisonment, dismissal from service owing to thoughtlessly incurred debts—all these horrors of extreme pecuniary distress must threaten the Prussian knights with inevitable ruin, for things to have come to such a pass that a Lichnowski attacks the same historical right in whose defence he won his spurs at Don Carlos' round table.²³⁴

True, only God knows whither the bailiffs would convey the lean knights a if we were to broach the subject of the historical right governing debts! Yet, are these debts not their best quality and the only one that can serve the Prussian paladins as an excuse?

The bel-homme then comes to his subject and observes that, when speaking to the German Poles, one should not "paint a vague picture of a remote and obscure future Poland" (!); he thinks the Poles would not be satisfied with Posen:

"If I had the honour to be a Pole, I would every morning and every evening ponder on the re-establishment of the old Polish kingdom."

But since Herr Lichnowski does not "have the honour", since he is merely a reorganised Pole of Upper Silesia [Wasserpolack],²³⁵ he ponders on quite different and less patriotic matters "every morning and every evening."

"To be frank, I must say that a few hundred thousand Poles must become Germans, which, to tell the truth, would not, under the present conditions, be a misfortune for them either."

On the contrary, how nice it would be if the Prussian Government laid out a new plantation to grow still more of the wood from which the Lichnowskis are made.

²³⁴ "The lean knights" (die magere Ritterschaft) is from Heinrich Heine's poem Deutschland. Ein Winternmärchen, Caput VIII.— Ed.
The moustache-twirling knight continues to talk for some time in the same pleasantly nonchalant manner, which is in the main intended for the ladies in the gallery, but is still good enough for the Assembly as well, and then concludes:

"I have nothing more to say. It is now up to you to decide whether to absorb five hundred thousand Germans or to turn them away ... but in that case, you will cross out the poem of our old national bard: 'As far as the German language rings, and God in Heaven his poem sings.' Strike out this poem!"

It is indeed bad that, when old Arndt wrote his poem, he did not think of the Polish Jews and their German. But fortunately, we have our Upper Silesian paladin. Who is not aware of the nobility's old obligations to the Jews, obligations that have become respectable in the course of centuries? What the old plebeian omitted, Lichnowski, the knight, remembers.

As far as a Polish Jew jabbers of German a spate, Lends at high interest, falsifies money and weight
— that is the extent of Herr Lichnowski's fatherland!

[Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 93, September 3, 1848]

Cologne, September 2. The third day of the debate revealed a general weariness. The same arguments are repeated without any improvement and the stenographic report would have been dull enough to send one to sleep if the first honourable speaker, Citizen Arnold Ruge, had not produced his rich stock of new reasons.

Citizen Ruge moreover [knows] his merits better than anyone else. He promises:

"I will apply all the passion I possess and all my knowledge."

He tables a motion; this is, however, not an ordinary motion, not a motion in general, but the only correct motion, the true motion, the absolute motion:

"There is nothing else that can be proposed and that is admissible. One can choose to do something else, gentlemen, for man is able to deviate from the correct path. By deviating from what is right, man shows that he has free will ... but what is right does not thereby cease to be right. In our case, my motion represents the only right thing that can be done."

* From Ernst Moritz Arndt's poem "Des Deutschen Vaterland". — Ed.
(In this case therefore, Citizen Ruge sacrifices his “free will” to what is “right”.)

Let us closer examine the passion, the knowledge and the only right thing of Citizen Ruge.

“The destruction of Poland is a shameful injustice because it has stifled the remarkable development of a nation that had rendered great services to the European family of nations and in a resplendent way had developed chivalry, one of the aspects of medieval life. The republic of nobles was prevented by despotism from bringing about its own internal (!) abolition, which would have been possible by means of the Constitution that had been prepared during the revolutionary period.”

The people in Southern France were, in the Middle Ages, no closer to the people in Northern France than the Poles are now to the Russians. In the Middle Ages, the Southern French, commonly called Provençals, achieved not only a “remarkable development”, they even led European development. They were the first modern nation to have a literary language. Their poetry was regarded by all Romance peoples, and even by the Germans and the English, as a model unequalled at the time. They vied with the Castilians, the Northern Frenchmen and the English Normans in the perfection of feudal chivalry and were equal to the Italians in industry and commerce. They did not only develop “one aspect of medieval life” “in a resplendent way”, they even produced a flash of the ancient Hellenic culture in the darkest Middle Ages. The people from Southern France have, therefore, rendered not only great, but immeasurable “services to the European family of nations”. Nevertheless, like the Poles, they were first partitioned between Northern France and England and later completely subjugated by the Northern French. From the wars against the Albigenses\(^{256}\) to Louis XI, the Northern French—who were culturally just as inferior to their Southern neighbours as the Russians to the Poles—waged continuous wars of conquest against the Southern French and, finally, conquered the whole country. The Southern French “republic of nobles” (this designation is quite correct for its heyday) “was prevented by despotism” (Louis XI) “from bringing about its own internal abolition”, which would have been certainly no less possible there, owing to the rise of the middle class in the towns, than it would have been in the Polish case by means of the Constitution of 1791.

The Southern French fought against their oppressors for centuries—but historical development was inexorable. After a struggle lasting three centuries, their beautiful language was reduced to a patois and they themselves were turned into Frenchmen. Northern French despotism ruled over Southern
France for three hundred years and, only then, did the Northern French make amends for their oppressive rule—by destroying the last vestiges of Southern French independence. The Constituent Assembly divided up the independent provinces, and it was the iron fist of the Convention that first turned the inhabitants of Southern France into Frenchmen and, in reparation for their nationality, gave them democracy. What Citizen Ruge says about the Poles is, however, quite literally a fitting description of the three hundred years of oppression:

“Russia’s despotism has not liberated the Poles; the annihilation of the Polish nobility and the exile of so many noble families from Poland has not established democracy or humane conditions of life in Russia.”

But the subjugation of Southern France by the Northern French has never been called “shameful injustice”. What is the reason, Citizen Ruge? Either the subjugation of Southern France is a shameful injustice, or the subjugation of Poland is not a shameful injustice. It is up to Citizen Ruge to decide.

What is the difference between the Poles and the people of Southern France? Why was Southern France like inert ballast taken in tow by the Frenchmen from the North, even as far as the total obliteration of its nationality, whereas the Poles have every prospect of finding themselves very soon in the van of all Slav nationalities?

As a result of social conditions which we cannot explain in detail here, Southern France became the reactionary section of France. Its opposition to Northern France very soon became opposition to the progressive classes in the whole of France. It became the principal support of feudalism and has remained the backbone of the French counter-revolution up to now.

Poland, on the other hand, became a revolutionary part of Russia, Austria and Prussia, as a result of social conditions which we examined earlier (No. 81). Its opposition to its oppressors was, at the same time, opposition to the big aristocracy in Poland itself. Even the nobility, which was in part still feudal, supported the democratic-agrarian revolution with quite unprecedented selflessness. Poland had already become the focus of East-European democracy, when Germany was still floundering in the ideology of the most insipid constitutionalism and high-flown philosophy.

This, and not the resplendent development of chivalry which belongs to the past, guarantees the restoration of Poland and makes it inevitable.

— See this volume, pp. 350-53.— Ed.
But Herr Ruge has also a second reason for the necessity of an independent Poland within the "European family of nations".

"The violence which has been done to the Poles has scattered them throughout Europe and they are everywhere giving vent to their anger over the injustice they suffered ... the Polish spirit has been humanised and purified in France and in Germany (!?): the Polish emigration constitutes propagation of freedom" (No. 1). "The Slavs have become capable of entering the great European family of nations" (the "family" is unavoidable!) "for ... their emigration has become the true apostolate of freedom" (No. 2). "The entire Russian army (!!) has been infected with modern ideas by the Poles, these apostles of freedom" (No. 3). "I respect the forthright conviction of the Poles, which they have demonstrated throughout Europe, to make propaganda for freedom with all their might" (No. 4). "Throughout the annals of history they will be honoured for being pioneers" (No. 5). "wherever they have acted as pioneers (!!!). The Poles are the element of freedom" (No. 6), "which has been tossed into Slavdom; they have led the Slav Congress in Prague towards freedom" (No. 7), "they have been active in France, Russia and Germany. The Poles consequently constitute an effective element in present-day culture as well, they are effective, and because they are effective, because they are necessary, they are by no means dead."

Citizen Ruge has to prove that the Poles are, first, necessary, and second, not dead. He does this by saying: "Because they are necessary, they are by no means dead."

If one removes a few words—Poles, element, freedom, propaganda, culture, apostolate—from the above lengthy passage, in which one and the same idea is repeated seven times, one can see what remains of the whole bombastic statement.

Citizen Ruge has to prove that the restoration of Poland is necessary. He proves this in the following way: The Poles are not dead, on the contrary they are very much alive, they are effective, they are the apostles of freedom in the whole of Europe. What is the reason for this? The violence, the shameful injustice perpetrated on them, has scattered them all over Europe, where they gave vent to their anger over the injustice they suffered, to their just revolutionary anger. This anger has been "purified" during their exile, and this purified anger has enabled them to become apostles of freedom and has placed them "first at the barricades". What follows from this? Wipe out the shameful injustice, the violence done, restore Poland, and the "anger" ceases, in can no longer be purified, the Poles go home and cease to be "apostles of freedom". If it was only the "anger over the injustice they suffered" that turned the Poles into revolutionaries, then the removal of the injustice will turn them into reactionaries. If the only thing that keeps the Poles alive is reaction to oppression, then remove oppression and they will be dead.

Citizen Ruge therefore proves the exact opposite of what he wants
to prove. His arguments show that, in the interest of freedom and of the European family of nations, Poland must not be re-established.

Incidentally, the fact that, when discussing Poland, Citizen Ruge mentions only the emigrants and sees only emigrants at the barricades, throws a strange light on his "knowledge". We certainly do not want to hurt the feelings of the Polish emigrants, who have proved their energy and courage on the battlefield and during eighteen years of conspiratorial activity in the interests of Poland. But we cannot deny that those who are well acquainted with the Polish emigrants know that they are far from being as apostolically freedom-loving and as keen on barricade fighting as they are depicted by Citizen Ruge who, in good faith, repeats ex-Prince Lichnowski's assertions. The Polish emigrants have steadfastly persevered, have endured much and have worked hard for the restoration of Poland. But have the Poles within Poland done less, have they not braved greater dangers, have they not risked incarceration in Moabit and Spielberg, the knout and Siberian mines, Galician butcheries and Prussian shrapnel? But all this does not exist for Herr Ruge. He has not noticed either that the Poles who did not emigrate, have absorbed much more of the general European culture and have understood the needs of Poland, where they have lived all the time, much better than almost all the emigrants apart from Lelewel and Mieroslawski. All intelligent thinking which exists in Poland, or to use Ruge's expression, which "has come to the Poles and upon the Poles", is attributed by Citizen Ruge to their stay abroad. In No. [81]a we have shown that the Poles did not have to go either to the French political dreamers—who failed in February, thanks to their own phrases—or to the profound German ideologists—who have not yet been able to find an opportunity to fail—in the quest for an understanding of their country's needs; and that Poland itself was the best school to gain an understanding of what Poland needs. It is the great merit of the Poles that they were the first to realise and to propagate the fact that, for all Slav nations, the only possible form of liberation is agrarian democracy and not, as Citizen Ruge imagines, that the Poles "introduced into Poland and Russia" general phrases, such as "the great idea of political freedom, which matured in France, and even (!) the philosophy which emerged in Germany" (and in which Herr Ruge was submerged).

After this speech by Citizen Ruge, the Poles can exclaim: God protect us from our friends and we will protect ourselves from our enemies! But it has always been the greatest misfortune of the Poles

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*a See this volume, pp. 350-53.— Ed.*
Articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

that their non-Polish friends defend them with the worst possible arguments.

It certainly speaks in favour of the Left in Frankfurt that, apart from a few exceptions, the deputies of the Left were perfectly delighted with Citizen Ruge's speech on Poland, a speech which contained the following passage:

"Whether we have in mind democratic monarchy, democratised monarchy (!) or pure democracy, let us not quarrel about this; on the whole we want the same thing—freedom, national freedom, and rule of the people!"

Are we expected to be enthusiastic about a Left that allows itself to be carried away when someone says that it wants "on the whole the same thing" as the Right, as Herr Radowitz, Herr Lichnowski, Herr Vincke and all the other fat or lean knights? A Left whose head has been turned with rapture and which forgets everything as soon as it hears a few empty slogans, such as "national freedom" and "rule of the people"?

But let us leave the Left and return to Citizen Ruge.

"So far, no revolution that swept the world was greater than the revolution of 1848."

"As regards its principles, it is the most humane revolution" for these principles have arisen as a result of the glossing over of the most contradictory interests.

"It is the most humane revolution as regards its decrees and proclamations", for they represent a compendium of philanthropical fantasies and sentimental phrases about fraternity produced by all the feather-heads of Europe.

"It is the most humane revolution as regards its actuality", that is the massacres and barbarities in Posen, the murderous incendiariism of Radetzky, the ferocious cruelties committed in Paris by the victors of June, the butcheries in Cracow and Prague, the rule of brutal soldiery everywhere—in short, all the outrages which constitute the "actuality" of this revolution today, September 1, 1848, and which have spilled more blood in four months than was spilled in 1793 and 1794 taken together.

The "humane" Citizen Ruge!

*[Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 96, September 7, 1848]

_Cologne*, September 6. We have followed the historical investigations about the necessity of the existence of Poland undertaken by the "humane" Citizen Ruge. Citizen Ruge has spoken so far about
the bad past, the period of despotism, he has edited the "events of irrationalism"; he comes now to the present, to the glorious year 1848, to the revolution, he is now on his home ground, he now edits the "rationale of events".239

"How can the emancipation of Poland be brought about? It can be brought about by agreements in which the two great civilised nations of Europe participate; they, together with Germany, a liberated Germany, are therefore bound to form a new Triple Alliance, for they think the same way and, on the whole, want the same thing."

Here, in one bold passage, we have the whole rationale of events in foreign policy— alliance between Germany, France and Britain, all three of whom "think the same way and, on the whole, want the same thing", a new Rütli Federation240 concluded by the three modern Swiss—Cavaignac, Leiningen and John Russell! It is true that France and Germany, with God's help, have meanwhile again retrogressed so far that as regards general political principles their governments "think" more or less "the same way" as official circles in Britain, that stable counter-revolutionary rock surrounded by the sea.

But the countries do not only "think" the same way, they "also, on the whole, want the same thing". Germany wants Schleswig, and Britain does not want to cede it to her; Germany wants protective tariffs, and Britain wants free trade; Germany wants unity, and Britain wants to see her disunited; Germany wants to be independent, and Britain seeks to subjugate her industrially—but what does that matter? "On the whole" they nevertheless want "the same thing"! And as to France, France issues tariff laws directed against Germany and France's Minister Bastide sneers at schoolmaster Raumer, who represents Germany there—hence it is obvious that France "on the whole" wants "the same thing" as Germany! Indeed, Britain and France prove in the most striking manner that they want the same thing as Germany, by threatening her with war, Britain on account of Schleswig and France on account of Lombardy!

Citizen Ruge is ideologically naive enough to believe that nations which have certain political ideas in common, would, just for that reason, conclude an alliance. Altogether, Citizen Ruge's political palette has only two colours—black and white, slavery and freedom. The world for him is divided into two great camps—into civilised nations and barbarians, freemen and serfs. The boundary line of freedom, which six months ago was situated on the other side of the Rhine, now coincides with the Russian frontier, and this advance is called the revolution of 1848. It is in this confused manner that the
present movement is reflected in Citizen Ruge's head. That is how he translates the battle-cry of those who fought at the barricades in February and March into Pomeranian.\(^a\)

If we translate it from the Pomeranian back into German, we find that the three civilised nations, the three free peoples, are those where bourgeois rule exists in various forms and at various stages of development, whereas the "slaves and serfs" are peoples ruled by patriarchal and feudal absolutism. For Arnold Ruge, the farouche\(^b\) republican and democrat, freedom denotes the most ordinary "insipid" liberalism, the rule of the bourgeoisie, with perhaps some quasi-democratic forms — so that is the poodle's core!\(^c\)

Citizen Ruge argues that France, Britain and Germany must of course be allies, because the bourgeoisie rules in these countries. And if the objective interests of the three countries are diametrically opposed to one another, if free trade with Germany and France is an indispensable condition for the existence of the British bourgeoisie, if protective tariffs against Britain are an indispensable condition for the existence of the French and German bourgeoisie, if, in many respects, similar relations obtain between Germany and France, and if this Triple Alliance amounted, in practice, to the industrial subjugation of France and Germany? — "Narrow-minded egoism, mean mercenary minds," mutters Ruge, the Pomeranian thinker, into his blond beard.

Herr Jordan spoke of the tragic irony of universal history. Citizen Ruge is a striking example of this. He, like the rest of the more or less ideological Left, sees his most cherished pet fantasies, his greatest mental efforts, wrecked by the class whom he represents. His philanthropically cosmopolitan project is wrecked by mean mercenary minds and he himself must, unknowingly and unintentionally, represent precisely these mercenary minds in a more or less ideologically distorted fashion. The ideologist proposes, the shopkeeper disposes. Tragic irony of universal history!

Citizen Ruge then says that France "has declared that, though the treaties of 1815\(^241\) have been torn up, she is nevertheless willing to recognise the territorial division as it exists at present". "This is quite right" for Citizen Ruge has found something in Lamartine's manifesto,\(^242\) which so far nobody tried to find there — that is the

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\(^a\) Paraphrase from Heinrich Heine who spoke about Ruge as a man who knew "how to translate Hegel into Pomeranian".— Ed.

\(^b\) Fierce, wild.— Ed.

\(^c\) "The poodle's core" (des Pudels Kern) — Goethe, Faust, Erster Teil, "Studierzimmer".— Ed.
basis of a new international right. He explains this in the following way:

"The new historical (!) right" (No. 1) "must proceed from this relationship with France. Historical right is the right of nations" (!No. 2). "In the case we are discussing (?), it is the new international right" (!No. 3). "This is the only correct interpretation of historical right" (!No. 4). "Any other interpretation of historical right" (!No. 5) "is absurd. There is no other international right" (!No. 6). "Historical right" (No. 7) "is the right" (at last!) "which is brought about by history and sanctioned by time, since it" (which?) "annuls and tears up hitherto existing treaties and replaces them by new ones."

In short, historical right—edits the rationale of events!

Thus it is written, word for word, in the acts of the apostles of German unity, i.e. the stenographic reports of Frankfurt, page 1186, column one—and people complain that the Neue Rheinische Zeitung criticises Herr Rüge by means of exclamation marks! But this dizzy gyrating dance of historical right and international right was, of course, bound to stun the worthy members of the Left, as they were bound to be filled with admiration when the philosopher from Pomerania called out to them with unshakeable certainty: "Historical right is the right which is brought about by history and sanctioned by time" etc.

"History" has indeed always "brought about" the exact opposite of what had been "sanctioned by time", and the sanction of "time" has always consisted in overturning that which had been "brought about by history".

Citizen Ruge then tables the "only correct and admissible" motion:

"To instruct the Central Authority, in concert with Britain and France, to prepare a congress for the restoration of a free and independent Poland; all powers concerned are to be invited to send their envoys to this congress."

What upright, honest views! Lord John Russell and Eugène Cavaignac are to restore Poland. The English and French bourgeoisie are to threaten Russia with war so as to bring about the liberation of Poland, which at present is a matter of complete indifference to them! At this time of general confusion and disarray, when the effect of every piece of reassuring news causing shares to rise by \(\frac{1}{8}\) per cent is nullified by six disturbing blows, when industry is struggling against creeping bankruptcy, when commerce is stagnant, when the unemployed proletariat has to be supported by enormous sums of money to prevent it from taking a last desperate stand—at this moment, can the bourgeoisie of the three civilised nations be expected to create an additional difficulty? And what a difficulty! A war with Russia, which has been the closest ally of Britain since February! War with Russia, a war which, as everybody knows, would spell the downfall of the German and French
bourgeoisie! To what advantage? None at all. This is indeed more than Pomeranian ingenuousness!

But Citizen Ruge is absolutely confident that a "peaceful solution" of the Polish question is possible. This is getting better and better! And why? Because the point now is:

"What the treaties of Vienna want must now be put into practice and really carried out.... The treaties of Vienna wanted to maintain the right of all nations against the great French nation ... they wanted the restoration of the German nation."

Now it becomes clear why Herr Ruge "on the whole wants the same thing" as the Right. The Right also wants the treaties of Vienna carried out.

The treaties of Vienna are the epitome of the great victory of reactionary Europe over revolutionary France. They are the classic form in which European reaction ruled for fifteen years during the Restoration period. They restore legitimacy, monarchy by divine right, feudal aristocracy, clerical rule, and patriarchal jurisdiction and administration. But since victory was won with the help of the English, German, Italian, Spanish and especially the French bourgeoisie, concessions had also to be made to the bourgeoisie. While the sovereigns, aristocrats, priests and bureaucrats divided the rich spoils among themselves, the bourgeoisie was put off with promissory notes drawn on the future, which were not honoured and which nobody had any intention of honouring. Instead of examining the real practical content of the treaties of Vienna, Herr Ruge assumes that these empty promises are their true content, and that reactionary practice is merely an improper misinterpretation!

One must indeed be an astonishingly good-natured person to believe, after 33 years, after the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, that these promissory notes will still be paid and to imagine that the sentimental phrases in which the illusory promises of Vienna are wrapped up have still any meaning in the year 1848.

Citizen Ruge appears as the Don Quixote of the treaties of Vienna.

Finally, Citizen Ruge reveals a great secret to the Assembly—it is only the fact that the treaties of 1815 were broken in Cracow in 1846 which caused the revolutions of 1848. Let this be a warning to all despots!

To sum up, Citizen Ruge has not changed in any way since we last met him in the field of literature. He still uses the same phrases which he had learned by heart and repeated ever since he worked as the door-keeper of German philosophy at the Hallischen and Deutschen Jahrbücher; there is still the same confusion, the same
jumble of views, the same lack of ideas, the same gift of presenting
the most banal and nonsensical ideas in a pompous manner, the
same lack of "knowledge", and, in particular, the same pretensions
to the approbation of the German philistine, who has never heard
the like in his life.

Here we conclude our summary of the debate on Poland. To
expect us to deal with Herr Löw from Posen and the other great
intellects that follow, is asking too much.

The debate as a whole leaves a sad impression. So many long
speeches and so little content, so little knowledge of the subject and
so little talent! The worst debate in the previous or the present
French Chamber or in the British House of Commons contains more
intelligence, more expert knowledge and more real content than this
discussion, which lasted for three days and dealt with one of the most
interesting subjects of modern politics. Everything could have been
made of it, and the National Assembly simply turned it into political
twaddle.

There has indeed never and nowhere been an assembly like this!
The results are well known. Three-quarters of Posen has been
conquered but it has been conquered not by force, or "German
industry" or the "plough", but by political twaddle, false statistics
and timorous decisions.

"You have swallowed the Poles, but, by God, you shall not digest
them!"

Written by Engels between August 7 and September 6, 1848
First published in the Neue Rheinische
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and 96, August 9, 12, 20, 22, 26 and 31,
September 1, 3 and 7, 1848

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

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a See this volume, p. 366.— Ed.
THE DANISH ARMISTICE AND HANSELMANN

Cologne, August 10. We draw our readers' attention to our article on Denmark. The Danish newspapers have furnished us with some quite new disclosures about the behaviour of the “Government of Action” in the armistice affair. So, in one way or another, Herr Hansemann’s secret transgressions are coming to light after all.

Written by Engels on August 10, 1848
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 72, August 11, 1848
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See "Kopenhagen, 5. August", Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 72, August 11, 1848.— Ed.
See this volume, pp. 266-70 and 287.— Ed.
THE GERMAN CITIZENSHIP AND THE PRUSSIAN POLICE

Cologne, August 11. It is well known how the Prussian army paid homage to German unity on August 6. The Prussian police must not lag behind the Prussian army. Never have there been in its opinion more German foreigners or foreign Germans in Prussia than since an indivisible German National Assembly, a German Imperial Regent and a German Imperial Government have been meeting in Frankfurt.

Herr Geiger, acting Police Superintendent, whose accession to the throne was greeted by us earlier with misgivings, seems to have received the special order to purge Cologne of German foreigners and to tolerate only Prussian subjects within the walls of the old imperial city. If he is consistent, who will save a person's right of domicile except the police, the army, the bureaucracy and the natives? Herr Geiger himself will not be missing among these “last of the Mohicans”.

We shall report at a later time about the conflicts the editor-in-chief of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Karl Marx, had with regard to the Prussian right of citizenship. Today we are dealing with Herr Karl Schapper, a contributor and proof-reader of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung.

Herr Schapper has received an invitation to visit the Police Inspector of his district this morning. The Police Inspector informed him that due to an order of Herr Geiger, he would have to leave Cologne and the Prussian state by tomorrow because he is a

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a Archduke John of Austria.— Ed.
b See this volume, p. 178.— Ed.
c Ibid., pp. 407-10.— Ed.
foreigner. The Inspector informed him at the same time that he would extend the period by a week out of courtesy.

Herr Schapper is not only a German but he is also a citizen of Nassau and he is equipped with a Nassau passport in optima forma. Herr Schapper resides at Cologne with his wife and three children. His crime consists of being a member of the Democratic Society and the Workers' Association as well as being the proof-reader of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. These are, of course, three crimes all at once.

"Every German possesses the general German citizenship," reads the first paragraph of the German Fundamental Rights which has already been approved. Herr Geiger seems to interpret this in such a way that every German has the right to be expelled from 37 German states. Besides the legislation of the National Assembly, there is now Geiger's legislation!

For Herr Hansemann, however, the Minister of action, we have a piece of advice: he may use police methods against deputies at his own discretion, but there is no playing around with the press. It can open the book of the bourgeois past and

If you are after a little amusement,
You may go dancing, but I'll play the tune —
no matter how many Geigers may threaten with their violins.

Written on August 11, 1848
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 73, August 12, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper
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a In all formality.— Ed.


c Play on the words Geiger—the name of the Police Superintendent of Cologne—which literally translated means "violinist", and violine (derived from the French word violon meaning both "violin" and "prison").— Ed.
With the same celerity with which they were expelled from Lombardy in March, the Austrians have now returned in triumph and have already entered Milan.

The Italian people spared no sacrifice. They were prepared at the cost of life and property to complete the work they had begun and win their national independence.

But this courage, enthusiasm and readiness to make sacrifices were nowhere matched by those who stood at the helm. Overtly or covertly, they did everything to use the means at their disposal, not for the liberation of the country from the harsh Austrian tyranny, but to paralyse the popular forces and, in effect, to restore the old conditions as soon as possible.

The Pope, who was worked on more and more every day and won over by the Austrian and Jesuitical politicians, put all the obstacles in the way of the Mamiani Ministry which he, in conjunction with the "Blacks" and the "Black-Yellows", could find. The Ministry itself delivered highly patriotic speeches in both Chambers, but did not have the energy to carry out its good intentions.

The Government of Tuscany distinguished itself by fine words, but even fewer deeds. But the arch-enemy of Italian liberty among the native princes was and remains Charles Albert. The Italians should have repeated and borne in mind every hour of the day the saying: "Heaven protect us from our friends, we will protect ourselves from our enemies!" They hardly needed to fear Ferdinand

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a Pius IX.—Ed.
b An allusion to the Jesuits.—Ed.
c An allusion to the Austrians, whose colours were black and yellow.—Ed.
of Bourbon, he was unmasked long ago. Charles Albert, on the other hand, let himself be acclaimed everywhere as "la spada d'Italia" (the sword of Italy) and the hero whose rapier was Italy's best guarantee of freedom and independence.

His emissaries went to all parts of Northern Italy portraying him as the only man who could and would save the country. To enable him to do this, however, it was necessary to set up a North Italian kingdom. Only this could give him the power required not only to oppose the Austrians but to drive them out of Italy. The ambition which had previously made him join forces with the Carbonari, whom he afterwards betrayed, this ambition became more inflamed than ever and made him dream of a plenitude of power and magnificence before which the splendour of all the other Italian princes would very soon pale. He thought that he could appropriate the entire popular movement of 1848 and use it in the interests of his own miserable self. Filled with hatred and distrust of all truly liberal men, he surrounded himself with people more or less loyal to absolutism and inclined to encourage his royal ambitions. He placed at the head of the army generals whose intellectual superiority and political views he did not have to fear, but who neither enjoyed the confidence of the soldiers nor possessed the talent required to wage a successful war. He pompously called himself the "liberator" of Italy while making it a condition that those who were to be liberated accept his yoke. Seldom was a man so favoured by circumstances as he was. His greed, his desire to possess a great deal and if possible everything led in the end to his losing all that he had gained. So long as there was no firm decision that Lombardy would join Piedmont, so long as the possibility of a republican form of government still existed, he remained in his entrenchments and did not move against the Austrians, although they were relatively weak at the time. He let Radetzky, d'Aspre, Welden, and others seize the towns and fortresses of the Venetian provinces one by one and did not stir a finger. Only when Venice sought the refuge of his crown did he deign to give his help. The same applies to Parma and Modena. Radetzky meanwhile had mustered strength and made all preparations for an attack which, in view of the incompetence and blindness of Charles Albert and his generals, led to a decisive victory. The outcome is well known. Henceforth Italians can and will no longer entrust their liberation to a prince or king. On the contrary, in order to save themselves they must completely discard this useless "spada d'Italia" as quickly as possible. If they had done this earlier, and had superannuated the King with his system and all the hangers-on, and had formed a democratic union, it is likely that by now there would
have been no more Austrians in Italy. Instead, the Italians not only bore all the hardships of a war waged with fury and barbarity by their enemies and suffered the heaviest sacrifices in vain, but were left defenceless to the thirst for vengeance of the Metternich-Austrian reactionaries and their soldiery. Anyone reading Radetzky's manifestos to the people of Lombardy and Welden's manifestos to the Roman legations will understand that to the Italians Attila and his Hun hordes would have appeared merciful angels. The reaction and restoration have triumphed. The Duke of Modena, a called “il carnefice” (the hangman), who loaned the Austrians 1,200,000 florins for war purposes, has returned as well. The people, in their magnanimity, have so often made a stick for their own back, that it is time they got wiser and learned something from their enemies. Although, during his previous reign, the Duke had imprisoned, hanged and shot thousands of people for their political convictions, the Modenese let him depart unmolested. Now he has returned to discharge his sanguinary princely office with redoubled zeal.

The reaction and restoration have triumphed, but only for a time. The people are so deeply imbued with the revolutionary spirit that they cannot be held in check for long. Milan, Brescia and other towns showed in March what this spirit is capable of. The excessive suffering inflicted upon them will lead to a new rising. By taking into account the bitter experience of the past months, Italy will be able to avoid new delusions and to secure her independence under a single democratic banner.

Written by Engels on August 11, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 73, August 12, 1848

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Francis V.— Ed.
The newspapers of Turin, Genoa etc. are loudly complaining that the cause of Italy's freedom and independence has been betrayed by him and by those who up to the very last moment were repeatedly swearing under oath that they would win or die for Italy. What was earlier uttered only by a small handful of men—that Charles Albert is a traitor—is now loudly repeated day after day by the mass of the people and by all those newspapers that have not completely sold out to the perfidious King of Sardinia. This insight will later bear its fruit; this time, however, it has come too late. Since the battles of Goito and Mozambano it became more and more clear to many people as the days went by that the Sardinian was either plotting a betrayal or was totally incapable of carrying out the task that he has undertaken. He lapsed into complete inactivity and whatever was done was against all the rules of common sense, of politics and of the art of war. For a long time now many questions have been obtruding themselves on the public's attention. Some of the answers to these questions have in fact already been given, and others will shortly come to light. Who, for example, constantly obstructed the arrangements for the arming of the whole people? Who distributed and dispersed the Italian army over so many points and neglected to form a reserve-line, with the result that every defeat was bound to lead to ruin? Why did Charles Albert not advance on Vicenza? Why did the army in Valleggio lack bread? Why did the Modenese desert? How did it happen that the Lombardian volunteers did not find a single cannon on the banks of the Mincio? How was it that the cartridges distributed during the battle to several Piedmontese corps could not be used because the bullets were too big? And lastly: how
could Charles Albert, who had long since decided to retreat, still order the destruction of a large number of houses in the suburbs of Milan, to the value of 30 million lire? There is only one answer to these questions, unless we are prepared to assume the most lamentable and incredible incompetence, and that is that Charles Albert behaved just as treacherously and perfidiously in the year 1848 as he did in the year 1821, when he shamelessly betrayed his fellow conspirators and helped to deliver them up to the hangman’s rope, to the galleys and to banishment.250

Written by Engels on August 16, 1848
First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 77-78, August 17, 1848

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THE ATTEMPT TO EXPEL SCHAPPER

Cologne, August 18.

"We demand a universal German right of domicile and full freedom of movement throughout the German fatherland."

So said His Majesty Frederick William IV in his charter of March 18.251

But the King proposes and Herr Geiger disposes. Herr Geiger, acting Police Superintendent of Cologne, is insisting on the expulsion of Herr Karl Schapper on the pretext that Herr Schapper is a citizen of Nassau and moreover a German in partibus infidelium.a

Yesterday a police-sergeant pushed his way into Frau Schapper's bedroom and deposited the following letter, which we reproduce exactly as it was written. What might appear to be incorrectness is perhaps nothing more than a Prussian protest against German grammar.

Herr Schapper,

I am instructed to inform you that the Police Superintendent still continues to insist that you should leave the city, should you however have any objection to raise against the laws then please lodge an appeal immediately with the Police Inspector, to be sent to him immediately.

Cologne 17/8. 48

Quetting
Police-Sergeant

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a Beyond the realm of reality (literally "in the country of infidels")—an addition to the title of Catholic bishops appointed to a purely nominal diocese in non-Christian countries.—Ed.
Thereupon, Herr Schapper addressed the following note to the Police Inspector:

Dear Sir,

Under the date of the 11th of this month you signified to me that I must leave the city of Cologne within a week, in accordance with the decision of Herr Geiger, Police Superintendent. I had already lodged a protest against the decision on that occasion. You have now communicated to me through a police-sergeant that the said expulsion order still stands but that I may appeal against it. This I am now doing and I base my case on the following reasons.

1) As early as *March 18, 1848*, the day before the March revolution, the King of Prussia issued a charter calling on all German states to observe a universal German right of domicile and admit the freedom of movement. No Prussian authority ought to refuse the citizens of another German state what the King of Prussia has demanded for citizens of the Prussian state. The charter of March 18 either has no meaning at all or it implies the abolition of all earlier provisions for the expulsion of non-Prussian German citizens.

2) On July 21 of this year the German National Assembly at Frankfurt adopted Paragraph 2, Article 1, of the German Fundamental Rights in a form which expressly forbids all expulsions of Germans from German cities or states. It says:

>"Every German has the right to sojourn and make his domicile, acquire real estate etc., etc. ... pursue any type of employment in any part of the territory of the Empire....

>"The conditions of sojourn and domicile will be laid down for the whole of Germany ... by a law of domicile issued by the imperial authority. Until such a time as these laws of the Empire are proclaimed, the exercise of the said rights is open to every German in every German state under the same conditions as apply to the citizens of the state in question.

>"No German state may make any distinction in connection with civil, penal or adjective law between its own citizens and the citizens of any other German state whereby the latter, as foreigners, are treated at a disadvantage."

According to this paragraph I have the right, until the proclamation of the relevant laws of the Empire, to sojourn or domicile in Cologne, a town situated on the territory of the German Empire, and gain my livelihood as a proof-reader under the same conditions as the citizens of the Prussian state. But citizens of the Prussian state can only be expelled from Cologne, under the existing laws, if they have no means of subsistence. I have not been accused of lacking these and if I were I could at any time prove the contrary, since my salary as proof-reader on the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* is sufficient to guarantee myself and my family a decent standard of living.

It is not valid to object that the relevant paragraph of the Fundamental Rights has not yet been promulgated. It has all along been the practice of administrative authorities in all constitutional states to suspend the execution of regulations such as the right of expulsion and other restrictions on personal freedom when a resolution abolishing these regulations has been passed by the appropriate Legislative Assembly and only awaits formal promulgation.

We are here dealing, then, with a resolution of the National Assembly which abolishes the powers of expulsion and a royal charter which recognises this resolution in advance. Consequently I believe that I am fully within my rights when I declare that I protest against the expulsion order, which was not even communicated to me in writing or accompanied by a statement of reasons, as an illegal act and that I will only yield to force.
Sir, I would ask you to be so kind as to lodge this protest with the appropriate authorities and to forward the decision to me as soon as possible, for if it is ignored I will appeal immediately to the royal Regierungspräsident or the Ministry of the Interior and in the last instance to the Berlin Constituent Assembly and the German National Assembly.

Cologne, August 17, 1848

(signed) Karl Schapper

The “cathedral of German unity”, in which the solemn speeches that our great political architects made for three days running culminate, has, as its foundation stone the expulsion of a citizen of Nassau from Cologne on the Rhine.

Written on August 18, 1848
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 80, August 19, 1848
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Published in English for the first time
Cologne, August 22. At the request of Police Superintendent Geiger (from Koblenz), Herr Schapper has been ordered to leave Cologne, since he is not a Prussian subject but a citizen of Nassau. The Workers’ Association, of which Herr Schapper is an active member, feels compelled to make this cause its own and to protest against the arbitrary expulsion of Herr Schapper. Last Friday the protest was handed over to Herr Dolleschall in the absence of Herr Geiger. Since Herr Dolleschall declared that he knew nothing of the affair, the deputation appointed to deliver the protest was postponed to the following Tuesday, August 22, so as to be able to speak to Herr Geiger himself. Today Herr Geiger received the deputation with the declaration that the matter was no longer in his hands but that following an article in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* the Ministry had asked him, Geiger, for a detailed report on the affair. The report had been sent off today; it was therefore no longer within his powers either to carry out or to countermand the expulsion of Schapper. One member of the deputation believed he understood Herr Geiger to say that Herr Schapper’s expulsion order emanated from the Ministry, whereupon Herr Geiger vehemently assured the deputation on his most sacred word of honour that it was he who had taken the initiative in this measure. He referred first of all to his special knowledge of the law, since he had earlier been an examining magistrate; but that was not the only reason.

“I believe that I have acted not only as Police Superintendent, but also in accordance with the dictates of reason: I have acted as I myself.”

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*a See this volume, pp. 383-84.— Ed.*
He knew full well, he added, that everything he said would be reprinted in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung and given a special interpretation, but that did not worry him: “I have acted as I myself.” Another member of the deputation pointed out to him that if Herr Geiger had acted as “I myself”, then this “I” was surely none other than the “I” of the Police Superintendent and it was of course possible that this “I” was in accordance with the dictates of reason. But the Workers’ Association also had an “I”, the “I” of 6,000 workers, and this “I” probably carried just as much weight as Herr Geiger’s “I” and was likewise in accordance with the dictates of reason. The Workers’ Association, he added, protested against a measure that went against all existing laws and the Frankfurt National Assembly. The first member of the deputation demanded that Herr Geiger at least disavow the measure; Herr Geiger refused, and gave the deputation the assurance that for his part, until the Minister gave a reply, Herr Schapper could stay undisturbed in Cologne. Herr Geiger also refused to give an explanation as to how his report had been drawn up. Has Herr Geiger taken different decisions from Herr Gagern and is a citizen of Nassau not a German citizen, who is entitled to settle in any of the 34 German fatherlands?

Written on August 22, 1848
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 84, August 24, 1848
Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
Cologne, August 26. Yesterday we were condemned to having to listen to the political hot air of a writer of belles-lettres, Herr Wilhelm Jordan of Berlin, who lectured from the world-historical standpoint. Fate is pursuing us relentlessly. A similar lot befalls us today: the main achievement of March consists in the belles-lettres writers having monopolised political life.

Herr Levin Schücking of Münster, the fourth or fifth wheel on the advertising wagon of Herr Dumont, has published an article in the Kölnische Zeitung on “our policy in Italy”.

And what does “my friend Levin with the eerie eyes” have to say?

“There has never been a more propitious moment for Germany than the present one to place its policy vis-à-vis Italy upon a healthy basis which promises to endure for centuries. We have gloriously” (!by the betrayal of Charles Albert) “wiped off the disgrace with which our flags were besmirched by a people that in times of fortune easily becomes overweening. At the head of a matchless army, worthy of admiration not only in victory and battle but also for its patience and endurance, barba bianca, the White-Beard, planted Germany’s glorious (!?) double-headed eagle on the battlements of the rebellious town where more than six hundred years ago the imperial Red-Beard hoisted the same banner as a symbol of Germany’s sovereignty over Italy. This sovereignty still belongs to us today.”

Thus speaks Herr Levin Schücking of the Kölnische Zeitung.

In those days when Radetzky’s Croats and Pandours were driven out of Milan by an unarmed people after a five-day battle, in those
days when the “army worthy of admiration” which had been routed at Goito withdrew to Verona, in those days the political lyre of “my friend Levin with the eerie eyes” was silent! But ever since the reinforced Austrian army achieved an undeserved victory because of the equally cowardly and clumsy betrayal of Charles Albert, a betrayal which we predicted innumerable times, ever since then the neighbouring journalists have been reappearing on the scene, ever since then they have been trumpeting about the “wiped-off disgrace”, risking parallels between Frederick Barbarossa and Radetzky Barbabianca and reducing heroic Milan, which made the most glorious revolution of 1848, to a mere “rebellious town”. Ever since then “sovereignty over Italy” belongs to us Germans, to whom otherwise nothing ever belongs.

“Our flags”! The black-and-yellow rags of the Metternich reaction which are being trodden under foot in Vienna, those are the flags of Herr Schücking of the Kölische Zeitung!

“Germany’s glorious double-headed eagle”! That selfsame heraldic monster which had its feathers plucked by the armed revolution at Jemappes, Fleurus, Millesimo, Rivoli, Neuwied, Marengo, Hohenlinden, Ulm, Austerlitz and Wagram²⁵⁵ happens to be the “glorious” Cerberus of Herr Schücking of the Kölische Zeitung.

When the Austrians were beaten, they were separatists [Sonderbündler]²⁵⁴ and practically traitors to their country. Ever since Charles Albert was caught in the trap and they have moved to the Ticino, they have become “Germans” and it is “we” who have accomplished all this. We have no objections to the Kölische Zeitung having achieved the victories of Volta and Custozza and conquered Milan²⁵⁵, but then it will also have to assume the responsibility for the— to it— very well known brutalities and infamies of that barbarian army “whose patience and endurance are worthy of admiration”, just as it also assumed in former times the responsibility for the Galician slaughter.²⁵⁶

“This sovereignty still belongs to us today. Italy and Germany are nations around which nature and history have after all formed a bond. They belong together providentially, being related like science and art, thought and sentiment.”

Just like Herr Brüggemann and Herr Schücking:

And it is exactly for that reason that the Germans and Italians have constantly fought each other for 2,000 years. It is exactly for that reason that the Italians shook off German oppression again and again. It is exactly for that reason that German blood has so often reddened the streets of Milan. All this was done to prove that Germany and Italy “belong together providentially”.
It is exactly because Italy and Germany "are related" that Radetzky and Welden have allowed the burning and plundering of all Venetian towns!

My friend Levin with the eerie eyes now demands that we surrender Lombardy up to the River Etsch² because the people does not want us even if a few poor "cittadini"³b (the learned Herr Schücking thus refers to the contadini, peasants) received the Austrians jubilantly. But if we conduct ourselves as "a free people",

"then it [the Italian people] will gladly offer us its hand in order to let us guide it along a path which it cannot enter upon by itself, the path to freedom".

Indeed! Italy which won for herself freedom of the press, a jury system and a Constitution before Germany had awakened from the laziest slumber; Italy which at Palermo fought the first revolution of this year²⁵⁷; Italy which without weapons conquered the "matchless" Austrians at Milan, that Italy cannot enter upon the path to freedom without being guided by Germany, which means by a Radetzky! Of course, if it takes a Frankfurt Assembly, a meaningless central power, 39 separatist leagues [Sonderbünde] and the Kölnische Zeitung to walk the path of freedom....

Enough of that! So as to make sure that the Italians "will let themselves be guided towards freedom" by the Germans, Herr Schücking retains Italian Tyrol and Venetia for the enfeoffment of an Austrian archduke and he sends

"2,000 South German imperial troops to Rome so that Christ's vicar may restore order in his own domain".

But unfortunately

The French and Russians own the land,  
The English rule the sea;  
But we in dream's ethereal realm  
Hold sovereign mastery.

Our unity is perfect there,  
Our might beyond dispute.  
The other folk in solid earth  
Have meanwhile taken root.⁵

And up there in the ethereal realm of dreams we also possess "sovereignty over Italy". Nobody knows this better than Herr Schücking. After he has developed this worthy policy of sovereignty for the benefit of the German Empire, he closes with a sigh:

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² The Italian name is Adige.— Ed.
³ Citizens.— Ed.
⁴ Heinrich Heine, Deutschland. Ein Wintemärchen, Caput VII.— Ed.
"A policy which is great, high-minded and worthy of a power like that of the German Empire has unfortunately always been regarded by us as fantastic and thus it will probably be for a long time to come!"

We recommend Herr Schücking as door-keeper and frontier guard of German honour upon the summit of the Stilfser Ridge. From up there the vigorous literary supplement of the Kölnische Zeitung may survey Italy and make certain that not one iota of "Germany's sovereignty over Italy" will be lost. Only then can Germany sleep calmly.

Written by Engels on August 26, 1848
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 87, August 27, 1848

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Published in English for the first time
Cologne, August 26. The *Berliner Zeitungs-Halle* contains the following article:\(^a:\)

"We recently had occasion to mention that the time has come when the spirit which for so long has held together the old political entities is gradually vanishing. As regards Austria, hardly anyone will call this in question, but in Prussia, too, the signs of the times confirming our observation are becoming daily more manifest, and we cannot turn a blind eye to them. There is at present only one interest capable of tying its various provinces to the Prussian state, namely that of developing liberal political institutions and jointly establishing and promoting a new and free mode of social relations. Silesia, which is making vigorous advances on the road to political and social progress, will hardly be happy in Prussia unless Prussia as a state is entirely adequate to these aspirations. As regards the Province of Saxony we know only too well that ever since its incorporation into the Prussian state it has resented it at heart. And as to the Rhine Province, surely everybody will still remember the threats which the Rhenish deputies made here prior to March 18, and thus helped to precipitate the turn of events. There is a growing spirit of alienation in this province. New evidence of this is provided in a now rather widely distributed leaflet which contains no mention of the publisher or place of publication."

The leaflet referred to by the *Zeitungs-Halle* is presumably known to all our readers.

What must please us is the view—which is at last advanced by at least one of the inhabitants of Berlin—that Berlin does not play the role of Paris as far as either Germany or the Rhineland in particular is concerned. Berlin is beginning to realise that it cannot govern us, cannot acquire the authority befitting a capital city. Berlin has amply proved its incompetence during the indecisive March revolution,

\(^a:\) "Das Rheinlands Herz zu Preussen", *Berliner Zeitungs-Halle* No. 194, August 24, 1848.—*Ed.*
during the storming of the arsenal and during the recent disturbances. To the irresolution displayed by the people of Berlin is added a complete lack of talent in all parties. Since February the whole movement has not produced a single man in Berlin capable of leading his party. The spirit in this capital of the “spirit” is indeed very willing but just as weak as the flesh. The Berliners even had to import their Hansemann, their Camphausen and their Milde from the Rhine or Silesia. Far from being a German Paris, Berlin is not even a Prussian Vienna. It is not a metropolis, it is a “seat of the Court”.

It is, however, noteworthy that even in Berlin people are coming to the conclusion, long widespread in the Rhineland, that German unity can come about only as a result of the disintegration of the German so-called great powers. We have never concealed our views on this point. We are not enraptured with either the past or present glory of Germany, with either the wars of independence or the “glorious victories of German arms” in Lombardy and Schleswig. But if Germany is ever to achieve anything she must unite, she must become one state not only in word but in deed. And to bring this about it is necessary above all that there should be “neither an Austria nor a Prussia”.

Incidentally, “the spirit” which “for so long held together” us and the old Prussian provinces was a very palpable, crude spirit; it was the spirit of 15,000 bayonets and a number of cannon. It was not for nothing that a military colony of Wasserpolacken and Kashubians was set up here on the Rhine, and that our young men had to serve in guards regiments in Berlin. This was done not in order to reconcile us with the other provinces, but to stir up hatred between the provinces and to exploit the national enmity between the Germans and Slavs, and the regional hatred of every petty German province against all the neighbouring provinces, in the interests of patriarchal feudal despotism. Divide et impera!

It is indeed time to put an end to the fictitious role assigned to the Berliners by “the provinces”, i.e. by the junkerdom of the Uckermark and Further Pomerania, in their panic-stricken declarations, a role which the Berliners promptly accepted. Berlin is not and will never become the seat of the revolution, the capital of democracy. Only the imagination of the knights of Brandenburg, terrified at the prospect of bankruptcy, the debtor’s prison and the lamp-post, could ascribe to Berlin such a role, and only the coquettish vanity of the Berliners could believe that Berlin rep-

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a From Ernst Moritz Arndt’s poem “Der Freudenklang”.— Ed.
resented the provinces. We acknowledge the March revolution, but only for what it really was. Its greatest shortcoming is that it has not revolutionised the Berliners.

The Zeitungs-Halle believes that the disintegrating Prussian state can be cemented by means of liberal institutions. On the contrary. The more liberal the institutions are, the more will the heterogeneous elements be at liberty to separate, and the clearer will become the necessity of dissociation and the more evident the incompetence of the politicians of all parties in Berlin.

We repeat, the Rhine Province by no means objects to remaining within Germany, together with the old Prussian provinces, but trying to compel it to remain for ever within Prussia, whether it be an absolutist, a constitutional or a democratic Prussia, means making Germany's unity impossible, perhaps means even losing for Germany—we express the general attitude of the people—a large and beautiful territory by attempting to keep it for Prussia.

Written by Engels on August 26, 1848
Printed according to the newspaper
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 87, August 27, 1848
MEDIATION AND INTERVENTION.
RADETZKY AND CAVAIGNAC

The armistice concluded as the result of Charles Albert's treachery will expire in about three weeks (on September 21). France and Britain have offered to act as mediators. The Spectateur républicain, Cavaignac's paper, writes that Austria has not yet stated whether she will accept or decline the offer. France's dictator is getting annoyed over the discourtesy of the Austrians and threatens armed intervention if by a given date the Viennese Cabinet does not reply, or rejects mediation. Will Austria allow a Cavaignac to prescribe the peace terms to her, especially now after the victory over democracy in Vienna and over the Italian "rebels"? Austria understands perfectly well that the French bourgeoisie wants "peace at any price", that the freedom or bondage of the Italians is altogether a matter of complete indifference to the bourgeoisie and that it will agree to anything so long as it is not openly humiliated and thus reluctantly compelled to draw the sword. It is said that Radetzky will pay a short visit to Vienna in order to say the decisive word about mediation. He does not have to travel to Vienna to do that. His policy has now prevailed, and his opinion will be none the less weighty for his remaining in Milan. If Austria were to accept the basis for peace proposed by Britain and France, she would do so not because she is afraid of Cavaignac's intervention but for much more pressing and compelling reasons.

The Italians were just as much deluded by the March events as the Germans. The former believed that foreign rule at any rate was now at an end; the latter thought that the old system was buried for good and all. On the contrary, the foreign rule in Italy is worse than ever, and in Germany the old system has recovered from the few blows it
sustained in March and it acts with greater ferocity and vindictiveness than ever before.

The Italians are now making the mistake of expecting salvation from the present Government of France. Only the fall of this Government could save them. The Italians are further mistaken in regarding the liberation of their country as possible while democracy in France, Germany and other countries continues to lose ground. Reaction, to whose blows Italy has succumbed, is not merely an Italian phenomenon, it is a European phenomenon. Italy alone cannot possibly free herself from the grip of this reaction, least of all by appealing to the French bourgeoisie, which is the real pillar of reaction in Europe as a whole.

Before reaction can be destroyed in Italy and Germany, it must be routed in France. A democratic social republic must first be proclaimed in France and the French proletariat must first subjugate its bourgeoisie before a lasting victory of democracy is conceivable in Italy, Germany, Poland, Hungary and other countries.

Written by Engels on August 31, 1848

First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 91, September 1, 1848
Cologne, September 2. Belgium, the model constitutional state, has produced a further brilliant proof of the excellence of her institutions. Seventeen death sentences resulting from the ridiculous Risquons-Tout affair! Seventeen death sentences to avenge the humiliation inflicted upon the prudish Belgian nation by a few imprudent men, a few hopeful fools, who attempted to raise a small corner of the constitutional cloak! Seventeen death sentences—what savagery!

The Risquons-Tout affair is well known. Belgian workers in Paris joined forces to attempt a republican invasion of their country. Belgian democrats came from Brussels to support the venture. Ledru-Rollin assisted as much as he could. Lamartine, the “noble-minded” traitor, who was as ready with fine words and ignoble deeds for foreign as for French democrats—Lamartine, who prides himself on having conspired with the anarchists, like a lightning-conductor with the lightning—Lamartine at first supported the Belgian Legion the better to be able later to betray it. The Legion set out. Delescluze, Commissioner of the Department du Nord, sold the first column to Belgian railway officials; the train in which it travelled was treacherously hauled into Belgian territory right into the midst of the Belgian bayonets. The second column was led by three Belgian spies (we were told this by a member of the Paris Provisional Government, and the course of events confirms it), and these treacherous leaders brought it into a forest on Belgian territory, where an ambush of loaded guns was waiting for it. The column was shot to pieces and most of its members were captured.

This tiny episode of the 1848 revolution—an episode which assumed a farcical aspect as a result of the many betrayals and the magnitude ascribed to it in Belgium—served the Brussels judiciary as

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* Hoffnungsvolle Toren (hopeful fools)—from Goethe’s poem “Prometheus”.—Ed.
a canvas on which to embroider the most colossal plot that was ever devised. Old General Mellinet, the liberator of Antwerp, Tedesco and Ballin, in short the most resolute and most active democrats of Brussels, Liège and Ghent, were implicated. M. Bavay would even have M. Jottrand of Brussels dragged into it, had not the latter known things and possessed documents whose publication would greatly compromise the entire Belgian Government, the wise Leopold included.

Why were these democrats arrested, why were these most monstrous proceedings started against men who had as little to do with the whole affair as the jurymen who faced them? It was meant to scare the Belgian bourgeoisie and, under cover of this scare, to collect the excessive taxes and compulsory loans, which are the cement of the glorious Belgian political edifice, and the payments on which were rather behindhand.

In short, the accused were arraigned before the Antwerp jury, the élite of the Flemish faro-playing fraternity, who lack both the élan of French political dedication and the cool assurance of magnificent English materialism, i.e. before those dried-cod merchants who spend their whole life vegetating in philistine utilitarianism, in the most short-sighted and timid profiteering. The great Bavay knew his men and appealed to their fear.

Indeed, had anyone ever seen a republican in Antwerp? Now thirty-two of the monsters faced the terrified men of Antwerp, and the trembling jury in concert with the wise bench consigned seventeen of the accused to the tender mercies of Article 86 and others of the Code pénal, i.e. the death sentence.

Mock trials were also held during the Reign of Terror in 1793, and convictions based on other facts than those officially stated did occur, but even the fanatical Fouquier-Tinville did not conduct a trial so distinguished by clumsy barefaced lies and blind partisan hatred. Moreover, is Belgium in the grip of a civil war and are the armies of half Europe assembled at her frontiers conspiring with the rebels, as was the case in France in 1793? Is the country in danger? Has a crack appeared in the crown? On the contrary, no one intends to subjugate Belgium, and the wise Leopold still drives every day without an escort from Laeken to Brussels and from Brussels to Laeken.

What has the 81-year-old Mellinet done to be sentenced to death by jury and judges? The old soldier of the French Republic saved the last spark of Belgian honour in 1831. He liberated Antwerp and in return Antwerp condemns him to death! His only sin is that he defended his old friend Becker against the insinuations of the Belgian official press and did not change his friendly attitude
towards Becker even when the latter was plotting in Paris. Mellinet was in no way connected with the plot. And because of this he is without further ado sentenced to death.

As to Ballin, he was a friend of Mellinet's, often visited him, and was seen in the company of Tedesco in a coffee-house. Reason enough to sentence him to death.

And finally Tedesco. Had he not visited the German Workers' Association, did he not associate with people on whom the Belgian police had planted stage daggers? Had he not been seen with Ballin in a coffee-house? The case was established—Tedesco had provoked the great battle of Risquons-Tout—to the scaffold with him!

And so with the others.

We are proud of being able to call many of these "conspirators", sentenced to death only because they are democrats, our friends. If the venal Belgian press slings mud at them, then we, at least, want to vindicate their honour before the face of German democracy; if their country disowns them, we want to acclaim them.

When the President of the Court pronounced the death sentence on them, they passionately exclaimed: "Long live the republic!" Throughout the whole procedure and the reading of the sentence they behaved with truly revolutionary steadfastness.

And now listen to what the wretched Belgian press has to say:

"The verdict," writes the Journal d'Anvers, "has caused no more of a sensation in the city than the entire trial, which aroused hardly any interest. Only among the working classes" (read: the lumpen-proletariat) "can one find sentiments hostile to the paladins of the republic; the rest of the population hardly took any notice of it. The attempt to bring about a revolution does not cease to appear absurd to them even after the death sentence, which, in any case, no one believes will be executed."

To be sure, if the citizens of Antwerp were afforded the interesting spectacle of watching the guillotining of seventeen republicans headed by old Mellinet, their liberator, then they would certainly have taken notice of the trial.

The savagery of the Belgian Government, the Belgian jury and law-courts lies precisely in the fact that they play with death sentences.

The Libéral Liégeois says: "The Government wanted to show its strength, but it has merely demonstrated its savagery."

But then that has always been the lot of the Flemish nation.

Written by Engels on September 2, 1848
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 93, September 3, 1848
Cologne, September 4. As has already been mentioned earlier,\(^a\) Karl Marx, the editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, has become involved in a conflict with Prussian citizenship. This affair is a new example of the way in which the attempt is made to conjure away the promises of March. How the matter stands emerges from the following document that Marx has sent to the Minister of the Interior, Herr Kühlwetter:

**Dear Minister,**

Permit me to protest against a decision of the local royal administration which affects me personally.

I left my homeland, Rhenish Prussia, during the year 1843 in order to settle for the time being in Paris. In 1844 I learned that the royal *Oberpräsidium* in Koblenz had sent to the respective border police authorities an order to arrest me because of my writings. This piece of news was also published in the censured Berlin newspapers.

From that moment on, I regarded myself as a political refugee. Later on, in January 1845, I was expelled from France at the direct instigation of the then Prussian Government and settled in Belgium.

Since here too the Prussian Government applied to the Belgian Ministry for my expulsion, I was finally forced to relinquish Prussian nationality. I had to use this last expedient in order to escape these persecutions. The best proof that I only asked for permission to emigrate in self-defence is the fact that I did not accept citizenship in

\(^a\) See this volume, p. 383.— *Ed.*
any other state even though it was offered to me by members of the Provisional Government in France after the February revolution.

After the March revolution, I returned to my homeland and applied for citizenship in Cologne in the month of April. It was readily granted to me by the local City Council. Under the law of December 31, 1842, the matter was sent for confirmation to the royal administration. I then received from the local acting Police Superintendent, Herr Geiger, a communication which reads as follows:

"Dear Sir,

I am herewith informing you that in view of your position up to now the royal administration has for the present not used in your favour Paragraph 5 of the law of December 31, 1842, which authorises it to bestow the status of a Prussian subject upon a foreigner. You are therefore still to be regarded as a foreigner. (Paragraphs 15 and 16 of the cited law.)

Cologne, August 3, 1848
acting Police Superintendent
(signed) Geiger

To
Dr. Marx, Esquire,
No. 2678."

I regard the decision of the royal administration as unlawful on the following grounds:

Under the decision of the Federal Diet of March 30 of this year, political refugees, too, may vote for and be elected to the German National Assembly provided they return to Germany and declare that they want to resume their German citizenship.269

The decision of the Preparliament,270 which it is true does not have a direct legal force but nevertheless sets the standard of the prospects and promises which were held out to the German people immediately after the revolution, accords the right to vote and to be elected even to all those political refugees who became citizens abroad but want to resume their German citizenship.

In any case, the decision of the Federal Diet and the electoral regulations of the Camphausen Government which are based upon it, are legally valid in Prussia.

Since I declared clearly enough my intention to resume my German citizenship by virtue of my application to obtain the right to reside in Cologne, it is an established fact that I had the right to vote for and to be elected to the German National Assembly. Thus I at least possess citizenship rights in the German Empire.

If, however, I possess the greatest right which a German can
possess, so much less reason is there for refusing me the lesser right of Prussian citizenship.

The royal administration at Cologne refers to the law of December 31, 1842. This law, taken together with the above-mentioned decision of the Federal Diet, also speaks in my favour.

Under Paragraph 15, 1 and 3, a subject loses his Prussian citizenship if he asks to be relieved of it or if he has resided abroad for ten years. After the revolution many political refugees who had been abroad for more than ten years returned home and so had lost their rights as Prussians under Paragraph 15 of the above-mentioned law as much as I have. Some of them, Herr J. Venedey, for example, even sit in the German National Assembly. Thus, if they wanted to, the Prussian "police authorities" (Paragraph 5 of the law) could likewise refuse Prussian citizenship to these German legislators!

Finally, I deem it to be thoroughly improper that the local royal administration or Police Superintendent Geiger uses the word "subject" in the notice sent to me, considering that both the former and the present Ministry have barred this designation from all official documents and speak instead only of citizens. It is equally improper, disregarding for the moment my right to Prussian citizenship, to label me, a citizen of the German Empire, as a "foreigner".

Furthermore, if the royal administration "in view of my position up to now" refuses to confirm my Prussian citizenship, it cannot refer to my material circumstances since, even according to the text of the law of December 31, 1842, only the City Council of Cologne could decide this issue and has done so in my favour. Thus it can only refer to my activities as editor-in-chief of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung and that means in view of my democratic attitude and my opposition to the present Government. But even if the local district administration or the Ministry of the Interior in Berlin should have the authority, which I deny, to withhold from me my Prussian citizenship because this is a special case which comes under the decision of the Federal Diet of March 30, such tendentious reasons could only be employed in the old police state, not however by revolutionary Prussia and her responsible Government.

Finally, I must mention that Police Superintendent Müller, upon my comment that I could not transfer my family from Trier to Cologne under these uncertain circumstances, assured me that there would be no objections to my renaturalisation.

For all of these reasons I demand that you, Herr Minister, instruct the local royal district administration to confirm my right (request) to
Articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

take up residence which was approved by the local City Council, and thereby to restore my Prussian citizenship to me.

Please, Herr Minister, accept the assurances of my perfect esteem.

Cologne, August 22, 1848

*Karl Marx*

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 94, September 5, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
THE DANISH ARMISTICE

Cologne, September 7.

"What will become of Germany if she is no longer led by Prussia, if Prussia's armies no longer protect Germany's honour, if Prussia's strength and influence as a great power perish in the fanciful might of an imaginary German Central Authority!"

Thus boasts the Prussian party, the party of the heroes "with God for King and Fatherland", the counter-revolutionary knighthood of Further Pomerania and the Uckermark.

Well, Prussia has led, Prussia has protected Germany's honour, in Schleswig-Holstein.

And what was the result? After a series of easy, inglorious victories over a weak enemy, after a warfare which was paralysed by the most pusillanimous diplomacy, after the most disgraceful retreats before a beaten army, finally, an armistice which is so dishonourable for Germany that even a Prussian general found reason not to sign it.

The hostilities and negotiations began anew. The Imperial Regent authorised the Prussian Government to conclude an armistice. This authorisation had not been countersigned by any of the Imperial Ministers and it did not therefore possess any validity whatsoever. It recognised the first armistice, but with the following modifications: 1. Even before the conclusion of the armistice, the members of the new Government of Schleswig-Holstein "are to be agreed upon in such a manner that the permanency and the salutary

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a From Frederick William III's decree on the formation of an army reserve, issued on March 17, 1813.— Ed.
b Wrangel.— Ed.
c Archduke John of Austria.— Ed.
effectiveness of the new Government appear safeguarded”. 2. All the laws and decrees of the Provisional Government issued before the conclusion of the armistice are to retain full validity. 3. All the troops that remain behind in Schleswig-Holstein are to remain under the command of the German commander-in-chief.

If one compares this directive with the stipulations of the first Prussian-Danish project, then its purpose becomes quite evident. It certainly does not secure all that victorious Germany could have demanded, but by making quite a few concessions for form’s sake, it saves many matters in effect.

The first stipulation was intended to guarantee that within the new Government the Schleswig-Holstein (German) influence would retain predominance over the Danish. And what does Prussia do? It agrees that Karl Moltke, the head of the Danish party in Schleswig-Holstein, becomes the head of the new Government and that Denmark obtains three votes in the Government against two for Schleswig-Holstein.

The second stipulation was supposed to accomplish the recognition although not of the Provisional Government itself which had been recognised by the Federal Diet, but of its activity up to now. Its decisions were to be maintained. And what does Prussia do? Under the pretext that Denmark, too, will drop its illusory decisions issued from Copenhagen for the duchies, and which never acquired even the shadow of legal force except upon the Island of Alsen, a under this pretext, counter-revolutionary Prussia agrees to nullify all decisions of the Provisional Government.

The third stipulation finally was to bring about the provisional recognition of the unity of the duchies and their incorporation into Germany. By placing all troops remaining in Schleswig and Holstein under the German commander-in-chief, it was supposed to thwart the attempt of the Danes to smuggle the Schleswigers serving in the Danish army back into Schleswig. And Prussia? Prussia agrees to separate the Schleswig troops from the Holstein troops, to remove them from the supreme command of the German general and to put them simply at the disposal of the new Government which is 3/5th Danish.

Besides, Prussia was only authorised to conclude an armistice of three months (Article 1 of the original draft) but concluded one of seven months on its own authority, i.e. it granted a truce to the Danes during the winter months when the chief weapon of the Danes, their fleet, became useless for a blockade of the German and Schleswig

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a The Danish name is Als.—Ed.
coasts and during a time when the cold would have enabled the Germans to cross the ice of the Little Belt, to conquer Fünen\(^a\) and to limit Denmark to Zealand.

In short, Prussia has spurned its authority in respect of all three points. And then why not? After all, it had not been countersigned! And did not Herr Camphausen, the Prussian envoy to the Central Authority, state point-blank in his communication of September 2 to “His Excellency”(!) Herr Heckscher that on the basis of that authority the Prussian Government

“considered itself empowered to negotiate without any restrictions”?

But that is not all. The Imperial Regent sends “his” Under-Secretary of State Max Gagern to Berlin and from there to Schleswig in order to supervise the negotiations. He sends along with him an authorisation which once again is not countersigned. Herr Gagern—we do not know how he was treated in Berlin—arrives in the duchies. The Prussian negotiators are in Malmö. He is not told anything. The ratifications are exchanged in Lübeck. Herr Gagern is informed that this has taken place and that he can now calmly go home again. Naturally there is nothing left to do for the unfortunate Gagern with his not countersigned authorisation but to return to Frankfurt and to bemoan the shabby role which he has played.

Thus the glorious armistice was born which ties the Germans’ hands during the most favourable time for war, which dissolves the revolutionary Government and democratic Constituent Assembly of Schleswig-Holstein, which destroys all decrees of this Government—a Government that the Federal Diet had recognised—which delivers the duchies to a Danish Government led by the hated Moltke, which pulls the Schleswig troops out of their regiments, withdraws them from the German supreme command and delivers them up to the Danish Government that may dissolve them at its discretion, which forces the German troops to withdraw from Königsau\(^b\) to Hanover and Mecklenburg and which delivers Lauenburg into the hands of the old reactionary Danish Government.*

Not just Schleswig-Holstein, but all Germany, with the exception of old parts of Prussia, is enraged about this ignominious armistice.

* This trick was accomplished in the following way: the old Government was dissolved. Thereupon Denmark re-elected the first, Prussia the second and both of them together the third member of the old Government.— Note by Engels.

\(^a\) The Danish name is Fyn.— Ed.

\(^b\) The Danish name is Kongeaa.— Ed.
The Imperial Government, to be sure, trembled at first upon being informed about it by Herr Camphausen but in the end it shouldered the responsibility for it after all. What else could it have done? Herr Camphausen seems to have threatened and official Prussia is still a power for the cowardly counter-revolutionary Imperial Government. But now it was the turn of the National Assembly. Its approval was necessary, and edifying as this Assembly is, "His Excellency" Herr Heckscher was nevertheless ashamed to come forward with this official document. He read it aloud to the accompaniment of a thousand bows and the most humble pleas for calm and moderation. The result was a general outburst. Even the Right Centre, indeed a part of the Right and Herr Dahlmann himself flew into the most violent fit of anger. The committees were ordered to report within 24 hours. In view of this report, it was decided to discontinue immediately the retreat of the troops. No decision has yet been taken concerning the armistice itself.

The National Assembly for once has finally passed an energetic resolution even though the Government declared that it would resign, if the resolution is carried. This resolution is not the cancellation but a breach of the armistice. In the duchies it will create not only excitement but open opposition to the execution of the armistice and to the new Government and it will bring about new complications.

But we have little hope that the Assembly will repudiate the armistice. Herr Radowitz only needs to obtain nine votes from the Centre and he has a majority. And should he not be able to do that during the few days when the matter rests?

If the Assembly decides to uphold the armistice, we shall have the proclamation of a republic and civil war in Schleswig-Holstein, the subjugation of the Central Authority by Prussia, the universal contempt of all Europe for the Central Authority and the Assembly and yet just enough complications as will suffice to crush any future Imperial Government under unsolvable difficulties.

If it decides to discard the armistice, we shall have another European war, a rupture between Prussia and Germany, new revolutions, the disintegration of Prussia and the genuine unification of Germany. The Assembly should not let itself be intimidated: at least two-thirds of Prussia supports Germany.

But will the representatives of the bourgeoisie at Frankfurt not rather swallow any insult and will they not rather place themselves under Prussian servitude than risk a European revolutionary war and expose themselves to new storms which would endanger their own class rule in Germany?
We believe that they will. Their cowardly bourgeois nature is too powerful. We do not have enough confidence in the Frankfurt Assembly to believe that it will redeem in Schleswig-Holstein Germany's honour which it has already sacrificed in Poland.

Written by Engels on September 7, 1848
First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 97, September 8, 1848
Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
EDITORIAL NOTE ACCOMPANYING THE ARTICLE
"THE FINANCIAL PROJECT OF THE LEFT" 272

We find it hard to understand that deputies on the Left submit financial plans for the procurement of the necessary funds to a Ministry that they intend to overthrow. The principal and in Herr Hansemann's case perhaps the only means of overthrowing a Ministry is precisely the refusal of funds. If at least some reforms had been included in the financial plan—but no, its aim is to spare the Government the hated measure of a compulsory loan. But what could be better for the opposition than the Ministry making itself hated?

Written by Engels on September 8, 1848

First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 98, September 9, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
Cologne, September 8, 10 p. m. The Government of Action has fallen. After it had "stumbled" several times, it was only able to stay in office by insolence. Finally, the constantly rising pretensions of the Government revealed the secret of its existence to the Assembly.

In yesterday's session of the Agreement Assembly Stein's motion\textsuperscript{273} was debated. The motion reads:

"It was the urgent duty of the Government to issue without more ado the decree which was approved on August 9 to pacify the country and avoid a break with the Assembly."

The Government declared that it would not consider any attempt at whitewashing or mediation.

The Left declared that it would walk out if the Assembly were to drop its resolution of August 9.

After a meaningless speech by the Prime Minister,\textsuperscript{3} Deputy Unruh introduced the following amendment at yesterday's session:

"Taking into account that the resolutions of August 9 do not constitute any investigation into attitudes or any constraint of conscience, but that they merely intend to bring about the agreement between the people and the army which is necessary in a constitutional state and that it is their purpose to avoid reactionary endeavours as well as further conflicts between the citizens who belong to the army and those who are civilians",

the Assembly declares

"that the Government does not possess the confidence of the country if it hesitates any further to issue to the army a decree which corresponds to the resolution of August 9."

\textsuperscript{a} Rudolf von Auerswald.— Ed.
This amendment of the Left Centre was opposed by a second one from the Right Centre advanced by Deputy Tamnau.

It reads:

"The National Assembly wishes to make the following declaration: by its resolution of August 9 of this year, the National Assembly intended to bring about a decree to the commanders of the army similar to the one promulgated by the Ministries of Finance and of the Interior to the Regierungspräsidenten on July 15. It does not intend to oblige the officers of the army to set forth their political views or to prescribe to the Minister of War the text of the decree. It regards such a decree, in which the officers of the army are warned against reactionary and republican endeavours, as necessary in the interest of civil peace and for the advancement of the new constitutional state system."

After the debate had gone on for some time, the "noble" Schreckenstein declared on behalf of the Government that he agreed with the Tamnau amendment. And this after the proud protestation that it would not accept any mediation!

After the debate had continued again for some time and after even Herr Milde had warned the Assembly not to become a revolutionary National Convention (Herr Milde's fear is entirely superfluous!) a vote is taken with an enormous throng of people pressing towards the meeting hall:

The result of the division:

The Unruh amendment was rejected by 320 votes to 38.

The Tamnau amendment was rejected by 210 votes to 156.

The Stein motion was adopted by 219 votes to 152. The majority against the Ministers:

67 votes.

One of our Berlin correspondents reports:

Today the excitement in the city was great. Thousands of people surrounded the meeting house of the Assembly, so that, when the President read the quite loyal address of the civic militia, Herr Reichensperger moved that the Assembly shift its sessions to another town since Berlin was endangered.

Indescribable rejoicing broke out when news of the Government's defeat became known to the assembled crowd, and when the deputies of the Left came out, they were accompanied as far as Unter den Linden by incessant "Vivats!" But when Deputy Stein (the mover of today's vote) was caught sight of, the enthusiasm reached its climax. Several men from the people immediately lifted him upon their shoulders and carried him thus in a triumphal procession to his hotel in the Taubenstrasse. Thousands of people joined this procession and to the accompaniment of endless hurrahs the masses rolled across the Opera House Square. Never before has such an
expression of joy been seen here. The greater the previous anxiety about success, the more surprising the brilliant victory.

Against the Government voted: the Left, the Left Centre (the Rodbertus-Berg party) and the Centre (Unruh, Duncker, Kosch). The President voted for the Government on all three issues. According to this, a Waldeck-Rodbertus Government will enjoy an absolute majority.

Thus in a few days we shall have the pleasure of seeing the author of the compulsory loan, the Minister of action, “His Excellency” Herr Hansemann, pass through here in order to return to his “bourgeois past” and to reflect on Duchâtel and Pinto.

Camphausen fell respectably. Herr Hansemann who brought about Camphausen’s fall by his intrigues, Herr Hansemann has met with a very sad end! Poor Hansemann-Pinto!

Written by Engels on September 8, 1848
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Published in English for the first time

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a Wilhelm Grabow.— Ed.
b In the original bürgerlich, which can mean “civil” or “bourgeois”.— Ed.
HIS SUCCESSORS

Cologne, September 9. So the prospect is held out of a Waldeck-Rodbertus Ministry. We do not believe it. The King\(^2\) will hardly submit to these gentlemen's demands, especially since his journey to Cologne.\(^274\) Consequently there is no other choice than Radowitz and Vincke, an open break with the Assembly, an open break with the revolution—and there is no need to say what will follow next.

Written by Engels on September 9, 1848
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\(^a\) Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*
Cologne, September 9. Again we revert to the Danish armistice—we are given time to do this owing to the thoroughness of the National Assembly, which, instead of taking prompt and energetic decisions and compelling the appointment of new Ministers, allows the committees to deliberate in the most leisurely manner and leaves the solution of the government crisis to God—a thoroughness which barely conceals “our dear friends’ lack of courage”.

The war in Italy was always unpopular with the democratic party, and has for a long time been unpopular even with the democrats of Vienna. The storm of public indignation over the war of extermination in Posen could be staved off only for a few weeks by means of falsifications and lies on the part of the Prussian Government. The street-fighting in Prague, despite all the efforts of the national press, aroused sympathy among the people only for the defeated, but not for the victors. The war in Schleswig-Holstein, however, from the outset was popular also among the people. What is the reason?

Whereas in Italy, Posen and Prague the Germans were fighting against the revolution, in Schleswig-Holstein they were supporting it. The Danish war is the first revolutionary war waged by Germany. We therefore advocated a resolute conduct of the Danish war from the very beginning, but this does not denote the slightest kinship with the sea-girt bourgeois beer-garden enthusiasm.

It is a sad thing for Germany that her first revolutionary war is the most ridiculous war ever waged.

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a Heinrich Heine, Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen, Caput XIX.— Ed.

b See this volume, pp. 91-93 and 119-20.— Ed.
Let us come to the point. The Danish nation is in commercial, industrial, political and literary matters completely dependent on Germany. It is well known that the real capital of Denmark is not Copenhagen but Hamburg; that for a whole year the Danish Government copied all the United Diet experiments conducted by the Prussian Government which expired on the barricades; that Denmark obtains all her literary as well as material sustenance via Germany, and that apart from Holberg, Danish literature is a poor imitation of that of Germany.

Impotent though Germany has been from time immemorial, she has the satisfaction of knowing that the Scandinavian nations, and especially Denmark, have fallen under her sway, and that compared with them she is even revolutionary and progressive.

Do you require proofs? Then read the polemics carried on by the Scandinavian nations against each other ever since the concept of Scandinavianism arose. Scandinavianism is enthusiasm for the brutal, sordid, piratical, Old Norse national traits, for that deep-rooted inner life which is unable to express its exuberant ideas and sentiments in words, but can express them only in deeds, namely in rudeness towards women, perpetual drunkenness and wild berserk frenzy alternating with tearful sentimentality.

Scandinavianism and the theory of kinship with sea-girt Schleswig-Holstein appeared simultaneously in the territories of the King of Denmark. The two concepts are correlated; they evoked each other and were in conflict with each other, thereby asserting their existence.

Scandinavianism was the form taken by the Danes' appeals for Swedish and Norwegian support. But as always happens with the Christian-Teutonic nation, a dispute immediately arose as to who was the genuine Christian-Teuton, the true Scandinavian. The Swede contended that the Dane had become "Germanised" and had degenerated, the Norwegian said the same of the Swede and the Dane, and the Icelander of all three. Obviously, the more primitive a nation is, the more closely its customs and way of life resemble those of the Old Norse people, the more "Scandinavian" it must be.

Morgenbladet from Christiania for November 18, 1846, is lying in front of us. This charming sheet contains the following amusing passages in an article on Scandinavianism.

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a A paraphrase of the first words of a song written in 1844 by Matthäus Friedrich Chemnitz.— Ed.
b Now called Oslo.— Ed.
After stating that the whole concept of Scandinavianism is nothing but an attempt by the Danes to create a movement in their own interest, the paper writes about the Danes:

"What have these gay, vivacious people in common with the ancient, gloomy and melancholy world of warriors (med den gamle, alvorlige og vemodfulde Kjämpeverden)? How can this nation, which—as even a Danish writer admits—has a docile and gentle disposition, believe itself to be spiritually related to the tough, lusty and vigorous men of a past age? And how can these people with their soft southern accent imagine that they speak a northern tongue? Although the main trait of our nation and the Swedes, like that of the ancient Northerners, is that our feelings are kept hidden in the innermost part of the soul, and not given outward expression, nevertheless these sentimental and affectionate people, who can so easily be astonished, moved and swayed and who wear their hearts upon their sleeves, nevertheless these people believe that they are of a northern cast and that they are akin to the two other Scandinavian nations!"

Morgenbladet attributes the degeneration of the Danes to their association with Germany and the spread of German traits in Denmark. The Germans have indeed

"lost their most sacred asset, their national character; but feeble and insipid though the German nation is, there is another nation still more feeble and insipid, namely the Danes. While the German language is being ousted in Alsace, Vaud and on the Slav border” (!! the services of the “Netze brethren” still remained unnoticed at the time) “it has made enormous progress along the Danish border.”

The Danes, we are told, now had to oppose their nationality to the Germans and for this purpose they invented Scandinavianism. The Danes were unable to resist,

"for the Danish nation, as we have said before, was essentially Germanised, although it did not adopt the German language. The writer of these lines has seen it admitted even in a Danish paper that the Danish nation does not differ essentially from the German nation.”

Thus Morgenbladet.

Of course, it cannot be denied that the Danes are a more or less civilised nation. Unfortunate Danes!

By the same right under which France took Flanders, Lorraine and Alsace, and will sooner or later take Belgium—by that same right Germany takes over Schleswig; it is the right of civilisation as against barbarism, of progress as against stability. Even if the agreements were in Denmark’s favour—which is very doubtful—this right carries more weight than all the agreements, for it is the right of historical evolution.

So long as the Schleswig-Holstein movement remained a purely legal philistine agitation of a civic and peaceful nature it evoked enthusiasm only among well-meaning petty bourgeois. When, before the outbreak of the February revolution, the present King of
Denmark at his accession promised a liberal Constitution for all his territories, envisaging the same number of deputies for the duchies as for Denmark, and the duchies were opposed to this, the petty-bourgeois parochial nature of the Schleswig-Holstein movement became distastefully conspicuous. The issue, at that time, was not so much union with Germany—did a Germany exist at that time?—as separation from Denmark and establishment of a small independent parochial state.

But then came the revolution, which gave the movement a different character. The Schleswig-Holstein party was forced either to attempt a revolution or to perish. It quite correctly chose the revolution. The Danish promises, which were very favourable before the revolution, were quite inadequate after the revolution; union with Germany—formerly an empty phrase—now acquired meaning. Germany made a revolution and as usual Denmark copied it on a small provincial scale.

The Schleswig-Holstein revolution and the Provisional Government to which it gave rise behaved at first still in a rather philistine way, but the war soon compelled them to adopt a democratic course. This Government, whose members are all moderate liberal worthies, formerly kindred spirits of Welcker, Gagern and Camphausen, has given Schleswig-Holstein laws which are more democratic than those of any other German state. The Kiel Provincial Assembly is the only German assembly based not only on universal suffrage but on direct elections. The draft Constitution which the Government submitted to it was the most democratic Constitution ever drawn up in the German language. As a result of the revolutionary war, Schleswig-Holstein, which had always trailed behind Germany in political matters, suddenly acquired more progressive institutions than all the rest of Germany.

The war we are waging in Schleswig-Holstein is therefore a truly revolutionary war.

And who, from the outset, supported Denmark? The three most counter-revolutionary powers in Europe—Russia, England and the Prussian Government. As long as it was possible the Prussian Government merely pretended to be waging a war—this is evidenced by Wildenbruch's Note,²⁷⁶ by the alacrity with which the Prussian Government, on the representations of England and Russia, ordered the withdrawal from Jutland, and finally by the two armistice agreements. Prussia, England and Russia are the three powers which have greater reason than anyone else to fear the German revolution.

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² Frederick VII.—Ed.
and its first result—German unity: Prussia because she would thereby cease to exist, England because it would deprive her of the possibility of exploiting the German market, and Russia because it would spell the advance of democracy not only to the Vistula but even as far as the Dvina and the Dnieper. Prussia, England and Russia have conspired against Schleswig-Holstein, against Germany and against the revolution.

The war that may now arise from the decisions taken at Frankfurt would be a war waged by Germany against Prussia, England and Russia. This is just the kind of war that the flagging German movement needs—a war against the three great counter-revolutionary powers, a war which would really cause Prussia to merge into Germany, which would make an alliance with Poland an indispensable necessity and would lead to the immediate liberation of Italy; a war which would be directed against Germany's old counter-revolutionary allies of 1792-1815, a war which would "imperil the fatherland" and for that very reason save it by making the victory of Germany dependent on the victory of democracy.

The bourgeois and the Junkers at Frankfurt should not deceive themselves—if they decide to reject the armistice they will be setting the seal to their own downfall, just as the Girondists did during the first revolution when they took part in the events of August 10 and voted for the death of the ex-King, thereby preparing their own downfall on May 31.277 If, on the other hand, they accept the armistice, they will still be sealing their own downfall: they will be placing themselves under the jurisdiction of Prussia and cease to have any say in things. It is up to them to choose.

The news of Hansemann's downfall probably reached Frankfurt before the vote was taken. This may influence the vote significantly, especially since it is expected that a Government of Waldeck and Rodbertus will follow who, as we know, recognise the sovereignty of the National Assembly.

The future will show. But we repeat—Germany's honour is in bad hands!

Written by Engels on September 9, 1848
Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 99, September 10, 1848

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277 Louis XVI.—Ed.
ARRESTS

Cologne, September 11. We are addressing the following request for information to whichever gentlemen in the Public Prosecutor's department it may concern:

Is it true that at 8 o'clock yesterday evening Herr Salget and Herr Blum Jr., from Cologne, who had already formed a workers' association in Cassel, were arrested in Wesseling, by the Burgomaster Herr von Geier, on the instigation of the parson? They had intended to form a workers' association in Wesseling too, but were arrested before they had even spoken a word in public and before the meeting had begun.

Is it true that the only reason for this arrest, which did in fact take place, was the pastor's denunciation that the two gentlemen wanted (!) to stir up the workers?

Assuming that this is how matters stand, will the Public Prosecutor take steps to deal with this outrageous infringement of the law or—in expectation of the Radowitz Ministry and of the speedy abolition of the right of free association—will he give Herr von Geier a vote of thanks?

Written by Engels on September 11, 1848
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 100, September 12, 1848
Printed according to the newspaper
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See also this volume, pp. 579-80.—Ed.
Cologne, September 11. Anyone reading the reports from Berlin printed below can judge for himself whether we predicted the course of the government crisis correctly. The Ministers resigned; it seems that the camarilla did not approve of the Government's plan to dissolve the Agreement Assembly and to use martial law and guns in order to remain in office. The junkers from the Uckermark are thirsting for a conflict with the people and a repetition of the Parisian June scenes in the streets of Berlin, but they will never fight for the Hansemann Government, they will fight for a Government of the Prince of Prussia. The choice will fall on Radowitz, Vincke and similar reliable men who keep aloof from the Berlin Assembly and are in no way committed to it. The Government of the Prince of Prussia which is to be bestowed on us will comprise the cream of the Prussian and Westphalian knights associated for form's sake with a few bourgeois worthies from the extreme Right, such as Beckerath and his like, to whom will be assigned the conduct of the prosaic commercial side of the business of state. Meanwhile hundreds of rumours are being spread, Waldeck or Rodbertus is perhaps summoned, and public opinion is misled, while at the same time military preparations are being made to come out openly at the appropriate moment.

We are facing a decisive struggle. The simultaneous crises at Frankfurt and Berlin and the latest decisions of the two Assemblies compel the counter-revolution to wage its last fight. If the counter-revolution in Berlin dares to spurn the constitutional principle of majority rule, if it confronts the 219 members of the majority with twice as many guns, if it dares to defy the majority not
only in Berlin but also in Frankfurt by presenting to them a Government which is quite unacceptable to either of the two Assemblies—if it thus provokes a civil war between Prussia and Germany, then the democrats know what they have to do.

[Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 101, September 13, 1848]

Cologne, September 12. Although already by midday we may receive news of the definite formation of a new Government as described by us yesterday and confirmed from other quarters, the government crisis in Berlin continues. There are only two solutions to this crisis:

Either a Waldeck Government, recognition of the authority of the German National Assembly and recognition of popular sovereignty;

Or a Radowitz-Vincke Government, dissolution of the Berlin Assembly, abolition of the revolutionary gains, a sham constitutionalism or even the United Diet.

Don’t let us shut our eyes to the fact that the conflict which has broken out in Berlin is a conflict not between the agreeers and the Ministers, but between the Assembly, which for the first time acts as a Constituent Assembly, and the Crown.

The point is whether or not the latter will have the courage to dissolve the Assembly.

But has the Crown the right to dissolve the Assembly?

True, in constitutional states the Crown in case of disputes has the right to dissolve the legislative chambers convened on the basis of the Constitution and to appeal to the people by means of new elections.

Is the Berlin Assembly a constitutional, legislative chamber?

It is not. It has been convened “to come to an agreement with the Crown on the Prussian Constitution”, it has been convened not on the basis of a Constitution, but on that of a revolution. It received its mandate by no means from the Crown or from the Ministers answerable to the Crown, but from those who elected it and from the Assembly itself. The Assembly was sovereign as the legitimate expression of the revolution, and the mandate which Herr Camphausen jointly with the United Diet prepared for it in the shape of the electoral law of April 8 was nothing but a pious wish, in regard to which the Assembly had to decide.

At first the Assembly more or less accepted the theory of agreement. It realised that in doing so it had been cheated by the Ministers and the camarilla. At last it performed a sovereign act,
acting for a moment as a constituent assembly and no longer as an Assembly of Agreement.

Being the sovereign Assembly of Prussia, it had a perfect right to do this.

A sovereign assembly, however, cannot be dissolved by anybody, and cannot be given orders by anybody.

Even as a mere Agreement Assembly, even according to Herr Camphausen’s own theory, it has equal status with the Crown. Both parties conclude a political treaty, both parties have an equal share of sovereignty—that is the theory of April 8, the Camphausen-Hansemann theory, the official theory recognised by the Crown itself.

If the Assembly and the Crown have equal rights, then the Crown has no right to dissolve the Assembly.

Otherwise, to be consistent, the Assembly would also have the right to depose the King.

The dissolution of the Assembly would therefore be a coup d’état. And how people reply to a coup d’état was demonstrated on July 29, 1830, and February 24, 1848.¹

One may say the Crown could appeal again to the same voters. But who does not know that today the voters would elect an entirely different assembly, an assembly which would treat the Crown with much less ceremony?

Everyone knows that after the dissolution of this Assembly it will only be possible to appeal to voters of an entirely different kind from those of April 8, that the only elections possible will be elections carried through under the tyranny of the sword.

Let us have no illusions.

If the Assembly wins and succeeds in setting up a Left Government, then the power of the Crown existing alongside the Assembly is broken, then the King is merely a paid servant of the people and we return again to the morning of March 19—provided the Waldeck Government does not betray us, as did many a Government before it.

If the Crown wins and succeeds in setting up a Government of the Prince of Prussia, then the Assembly will be dissolved, the right of association abolished, the press muzzled, an electoral law based on property qualifications introduced, and, as we have already mentioned, even the United Diet may be reinvoked—and all this will be done under cover of a military dictatorship, guns and bayonets.

¹ The reference is to the overthrow of Charles X in July 1830 and of Louis Philippe in February 1848.—Ed.
Which of the two sides will win depends on the attitude of the people, especially that of the democratic party. It is up to the democrats to choose.

We have again the situation of July 25. Will they dare to issue the decrees being devised in Potsdam? Will the people be provoked to make the leap from July 26 to February 24 in a single day?²⁷⁹

The will to do it is certainly there, but what about the courage!

[Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 102, September 14, 1848]

Cologne, September 13. The crisis in Berlin has advanced a step further. The conflict with the Crown, which yesterday could still be described as inevitable, has actually taken place.

Our readers will find below the King's reply to the resignation of the Ministers.²⁸⁰ By this letter the Crown itself comes to the fore, sides with the Ministers and opposes the Assembly.

It goes even further—it forms a Government outside the Assembly, it nominates Beckerath, who represents the extreme Right at Frankfurt and who, as everyone knows, will never be able to count on the support of the majority in Berlin.

The King's message is countersigned by Herr Auerswald. Let Herr Auerswald, if he can, justify the fact that he thus uses the Crown to cover up his ignominious retreat, that at one and the same time he tries to hide behind the constitutional principle as far as the Chamber is concerned and tramples on the constitutional principle by compromising the Crown and invoking the republic.

Constitutional principle! shout the Ministers. Constitutional principle! shouts the Right. Constitutional principle! faintly echoes the Kölnische Zeitung.

"Constitutional principle!" Are these gentlemen really so foolish as to believe that it is possible to extricate the German people from the storms of 1848, and from the imminent threat of collapse of all traditional institutions, by means of the Montesquieu-Delolme worm-eaten theory of division of powers, by means of worn-out phrases and long exploded fictions!

"Constitutional principle!" But the very gentlemen who want to save the constitutional principle at all costs should realise first of all that at a provisional stage it can only be saved by energetic action.

"Constitutional principle!" But the vote of the Berlin Assembly, the clashes between Potsdam and Frankfurt, the disturbances, the reactionary attempts, the provocations of the brutal soldiery—has all this not shown long ago that despite all the empty talk we are still on a
revolutionary basis, and the pretence that we have already reached the basis of an established, complete constitutional monarchy only leads to collisions, which have already brought the “constitutional principle” to the brink of the abyss?

Every provisional political set-up following a revolution requires a dictatorship, and an energetic dictatorship at that. From the very beginning we blamed Camphausen for not having acted in a dictatorial manner, for not having immediately smashed up and removed the remains of the old institutions. While thus Herr Camphausen indulged in constitutional dreaming, the defeated party strengthened its positions within the bureaucracy and in the army, and occasionally even risked an open fight. The Assembly was convened for the purpose of agreeing on the terms of the Constitution. It existed as an equal party alongside the Crown. Two equal powers in a provisional situation! It was this division of powers with the aid of which Herr Camphausen sought “to save freedom”—it was this very division of powers in a provisional situation that was bound to lead to conflicts. The Crown served as a cover for the counter-revolutionary aristocratic, military and bureaucratic camarilla. The bourgeoisie stood behind the majority of the Assembly. The Government tried to mediate. Too weak to act resolutely on behalf of the bourgeoisie and the peasants and overthrow the power of the nobility, the bureaucracy and the army chiefs at one blow, too unskilled to avoid always harming the bourgeoisie by its financial measures, the Government merely succeeded in compromising itself in the eyes of all the parties and bringing about the very clash it sought to avoid.

In any unconstituted state of affairs it is solely the salut public, the public welfare, and not this or that principle that is the decisive factor. The only way in which the Government could avoid a conflict between the Assembly and the Crown lay in recognising the public welfare as the sole principle, even at the risk of the Government itself coming into conflict with the Crown. But it preferred “not to compromise” itself in Potsdam. It never hesitated to employ public welfare measures (mesures de salut public), dictatorial measures, against the democratic forces. What else was the application of the old laws to political crimes, even after Herr Märker had recognised that these articles of the Prussian Law ought to be repealed? What else were the wholesale arrests in all parts of the kingdom?

But the Government carefully refrained from intervening against the counter-revolution in the name of public welfare.

It was this half-heartedness of the Government in face of the counter-revolution, which became more menacing with every day,
Articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

that compelled the Assembly *itself to dictate* measures of public welfare. If the Crown represented by the Ministers was too weak, then the Assembly itself had to intervene. It did so by passing the resolution of August 9. It did so in a form still rather mild, by merely warning the Ministers. The Ministers took no notice of it. 281

Indeed, how could they have agreed to it? The resolution of August 9 flouted the constitutional principle, it is an encroachment of the legislative power on the executive power, it destroys the division of powers and their mutual control, which are essential in the interests of freedom, it turns the Assembly of Agreement into a *National Convention*.

There follows a running fire of threats, a vociferous appeal to the fears of the petty bourgeois and the prospect of a reign of terror with guillotines, progressive taxes, confiscations and the red flag.

To compare the Berlin Assembly with the Convention. What irony!

But these gentlemen were not altogether wrong. If the Government continues in the way it has been doing, we shall have a Convention before long—not merely for Prussia, but for Germany as a whole—a Convention which will have to use all means to cope with the civil war in our twenty Vendées and with the inevitable war with Russia. At present, however, we merely have a parody of the Constituent Assembly. 282

But how have the Ministers who invoke the constitutional principle upheld this principle?

On August 9, they calmly allowed the Assembly to break up in the belief that the Ministers would carry out the resolution. They had no intention of making known to the Assembly their refusal to do so, and still less of resigning their office.

They ruminated on the matter for a whole month and finally, when threatened with a number of parliamentary questions, they curtly informed the Assembly that it was self-evident that they would not put the resolution into effect.

When the Assembly thereupon instructs the Ministers, nevertheless, to put the resolution into effect, they take refuge behind the Crown, and cause a rupture between the Crown and the Assembly, thus invoking the republic.

And these gentlemen still talk about the constitutional principle!

To sum up:

The inevitable conflict between two powers having equal rights in a provisional situation has broken out. The Ministry was unable to govern with sufficient energy; it has failed to take the necessary measures of public welfare. The Assembly has merely performed its
duty in demanding that the Ministry do its duty. The Ministry declares this to be an encroachment upon the rights of the Crown and discredits the Crown at the very moment of its resignation. The Crown and the Assembly confront each other. The "agreement" has led to separation, to conflict. It is possible that arms will decide the issue.

The side that has the greater courage and consistency will win.

[Cologne, September 15. The government crisis has once again entered a new phase, due, not to the arrival and vain efforts of the impossible Herr Beckerath, but to the army revolt in Potsdam and Nauen. The conflict between democracy and aristocracy has broken out even within the guard regiments. The soldiers consider that the resolution carried by the Assembly on the 7th liberates them from the tyranny of their officers; they cheer the Assembly and send letters of thanks to it.

This has wrenched the sword from the hands of the counter-revolutionaries. They will not dare now to dissolve the Assembly, and since this cannot be attempted, they will have to give in, carry out the resolution of the Assembly and form a Waldeck Ministry.

It is quite possible that the soldiers in revolt at Potsdam will save us a revolution.

Written by Marx on September 11, 12, 13, 15, 1848
Printed according to the newspaper
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung Nos. 100, 101, 102 and 104, September 12, 13, 14 and 16, 1848]
ARMY ORDER, ELECTION CANDIDATES, 
SEMI-OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON PRUSSIAN AMBIGUITY

We have received Danish newspapers up to September 9. An army order of September 4 gives the following instructions: General Krogh takes over command in Jutland, headquarters Viborg. For the duration of the armistice the garrison in Alsen\(^a\) has a special command. The corps in the field is quartered as far as possible in its recruiting areas and is therefore spread across Jutland and the islands. Forty to fifty men per company remain under arms, the rest will be sent home on leave, and the brigade commanders are instructed to inspect their troops frequently and prepare for a new campaign. However, since the King\(^b\) wants to make a personal inspection of the troops before they go on leave, these decisions will not be carried out until further orders. It is also unlikely that they will be, for as the postscript of the *Faedreland* announced on the 9th, news of the decision passed by the National Assembly about suspending the withdrawal has just reached Copenhagen in private letters.

The Danes can rely fairly firmly on the troops recruited in North Schleswig, this is evident from the fact that it was precisely these sections of the army that were moved to the vicinity of the Schleswig frontier or Alsen.

The liberal party in Copenhagen has put forward its list of candidates for the approaching elections. The representatives of the middle class, the editors of the *Faedreland* and other “men of the people” of the “constitutional monarchy established on a democratic

\(^a\) The Danish name is Als.— *Ed.

\(^b\) Frederick VII.— *Ed.*
basis" (note how thoroughly the Danes have plagiarised the Germans) have met to draw up the list. It consists of a bank manager, a director of a life-insurance institution, two schoolmasters, an attorney, a lieutenant-colonel, a naval officer, two artisans and a "disvacheur" (!). It can be seen what sort of intellectual forces are at the disposal of the "Hovedstad". a

The Prussian Government is unfortunate. In the Danish affair too it has managed to give Prussia a reputation for ambiguity which almost verges on treason against both sides. This ambiguity has always been a well-known feature of Prussian policy; we need only think of the "Great" Elector's b betrayal of Poland when he suddenly went over to Sweden, of the Basle Peace, of 1805 and more recently of the ambiguity through which the Ministry enticed Poland into the trap. 284 And now, in the Danish affair, the Prussian Government has abused the interests of the German people and not even earned a word of thanks from Denmark. Let us listen to what the Faedreland says:

"According to the note of the Prussian Prime Minister Auerswald (to the Provisional Government in Rendsburg), which we publish below, it is plain that Prussia is playing a very ambiguous role. In the first place it is extremely surprising that the Prussian Government should have any dealings at all with the rebel Government in the duchies. Furthermore, Herr Auerswald has in more than one respect completely twisted the meaning of the terms of the armistice. Although the armistice was in no way intended to furnish any basis for a final peace, Herr Auerswald nonetheless claims that through it conditions are being prepared that will bring about a favourable final solution. He talks further of the significance of the terms whereby the federal troops are to remain in Schleswig and the Schleswig-Holstein army corps is to continue at its present strength, even though the armistice stipulates that the Schleswig and the Holstein troops should be separated and the federal troops remain in Altona. Lastly, he puts forward a similar falsehood when he says that the legal situation in the duchies is to continue on its present basis, whereas the armistice says that the decrees issued since March 17 both by the King of Denmark and by the Provisional Government should be repealed. As regards the Central Authority, it has shown such a lack of firmness towards the Assembly in its negotiations over Limburg 285 that from that side one can really expect anything."

Written by Engels on September 14, 1848
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 103, September 15, 1848
Printed according to the newspaper Published in English for the first time

a Capital.— Ed.
b Frederick William.— Ed.
Cologne, September 16. Ever since the beginning of the crisis the counter-revolutionary press keeps alleging that the deliberations of the Berlin Assembly are not free from interference. In particular, the well-known correspondent “G” of the Kölnische Zeitung, who also discharges his duties only “temporarily pending the appointment of a successor”, refers with obvious fear to the “8,000 to 10,000 strong-arm men” in the Kastanienwäldchen who “morally” support their friends of the Left. The Vossische, Spenersche and other newspapers have set up a similar wail, and on the 7th of this month Herr Reichensperger has even tabled a motion frankly demanding that the Assembly be removed from Berlin (to Charlottenburg perhaps?).

The Berliner Zeitungs-Halle publishes a long article in which it tries to refute these accusations. It declares that the large majority obtained by the Left was by no means inconsistent with the former irresolute attitude of the Assembly. It can be shown, it says,

“that the voting of the 7th could have taken place without conflicting with the former attitude even of those members who previously voted always for the Government, that it was indeed from their point of view in perfect harmony with their former position....” The members who came over from the Centre parties “had laboured under a delusion; they imagined that the Ministers carried out the will of the people; they had taken the endeavours of the Ministers to restore law and order for an expression of their own will, i.e. that of the majority of deputies, and had not realised that the Ministers could accede to the popular will only when it did not run counter to the will of the Crown, but not when it was opposed to it”.

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b September 7, 1848.— Ed.
Thus the Zeitungs-Halle “explains” the striking phenomenon of the sudden change in the attitude of so many deputies by ascribing it to the notions and delusions of these deputies. The thing could not be presented in a more innocent way.

The paper admits, however, that intimidations did occur. But, it says,

“if outside influences did have any effect, it was only that they partially counterbalanced the ministerial misrepresentations and artful temptation, thus enabling the many weak and irresolute deputies to follow their natural vital instinct....”

The reasons which induced the Zeitungs-Halle thus morally to justify the vacillating members of the Centre parties in the eyes of the public are obvious. The article is written for these gentlemen of the Centre parties rather than for the general public. For us, however, these reasons do not exist, since we are privileged to speak plainly, and since we support the representatives of a party only as long and insofar as they act in a revolutionary manner.

Why should we not say it? The Centre parties certainly were intimidated by the masses on September 7; we leave it open whether their fear was well founded or not.

The right of the democratic popular masses, by their presence, to exert a moral influence on the attitude of constituent assemblies is an old revolutionary right of the people which could not be dispensed with in all stormy periods ever since the English and French revolutions. History owes to this right almost all the energetic steps taken by such assemblies. The only reason why people dwelling on the “legal basis” and the timorous and philistine friends of “freedom of debate” lament about this right, is that they do not want any energetic decisions at all.

“Freedom of debate”—there is no emptier phrase than this. The “freedom of debate” is, on the one hand, impaired by the freedom of the press, by the freedom of assembly and of speech, and by the right of the people to take up arms. It is impaired by the existing state power in the hands of the Crown and its Ministers—the army, the police and the so-called independent judges, who depend, however, on every promotion and every political change.

The freedom of debate is always a phrase denoting simply independence of all influences that are not recognised in law. It is only the recognised influences, such as bribery, promotion, private interests and fear of a dissolution of the Assembly, that make the debates really “free”. In times of revolution, however, this phrase

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*a See this volume, pp. 417-19.— Ed.*
becomes entirely meaningless. When two forces, two parties in arms confront each other, when a fight may start at any moment, the deputies have only this choice:

Either they place themselves under the protection of the people, in which case they will put up occasionally with a small lecture;

Or they place themselves under the protection of the Crown, move to some small town, deliberate under the protection of bayonets and guns or even a state of siege, in which case they will raise no objections when the Crown and the bayonets dictate their decisions to them.

Intimidation by the unarmed people or intimidation by an armed soldiery—that is the choice before the Assembly.

The French Constituent Assembly transferred its sessions from Versailles to Paris. It would be quite in character with the German revolution if the Assembly of Agreement were to move from Berlin to Charlottenburg.

Written on September 16, 1848

First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 105, September 17, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper
RATIFICATION OF THE ARMISTICE

Cologne, September 19. The German National Assembly has ratified the armistice. We were not mistaken: "Germany's honour has fallen into bad hands."

The vote was taken amidst uproar and complete darkness, when the benches of the deputies were thronged with strangers, diplomats etc. A majority of two forced the Assembly to vote simultaneously on two entirely different questions. The armistice was carried, Schleswig-Holstein sacrificed, "Germany's honour" trampled under foot and the merging of Germany in Prussia decided by a majority of 21 votes.

On no other issue has there been such a clear expression of public opinion. On no other issue have the gentlemen of the Right so openly admitted that they uphold a cause which is indefensible. In no other issue were Germany's interests so indubitable and so obvious as in this. The National Assembly has made its decision—it has pronounced the death sentence upon itself and upon the so-called Central Authority created by it. If Germany had a Cromwell it would not be long before he would say: "You are no Parliament.... Depart, I say.... In the name of God,—go!"

There is talk of the impending withdrawal of the Left. If it had courage, this poor derided Left, which has been attacked with fists by the majority and in addition called to order by the noble Gagern! Never has a minority been so insolently and consistently maltreated

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a See this volume, p. 425.—Ed.

b The words Cromwell used when dissolving the Rump Parliament on April 20, 1653.—Ed.
as has been the Frankfurt Left by the noble Gagern and his 250 champions of the majority. If only it had courage!

Lack of courage is ruining the entire German movement. The counter-revolution just as much as the revolutionary party lacks the courage for decisive blows. All Germans, whether on the Right or on the Left, know now that the present movement must lead to terrible clashes, to bloody battles, fought either to suppress it or to carry it through. But instead of courageously facing these unavoidable battles, instead of fighting them out with a few rapid and decisive blows, the two parties—the party of the counter-revolution and that of the movement—virtually conspire to put them off as long as possible. It is due to this constant resort to petty expedients, to trivial concessions and palliatives, to these attempts at mediation, that the unbearable and uncertain political situation has led everywhere to numerous isolated uprisings, which can only be liquidated by bloodshed and the curtailment of rights already won. It is this fear of struggle that gives rise to thousands of minor clashes making the year 1848 exceptionally sanguinary and so complicating the position of the contending parties that in the end the struggle is bound to become the more violent and destructive. But "our dear friends' lack of courage"!

The crucial struggle for Germany's centralisation and democratic organisation cannot possibly be avoided. Every day brings it nearer despite all attempts to gloss over it and compromise. The complex situation in Vienna, Berlin and Frankfurt demands a decision, and if everything should fail because of German timidity and indecision, we shall be saved by France. The consequences of the June victory are now taking shape in Paris—the royalists are getting the better of Cavaignac and his "pure republicans" in the National Assembly, in the press and in the clubs; a general uprising is threatening to break out in the legitimist South; Cavaignac has to resort to Ledru-Rollin's revolutionary remedies, i.e. to departmental commissioners invested with extraordinary powers; it was with the greatest difficulty that he managed to defend himself and his Government in Parliament last Saturday. Another such division, and Thiers, Barrot and company, the men in whose interests the June victory was won, will possess a majority, Cavaignac will be thrown into the arms of the red republic, and the struggle for the republic's existence will begin.

If Germany's irresoluteness should persist, this new phase of the French revolution will also be a signal for a fresh outbreak of open

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*Heinrich Heine, Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen, Caput XIX.— Ed.*
struggle in Germany, a struggle which we hope will take us a little further and will at least free Germany from the traditional fetters of her past.

Written by Engels on September 19, 1848
First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 107, September 20, 1848
Cologne, September 19, 7 p.m. The German-Danish armistice has raised a storm. A sanguinary revolt has begun in Frankfurt. The workers of Frankfurt, Offenbach and Hanau, and the peasants of the surrounding districts, are defending with their lives Germany's honour betrayed by the National Assembly to a Prussian Government which has ignominiously resigned.

The outcome of the struggle is still uncertain. Until yesterday evening the soldiers apparently made little progress. In Frankfurt, apart from the Zeil and perhaps a few other streets and squares, artillery is of little use, and cavalry of almost no use at all. In this respect the people are in an advantageous position. Citizens of Hanau, armed with weapons from the arsenal they had stormed, have come to their assistance, as have also peasants from numerous villages in the vicinity. Yesterday evening the military probably numbered about 10,000 men and very little artillery. Large reinforcements of peasants must have arrived during the night, and considerably smaller ones of soldiers, the immediate vicinity being denuded of troops. The revolutionary temper of the peasants in the Odenwald, Nassau and the Electorate of Hesse precluded further withdrawals; it is likely that communications have been interrupted. If today the insurgents are still holding out, then the whole of the Odenwald, Nassau, the Electorate of Hesse and Rhenish Hesse will take up arms, the entire population between Fulda, Koblenz, Mannheim and Aschaffenburg will be in arms, and there are insufficient troops available to crush the uprising. And who will answer for Mainz, Mannheim, Marburg, Cassel and Wiesbaden—towns in which hatred of the brutal soldiery has reached its
highest pitch as a result of the bloody excesses of the so-called federal troops? Who will answer for the peasants on the Rhine, who can easily prevent troops being sent along the river?

We admit, nevertheless, that we have little hope of the courageous insurgents being able to win the day. Frankfurt is too small a town, the number of troops is disproportionately large, and the well-known counter-revolutionary sentiments of the local petty bourgeoisie are too great to allow us to be very hopeful.

But even if the insurgents are defeated, this will settle nothing. The counter-revolution will become arrogant, it will enslave us for a time by introducing martial law, by suppressing freedom of the press, and banning the clubs and public meetings; but before long the crowing of the Gallic cock\(^a\) will announce the hour of liberation, the hour of revenge.

[Cologne, September 20. The news from Frankfurt is beginning to gradually confirm our fears of yesterday. It seems certain that the insurgents have been ejected from Frankfurt, and that now they are holding only Sachsenhausen, where they are said to be strongly entrenched. A state of siege has been declared in Frankfurt; anyone caught carrying weapons or resisting the “federal authority” is to be court-martialled.

Thus the gentlemen in St. Paul’s Church are now on an equal footing with their colleagues in Paris. They can now at their leisure and under the rule of martial law reduce the fundamental rights of the German people to a “minimum”.

The railway line to Mainz is torn up in many places, and the post arrives either late or not at all.

It appears that artillery decided the outcome of the fight in the wide streets and enabled the army to attack the fighters on the barricades from the rear. Additional factors were the zeal with which the petty bourgeois of Frankfurt opened their houses to the soldiers, thus giving them every advantage in the street-fighting, and the superior strength of the troops, swiftly brought up by rail, over the peasant contingents, which arrived showly on foot.

But even if the fight has not been renewed in Frankfurt itself, it certainly does not mean that the uprising has been crushed. The

\(^a\) Heinrich Heine, “Kahldorf über den Adel, in Briefen an den Grafen M. von Moltke”. Einleitung.— Ed.
angry peasants are not likely to put their weapons down forthwith. Though they may not be able to break up the National Assembly, they still have enough at home that has to be cleared away. The storm that was repelled outside St. Paul's Church can spread to six or eight petty princely residences and to hundreds of manorial estates. The peasant war begun this spring will not come to an end until its goal, the liberation of the peasants from feudalism, has been achieved.

What is the reason for the persistent victory of "order" throughout Europe and for the numerous recurrent defeats of the revolutionary party from Naples, Prague and Paris to Milan, Vienna and Frankfurt?

It is because all parties know that the struggle impending in all civilised countries is quite different from, infinitely more significant than, all previous revolutions; in Vienna and Paris, in Berlin and Frankfurt, in London and Milan the point at issue is the overthrow of the political rule of the bourgeoisie, an upheaval whose immediate consequences are enough to terrify all portly, stockjobbing bourgeois.

Is there a revolutionary centre anywhere in the world where the red flag, the battle emblem of the united proletariat of Europe, has not been found flying on the barricades during the last five months?

In Frankfurt, too, the fight against the Parliament of the combined landowners and bourgeoisie was waged under the red flag.

The reason for all these defeats is that every uprising that now takes place is a direct threat to the political existence of the bourgeoisie, and an indirect threat to its social existence. The people, mostly unarmed, have to fight not only the organised power of the bureaucratic and military state which the bourgeoisie has taken over, they have to fight the armed bourgeoisie itself. The people, who are unorganised and poorly armed, are confronted by all the other social classes, who are well organised and fully armed. That is the reason why up to now the people have been defeated and will continue to be defeated until their opponents are weakened either through dissension, or because the army is engaged in war—or until some important event impels the people to begin a desperate fight and demoralises their opponents.

Such a great event is impending in France.

Hence we need not give up hope, even though during the last four months the barricades everywhere have been defeated by grape-shot. On the contrary, every victory of our opponents was at the same time a defeat for them, for it divided them and, ultimately, gave control not to the conservative party that was victorious in
The Uprising in Frankfurt

February and March, but in each case to the party that had been overthrown in February and March. Only for a short time did the victory won in Paris in June establish the rule of the petty bourgeoisie, the pure republicans; hardly three months have passed and the big bourgeoisie, the constitutional party, is threatening to overthrow Cavaignac and drive the “pure ones” into the arms of the “reds”. This will happen in Frankfurt too—the victory will benefit, not the respectable gentlemen from the Centre parties, but those of the Right. The bourgeoisie will have to give pride of place to the gentlemen representing the military, bureaucratic and Junker state and will very soon taste the bitter fruits of its victory.

May these bitter fruits do it good! Meanwhile we shall await the moment when the hour of liberation for Europe will have struck in Paris.

Written by Engels on September 19 and 20, 1848

First published in the supplement to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 107 and in No. 108, September 20 and 21, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper
Cologne, September 21. It is common knowledge that the so-called National Assembly in Frankfurt approved of the armistice on Prussia's assurance that the Danish Government has officially given notice of its readiness to agree to modifications.

It is well known, however, what intrigues went on during the voting on the preliminary question. The intrigues over the main question took place outside the Assembly.

Listen to what the Faedreland of September 16 says:

After explaining the disadvantages of the armistice that was actually signed as compared with the first draft, the newspaper comes to the advantages for Denmark. England and Russia would intervene if the war broke out again; German unity, held together with difficulty by the Danish war, would immediately disintegrate; the population of Jutland could be trained as an army reserve and the army doubled in size:

"and 60,000 troops on the narrow peninsula, backed up by the fleet, are a Dannevirke which big, united Germany would think twice about storming".

"But whatever the terms of the armistice, it is plain that once it is signed, ratified and guaranteed, it would be irresponsible if we neglected to fulfil its terms, or tolerated their infringement by our enemies. There is no question of our Government doing such a thing, there can and must be no doubts about this, and for this reason it would be wrong to get alarmed at all the rumours hawked around in Schleswig-Holstein publications about changes in the terms once they have been accepted. We are fully aware that Prussian generals and officials and the Germans in general, with a few honourable exceptions, do not take their commitments and their vows, their bona fides so very seriously; we are quite ready to believe that General Wrangel had the effrontery to put proposals to the Danish Commissioner, Mr. Reedtz, suggesting a breach of the terms in order to make them more acceptable to his friends in Schleswig-Holstein; we are quite ready to believe that both the Frankfurt Assembly and the Prussian Ministry consider it quite in order to urge us to agree to arbitrary
changes in a matter that has already been signed and sealed in due form. But we also believe that the worst thing our Government could do would be to permit them to alter even one jot or tittle of the treaty, for then “German honesty” would have no qualms about trampling the whole thing under foot. If Karl Moltke cannot find any co-regents, since it has been laid down how these are to be appointed, the Danish Government can proceed to choose two whose agreement is certain in advance, and it is then up to Prussia to find two of its own. If the people of Schleswig-Holstein are not willing to obey, it is up to Prussia to force them to. And if on the last appointed date, that is tomorrow, September 17, there is anything essential missing in the execution of the treaty after we for our part have conscientiously fulfilled all our obligations, then it is up to the Danish Government to set a final deadline, and if this also expires without any further developments, then it is the right and duty of the Danish Government to move the army to Schleswig and have it occupied. We will then see what Europe has to say and what guarantees and obligations actually mean. We certainly have no need to fear the consequences; whatever they are, it is easier to endure them than to disgrace ourselves in our own eyes and in the eyes of the whole world, than to allow ourselves to be treated as the bondsman (Traet) of German arrogance and German dishonesty.

“We are pleased to say that as we lay down our pen we can give the positive assurance that as far as Danish Government is concerned any modification of the armistice convention which has been concluded is out of the question.

Thus the semi-official organ of the Danish Cabinet.

And now? Who is the deceiver now, who the deceived, who the deceived deceiver?

Written by Engels on September 21, 1848
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 109, September 22, 1848

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

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^ G. E. Lessing, Nathan der Weise, Act III, Scene 7.—Ed.
Cologne, September 22. It has happened after all! The Government of the Prince of Prussia is in being and the counter-revolution intends to risk the final decisive blow.²⁹⁰

Read the following letter by a deputy:

“Berlin, September 20, 10 p.m. We have just learned beyond doubt that an entirely counter-revolutionary Government has been formed, namely” (then follows the list of Ministers which we gave yesterday in accordance with the special edition of the Zeitungs-Halle). “At tomorrow’s session this same Government will read out a royal message wherein the prospect of the disbandment of the Assembly will be held out. The result of this is a declaration of permanence which will probably lead to a new and very bloody revolution. All parties of the National Assembly are consulting permanently in their usual premises. The population is very excited. Wrangel has held a military review today. Everything seems to be in question!”

It has happened after all! The Crown seeks the protection of the Uckermark grandees and the Uckermark grandees oppose the revolutionary movement of the year 1848. The Don Quixotes of Further Pomerania, these old warriors and debt-encumbered landed proprietors, will finally have their opportunity to cleanse their rusty blades in the blood of the agitators.²⁹¹ The guards, crowned with the cheap glory of Schleswig, are supposed to strike the decisive blow against the revolution which intrudes upon the rights of the Crown, which wants to prohibit the officers from plotting secretly and which intends, by the implacable hand of Hansemann’s financial measures, to take a terribly “bold dip”³ into the already limp purse of the Brandenburg Junkers. The guards will take revenge for the

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² An expression first used by Karl Mathy and Heinrich von Gagern in the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848; it became quickly popular.— Ed.
humiliation of March 18, disperse the Berlin Assembly and the officers will ride down Unter den Linden over the corpses of the revolutionaries.

Go on! Forward with God for King and Fatherland!a

Written on September 22, 1848
First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 110, September 23, 1848

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

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a From Frederick William III's decree on the formation of an army reserve issued on March 17, 1813.— *Ed*.
Cologne, September 23. As already announced in this newspaper, the Committee of Public Safety has notified the authorities here that it has undertaken 1) to co-operate in the preservation of peace and 2) to watch over the gains of the revolution. Herr von Wittgenstein has passed on this news to Public Prosecutor Hecker just as he received it, together with an official request to investigate whether the Committee's plans in any way constitute a punishable offence.

Poor Herr Hecker! Already overburdened with the duties of his office, he now has also to take over the capacity for judging from the administrative officials!!!

Written about September 23, 1848
First published in the supplement to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 112, September 26, 1848

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

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a See this volume, pp. 586-87.— Ed.
Cologne, September 24. The Public Prosecutor, Herr Hecker, is the most harassed man in Cologne. For several days now he has been personally questioning witnesses in an attempt to find out what sort of sins against the Holy Spirit of penal law were committed at the public meeting at Worringen. Up to now the results of his inquiries are said to have been extremely meagre, 1) because nothing illegal happened and 2) because it is unlikely that witnesses still remember what each individual said and especially in what context he said it. As regards 2), we think it better to refer Herr Hecker to the band of disguised policemen and mouchards who were wandering around the meadow taking notes in shorthand. But there again, if some of these pillars of the state are unable to give any evidence, we should not be surprised. One of them in particular was so drunk even at midday that he made his way in tears from one bar to the next gratefully accepting the drinks offered him and telling people “in confidence” that it is true he was here as a spy, but apart from this he was a decent fellow.
Cologne, September 25. Scarcely had the official news of the formation of the counter-revolutionary Government reached the Rhine when the Public Prosecutor's office here suddenly developed not only an almighty appetite for arrests but a zeal for activity such as was not encountered even in the old police state.

The counter-revolutionary campaign started this morning. Its heroes have won victories in some fields and suffered defeats in others—a fate that has befallen even greater generals. The intention was to lead away a few dozen Cologne democrats as early morning spoils and to delight the local wailers over their breakfasts with the news. However, part of the prey was wrested from these gentlemen. For example, Wächter, captain of the 9th Company of the civic militia, was snatched by the people from the clutches of the Holy Hermandad. Six guardians of the law forced their way into the house of our fellow citizen Moll. The crowd that quickly gathered around the house and its threatening attitude caused two of these gentlemen to flee into the attic and a third into the cellar. Unfortunately the house has only one exit. Moll acceded to the wishes of these terrified gentlemen and asked the people to allow the brigade of six men to withdraw in safety.

Becker and Schapper, on the other hand, were led off to gaol in the early hours of the morning. There are reports that in addition to Bürgers several other members of the editorial staff of our newspaper are on the proscribed list and that attempts have been made to arrest them.

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*See this volume, pp. 448-49.—Ed.*
If these gentlemen go ahead with their plans, it will soon be a mystery how the editorial work of our newspaper is to be carried out. But we believe we can declare that all the manoeuvres directed against us will fail in their main aim and that our readers will continue as usual to receive the newspaper regularly. It is merely a question of who will first lose their sense of humour: the gentlemen from the Public Prosecutor's office or the editors of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung.

We would add that even now some policemen etc. are on their way to Mülheim to punish several hated democrats there with arrest and imprisonment.

Written on September 25, 1848

First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 112, September 26, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time
[AN ATTEMPT TO ARREST MOLL]

Cologne, 11 a.m. This morning a detachment of the 29th Regiment was sent into the Kranz to carry out Moll's arrest. The soldiers were driven back and with the aid of the workers Moll got away safely.

Written on September 25, 1848
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 113, September 27, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
Cologne, September 26. Today we are also omitting the synopsis. We are hurrying to print the paper. We are being informed by a reliable source that the city will be placed in a state of siege within an hour or two, that the civic militia will be dissolved and disarmed, that the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, the Neue Kölnische Zeitung, the Arbeiter-Zeitung and the Wächter am Rhein will be suspended, that courts martial will be instituted and that all the rights gained in March are to be suppressed. It is reported that the civic militia is not inclined to let itself be disarmed.

Written on September 26, 1848
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 113, September 27, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
Due to the interest shown, particularly in Cologne, for the preservation of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, we have been able to overcome the financial difficulties brought about by the state of siege and to let the paper reappear. The editorial board remains the same. Ferdinand Freiligrath has newly joined it.

Karl Marx
Editor-in-Chief of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung
Cologne, October 11. In its first issue (for June 1) the Neue Rheinische Zeitung wrote of a revolution (on May 25) in Vienna. Today, when we resume publication for the first time after the break caused by the declaration of a state of siege in Cologne, we bring news of the much more important Viennese revolution of October 6 and 7. Detailed reports on the events in Vienna compel us today to omit all analytical articles. Only a few words of comment, therefore, on the revolution in Vienna. Our readers will see from the reports of our Vienna correspondent that the bourgeoisie's distrust of the working class threatens, if not to wreck the revolution, at least to hamper its development. However that may be, the repercussions of this revolution in Hungary, Italy and Germany foiled the entire plan of campaign devised by the counter-revolution. The flight from Vienna of the Emperor and of the Czech deputies compels the Viennese bourgeoisie to continue the fight unless it is prepared to surrender unconditionally. The Frankfurt Assembly, which is just now engaged in presenting us Germans with a national gaol and a common whip, has been rudely awakened from its day-dreaming by the events in Vienna, and the Government at Berlin is beginning to doubt the efficacy of the state of siege as a panacea. The state of siege, like the revolution, is making a round-the-world tour. A large-scale experiment has just been made to impose a state of siege on a whole

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a Müller-Tellering.—Ed.
b Heinrich Heine, “Der Tannhäuser”, Caput 3.—Ed.
country, Hungary. This attempt has called forth a revolution in Vienna instead of a counter-revolution in Hungary. The state of siege will not recover from this setback. Its reputation has been permanently ruined. By an irony of fate, simultaneously with Jellachich, Cavaignac, the hero of the state of siege in the West, has been singled out for attack by all the factions who were saved in June by his grape-shot. Only by resolutely going over to the revolution will he be able to hold out for some time.

Following the latest news from Vienna, we publish several reports sent on October 5, because they reflect the hopes and fears current in Vienna about the fate of Hungary.

Written by Marx on October 11, 1848 Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 114, October 12, 1848
THE LATEST NEWS FROM THE "MODEL STATE"

Brussels, October 8. La Nation yesterday led off with the following article about two members of the editorial staff of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Herr Frederick Engels and Herr Ernst Dronke:

"The expulsions are succeeding one another and are unfortunately all too similar. While we are still awaiting a few words of explanation about the expulsion of Herr Adam, a similar measure is taken against two German citizens who were foolish enough to rely on the protection which the Belgian Constitution grants every foreigner. Yes, this protection exists in the wording of the Constitution; until a few days ago it even beamed down from one of the façades of that charming little constitutional monument with which the courtyard of the Palais de Nation was graced; but as soon as the intoxication of the national holidays is over, the liberals who rule over us hurriedly stuff away the slogans with which they so gallantly regaled the inquisitive citizens of the city and the provinces. Brussels has returned to normal and the police is fulfilling exactly as before its lofty mission of compensating by its brutal manners for the generosity of our ill-advised constitutional theories.

"Herr Engels and Herr Dronke had been staying in our city for a few days. Both members of the editorial staff of a democratic journal, the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, they left Cologne to avoid the consequences of warrants issued for their arrest because of a few speeches made at public meetings. They made their way to Belgium not in order to abuse that Belgian hospitality which on account of its rarity can be so valuable, but only to wait for the money they needed to continue their journey to Paris. The unhappy events that occurred in Cologne after their departure strengthened them in their intention. The Prussian Government has been blessed with good fortune since it followed the Belgian example and set out on the broad constitutional path—after finding a general\(^a\) who decreed a state of siege and the suspension of the press \(à la\) Cavaignac, it also managed to find a public prosecutor-general\(^b\) who agreed to employ the concept of moral complicity \(à la\) Hébert and \(à la\) de Bavay. But Herr Engels and Herr Dronke had forgotten that though the traveller proposes the police disposes.

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\(^a\) Kaiser.— Ed.
\(^b\) Zweifel.— Ed.
“Scarcely had the news of their arrival in Brussels the day before yesterday become public when an inspector with his retinue turned up in their hotel. They were having their dinner. The inspector took them to the Town Hall and from there to the prison of the Petits-Carmes, whence after an hour or two they were transported in a sealed carriage to the Southern Railway Station. The police were merely using their powers in relation to “vagabonds” and, as it happened, the papers of our political refugees were not in order. It is true that they had on them a safe-conduct issued by the Cologne authorities stating that they were members of the civic militia of that city; moreover as a result of their stay in Brussels before March, they had friends who could prove their identity. But the police, only too well informed about them, preferred to treat them as vagabonds before any proof to the contrary could be obtained.

“If this is obstinacy, at least it is not blind obstinacy.

“Judging from the way in which the arrests are at present taking place, we believe that this article will probably have its sequels in future issues, unless the friends of liberty of all countries become convinced that it is better ‘to refrain under all circumstances from dropping in on us during their travels through this world’.”

It is clear from this that the Belgian Government is increasingly learning to recognise its position. The Belgians gradually become policemen for all their neighbours, and are overjoyed when they are complimented on their quiet and submissive behaviour. Nevertheless, there is something ridiculous about the good Belgian policeman. Even the earnest Times only jestingly acknowledged the Belgian desire to please. Recently it advised the Belgian nation, after it had got rid of all the clubs, to turn itself into one big club with the motto: “Ne risquez rien!”

It goes without saying that the official Belgian press, in its cretinism, also reprinted this piece of flattery and welcomed it jubilantly. The fact that in its very first issue the Neue Rheinische Zeitung quite properly ridiculed any illusions about the Belgian “model” state makes it easier to understand, moreover, why the Belgian Government meted out such brutal treatment to two members of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung's editorial staff.

The Belgian press itself reveals to us how the Belgian Government seeks to perpetuate these illusions. The following report is printed word for word in the Messager de Gand:

“We now know of what this Germany consists that cherishes such great admiration for us. This Germany consists of Herr Wolfers from Louvain, whom M. Rogier pays to produce enthusiastic articles about Belgium in German for the Kölnische Zeitung. In view of the search for all possible ways to economise, it seems to us that we could easily abolish the fund of admiration which we are paying to all the journalists in Europe. In Brussels, in the provinces, in Paris, in London and even as far as Bucharest we are buying their compliments at a very high price. Savings in this field could add up to a

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a “London, Monday, October 2, 1848”, The Times No. 19383, October 2, 1848.— Ed.
b “Brüssel, 30. Mai”, Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 1, June 1, 1848.— Ed.
sum not to be despised. In London, for example, the Belgian who writes admiring articles about Belgium for the *Times* and for the *Daily News*\(^a\) has to be paid out of the 80,000 francs allocated to our embassy. As soon as the Prince Ligne is installed we shall have to pay for the admiration of a Roman journalist as well."

Are these revelations not delightful? But I have not finished yet. *La Nation* carries the following small item in its issue of October 10.

"We have often noticed that the 'private correspondent's' column in the *Indépendance*, dated Frankfurt and Berlin, is as like the articles in the *Kölnische Zeitung* (to which Wolfers contributes) as two drops of dirty water. This newspaper does not appear on Sundays; and the *Indépendance*, too, has no private correspondent's column on Mondays."

We need not add much. To show its gratitude to the *Indépendance* for copying its German news from the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the *Kölnische Zeitung* in turn obtains its views on Belgium and France from the *Indépendance*.

But as everyone knows, the *Indépendance* is the organ of the same M. Rogier who buys admiration for Belgium, who had the Belgian patriots of 1830, and the eighty-year-old General Mellinet, condemned to death\(^b\) and who has political refugees conveyed across the frontier in sealed carriages.

Written between October 8 and 11, 1848

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\(^a\) The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has "New England".— *Ed.*

\(^b\) See this volume, pp. 405-06.— *Ed.*
Cologne, October 12. The Kölnische Zeitung tells us that the “revolution of Cologne” of September 25 was a Shrovetide farce and the Kölnische Zeitung is right. The “Garrison Headquarters of Cologne” plays Cavaignac on September 26. And the Kölnische Zeitung admires the wisdom and moderation of the “Garrison Headquarters of Cologne”. Who, however, is more comical—the workers who practised barricade building on September 25, or the Cavaignac who most solemnly proclaimed a state of siege on September 26, suspended the newspapers, disarmed the civic militia and prohibited the associations?

The poor Kölnische Zeitung! The Cavaignac of the “revolution of Cologne” cannot be an inch taller than the “revolution of Cologne” itself. The poor Kölnische Zeitung! It must regard the “revolution” as a joke and has to take seriously the “Cavaignac” of this merry revolution. What a vexatious, ungrateful and contradictory topic!

We will not waste a word on the competence of the Garrison Headquarters. D’Ester has exhausted that subject. We regard, moreover, the Garrison Headquarters as a subordinate tool. The real authors of this peculiar tragedy were the “loyal citizens”, the Dumonts and their associates. Thus it was no wonder that Herr Dumont had the address against d’Ester, Borchardt and Kyll disseminated by his newspapers. What these “loyal ones” had to defend was not the action of the Garrison Headquarters but their own action.

The event at Cologne wandered through the Sahara Desert of the German press in the form given to it by the *Journal des Débats* of Cologne. That is sufficient reason to revert to it.

*Moll*, one of the most popular leaders of the Workers' Association,\(^{305}\) was to have been arrested. Schapper and Becker had already been arrested. A *Monday* had been selected for the execution of this measure, a day on which, as is well known, the majority of workers are not working. Thus it must have been known beforehand that the arrests might arouse a great deal of ferment among the workers and that they might even give rise to violent resistance. It was a strange accident that these arrests were planned to take place on a Monday! It was the more easy to foresee the excitement since on the occasion of Stein's Army Order, after Wrangel's proclamation\(^{304}\) and Pfuel's appointment as Prime Minister, a decisive counter-revolutionary blow and thus a revolution emanating from Berlin was expected at any moment. The workers, therefore, had to regard the arrests not as legal but as *political* measures. They viewed the Public Prosecutor's office only as a counter-revolutionary authority. They believed that it was the intention to rob them of their leaders on the eve of important events. They decided to prevent Moll's arrest at all costs and they left the scene of action only after they had accomplished their purpose. The barricades were not built until the workers, who had assembled on the Altenmarkt, learned that the army was advancing to attack from all sides. They were not attacked; hence they did not have to defend themselves either. They had learned, moreover, that no important news at all had arrived from Berlin. Hence they withdrew after they had spent the greater part of the night waiting in vain for the enemy.

Nothing is more ridiculous, therefore, than the reproach of cowardice which has been levelled against the workers of Cologne.

One has reproached them on yet other scores in order to justify the state of siege and to fashion the events in Cologne into a small June revolution. Their actual plan is supposed to have been the looting of the good city of Cologne. This accusation is based upon the alleged looting of *one* drapery shop. As if not every city has its contingent of thieves who naturally take advantage of days of public excitement. Or does one mean by looting the plundering of gunsmith's shops? If this is the case, the Cologne Public Prosecutor's office should be sent to Berlin to prepare the case against the March revolution. Without the looted gunsmith's shops, we would perhaps never have had the satisfaction of witnessing the transformation of Herr Hansemann into a bank President and of Herr Müller into a Secretary of State.
But enough of the workers of Cologne. Let us discuss the so-called democrats. What do the Kölnische Zeitung, the Deutsche Zeitung, the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung and whatever the other “loyal” papers may be called, accuse them of?

The heroic Brüggemanns, Bassermanns etc. demanded blood and the tender-hearted democrats have out of cowardice not allowed the blood to flow.

The facts are simply these: the democrats declared to the workers in the Kranz (on the Altenmarkt), in the Eiser Hall and upon the barricades that they did not want a “putsch” under any circumstances. At this moment, however, when no large issue would drive the entire people into combat, and any rising would be bound to fail, such a rising would be the more senseless since tremendous events might occur within the next few days and one would thus render oneself unfit to fight before the day of decision. Once the Government in Berlin dares a counter-revolution, the day will have arrived for the people to dare a revolution. The judicial investigation will confirm our statement. Instead of standing in “nocturnal darkness” in front of the barricades with “folded arms and ominous glances” and “contemplating the future of their people”, the gentlemen of the Kölnische Zeitung would have done better to stand on the barricades haranguing the deluded crowd with their words of wisdom. What good is wisdom post festum?

On the occasion of the events in Cologne, the respectable press reserved its worst treatment for the civic militia. Let us distinguish. That the civic militia refused to degrade itself by becoming the docile servant of the police, was its duty. That it turned over its weapons voluntarily can only be excused by one fact: the liberal section of it knew that the illiberal section would jubilantly take the opportunity to rid itself of the weapons. Partial resistance, however, would have been useless.

The “revolution of Cologne” has had one result. It has revealed the existence of a phalanx of more than 2,000 saints whose “satiated virtue and solvent morale” leads a “free life” only in a state of siege. Perhaps one day the occasion will arise to write an “acta sanctorum”, the biographies of these saints. Our readers will then find out how

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b After the event.— Ed.
c Heinrich Heine, “Anno 1829” (modified).— Ed.
d Schiller, Die Räuber, Act IV, Scene 5.— Ed.
the “treasures” are obtained that neither “moths nor rust” doth corrupt and they will learn in which way the economic background of the “loyal way of thinking” is acquired.

Written by Marx on October 12, 1848
Printed according to the newspaper
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 115, October 13, 1848

a Matthew 6:20.— Ed.
THE PFUEL GOVERNMENT

Cologne, October 13. When the Camphausen Government fell we said:

"The Camphausen Government has covered the counter-revolution with its liberal-bourgeois cloak. The counter-revolution now feels strong enough to shake off this irksome mask. It is possible that the Government of March 30 will be followed for a few days by some untenable Government of the Left Centre (Hansemann). Its real successor will be the Government of the Prince of Prussia." (Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 23, June 23.)

And in fact the Government of Pfuel (of Neufchâtel) followed the Hansemann Government.

The Pfuel Government handles constitutional phrases in the same way as the Frankfurt Central Authority treats "German unification". If we compare the corpus delicti, the real body of the Government, with its echo, its constitutional declarations, appeasings, mediations and agreements in the Berlin Assembly, we can only use Falstaff's phrase:

"Lord, lord, how subject we old men are to this vice of lying!"

The Pfuel Government can only be followed by a Government of the revolution.

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a See this volume, p. 107.— Ed.
b Shakespeare, King Henry IV, Part Two, Act III, Scene 2.— Ed.
M. Thiers is publishing in the *Constitutionnel* a pamphlet about *Property.* We shall take up this classically written triviality more thoroughly as soon as the publication has appeared in its entirety. M. Thiers has suddenly discontinued it. For the time being it is enough for us to observe that the "great" Belgian newspapers, the *Observateur* and the *Indépendance,* rave about M. Thiers' work. Today we shall follow up for a moment the speech dealing with mortgage debentures which M. Thiers delivered on October 10 in the French National Assembly, a speech which according to the Belgian *Indépendance* has dealt the "coup de grâce" to paper money. But M. Thiers is also, as the *Indépendance* says, an orator who handles political, financial and social questions equally well.

This speech interests us only because it illustrates the tactic of the knights of the old state of affairs, a tactic with which they correctly confront the Don Quixotes of the new state of affairs.

If you demand a partial reform of the industrial and commercial conditions as was done by M. Turck whom Thiers was answering, they will confront you with the concatenation and interaction of the organisation as a whole. If you demand the transformation of the organisation as a whole, then you are destructive, revolutionary, unscrupulous, utopian and you overlook partial reforms. Hence the result: leave everything as it is.

M. Turck for example wants to make it easier for the peasants to turn their landed property to account by means of official mortgage banks. He wants to bring their property into circulation without it having to pass through the hands of usurers. For in France, as generally in the countries where the land is divided into lots, the
power of the feudal lords has been transformed into the power of
the capitalists and the feudal obligations of the peasants have been
transformed into bourgeois mortgage obligations.

What does M. Thiers reply to begin with?

If you want to help the peasant by means of public banks you will
encroach upon the small tradesman. You cannot aid one without
hurting the other.

Consequently we have to transform the entire system of credit?

By no means! That is a utopia. Thus M. Turck is dismissed without
ceremony.

The small tradesman for whom M. Thiers cares so tenderly is the
big Bank of France.

The competition of paper bills for two thousand million mortgages
would ruin its monopoly and dividends and perhaps still something
more.\(^a\) Behind M. Thiers' argument therefore stands Rothschild in
the background.

Let us take up another of M. Thiers' arguments. The mortgage
proposal, M. Thiers states, does not actually concern agriculture
at all.

M. Thiers remarks that it lies in the “nature” of things that landed
property can be put into circulation only under onerous conditions,
that it can be turned to account only with difficulty and that capital
shuns it, so to speak. For, he says, it yields only a small profit. But on
the other hand, M. Thiers cannot deny that it lies in the “nature” of
modern industrial organisation that all industries, hence agriculture
as well, only prosper if their products and their instruments can
easily be turned to account, put into circulation and mobilised. This
is not the case with land. Hence the conclusion would be: agriculture
cannot prosper within the existing civilised conditions. Therefore
the existing conditions must be changed and M. Turck's proposal
is a small, even if inconsistent, beginning. By no means! exclaims
M. Thiers. “Nature”, i.e. the present social conditions, condemns
agriculture to its present state. The present social conditions are
“nature”, i.e. they are unalterable. The assertion of their immutability
is, of course, the most irrefutable proof against proposals for any
change. If “monarchy” is nature then any republican attempt is a
rebellion against nature. According to M. Thiers, it is also obvious
that landed property naturally always yields the same small profits
whether the capital is advanced to the landowner at 3 per cent by the
state or at 10 per cent by the usurer. Thus it is by virtue of “nature”.

\(^a\) Marx uses the English words “something more”.— Ed.
By identifying industrial profit with the rent yielded by agriculture, M. Thiers also makes an assertion which plainly contradicts the present social conditions which he calls "nature".

Whereas industrial profit in general falls constantly, rent of land, i.e. the value of the soil, rises constantly. Thus M. Thiers ought to explain the phenomenon that the peasant is constantly becoming more impoverished in spite of it. Of course, he does not want to discuss that subject.

Furthermore Thiers' comments on the difference between French and English agriculture are really of a remarkable superficiality.

Thiers instructs us that the entire difference consists of the land tax. We pay a very high land tax, the Englishmen none. Apart from the inaccuracy of the latter assertion, M. Thiers certainly knows that in England agriculture is burdened with the poor-rate as well as a mass of other taxes which do not exist in France. M. Thiers' argument is used in its inverted meaning by English adherents of small-scale agriculture. Do you know, they ask, why English corn is more expensive than the French? Because we pay a rent and a high rent at that, something that the French do not do since on the average they are not tenants but small proprietors. Therefore, long live small property!

It takes the entire insolent triviality of Thiers to reduce the English concentration of [ownership of] land, the instrument of labour, whereby the use of machinery and the division of labour is made possible on a large scale in agriculture, and the interaction of English industry and English trade with agriculture—to reduce all these highly complex relations to the meaningless phrase that the English pay no land tax.

We shall contrast M. Thiers' opinion that the present mortgage procedure in France is a matter of indifference to agriculture with the opinion of the greatest French agricultural chemist. Dombasle has proved conclusively that French agriculture will become an impossibility if the present mortgage system in France continues to develop according to "nature".¹

What insolent shallowness it takes anyway to assert that landed property relations are immaterial to agriculture, in other words that the social relations under which production takes place are immaterial to production!

By the way, there is hardly any need to add that M. Thiers, who

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¹ C.-J.-A. Mathieu de Dombasle, Annales agricoles de Roville, ou mélanges d'agriculture, d'économie rurale, et de législation agricole.— Ed.
wants to retain credits for the big capitalists, cannot give any credit to the small ones. It is precisely the credit of the big capitalists which spells lack of credit for the small ones. We deny, to be sure, that within the present system it is possible to aid the small landed proprietors by some clever financial trick. Thiers, however, had to maintain this view since he regards the present world as the best of all possible worlds.

In regard to this part of Thiers' speech we want to make just one further observation: by opposing the mobilisation of landed property and on the other hand praising English conditions, he forgets that it is exactly in England that agriculture possesses in the highest degree the advantage of being run like a factory and that the rent of land, i.e. landed property, is a movable, transferable security quoted on the Stock Exchange just like any other. Factory-type agriculture, i.e. the management of agriculture in the manner of big industry, on its part requires the mobilisation and exchangeability of landed property with commercial facility.

The second part of M. Thiers' speech consists of attacks on paper money in general. He labels the issuing of paper money on the whole as counterfeiting. He reveals to us the great truth that if one throws too large a quantity of the means of circulation, i.e. money, on the market, one devalues money itself and thus cheats doubly: the individual and the state. Allegedly this is especially the case with mortgage banks.

All these discoveries can be found in the worst catechisms of political economy.

Let us distinguish. It is clear that we do not increase production, i.e. real wealth, by arbitrarily increasing money, be it paper or metal currency. We do not double our tricks in a card game by doubling the chips.

On the other hand it is just as clear that if production is inhibited by a lack of chips, of means of exchange, of money, every increase of the means of exchange, every decrease in the difficulty of obtaining the means of exchange, implies at the same time an increase in production. Bills of exchange, banks etc. owe their origin to these needs of production. In this way mortgage banks can lead to the improvement of agriculture.

M. Thiers, however, does not fight for metal currency as opposed to paper money. He has speculated too much on the Stock Exchange to be swayed by the prejudices of the old mercantilists. What he opposes is the regulation of credit by society as represented by the state as against the regulation of credit by monopoly. Thus Turck's proposal for a general mortgage bank whose bills would have a legal
rate of exchange was the beginning of a regulation of credit in the
general interest of society, even though this proposal in isolation
means little.

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THE FRANKFURTER OBERPOSTAMTS-ZEITUNG
AND THE VIENNESE REVOLUTION

Cologne, October 18.

“A peculiar destiny seems to hold sway over Germany. When one believes that one has reached the point where it is possible to help with the reconstruction of the common fatherland, when one raises one’s eyes gratefully towards heaven for this blessing, then the thunderclouds which are still hanging over Europe, discharge new and mighty claps and make the hands tremble which have dedicated themselves to the drawing up of a Constitution for Germany. We have just experienced such a thunderclap again in Vienna.”

Thus complains the Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung, the Moniteur of the Imperial Administration. This worthy paper, whose recent editor appeared on the list of Guizot’s paid creatures, took itself au sérieux for a moment. The Central Authority with its parliamentary framework, the Council of Frankfurt, appeared to it as a serious power. Instead of issuing their counter-revolutionary orders directly to their subjects, the 38 German governments let the Central Authority in Frankfurt issue to them the order to carry out their own decisions. Everything was running smoothly just as at the time of the Direct Commission of Mainz. The Central Authority was able to imagine that it was a power and its Moniteur was able to imagine that it was a Moniteur. It sang “Now thank ye all our God, your hands raised up to heaven”.

And now we “experience” a thunderclap from Vienna. The “hands” of our Lycurguses “tremble” in spite of the army in spiked helmets which are so many lightning-conductors of the revolution; in spite of the decrees which declare criticism of black-red-golden

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a Karl Peter Berly.— Ed.
persons and *gesta* to be a criminal offence; and in spite of the strong language of those gigantic figures, Schmerling, Mohl and Gagern. The revolutionary monster roars anew—and in Frankfurt they “tremble”. The *Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung* is frightened out of its thanksgiving prayer. It tragically grumbles at its iron fate.

In Paris the party of Thiers is in control, in Berlin the Pfuel Government with Wrangels in all the provinces; in Frankfurt a central gendarmerie; in all Germany a more or less hidden state of siege; Italy pacified by the gentle Ferdinand and Radetzky; after the annihilation of the Magyars Jellachich, the commander of Hungary, proclaiming together with Windischgrätz “Croatian freedom and order” in Vienna; in Bucharest the revolution drowned in blood; the Danube principalities blessed by the good deeds of the Russian regime; in England all the Chartist leaders arrested and deported; Ireland too starved to be able to move—tell me, what more do you want?

The Viennese revolution has not yet won. Its first summer lightning suffices, however, to illuminate all the positions of the counter-revolution in Europe and thus to render inevitable a universal fight to the death.

The counter-revolution is not yet destroyed but it has made *a fool* of itself. With the hero Jellachich all its heroes are transformed into comical figures, and with Fuad Effendi’s proclamation after the blood bath of Bucharest, all proclamations of the friends of “constitutional freedom and order”, from the proclamations of the Imperial Diet down to the most insignificant statement of the wailers, are parodied to death.

Tomorrow we shall discuss at length the immediate situation in Vienna and the Austrian situation in general.

Written by Marx on October 18, 1848
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*a* Deeds.—*Ed.*

*b* From Heinrich Heine’s poem “Du hast Diamanten und Perlen”. In *Die Heimkehr.*—*Ed.*
Cologne, October 18. The King is consistent at any rate. His Majesty never contradicts himself. On the occasion of the festival celebrating the building of Cologne's cathedral, he told the delegation of the Frankfurt National Assembly:

"Gentlemen, I fully understand the significance of your Assembly. I realise very well how important your Assembly is!" The voice of His Majesty then assumed a very solemn and biting tone: "But please do not forget that there are still sovereigns in Germany"—at this point His Majesty placed his hand upon his heart and spoke with uncommon emphasis—"and do not forget that I am one of them!"

A similar reply was also given to the delegation of the Berlin Assembly when it visited His Majesty at Bellevue Castle on October 15\(^3\) in order to congratulate him. The King said:

"We are in the process of constructing an edifice which is to last for centuries. But, gentlemen, I would like to call your attention to one matter. We still possess an hereditary authority by the grace of God"—these words were spoken by the King with great emphasis—"which is surely envied in many places and which is still endowed with full powers. It is the only foundation upon which that edifice can be constructed if it is to last for as long as I have indicated."

The King is consistent. He would always have been consistent had it not been for the unfortunate fact that the March days interposed that fateful scrap of paper between His Majesty and his people.\(^311\)

At this moment, His Majesty, just as he did before the March days, seems again to believe in Slavdom's "legs of iron". Perhaps the

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\(^a\) Birthday of Frederick William IV.—Ed.

\(^b\) Cf. Daniel 2:33.—Ed.
people in Vienna will turn out to be the magician who will transform the iron into clay.

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Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
Cologne, October 18. Frederick William IV replied to Rimpler, the commander of the civic militia of Berlin, in response to the latter's congratulations on the occasion of October 15:

"I know that a heroic and brave people is also a loyal one. But do not forget that you obtained the weapons from me and that I demand that you stand up dutifully for the preservation of order, law and freedom."

Constitutional kings are not responsible, on the understanding that they are not answerable, in the constitutional sense, of course. Their actions, their words, their countenances do not belong to them, they belong to the responsible Ministers.

Hansemann, for example, on the occasion of his exit, had the King say that he considered the execution of Stein's Army Order incompatible with constitutional monarchy. Pfuel carried it out, that is in the parliamentary sense. Hansemann was compromised, in the constitutional sense. The King had not contradicted himself, because he had not spoken, always in the constitutional sense.

Thus the above declaration of the King is nothing but a ministerial declaration and as such is subject to criticism.

If Pfuel claims that the King has created the civic militia on his own accord, then he claims that the King is the originator of the March revolution which is nonsense, even in the constitutional sense.

Apart from this.

After God had created the world and the kings by the grace of God, he relinquished the smaller industry to human beings. Even "weapons" and lieutenants' uniforms are manufactured by profane

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* Birthday of Frederick William IV.— Ed.
methods and the profane method of manufacturing does not create from nothing as the heavenly industry does. It needs raw materials, the tools of labour and wages, all items which are summed up by the unpretentious term: production costs. These production costs are defrayed for the state by taxes and the taxes are raised by the work of the nation. Thus in an economic sense it remains an enigma how any king can give anything to a nation. First of all, the people have to produce weapons and give the weapons to the king, in order to obtain weapons from the king. In all cases, the king can only give what is given to him. That is the position in an economic sense. It so happens, however, that constitutional kings arise exactly at those moments when people find the clue to this economic secret. Therefore the initial causes for the overthrow of the kings by the grace of God have always been questions of taxation. It is the same in Prussia. Even the immaterial goods, the privileges, which the nations allowed the kings to grant to them, were not only bestowed by them upon the kings in the first place but in order to get them back the people always had to pay in cash—in blood and ringing coin. Trace, for example, English history since the eleventh century and you will be able to calculate pretty accurately how many crushed skulls and how many pound sterling every constitutional privilege cost. Herr Pfuel apparently wants to take us back to the good old times of the Davenant Economic Chart. In this chart concerning English production we read among other items:

Section 1. Productive workers: kings, officers, lords, country clergymen etc.

Section 2. Unproductive workers: sailors, peasants, weavers, spinners etc.

According to this chart section 1 produces and section 2 receives. It is in this sense that Herr Pfuel says the king gives.

Pfuel's declaration shows what one expects in Berlin from the hero of “Croatian order and freedom”.

The most recent incidents in Berlin remind one of the conflicts in Vienna on August 23 between the civic militia and the people, conflicts which were also provoked by the camarilla. That August 23 was followed by October 5.

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\[a\] [Ch. Davenant,] An Essay upon the Probable Methods of making a People Gainers in the Balance of Trade, pp. 23, 50.—Ed.

\[b\] Jellachich.— Ed.
THE RÉFORME ON THE JUNE INSURRECTION

Paris. When on June 29 the Neue Rheinische Zeitung was the only European newspaper, with the exception of the English Northern Star, which had the courage and the discernment to give a true appreciation of the June revolution, it was not refuted but denounced.

The facts have subsequently confirmed our interpretation even for the weakest eye as long as interest has not entirely destroyed the eyesight.

At that time the French press, too, disgraced itself. The resolute Paris newspapers were suppressed. The Réforme, the only radical newspaper which Cavaignac allowed to continue to exist, stammered excuses for the magnanimous June fighters and begged the victor to treat the conquered with some humanity as an act of charity. The beggar, of course, was not listened to. It took first the complete course of the June victory, the months-long diatribes of the provincial newspapers which were not fettered by the state of siege and the obvious resurrection of the Thiers party314 to bring the Réforme to its senses.

On the occasion of the amnesty project of the extreme Left, it remarked in its issue of October 18:

"The people did not punish anybody when they descended from the barricades. The people! In those days it was the ruler, the sovereign and the victor. One kissed its feet and hands, saluted its tunic and acclaimed its noble sentiments. And rightly so. It was magnanimous.

"Today the people has its children and brothers in the dungeons, on the galleys and before courts martial. After hunger had exhausted its patience, after it had seen a

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a See this volume, pp. 144 and 147-49.—Ed.
The Réforme on the June Insurrection

whole crowd of ambitious people whom it had picked out of the gutter, calmly walk by
and ascend to palaces, after it had for three long months put its trust in the republic, it
finally lost its head in the midst of its starving children and slowly dying fathers and
plunged into battle.

"It has paid dearly. Its sons have dropped under a hail of bullets and those who
remained were divided into two parts. One part was thrown to the courts martial, the
other was packed up for deportation without investigation, without the right of
defence and without a verdict! This method is strange for any land, even for the land
of the Kabyles.

"Never during its twenty years’ existence did the monarchy dare to do anything
similar.

"In those days the journals that speculate in dynasties arrived inebriated by the
corpses’ smell, boldly and immediately ready to insult the dead" (cf. the Kölnische
Zeitung of June 29) "spewing forth calumnies of odious malice, drawing and
quartering the honour of the people before the judicial investigation and dragging the
vanquished, the dead and the living, before special courts. They denounced them to
the destructive fury of the national guard and the army and turned themselves into
agents for the hangmen and servants of the pillory. These lackeys of insane desires for
vengeance invented crimes; they exacerbated our misfortune and they perfected the
insult and the lie!" (Cf. the Neue Rheinische Zeitung of July 1 concerning the French
Constitutionnel, the Belgian Indépendance and the Kölnische Zeitung.)*

"The Constitutionnel openly displayed gruesome mutilations and despicable
atrocities. It knew very well that it was lying but that suited its business and its politics,
and being businessman and diplomatist all at the same time, it sold 'by the crime' as
elsewhere one sells 'by the yard'. This beautiful speculation had to end some time or
other. The contradictions poured out: not a single name of a galley convict could be
found in the documents of the courts martial or the bulletins of transportation. There
were no longer any means to degrade the despair, and one kept silence, having cashed
in on the profit."

Written by Marx about October 20, 1848

First published in the Neue Rheinische
Zeitung No. 123, October 22, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Printed in English for the first

Published in English for the first
time

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* See this volume, pp. 150-56.—Ed.
ENGLISH-FRENCH MEDIATION IN ITALY

Cologne, October 21. The English-French mediation in Italy has been given up. The death’s head of diplomacy grins after every revolution and particularly after the reactions which follow every revolution. Diplomacy hides itself in its perfumed charnel-house as often as the thunder of a new revolution rumbles. The Viennese revolution has blown away French-English diplomacy.

Palmerston has admitted his impotence and so has Bastide. The Viennese revolution, as they explain, has put an end to the boring correspondence of these gentlemen. Bastide has officially notified of this fact Marquis Ricci, the Sardinian envoy.

When the latter asked "whether France would under certain circumstances take up arms in favour of Sardinia" the farouche republican Bastide (of the National) made a curtsy once, twice, thrice and sang:

Put trust in me and help yourselves
Then God will help you, brothers.

France, he said, abides by the principle of non-intervention, that same principle which was fought by Bastide and the other gentlemen of the National for years during Guizot’s times.

The “respectable” French Republic would have made a deadly fool of itself in regard to this Italian question were it not above all disgrace since the portentous June.

Rien pour la gloire! say the friends of business in all circumstances. Rien pour la gloire! is the motto of the virtuous, the moderate, the

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a “Question italienne. Dernière phase de la médiation anglo-française (Communi-
cation)”, La Presse No. 4499, October 19, 1848.—Ed.
b Heinrich Heine, Deutschland. Ein Winternmärchen, Caput XII.—Ed.
c Mere honour is worth nothing.—Ed.
decent, the sedate, the respectable, in a word, the bourgeois republic. *Rien pour la gloire!*

*Lamartine* was the imaginary picture which the bourgeois republic had of itself, the exuberant, fantastic, visionary conception which it had formed of itself, the dream of its own splendour. It is quite remarkable what one can imagine! As Aeolus unleashed all the winds from his bag, so Lamartine set free all spirits of the air, all the phrases of the bourgeois republic, and he blew them towards the east and the west, empty words of the fraternity of all nations, of the impending emancipation of all the nations by France and of France's sacrifice for all the nations.

He did—*nothing*.

It was *Cavaignac* who undertook to supply the deeds corresponding to Lamartine's phrases and *Bastide*, his outward turned organ.

They calmly allowed the shocking scenes in Naples, the shocking scenes in Messina and the shocking scenes in the Milan region to take place before their very eyes.\(^{315}\)

And so that not the least bit of doubt should remain as to the fact that the same *class* as well as the same foreign policy prevail in the "respectable" republic as under the constitutional monarchy, under Cavaignac as well as under Louis Philippe, in case of strife between nations, one has recourse to the old and eternally new means, the *entente cordiale* with England,\(^{316}\) with the England of Palmerston and with the England of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

History could not, however, omit the *climax*, the point. *Bastide*, an editor of the *National*, had to grasp England's hand frantically. And the *entente cordiale* has been the main trump which the poor Anglophobe *National* played off against Guizot all life long.

On the gravestone of the "respectable" republic, will be inscribed: *Bastide-Palmerston*.

But even Guizot's *entente cordiale* has been surpassed by the "respectable" republicans. The officers of the French fleet let themselves be treated to a banquet by the Neapolitan officers and cheered the health of the *King of Naples, the idiotic tiger* Ferdinand, on the still smoking ruins of Messina. Above their heads, however, the phrases of *Lamartine* were evaporating.

Written by Marx on October 21, 1848
First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 123, October 22, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
THE "MODEL CONSTITUTIONAL STATE"

Cologne, October 21. We always revert again, and always with renewed satisfaction, to Belgium, our "model constitutional state".

We proved in a previous number of our newspaper that "pauperism" is "Leopold's greatest vassal". We showed that if the crimes of just the boys and girls under 18 years of age were to continue to develop spontaneously at the same ratio as in 1845-47, "by 1856 all Belgium would be in gaol, the unborn children included". We proved in the same article that the drying up of Belgium's industrial sources of income keeps in step with the growth of pauperism and crime (No. 68 of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung).\(^a\)

Today we will look at the financial situation of the "model state".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount (Francs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The regular budget of 1848</td>
<td>119,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The first compulsory loan</td>
<td>12,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The second compulsory loan</td>
<td>25,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banknotes with a fixed rate of exchange</td>
<td>12,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total sum:</strong></td>
<td><strong>168,000,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition banknotes with a fixed rate of exchange guaranteed by the state, **40,000,000**

**Total:** **208,000,000**

\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 333-36.—Ed.
Belgium, so Rogier tells us, stands like a rock amid world-historic tempests, but is not affected by them. It stands on the bed-rock of its broad institutions. The 208,000,000 francs are the prosaic translation of the miraculous power of those model institutions. Constitutional Belgium will not be brought down by revolutionary development. It will perish ignominiously through bankruptcy.

The liberal Belgian Government, the Rogier Government, like all liberal governments, is nothing but a Government of capitalists, bankers and the big bourgeoisie. We shall see right away how in spite of growing pauperism and declining industry, it does not disdain the most cunning means to exploit ever anew the entire nation for the benefit of the bank barons.

The second loan listed in the above compilation, has been chiefly wrested from the Parliament by the assurance that government bonds were to be redeemed. These government bonds had been issued under the Catholic de Theux Government by the Catholic Finance Minister Malou. These were the government bonds issued against voluntary loans made to the state by a few financial barons. They constituted the main theme, the inexhaustible theme of the howling diatribes which our Rogier and his liberal accomplices directed against the de Theux Government.

And what does the liberal Government proceed to do? It announces in the Moniteur—Belgium has its Moniteur—a new issue of government bonds at 5 per cent.

What shamelessness to issue government bonds after a compulsory loan of 25,000,000 francs has been obtained surreptitiously solely under the pretext that the so much maligned government bonds issued by Malou were to be redeemed! But that is not all.

The government bonds are issued at 5 per cent. Belgian securities, which are also guaranteed by the state, yield an interest of 7 and 8 per cent. Who then will put his money into government bonds? And besides, the situation of the country in general and the compulsory loans have left few who are able to make voluntary loans to the state.

What then is the purpose of this new issue of government bonds? The banks have not yet been able by far to put into circulation all the notes with a legally fixed rate of exchange which the liberal Government had authorised them to issue. There are in their portfolios still several million of these useless securities which naturally yield nothing as long as they remain hermetically sealed in the portfolios. Is there a better way of putting these securities into circulation than to give them to the state in exchange for government bonds which yield 5 per cent?
Thus the bank draws 5 per cent on several million scraps of paper which have not cost it anything and which only have an exchange value at all because the state has given them an exchange value. The taxable Belgian masses will find in the next budget a deficit of an additional several hundred thousand francs which they will be in duty bound to raise, all for the benefit of the poor bank.

Is it surprising that the Belgian financial barons find the constitutional monarchy more lucrative than the republic? The Catholic Government cherished and protected primarily the holiest, i.e. the material, interests of the landlords. The liberal Government looks with equally tender care after the interests of the landlords, the financial barons and the court lackeys. Is it any wonder that under its skilful direction these so-called parties, which equally voraciously pounce upon the national wealth, or rather in the case of Belgium, upon the national poverty, and which on such occasions sometimes quarrel amongst themselves, now, fully reconciliated, fall into each other's arms and form only one big party: the "national party"?

Written by Marx on October 21, 1848

First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 123, October 22, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time
PUBLIC PROSECUTOR "HECKER"
AND THE NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG

Cologne, October 28. No. 116 of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung carried in the feuilleton section, i.e. outside the political part of the newspaper, "A Word to the German People" signed "Hecker". This "historical document" was printed by a number of German newspapers before the Neue Rheinische Zeitung printed it. Other German newspapers, Rhenish-Prussian and old-Prussian not excluded, carried it later. Even the Kölnische Zeitung possessed enough historical sense to print the proclamation of Struve and likewise that of Fuad Effendi.  

We do not know whether the laurels of the republican Hecker did not let Public Prosecutor Hecker sleep in peace. Was the astonished world to learn that the German revolution had been twice beaten by the flight of the republican Hecker to New York and the presence of the Public Prosecutor Hecker in Cologne? It cannot be denied. Posterity will see in these two giant figures the dramatic synopsis of the contradictions of the modern movement. A future Goethe will unite them in a Faust. We shall leave it to him to which Hecker he wants to assign the role of Faust and to which that of Wagner.

In short. The fantastic farewell address of the republican Hecker was followed by the no less fantastic case of Public Prosecutor Hecker.

Or are we mistaken? Does Hecker, the Public Prosecutor, believe that "the word to the German people" is the product of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung itself, that this newspaper with its inventive maliciousness has signed its own proclamation "Hecker" in order to make the German people believe that Hecker, the Public Prosecutor, is emigrating to New York, that Hecker, the Public Prosecutor, proclaims the German republic, that Hecker, the Public Prosecutor, officially sanctions pious revolutionary wishes?
Such a trick was credible because the document reproduced in the supplement to No. 116 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* is not signed *Friedrich Hecker* but *tout bonnement* "Hecker". A Hecker without flourishes, a simple Hecker! And does not Germany possess a twofold Hecker?

And who of the two is the "simple Hecker"? In any case, this simplicity remains ambiguous and, in our opinion, embarrassing for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

Be that as it may, Herr Hecker, the Public Prosecutor, apparently viewed the "word to the German people" as a product of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. He saw in it a *direct appeal to overthrow the Government*, high treason in its most developed form or at the very least complicity in high treason which according to the *Code pénal* constitutes "simple" high treason.

Thus Herr Hecker requested the examining magistrate to "assume" not that the undersigned responsible publisher, a, but that the editor-in-chief, *Karl Marx*, is guilty of high treason. But to "assume" somebody guilty of high treason means in other words to put him into prison for the time being and to punish him until further notice with detention pending investigation. We are dealing here with the "imposition" of solitary confinement. The examining magistrate refused to do this. Once Herr Hecker has conceived of an idea, he pursues his idea. To "constitute" the editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* became a fixed idea for him just as the name of "Hecker" underneath the "farewell address" was for him fictitious. Hence he turned to the Council Chamber. The Council Chamber declined. He went from the Council Chamber to the Senate of Appeal. The Senate of Appeal refused to become involved. Herr Hecker, the Public Prosecutor, however, did not give up his fixed idea to "constitute", always in the above sense, the editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, *Karl Marx*. As one can see, the ideas of the Public Prosecutor's office are not speculative ideas in the Hegelian sense. They are ideas in the Kantian sense, notions of "practical" reason.

*Karl Marx* could never be directly "accused" of high treason, even if the printing of revolutionary facts or proclamations constituted a newspaper guilty of high treason. In the first place, one had to charge the one who had signed the newspaper, especially in this case, where the document in question appeared in the feuilleton section. What else could one do? One idea leads to another. One could cite *Karl Marx*, under Article 60 of the *Code pénal*, as an

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a Korff.— Ed.
accomplice to the crime allegedly committed by the responsible publisher. One can also cite him, if one wants to, as an accomplice of that declaration even if it was printed in the Kölnische Zeitung. Hence Karl Marx received a summons from the examining magistrate. He appeared and his evidence was taken down. The compositors were, as far as we know, summoned as witnesses, the proof-reader was summoned as a witness and the owner of the printshop was summoned as a witness. Finally, though, the responsible publisher was invited as a witness. We do not understand the last summons.

Is the alleged author supposed to bear witness against his accomplice?

So that nothing is omitted from our narrative: a police raid was conducted against the office of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung.

Hecker, the Public Prosecutor, has surpassed Hecker, the republican. The one accomplishes rebellious facts and issues rebellious proclamations. The other, despite every reluctance, erases facts from the memoirs of contemporary history, from the newspapers. He makes what has happened not to have happened. If the "bad press" reports revolutionary facts and proclamations, it commits twofold high treason. It is a moral accomplice since it only reports the rebellious facts because it is inwardly titillated by them. It is an accomplice in the ordinary juridical sense; by reporting, it disseminates, and by disseminating, it turns itself into a tool of the rebellion. It will, therefore, be "constituted" on both counts and will thus enjoy the fruits of the "constitution". The "good press", by contrast, will have the monopoly to report or not to report, to falsify or not to falsify revolutionary documents and facts. Radetzky has made use of this theory by prohibiting the Milanese newspapers to report the Viennese facts and proclamations. The Milanese Newspaper, on the other hand, reported in place of the great Viennese "revolution" a small Viennese riot especially composed by Radetzky. It is rumoured that an insurrection has nonetheless broken out in Milan.

Herr Hecker, the Public Prosecutor, is, as everybody knows, a contributor to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. As our contributor we forgive him much except the sin against the unholy "spirit" of our newspaper. And he commits this sin by transforming, with a lack of critical faculty unheard of in a contributor to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, the proclamation of Hecker the fugitive into the proclamation of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Friedrich Hecker adopts a

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\[a\] Gazzetta di Milano.— Ed.

\[b\] See this volume, p. 186.— Ed.
passionate attitude and the Neue Rheinische Zeitung a critical attitude towards the movement. Friedrich Hecker expects everything from the magic influence of single personalities. We expect everything from the collisions which arise from the economic conditions. Friedrich Hecker travels to the United States in order to study the "republic". The Neue Rheinische Zeitung finds that the grandiose class struggles which are taking place in the French Republic are more interesting subjects of study than those in a republic in which in the west class struggles do not yet exist and in the east move only within the old quiet English forms. For Friedrich Hecker social questions are consequences of political struggles, for the Neue Rheinische Zeitung political struggles are merely the manifestations of social collisions. Friedrich Hecker could be a good tricolour republican. The actual opposition of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung only begins with the tricolour republic.

How, for example, could the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, without completely repudiating its past, have called upon the German people to

"rally around the men who hold high the banner of popular sovereignty and who guard it faithfully, the men of the extreme Left in Frankfurt am Main; join firmly by word and deed the brave leaders of the republican rising".

We have repeatedly declared that we are not a "parliamentary" newspaper and that we do not hesitate, therefore, from time to time to draw the wrath of even the extreme Left of Berlin and Frankfurt upon our heads. We have called upon the gentlemen of Frankfurt to join the people, we have never called upon the people to join the gentlemen of Frankfurt. And "the brave leaders of the republican rising", where are they and who are they? Hecker is, as is well known, in America, Struve is in prison. Is it Herwegh? The editors of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, in particular Karl Marx, have at public meetings decisively opposed Herwegh's initiative in Paris without fearing the ill favour of the excited masses. They were, therefore, duly mistrusted at that time (compare the Deutsche Volkszeitung among others) by utopians who mistook themselves for revolutionaries.

Are we supposed to join the people of the opposite opinion now that events have repeatedly confirmed our predictions?

But let us be just. Herr Hecker, the Public Prosecutor, is still a young contributor to our newspaper. The novice in politics just as the novice in natural science resembles that painter who knows only two colours, white and black, or, if you prefer, black-white and red. The finer differences within each espèce reveal themselves only to the skilled and experienced eye. And besides, was Herr Hecker not dominated by the fixed idea to "constitute" Karl Marx, the
Public Prosecutor “Hecker” and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, a fixed idea which melted in the purgatory neither of the Investigating Court, nor of the Council Chamber, nor of the Senate of Appeal; hence it must be a fire-proof fixed idea.

The greatest achievement of the March revolution is unquestionably, to use the words of Brutus Bassermann, the “rule of the most noble and best” and their rapid rise on the scale of power. We hope therefore that the merits of Public Prosecutor Hecker, our esteemed contributor, will also carry him to the heights of the state’s Olympus, as the snow-white doves which were harnessed to the chariot of Aphrodite, carried her with lightning speed to Olympus. As everybody knows, our Government is constitutional. Pfuel is full of enthusiasm for constitutionalism. It is the custom in constitutional states to pay close attention to the recommendations of opposition newspapers. We are therefore moving on constitutional grounds when we advise the Government to award to our Hecker the vacant position of Chief Public Prosecutor of Düsseldorf. Public Prosecutor Ammon of Düsseldorf, who, as far as we know, has not yet earned a life-saving medal for his services to the fatherland, will not hesitate for one moment to dictate reverential silence to his own possible claims in view of the higher merits. If, however, Herr Heimsoeth should become Minister of Justice, as we hope he will, we will recommend Herr Hecker as Attorney General. We expect still bigger things for Herr Hecker. Herr Hecker is still young. And as the Russians say: the Tsar is great, God is greater still, but the Tsar is still young.

Written by Marx on October 28, 1848
First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 129, October 29, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
Cologne, November 2. We give below the appeal of the "Democratic Congress":

"TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE!

During long humiliating years, the German people groaned under the yoke of despotism. The bloody deeds of Vienna and Berlin justified the hope that its freedom and unity would be realised at one blow. The diabolical cunning of an execrable reaction balked this development, thus cheating the heroic people of the fruits of its grandiose insurrection. Vienna, a main bulwark of German freedom, finds itself at the moment in the greatest danger. Sacrificed by the intrigues of a still powerful camarilla, it was to be delivered again to the fetters of despotism. But its noble population rose as one man and opposes the armed hordes of its oppressors resolute unto death. The cause of Vienna is the cause of Germany and the cause of freedom. With the fall of Vienna, the old tyranny will raise its banner higher than ever, Vienna's victory would mean its destruction. It is up to us, German brothers, not to allow Vienna's freedom to perish and not to sacrifice it to the fortune of war of barbaric hordes. It is the most sacred duty of the German governments to rush to the aid of their hard pressed sister city with all their influence. It is, however, at the same time also the most sacred duty of the German people—in the interest of its freedom and in the interest of its self-preservation—to make every sacrifice for the salvation of Vienna. The German people must never draw upon itself the humiliation of blunt indifference when the most precious things, when everything is at stake. Therefore we ask you, brothers, to contribute, each according to his strength, to save Vienna from perdition. What we are doing for Vienna, we are doing for Germany. It is up to you to help! The men whom you have sent to Frankfurt in order to establish freedom have rejected the request to help Vienna with derision. It is up to you now to act! With your powerful and unshakeable energy, demand from your governments that they submit to your majority and save the German cause and the cause of freedom in Vienna. Hurry! You are the power, your will is law! Arise, ye men of freedom, arise in all German lands and wherever else the thought of freedom and humanity inflames noble hearts! Arise,
before it is too late! Save the freedom of Vienna. Save the freedom of Germany. The present generation will admire you, posterity will reward you with immortal glory!

October 29, 1848

The Democratic Congress in Berlin

In this appeal lack of revolutionary energy is replaced by sermonising, wailing and ranting\textsuperscript{24} behind which hides the most decided lack of thought and passion.

Just a few samples!

The appeal expected of the Vienna and Berlin March revolutions “the realisation of the unity and freedom” of the German people “\textit{at one blow}”. In other words: the appeal dreamed of “\textit{one blow}” which would render the “\textit{development}” of the German people towards “unity and freedom” superfluous.

Immediately thereafter, however, the fantastic “\textit{one blow}” which replaces the development is transformed into a “\textit{development}” which was \textit{balked} by the reaction. A phrase which reduces itself to nothing!

We are disregarding the monotonous repetition of the basic theme: Vienna is in danger and with Vienna Germany’s freedom. Help Vienna and you will help yourselves! This thought has not been given flesh and blood. This one phrase is wrapped around itself so many times until it has been extended into a piece of oratory. We merely observe that artificial, insincere ranting always lapses into this clumsy rhetoric.

“It is up to us, German brothers, not to allow Vienna’s freedom to perish and not to sacrifice it to the fortune of war of barbaric hordes.”

And how are we to do this?

First of all, by an appeal to the sense of duty of the “\textit{German governments}”. \textit{C’est incroyable!}\textsuperscript{a}

“It is the \textit{most sacred duty of the German governments} to rush to the aid of their hard pressed sister city with all their influence.”

Is the Prussian Government supposed to send Wrangel or Colomb or the Prince of Prussia against Auersperg, Jellachich and Windischgrätz? Did the “\textit{Democratic}” Congress have the right to assume for one moment this childish and conservative attitude to the German governments? Did it have the right to separate for one moment the cause and the “most sacred interests” of the German governments from the cause and the interests of “Croatian order and freedom”? The governments will smile in self-satisfaction at this virginal enthusiasm.

\textsuperscript{a} That is incredible!—\textit{Ed.}
And the people?
The people are exhorted in general “to make every sacrifice for the salvation of Vienna”. Fine! The “people”, however, expect particular demands of the Democratic Congress. Whoever demands everything, demands nothing and obtains nothing. Thus the particular demand, the whole point is:

“With your powerful and unshakeable energy, demand from your governments that they submit to your majority and save the German cause and the cause of freedom in Vienna. Hurry! You are the power, your will is law! Arise!”

Let us assume that great popular demonstrations succeed in compelling the governments to take steps in a semi-official way for the salvation of Vienna; we would be blessed with a second edition of “Stein’s Army Order”. The very idea of using the present “German governments” as “saviours of freedom”—as if in carrying out imperial punitive measures they were not fulfilling their true calling and their “most sacred duties” as the Gabriels of “constitutional freedom”. The “Democratic Congress” had to be silent about the German governments or it had to reveal unsparingly their conspiracy with Olmütz and Petersburg.

Even though the appeal recommends “speed” and there is indeed no time to lose, the humanistic phraseology carries it beyond the borders of Germany and beyond every geographical boundary into the cosmopolitan, misty land of “noble hearts” in general.

“Hurry! Arise, ye men of freedom, arise in all German lands and wherever else the thought of freedom and humanity inflames noble hearts!”

We do not doubt that there are such “hearts” even in Lapland.
In Germany and wherever else! By evaporating into this pure and indefinite phrase the “appeal” has gained its true expression.

It remains unforgivable that the “Democratic Congress” counter-signed such a document. Neither will “the present generation admire it for this” nor will “posterity reward it with immortal glory”.

Let us hope that the people, in spite of the “appeal of the Democratic Congress”, will awaken from its lethargy and that it will aid the Viennese in the only way it is still able to do at this moment, by defeating the counter-revolution at home.

Written by Marx on November 2, 1848 Printed according to the newspaper
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 133, November 3, 1848

* The Austrian Emperor and his Ministers fled to Olmütz (Olomouc) during the uprising in Vienna.—Ed.
Cologne, November 2. Even before the June uprising we repeatedly exposed the illusions of the republicans who cling to the traditions of 1793, the republicans of the Réforme (of “Paris”). The June revolution and the movement to which it gave rise are compelling the utopian republicans gradually to open their eyes.

A leading article in the Réforme for October 29 reveals the struggle going on within the party between its old delusions and the new facts.

The Réforme says:

"In our country the fights waged to seize the reins of government have long been class wars, struggles of the bourgeoisie and the people against the nobility when the First Republic came into being; the sacrifices of the armed people without, and rule of the bourgeoisie within during the Empire; the attempts to restore feudalism under the older branch of the Bourbons; finally, in 1830, the triumph and rule of the bourgeoisie—that is our history."

The Réforme adds with a sigh:

"We certainly regret that we have to speak of classes, of ungodly and hateful divergences, but these divergences exist and we cannot overlook this fact."

That is to say: up to now the Réforme in its republican optimism saw only “citoyens”, but it has been so hard pressed by history that the splitting up of the “citoyens” into “bourgeois” and “prolétares” can no longer be dismissed by any effort of imagination.

The Réforme continues:

"The despotism of the bourgeoisie was broken in February. What did the people demand? Justice for all and equality. That was its primary slogan, its primary desire. The wishes of the bourgeoisie, whose eyes had been opened by the flash of lightning, were at first the same as those of the people."
The Réforme still judges the February revolution by the speeches made during that month. The despotism of the bourgeoisie, far from having been broken during the February revolution, was completed by it. The Crown, the last feudal halo, which concealed the rule of the bourgeoisie, was cast aside. The rule of capital emerged undisguised. Bourgeoisie and proletariat fought against a common enemy during the February revolution. As soon as the common enemy was eliminated, the two hostile classes held the field of battle alone and the decisive struggle between them was bound to begin. People may ask, why did the bourgeoisie fall back into royalism, if the February revolution brought bourgeois rule to its completion? The explanation is quite simple. The bourgeoisie would have liked to return to the period when it ruled without being responsible for its rule; when a puppet authority standing between the bourgeoisie and the people had to act for it and to serve it as a cloak. A period when it had, as it were, a crowned scapegoat, which the proletariat hit whenever it aimed at the bourgeoisie, and against which the bourgeoisie could join forces with the proletariat whenever that scapegoat became troublesome and attempted to establish itself as an authority in its own right. The bourgeoisie could use the King as a kind of lightning-conductor protecting it from the people, and the people as a lightning-conductor protecting it from the King.

Since the illusions, some of them hypocritical, some honestly held, which became widespread immediately after the defeat of Louis Philippe, are mistakenly accepted by the Réforme as facts, the developments following those days in February appear to it as a series of errors, awkward accidents, that a great man adequate to the needs of the moment could have avoided. As though Lamartine, that delusive light, had not been the true man of the moment!

The Réforme bemoans the fact that the true man, the great man, has not yet appeared, and the situation gets worse every day.

"On the one hand the industrial and commercial crisis grows; on the other hand hatred grows and all strive towards contradictory goals. Those who were oppressed before February 24 seek their ideal of happiness and freedom in the conception of an entirely new society. The only concern of those who governed under the monarchy is to regain their realm in order to exploit it with redoubled harshness."

Now what is the attitude of the Réforme towards these sharply antagonistic classes? Does it realise even vaguely that class contradictions and class struggle will disappear only with the disappearance of classes?

No. Just now it admitted that class contradictions exist. But class contradictions are based on economic foundations, on the existing
mode of material production and the conditions of commerce resulting from it. The Réforme knows no better way of changing and abolishing these contradictions than to disregard their real basis, that is these very material conditions, and to withdraw into the hazy blue heaven of republican ideology, in other words, into the poetic February period, from which it was violently ejected by the June events. It writes:

"The saddest aspect of these internal dissensions is the obliteration, the loss of patriotic, national sentiments,"

i.e. of just that patriotic and national enthusiasm which enabled both classes to veil their distinct interests, their conditions of life. When they did that in 1789, their real contradictions were not yet developed. What at that time was an adequate expression of the real position, is today merely an escape from the existing situation. What had substance then, is today just a relic.

"France," concludes the Réforme, "evidently suffers from a deep-seated malady, but it is curable. It is caused by a confusion of ideas and morals, by a neglect of justice and equality in social relations, and by depravity resulting from egoistical teaching. The means for reorganisation must be sought in this sphere. Instead people have recourse to material means."

The Réforme presents the whole case as a matter of "conscience", and moral twaddle is then used as a means to solve everything. The antithesis of bourgeoisie and proletariat accordingly derives from the ideas of these two classes. And where do these ideas derive from? From the social relations. And where do these relations derive from? From the material, economic conditions of life of the hostile classes. According to the Réforme, if the two classes are no longer conscious of their real position and their real contradictions, and become intoxicated with the opium of the "patriotic" sentiments and phrases of 1793, then their difficulties will be solved. What an admission of helplessness!

Written by Marx on November 2, 1848
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 133, November 3, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper
Cologne, November 3. Our readers have never indulged in utopian hopes in regard to Vienna. After the June revolution, we believed in every baseness of the bourgeoisie. We said immediately in the first issue of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung when it reappeared after the state of siege: “The bourgeoisie's distrust of the working class threatens, if not to wreck the revolution, at least to hamper its development. However that may be, the repercussions of this revolution in Hungary, Italy and Germany foiled the entire plan of campaign devised by the counter-revolution.”

We would therefore not be surprised by a defeat of Vienna. We would only find ourselves called upon to break off any negotiation with the bourgeoisie which measures freedom by the freedom to trade and we would without conciliation and without accommodation oppose the miserable German middle class which gladly relinquishes its own rule on condition that it may continue to trade without a fight. The English and French bourgeoisie is ambitious; the infamy of the German bourgeoisie would be confirmed by Vienna's defeat.

Thus: at no time have we vouched for the victory of the Viennese. Their defeat would not come as a surprise to us. It would only convince us that no peace with the bourgeoisie is possible, not even for the period of transition, and that the people must remain indifferent in the battles between the bourgeoisie and the Government and must wait for their victories or defeats in order to exploit them. Once again: our readers have only to consult our back issues in order to satisfy themselves that neither the victory nor the defeat of the Viennese can surprise us.

* See this volume, p. 457.—Ed.
What does surprise us, however, is the latest special edition of the Kölnische Zeitung. Does the Government deliberately spread false rumours about Vienna in order to calm the excitement in Berlin and the provinces? Does Dumont pay the Prussian state telegraph so that he, Dumont, receives news from the “Berlin” and “Breslau” morning papers which do not reach the “bad press”? And whence did Dumont get his “telegraphic dispatch” this morning, which we did not receive? Has Birk from Trier, a mere cipher who has replaced Wittgenstein, been engaged as editor by Dumont? We do not believe it. For even a Brüggemann, a Wolfers, a Schwanbeck, all that is still no Birk. We doubt that Dumont has engaged such a nonentity.

Today at 6 p. m., Dumont, who lied away the February and March revolutions, carries among his first reports once again a “telegraphic” report according to which Vienna has surrendered to the “Wendish itch”, the “Windischgrätz”.*

It is possible. But the possibilities of the once blood-dripping “Brüggemann”, the ex-correspondent of the old Rheinische Zeitung, this worthy whose views always go hand in hand with the “exchange value” of views in general, his possibilities are based upon the Preussische Staats-Anzeiger and the Breslauer Zeitung. The tales of “Brüggemann” or of the Kölnische Zeitung concerning the February, March and October revolutions will offer their peculiar contribution to history.

Now we shall give the reports which report nothing.**

Written by Marx on November 3, 1848

First published in the second supplement to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 133, November 3, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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* A play on the words wendische Krätze—Wendish itch—and the name Windischgrätz.—Ed.
THE LATEST NEWS FROM VIENNA, BERLIN AND PARIS

Cologne, November 4. The outlook brightens. There is no direct news yet from Vienna. But even according to the official Prussian newspapers, it is clear that Vienna has not surrendered and that Windischgrätz deliberately or as a result of a misunderstanding issued to the world a false telegram. The “good” press, like an orthodox, multilingual echo, willingly repeated the message although it tried hard to mask its malicious glee behind hypocritical mournful phrases. Stripped of all their fantastic and self-contradictory trash, the reports from Silesia and Berlin bring out the following facts. By October 29 the imperial bandits had obtained control only of a few suburbs. The reports received up till now do not show that they have gained a foothold in Vienna itself. The whole story of Vienna’s surrender boils down to a few treasonable proclamations of the Vienna Town Council. The advanced guard of the Hungarian army attacked Windischgrätz on October 30, and was said to have been driven back. On October 31 Windischgrätz resumed the bombardment of Vienna—without result. His army is now between the Viennese and the over 80,000-strong Hungarian army. Windischgrätz’s infamous manifestos evoked uprisings or at least very threatening movements in all provinces. Even the Czech fanatics in Prague, the neophytes of the Slovanská Lípa, have awakened from their wild dreams and declared for Vienna against the imperial Schinderhannes. Never before has the counter-revolution dared to proclaim its plans with such foolish brazenness. Even at Olmütz, that

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a Jack the Skinner, a name given to Johann Bückler, a German robber chief.— Ed.
b The Czech name is Olomouc.— Ed.
Austrian Koblenz,\textsuperscript{330} the crowned idiot\textsuperscript{a} can feel the ground shaking beneath his feet. The fact that the troops are led by the world-famed Sipehsalar\textsuperscript{b} Jellachich—whose name is so great that “at the flash of his sabre the frightened moon hides behind the clouds” and “the roar of cannon” always “points the way” in which he must hurriedly decamp—leaves no doubt that the people of Hungary and Vienna

Horsewhip that scum into the Danube River,
Go castigate that overweening rabble,
Those starveling beggars, all so tired of living,
That horde of miscreants, rogues and vagabonds,
Croatian riff-raff, abject peasant hirelings,
That vomit, spewed up by a glutted homeland
For desperate ventures and for certain doom.

Later reports will give appalling details of the crimes perpetrated by Croats and other knights of “law and order and constitutional freedom”. The European bourgeoisie ensconced in stock exchanges and other convenient observation posts loudly acclaims the gory spectacle; the same wretched bourgeoisie that broke into screams of moral indignation because of a few harsh acts of popular justice and with a thousand voices unanimously anathemised the “murderers” of honest Latour and noble Lichnowski.

The Poles, avenging the Galician murders,\textsuperscript{331} are once more advancing at the head of the liberators of Vienna, just as they march at the head of the Italian people and everywhere act as high-minded generals of the revolution. Three cheers for the Poles!

The Berlin camarilla, intoxicated with the blood of Vienna, blinded by the pillars of smoke rising from the burning suburbs, stunned by the Croats’ and haiduks’ shouts of victory, has dropped its cloak. “Peace has been restored in Berlin.” \textit{Nous verrons}.\textsuperscript{c}

Finally, from Paris come the first subterranean rumbles announcing the earthquake that will bury the respectable republic under its own ruins.

\textit{The outlook brightens.}

Written by Marx on November 4, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the \textit{Neue Rheinische Zeitung} No. 135, November 5, 1848

\textsuperscript{a} Ferdinand I.—\textit{Ed.}
\textsuperscript{b} Commander-in-chief.—\textit{Ed.}
\textsuperscript{c} We shall see.—\textit{Ed.}
Cologne, November 4. The news of the victory of the Croats and Wends in Vienna so enraptured our Cologne bourgeoisie that they celebrated with bottles of champagne and through Dr. Nückel proposed the following fundamental motion at the evening session of the Town Council on November 3:

"That the Town Council is not obliged to give the workers work. That this is nothing but relief and that the daily wages of workers employed by the city should consequently be fixed at a lower rate than the daily wages of workers employed by private masters."

An additional reason given by Dr. Nückel was that it was necessary by means of this differential to stem the rush of workers to municipal employment.

Herr Böker managed with difficulty to get this question adjourned.

Dr. Nückel has proclaimed the dogma of the local bourgeoisie. For this, the workers owe Dr. Nückel their heartfelt thanks.

It was quite consistent that our men of property, who so joyfully welcomed the declaration of a state of siege in Cologne, celebrated the bombardment of Vienna and the restoration of Croatian freedom as a victory, just as they had celebrated the refined cruelty of the June victors.

Written by Marx on November 4, 1848
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 135, November 5, 1848
Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
Cologne, November 5. *Letters and newspapers from Vienna failed to arrive.* The newspapers from *Breslau* which we have received, the *Allgemeine Oderzeitung*, the *Schlesische Zeitung* and the *Breslauer Zeitung*, contain, properly speaking, *nothing*.

Several *Berlin morning* papers of November 3 carry the following news item, one newspaper having received it from *Hietzing*, the others from *Vienna*:

"The city of Vienna is entirely occupied by imperial troops."

The *Kölnische Zeitung* prints this report, which it received from Breslau and which "is *described as reliable*", and it confirms this report by a "telegram" from Berlin, which "in itself" is of course reliable.

Let us leave aside the anonymous note from Breslau\(^b\) and proceed to the *telegram* printed in big letters in the *Kölnische Zeitung*:\(^c\)

The telegram was dispatched from Vienna at noon on November 1.

The letter to Dumont, if he received the news in writing, was sent at 8 a.m. on November 3, with the Berlin mail.

On the *evening* of November 3, this news was circulating merely as a rumour throughout Berlin, and the newspapers of November 4 published on the evening of November 3 *deny it*.

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\(^a\) Wroclaw.— *Ed.*


\(^c\) *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 299 (second edition), November 5, 1848, p. 1.— *Ed.*
Hence we have no news from Vienna. Dumont, who reported the burning and capture of Vienna since October 6, could by way of exception have got hold of the right fact on one day in the month.

Written by Marx on November 5, 1848
First published in the second edition of the 
Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 135, November 5, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
Cologne, November 6. Croatian freedom and order won the day and celebrated this victory with arson, rape, looting and other atrocities. Vienna is in the hands of Windischgrätz, Jellachich and Auersperg. Hecatombs of human victims are sacrificed on the grave of the aged traitor Latour.

The gloomy forecasts of our Vienna correspondent* have come true, and by now he himself may have become a victim of the butchery.

For a while we hoped Vienna could be liberated by Hungarian reinforcements, and we are still in the dark regarding the movements of the Hungarian army.

Treachery of every kind prepared the way for Vienna's fall. The entire history of the Imperial Diet and the Town Council since October 6 is a tale of continuous treachery. Who are the people represented in the Imperial Diet and the Town Council?

The bourgeoisie.

A part of the Viennese national guard openly sided with the camarilla from the very beginning of the October revolution. Towards the end of the October revolution another part of the national guard in collusion with the imperial bandits fought against the proletariat and the Academic Legion.333 To which strata do these groups of the national guard belong?

To the bourgeoisie.

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The bourgeoisie in \textit{France}, however, \emph{headed} the counter-revolution only after it had broken down all obstacles to the rule of its own class. The bourgeoisie in \textit{Germany} meekly joins the \textit{retinue} of the absolute monarchy and of feudalism before securing even the first conditions of existence necessary for its own civic freedom and its rule. In France it played the part of a tyrant and made its own counter-revolution. In Germany it acts like a slave and carries out the counter-revolution for its own tyrants. In France it won its victory in order to humble the people. In Germany it humbled itself to prevent the victory of the people. History presents no more \textit{shameful and pitiful spectacle} than that of the \textit{German bourgeoisie}.

Who fled from Vienna in large numbers leaving their wealth to be watched over by the magnanimous people, the people whom, in reward for their watchman's duties, they maligned while away and whose massacre they witnessed on their return?

The \textit{bourgeoisie}.

Whose innermost secrets were revealed by the thermometer which dropped whenever the people of Vienna showed signs of life, and rose whenever the people were in the throes of death? Who used the runic language of the \textit{stock exchange quotations}?

The \textit{bourgeoisie}.

The "German National Assembly" and its "Central Authority" have betrayed Vienna. Whom do they represent?

Mainly the \textit{bourgeoisie}.

The victory of "Croatian order and freedom" in Vienna depended on the victory of the "respectable" republic in Paris. Who won the day in June?

The \textit{bourgeoisie}.

European counter-revolution began its orgies with its victory in Paris.

In February and March armed force was beaten everywhere. Why? Because it represented only the \textit{governments}. After June it was everywhere victorious because the \textit{bourgeoisie} everywhere had come to a secret understanding with it, while retaining official leadership of the revolutionary movement and introducing all those half measures which by the very nature of things were bound to miscarry.

The national fanaticism of the Czechs was the most powerful instrument of the Viennese camarilla. \textit{The allies are already at loggerheads}. In this issue our readers will find the protest of the Prague delegation against the insolent rudeness with which it was greeted in Olmütz.\footnote{The Czech name is Olomouc.—\textit{Ed.}}
This is the first symptom of the struggle which will break out between the Slav party and its hero Jellachich on the one hand, and the party of nothing but the camarilla, which stands above all nationality, and its hero Windischgrätz on the other. Moreover the German peasants in Austria are not yet pacified. Their voice will be loudly heard above the caterwauling of the Austrian nationalities. And from a third quarter the voice of the Tsar, the friend of the people,\textsuperscript{a} reaches as far as Pest; his executioners are waiting for the word of command in the Danube principalities.

Finally, the last decision of the German National Assembly at Frankfurt, which incorporates German Austria into the German Empire, should lead to a gigantic conflict, unless the German Central Authority and the German National Assembly see it as their task to enter the arena in order to be hissed off the stage by the European public. For all their pious resignation the struggle in Austria will assume gigantic dimensions such as world history has never yet witnessed.

The second act of the drama has just been performed in Vienna, its first act having been staged in Paris under the title of The June Days. In Paris the mobile guard,\textsuperscript{334} in Vienna “Croats”—in both cases lazzaroni, lumpenproletariat hired and armed—were used against the working and thinking proletarians. We shall soon see the third act performed in Berlin.

Assuming that arms will enable the counter-revolution to establish itself in the whole of Europe, money would then kill it in the whole of Europe. European bankruptcy, national bankruptcy would be the fate nullifying the victory. Bayonets crumble like tinder when they come into contact with the salient “economic” facts.

But developments will not wait for the expiry of the bills of exchange drawn by the European states on European society. The crushing counterblow of the June revolution will be struck in Paris. With the victory of the “red republic” in Paris, armies will be rushed from the interior of their countries to the frontiers and across them, and the real strength of the fighting parties will become evident. We shall then remember this June and this October and we too shall exclaim:

\textit{Vae victis!}

The purposeless massacres perpetrated since the June and October events, the tedious offering of sacrifices since February and March, the very cannibalism of the counter-revolution will convince

\textsuperscript{a} Nicholas I.—\textit{Ed.}
the nations that there is only one means by which the murderous death agonies of the old society and the bloody birth throes of the new society can be shortened, simplified and concentrated—and that is by revolutionary terror.

Written by Marx on November 6, 1848
Printed according to the newspaper
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 136, November 7, 1848
Frederick Engels

FROM PARIS TO BERNE
Written at the end of October and in November 1848

First published in the *Neue Zeit*, Bd. I, Nos. 1 and 2, 1898-99

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time
First page of Engels' travel notes "From Paris to Berne"
La belle France! The French certainly have a beautiful country and they are right to be proud of it.

What country in Europe can compare with France in wealth, in the variety of its gifts of nature and products, in its universality?

Spain? But neglect or nature has turned two-thirds of its area into a hot, stony desert, and the Atlantic side of the peninsula, Portugal, does not belong to it.

Italy? But ever since world trade has been routed across the ocean, ever since steamships have plied the Mediterranean, Italy has lain isolated.

England? But for the last eighty years England has been reduced to trade and industry, coal-smoke and cattle-raising, and England has a fearfully leaden sky, and no wine.

And Germany? In the north, a flat, sandy plain, cut off from Southern Europe by the granite wall of the Alps, poor in wine, a land of beer, schnaps and rye bread, of rivers and revolutions that have dried up!

But France! Washed by three seas, traversed in three directions by five great rivers, in the north an almost German and Belgian climate, in the south almost Italian; wheat in the north, maize and rice in the south; colza\(^a\) in the north, olives in the south; flax in the north, silk in the south, and wine nearly everywhere.

And what wine! What a diversity, from Bordeaux to Burgundy, from Burgundy to the heavy St. Georges, Lünel and Frontignan of the south, and from that to sparkling champagne! What variety of white and of red, from Petit Mâcon or Chablis to Chambertin, Château Larose, Sauterne, Roussillon and Ai Mousseux! And

\(^a\) Rape.—*Ed.*
furthermore each of these wines intoxicates in its own way, with a few bottles one can experience every intermediate state from a Musard quadrille to the Marseillaise, from the exultation of the cancan to the tempestuous fever heat of revolution, and then finally with a bottle of champagne one can again drift into the merriest carnival mood in the world!

And only France has a Paris, a city in which European civilisation has its finest flowering, in which all the nerve-fibres of European history unite and from which emanate at measured intervals those electric shocks which can shake a whole world; a city whose population combines a passion for pleasure with a passion for historical action like no other people, whose populace know how to live like the most refined Epicurean of Athens and to die like the most intrepid Spartan, Alcibiades and Leonidas in one person; a city which really is, as Louis Blanc\textsuperscript{a} says, the heart and mind of the world.

If one looks across Paris from a high point in the city or from Montmartre or the terrace of Saint-Cloud, if one strolls through its environs, one concludes that France knows what it possesses in Paris, that France has been prodigal of its best in tenderly fostering Paris. Like an odalisque on a glittering, bronze-coloured divan, this proud city lies beside the warm, vine-covered hills of the winding Seine valley. Where in the whole world is there a view like that from the two Versailles railways down over the green valley with its countless villages and little towns, and where are there such delightfully situated, such smartly and trimly constructed, such tastefully laid-out villages and little towns as Suresnes, Saint-Cloud, Sèvres, Montmorency, Enghien and countless others? By whichever gate one may leave, though one choose one's route at random, everywhere one encounters the same fine surroundings, the same taste in the use of the topography, the same elegance and cleanliness. And yet again it is only the Queen of Cities itself which has created this splendid setting for itself.

But of course you need a France as well, to make a Paris, and only when one has become acquainted with the abundant wealth of this magnificent country does one understand how this radiant, sumptuous, incomparable Paris could come about. One does not understand it, of course, if one comes from the north, speeding by train across the plains of Flanders and Artois and the hills of Picardy

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\textsuperscript{a} Evidently a slip of the pen for the words quoted are taken from a draft address to the Government of the French Republic submitted by Auguste Blanqui in March 1848.— Ed.
with neither forest nor vineyard. There one sees only corn-fields and pasture, whose uniformity is interrupted only by marshy river valleys and distant scrubby hills; and only when one enters within range of the atmosphere of Paris, at Pontoise, does one see something of "beautiful France". One begins to understand Paris a little more if one approaches the capital through the fertile vales of Lorraine, the vine-garlanded chalk hills of Champagne and along the beautiful Marne valley; one understands it better still if one travels through Normandy, now following and now cutting across the meanders of the Seine on the railway from Rouen to Paris. The Seine seems to exhal the air of Paris right down to its mouth; the villages, the towns, the hills, everything reminds one of the countryside near Paris, except that everything becomes finer, more sumptuous, more tasteful as one approaches the centre of France. But I did not fully understand how Paris was possible until I went along the Loire and from there turned across the hills to the vineyard valleys of Burgundy.

I had known Paris in the last two years of the monarchy, when the bourgeoisie was revelling in the full enjoyment of its dominance, when trade and industry were faring passably, when the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois youth still had money for its pleasures and for squandering it away, and when even some of the workers were still well enough placed to be able to participate in the general high spirits and light-heartedness. I had seen Paris again in March and April, in that brief intoxication of the republican honeymoon, when the workers, optimistic fools\(^a\) that they were, cheerfully and without any hesitation "decided to endure three months of misery"\(^b\) for the republic's sake, when they ate dry bread and potatoes by day and when evening came, planted liberty-trees along the boulevards, let off fire-crackers and sang the *Marseillaise* for all they were worth, and when the bourgeoisie, hiding in their houses all day, attempted to appease the wrath of the people with coloured lanterns. I returned — much against my will, by Hecker! — in October. Between the Paris of those days and now there lay the 15th May and the 25th June, there lay the most fearful struggle the world had ever seen, there lay a sea of blood and fifteen thousand dead. Cavaignac's shells had blown Paris's irrepressible gaiety sky-high; the sound of the *Marseillaise* and the *Chant du départ* had ceased, only the bourgeoisie was still humming its *Mourir pour la patrie*\(^336\) between its teeth; the workers, who had neither bread nor arms, ground their

\(^a\) *Hoffnungsvolle Toren* (optimistic fools) from Goethe's poem "Prometheus". — *Ed.*

\(^b\) See this volume, p. 148. — *Ed.*
teeth in suppressed resentment; in the school of the state of siege, the exuberant republic had very soon become respectable, tame, well-behaved, and moderate (sage et modérée). But Paris was dead, it was no longer Paris. On the boulevards, no one but the bourgeoisie and police spies; the dance-halls and theatres deserted; the gamins engulfed in mobile guard jackets, bought for 30 sous a day by the respectable republic, and the stupider they became the more the bourgeoisie celebrated them—in brief, it was the Paris of 1847 again, but without the spirit, without the life, without the fire and the ferment which the workers brought to everything in those days. Paris was dead, and this beautiful corpse was all the more uncanny for being so beautiful.

I could endure it no longer in this dead Paris. I had to leave it, no matter whither. So first of all to Switzerland. I had not much money, that meant going on foot. Nor was I set on taking the shortest route; one does not readily part from France. Thus one fine morning I set out and without any fixed plan marched due south. I lost my way among the villages once I had left the city's outskirts behind me; there was nothing strange in that. Eventually I found myself on the highroad to Lyons. I followed it for some distance, leaving it from time to time to climb the hills. From the top one has splendid views up and down the Seine, to Paris and to Fontainebleau. One sees the river meandering far, far away in the broad valley, vineyards on the hills on both sides, further away the blue hills beyond which flows the Marne.

But I did not wish to enter Burgundy by so direct a route; I wanted to reach the Loire first. So on the second day I left the highroad and went over the hills towards Orléans. I lost my way among the villages again of course, as my only guides were the sun and the peasants, cut off from the whole world and unable to tell right from left. I spent the night in some village whose name I was never able to make out in the peasant patois, fifteen leagues from Paris, on the watershed between Seine and Loire.

This watershed is formed by a broad ridge which extends from south-east to north-west. On either side it is intersected by numerous valleys, watered by small streams or rivers. Up on the wind-swept summit only corn, buckwheat, clover and vegetables do well; but vines grow everywhere on the valley sides. The eastward-facing slopes are nearly all covered with great masses of those limestone rocks which the English geologists call bolderstones and which one

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a This form of the English word is used in the manuscript.—Ed.
often finds in secondary and tertiary hill-country. The huge blue rocks, between which green shrubs and saplings grow, provide a pleasant contrast to the meadows of the valley and the vineyards of the opposite slope.

Gradually I came down into one of these little river valleys and followed it for a while. Eventually I came upon a highway with people on it from whom I was able to discover where in fact I was. I was not far from Malesherbes, midway between Orléans and Paris. Orléans itself lay too far to the west for my purpose; Nevers was my next goal, and so I once more went up over the nearest hill, heading due south. A very pretty view from the top: the pleasant little town of Malesherbes between wooded hills, numerous villages on the slopes, and up on a hill-top Castle Châteaubriand. And what was even more to my liking: opposite, on the far side of a narrow ravine, a departmental road leading due south.

There are three kinds of road in France: the state roads, formerly called royal roads, now national, fine broad highways connecting the most important towns with each other. These national roads, which in the region of Paris are not merely excellently made but true luxury roads, magnificent elm-lined avenues sixty feet wide and more, and paved in the middle, become poorer, narrower and less tree-lined the further one proceeds from Paris and the less important the road is. In some places they are then so bad that they are scarcely passable for pedestrians after two hours of moderate rain. The second class consists of the departmental roads, providing secondary communications, financed from departmental funds, narrower and less resplendent than the national roads. The third class, finally, is made up of the major vicinal routes (chemins de grande communication), maintained from canton resources, narrow unassuming roads, but in some places in better condition than the bigger highways.

I struck uphill straight across country in the direction of my departmental road and found to my extreme delight that it went due south in an absolutely straight line. Villages and inns were few and far between; after marching for several hours I eventually came upon a large farm where I was served most hospitably with some refreshments, for which I drew some grotesque faces on a piece of paper for the farmer’s children and declared with all gravity: this one was a speaking likeness of General Cavaignac and that one of Louis Napoleon, these of Armand Marrast, Ledru-Rollin etc. The farm-folk stared at these distorted faces in great awe, thanked me in their delight and at once fixed these strikingly life-like portraits on the wall. These good people also told me that I was on the road from
Malesherbes to Châteauneuf on the Loire, to which I had still some twelve leagues to go.

I trampled through Puiseaux and another small town whose name I have forgotten, and late in the evening arrived in Bellegarde, an attractive fair-sized place, where I spent the night. The route over the plateau, which incidentally here produces wine in many places, was rather monotonous.

Next morning I set off for Châteauneuf, another five leagues, and from there along the Loire on the national road from Orléans to Nevers.

Under almond trees in blossom
On the verdant banks of Loire,
To lie dreaming, oh how pleasant,
Of the place I found my love—

so sings many an enthusiastic German youth and many a tender Teutonic maiden in the melting words of Helmina von Chezy and the molten melody of Carl Maria von Weber. But anyone who goes looking for almond trees and gentle, sweet romance on the Loire, as was the fashion in Dresden back in the twenties, is the victim of the kind of appalling delusion which is really permissible only in Germany amongst congenital bluestockings of the third generation.

From Châteauneuf via les Bordes to Dampierre one scarcely catches a glimpse of this romantic Loire. The road goes over the hill-tops at a distance of two or three leagues from the river, and only rarely does one see the water of the Loire glinting in the sun far away. The district is rich in wine, cereals and fruit; down by the river there are luxuriant pastures; the view of the valley, which has no woods and is surrounded only by undulating hills, is however rather monotonous.

In the middle of the road, near some farm-houses, I came across a caravan of four men, three women and several children, accompanied by three heavily-laden donkey-carts, cooking their midday-meal at a big fire on the open highway. I stopped for a moment: I was not mistaken, they were speaking German, in the broadest South German dialect. I spoke to them; they were delighted to hear their native tongue in the middle of France. They were as it happened from the Strasbourg area of Alsace, and travelled into the interior of France in this way every summer, earning their keep by basket-weaving. When I asked whether this gave them enough to live on,

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*a* Carl Maria von Weber's opera *Euryanthe* (libretto by Helmina von Chezy), Act I, Scene 2.—*Ed.*
they said: “Hardly, if we had to, buy everything; mostly we’re begging.” Slowly, another man, of advanced age, crawled out of one of the donkey-carts, in which he had a complete bed. There was something very gypsy-like about the whole band with the ill-assorted garments they had scrounged. For all that they had an easy-going air about them and chattered interminably to me about their journeys, and in the middle of the merriest gossiping the mother and the daughter, a gentle, blue-eyed creature, almost came to pulling each other’s tousled red hair. I couldn’t but admire the irrepressible force with which the easy-going and emotional German character would come out, even from beneath the most gypsy-like pattern of life and attire; I wished them good day and continued my journey, accompanied for some distance by one of the gypsies, who before eating permitted himself the pleasure of an amble on the sharp-boned crupper of a lean donkey.

That evening I reached Dampierre, a small village not far from the Loire. Here the Government was employing three or four hundred workers from Paris, the remnants of the former national workshops,337 to build a dyke to prevent flooding. They were workers of every kind, goldsmiths, butchers, cobblers, carpenters, right down to the rag-and-bone man of the Paris boulevards. I found some twenty of them at the inn where I spent the night. A hefty butcher, who had already been promoted to a kind of supervisory position, spoke of the undertaking with great enthusiasm: they were earning between 30 and 100 sous a day, according to how they worked, it was easy to make 40 to 60 sous, if one showed any aptitude. He wanted to enrol me in his brigade there and then; I would soon get into the swing and certainly be earning 50 sous a day by the second week, I could make my fortune, and there was enough work for another six months at least. I would not have minded exchanging my pen for a spade for a month or two for a change; but I had no papers, and that would have landed me in a nice pickle.

These workers from Paris had not lost any of their old gaiety. They pursued their work, ten hours a day, amid laughter and jokes, entertained themselves in their leisure hours with outrageous pranks and in the evenings amused themselves by “déniaisant”3 the peasant girls. But apart from this they were quite demoralised as a result of being isolated in a small village. Not a trace of concern with the interests of their class, and with current political issues which touch the workers so closely. They appeared not to read any papers any more. Their political activity went no further than giving nicknames;

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\[a\] Initiating, seducing.—Ed.
one of them, a big, strong lout, they called Caussidière, another, a bad worker and utter drunkard, responded to the name of Guizot, etc. The exhausting work, their relatively good living conditions and especially the separation from Paris and transfer to a remote, quiet corner of France had reduced their horizon remarkably. They were already on the point of turning into rustics, and they had only been there for two months.

The next morning I reached Gien and thus at last the Loire valley itself. Gien is a little town with crooked streets, a fine embankment and a bridge over the Loire, which here barely equals the Main at Frankfurt in breadth. It is altogether very shallow and full of sandbanks.

From Gien to Briare the road goes along the valley at a distance of about a quarter of a mile from the Loire. It proceeds in a south-easterly direction, and the country gradually assumes a southerly character. The avenue is lined with elms, ashes, acacias or chestnuts; the valley floor comprises luxuriant pastures and fertile fields, amongst whose stubble a second harvest of the richest clover was sprouting, and which are bordered by long lines of poplars; on the other side of the Loire, in the hazy distance, a line of hills, on this side, right by the highroad, a second chain of hillocks, planted with vines in its entirety. The valley of the Loire is not at all strikingly beautiful or romantic here, as people tend to say it is, but it does create a most agreeable impression; all this rich vegetation testifies to the mild climate without which it could not flourish. Even in the most fertile areas of Germany I have nowhere found plants growing in such profusion as on the road between Gien and Briare.

Before I leave the Loire, a few words as to the inhabitants of the area I passed through and their way of life.

The villages within four or five hours travel from Paris cannot be taken as the measure for villages in the rest of France. Their disposition, the architecture of the houses, the mores of the inhabitants are far too much dominated by the spirit of the great metropolis from which they live. Only at a distance of ten leagues from Paris, in remote upland areas, does the countryside proper begin, does one see real farm-houses. A characteristic of the whole region as far as the Loire and into Burgundy is that the peasant-farmer conceals the entrance to his house as far as possible from the highroad. In the upland areas every farmyard is surrounded by a wall; one enters by a gate and then in the yard itself

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Engels uses the German word *Meile*, a linear measure which at that time differed in length in different German states but can be regarded as roughly 4 ½ miles. — *Ed.*
one must look for the door to the house which is usually situated towards the rear. In this area, where most of the peasants have cows and horses, the farm-houses are fairly big; on the Loire, on the other hand, where there is much market-gardening and even well-to-do peasants own few cattle or none at all and cattle-raising is a separate branch of husbandry left to the larger landowners or tenant farmers, the farm-houses become smaller and smaller, often so small that one cannot conceive how there is room within for a peasant family with its equipment and stores. But here too the entrance is on the side facing away from the road, and in the villages the public houses and shops are almost alone in having doors facing the street.

The peasants of this area for the most part enjoy a really good life, despite their poverty. The wine, at least in the valleys, is mostly their own produce, good and cheap (this year two or three sous a bottle), the bread is everywhere, except in the highest places, good, wheaten bread and there is in addition excellent cheese and magnificent fruit, which people in France eat of course always with the bread. Like all country-people they eat little meat, but a lot of milk, vegetable soups and in general a vegetable diet of outstanding quality. The living standard of the French peasant between the Seine and the Loire is three times higher than that of the North-German peasant, even if he is significantly better off.

These peasants are good-natured, hospitable, light-hearted folk, helpful and obliging to the stranger in every possible way, and even when speaking the broadest patois, still true, courteous Frenchmen. Despite their exceedingly highly developed sense of property towards the land which their fathers won from the nobility and the clergy, they still possess many of the patriarchal virtues, especially in the villages set back from the main roads.

But peasants will be peasants, and the conditions of life of the peasants do not for one moment cease to assert themselves. Despite all the private virtues of the French peasant, despite the more advanced conditions of life he enjoys in comparison with the peasant to the east of the Rhine, the peasant in France, as in Germany, is a barbarian in the midst of civilisation.

The isolation of the peasant in a remote village with a rather small population which changes only with the generations, the hard, monotonous work, which ties him more than any serfdom to the soil and which remains always the same from father to son, the stability and monotony of all his conditions of life, the restricted circumstances in which the family becomes the most important, most decisive social relationship for him—all this reduces the peasant's horizon to the narrowest bounds which are possible in modern
society. The great movements of history pass him by, from time to
time sweep him along with them, but he has no inkling of the nature
of the motive force of these movements, of their origin and their
goal.

In the Middle Ages and in the seventeenth and eighteenth
centuries there was alongside the movement of the middle class in
the towns a peasant movement, which, however, constantly put up
reactionary demands and, without producing any significant results
for the peasants themselves, only succeeded in assisting the towns in
their struggles for emancipation.

In the first French revolution the peasants acted in a revolutionary
manner just so long as was required by their most immediate, most
tangible private interests; until they had secured the right of
ownership to their land which had hitherto been farmed on a feudal
basis, until feudal relations were irrevocably abolished and the
foreign armies ejected from their district. Once this was achieved,
they turned with all the fury of blind avarice against the movement
of the big towns which they failed to understand, and especially
against the movement in Paris. Countless proclamations by the
Committee of Public Safety, countless decrees by the Convention,
above all those concerning the maximum and the profiteers, mobile
columns and travelling guillotines had to be directed against
the obdurate peasants. And yet no class benefited more from the
Terror which drove out the foreign armies and put down the civil
war than these same peasants.

When Napoleon overthrew the bourgeois regime of the Directory,
restored calm, consolidated the new property relations of the
peasants and sanctioned them in his Code civil and drove the foreign
armies ever further from the frontiers, the peasants rallied to him
with enthusiasm and became his chief support. For the French
peasant is nationalistic to a fanatical degree; la France has come to
mean a great deal to him now that he has become hereditary
proprietor of a piece of France; foreigners he only knows in the form
of devastating invading armies which inflict a maximum of damage
on him. Hence the French peasant’s unbounded nationalism, hence
his equally unbounded hatred of l'étranger. Hence the passion with
which he went to war in 1814 and 1815.

When the Bourbons returned in 1815, when the exiled aristocracy
once more raised claims to the landed property they had lost in the
revolution, the peasants saw all their revolutionary conquests
threatened. Hence their hatred of Bourbon rule and their jubilation

\* Of 1830.—Ed.
when the July revolution restored to them security of possession and the tricolour.

From the July revolution onwards, the peasants' participation in the general interests of their country came once more to an end. Their wishes had been fulfilled, the land they owned was no longer threatened, at the village Mairie the same flag was once more flying which had meant victory to them and their fathers for a quarter of a century.

But as always the fruits they enjoyed from their victory were few. The bourgeoisie began at once to exploit its rural allies to the utmost extent. The fruits of fragmentation and of the divisibility of the land, the impoverishment of the peasants and the mortgaging of their land, had already begun to ripen under the Restoration; after 1830 their manifestations became ever more widespread and ever more menacing. But the pressure which big capital exerted on the peasant remained for him simply a private relationship between himself and his creditor; he did not see and could not see that these private relationships, which were becoming increasingly widespread and increasingly the rule, were gradually developing into a class relationship between the class of big capitalists and that of small landowners. It was not the same situation as it had been with feudal burdens, whose origin had been long since forgotten, whose significance had long since fallen into oblivion, which were no longer payment for services rendered, and which had long ago become nothing but a burden oppressing one party. In the present case, with a mortgage debt, the peasant or at least his father has had the money paid out to him in solid five-franc pieces; the debt-certificate and the mortgage-repayment book remind him if necessary of the origin of the burden; the interest he has to pay, even the oppressive, constantly renewed subsidiary payments to the usurer are modern, bourgeois liabilities which apply in similar form to all debtors; the oppression operates in a quite modern, up-to-date guise, and the peasant is bled white and ruined in accordance with precisely the same principles of law which alone guarantee him his property. His own code civil, his modern-day bible, becomes a rod for his own back. The peasant can see no class relationship in the usurious mortgage terms, he cannot demand their abolition without simultaneously endangering his own property. The pressure of usury, instead of propelling him into the movement, utterly confuses him. The only way in which he can imagine relief is in a reduction of taxes.

When, in February of this year, a revolution took place in which the proletariat appeared for the first time with demands of its own, the peasants showed not the faintest comprehension. If the republic
had any meaning for them, it was merely: reduction of taxes and maybe occasionally something about national honour, war of conquest and the Rhine frontier. But when on the morning after Louis Philippe's fall the war between the proletariat and bourgeoisie broke out in Paris, when the stagnation of trade and industry had repercussions in the countryside and the peasant's produce, already devalued in a year of good harvests, fell yet further in price and became unsaleable, when to crown it all the battle of June spread fear and terror to the furthermost corners of France, a universal cry of the most fanatical fury arose amongst the peasants against revolutionary Paris and the eternally dissatisfied Parisians. Of course! For what did the stubborn, narrow-minded peasant know of proletariat and bourgeoisie, of a democratic social republic, of the organisation of labour, of matters whose fundamental conditions and causes could never exist within the narrow confines of his village! And when occasionally, through the murky channels of the bourgeois journals, he acquired a vague notion of what was at issue in Paris, when the bourgeoisie had tossed him the great slogan they aimed against the workers of Paris: *ce sont les partageux*, they are people who want to share all property and all the land, the peasants' indignation knew no bounds, their cry of fury was redoubled. I have spoken to hundreds of peasants in the most diverse regions of France, and all were in the grip of this fanatical hatred of Paris and especially the workers of Paris. "I wish that cursed Paris would be blown sky-high during the day tomorrow"—and that was the most charitable of benedictions. It goes without saying that the peasants' age-old contempt for town-dwellers was merely increased and vindicated by this year's events. The peasants, the countryside must save France; the countryside produces everything, the towns live off our corn, dress in our flax and our wool, we must restore the proper order of things; we peasants must take charge of affairs ourselves—this was the eternal refrain that sounded, more or less clearly, more or less deliberately, through all the peasants' confused talk.

And how do they hope to save France, how do they hope to take charge of affairs themselves? By electing Louis Napoleon Bonaparte as President of the Republic, a great name borne by a confused, vain, diminutive fool! Every peasant I spoke to was just as enthusiastic about Louis Napoleon as he was full of hatred for Paris. These two passions and the most unthinking, bovine amazement at the whole European upheaval are the sum total of the French peasant's politics. And the peasants have over six million votes, more than two-thirds of all the votes in the elections in France.

It is true that the Provisional Government did not manage to bind
the interests of the peasants to the revolution; with the increase of 45 centimes in the land tax, which chiefly hit the peasants, it made an unforgivable, irréparable mistake. But even if it had won over the peasants to the revolution for a few months, they would have deserted it in the summer. The present attitude of the peasants towards the revolution of 1848 is not the consequence of any mistakes or chance blunders; it is in the nature of things, it is based upon the conditions of life, the social position of the small landowner. The French proletariat, before it enforces its demands, will first have to put down a general peasants' war, a war which even the writing-off of all mortgage debts can only postpone for a short time.

One must have spent a fortnight in the almost exclusive company of peasants, peasants from the most diverse regions, one must have had the opportunity of encountering everywhere this same obtuse narrow-mindedness, this same total ignorance of all urban, industrial and commercial conditions, this same blindness in politics, this same wildly uninformed surmising about everything beyond the village, this same application of the standards of peasant life to the mightiest factors of history — in short, one must have come to know the French peasant especially in 1848 in order to experience the utterly disheartening effect which this refractory stupidity engenders.
Briare is a quaint little old town at the mouth of the canal which joins the Loire to the Seine. Here I took stock of the route and decided it would be better to go to Switzerland via Auxerre instead of via Nevers. I therefore left the Loire and turned across the hills towards Burgundy.

The fertility of the Loire valley declines gradually but fairly slowly. One climbs imperceptibly, and only five or six miles from Briare, in the region of Saint-Sauveur and Saint-Fargeau, does one reach the beginnings of the forested, cattle-raising uplands. The ridge between the Yonne and the Loire is higher even here, and the whole of this western part of the Department of the Yonne is generally fairly hilly.

It was in the region of Toucy, six leagues from Auxerre, that I first heard the peculiar, naively-broad dialect of Burgundy, a patois which here and throughout Burgundy proper remains pleasant and attractive, whereas in the higher regions of the Franche Comté it takes on a ponderous, clumsy, almost didactic tone. It is like the naive dialect of Austria, which gradually changes into the coarse Upper Bavarian. In a remarkably un-French way the Burgundian patois constantly stresses the syllable preceding that which takes the main emphasis in good French, it turns iambic French into trochaic and in so doing strangely distorts the subtle accentuation which the educated Frenchman manages to impart to his speech. But, as I said, in Burgundy proper, it continues to sound rather nice and from the lips of a pretty girl even charming: *Mais, m'a foi, monsieur, je vous demande un peu....* 

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*a But indeed, sir, I ask you ... (the accents indicate the syllables stressed in the Burgundian patois).—Ed.*
If one can draw comparisons, the Burgundian is on the whole the Austrian of France. Naive, good-natured, confiding in the highest degree, having a great deal of native wit within their familiar social surroundings, full of naively odd ideas about everything that transcends them, comically clumsy in unfamiliar circumstances, for ever indestructibly good-humoured—in this these good people are almost one and all alike. The amiable, good-hearted Burgundian peasant is the first one forgives for his complete political vacuity and his starry-eyed enthusiasm for Louis Napoleon.

Incidentally, the Burgundians undeniably have a stronger admixture of German blood than the French who live further to the west; their hair and complexion are lighter, their physique a little bigger, especially in the women, there is already a marked decrease in that sharp critical intelligence and incisive wit, in place of which there is a more straightforward sense of humour and sometimes a faint touch of geniality. But the gaiety of the French is still markedly to the fore, and in carefree light-heartedness the Burgundian is second to none.

The hilly western part of the Department of the Yonne derives its living chiefly from cattle-raising. But Frenchmen everywhere are poor cattle-farmers, and these Burgundian cattle appear thin and small. However alongside cattle-raising a great deal of corn is grown and fine wheaten bread is eaten everywhere.

The farm-houses here also begin to resemble those in Germany; they are again larger and combine dwelling, barn and stables under one roof; but here too the door is still mostly sideways from the road or turned completely away from it.

On the long descent that takes one down to Auxerre, I saw the first Burgundy vines, for the most part still weighed down with the fantastically rich grape-harvest of 1848. On many vines the leaves were almost completely concealed by grapes.

Auxerre is a small, rugged township, rather unimpressive from within, with a pretty embankment by the Yonne and in places the beginnings of those boulevards which no French departmental capital can be without. In normal times it must indeed be quiet and dead, and the Prefect of the Yonne cannot have needed to spend much on organising the obligatory balls and dinners which under Louis Philippe he had to offer to the local notabilities. But now Auxerre was full of life, such as only occurs once a year. If Citizen Denjoy, the representative of the people who got so worked up in the National Assembly because the premises where the democratic social banquet in Toulouse took place were decorated in red, if this worthy Citizen Denjoy had accompanied me to Auxerre, he would have
thrown a fit in sheer horror. It was not just one hall here but the whole town which was decorated in red. And what a red! The walls and staircases of the houses, the blouses and shirts of the people were coloured with the most unambiguous, the most blatant blood-red; dark-red streams filled even the gutters and bespattered the paving stones, and a sinister-looking blackish, foaming-red liquid was being carried about the streets in great tubs by sinister bearded men. The red republic with all its horrors appeared to be holding sway, the guillotine, the steam guillotine appeared to be working continuously, the *buveurs de sang*\(^a\) of which such fearful tales are recounted in the *Journal des Débats*, were obviously celebrating their cannibalistic orgies here. But the red republic of Auxerre was most innocent, it was the red republic of the Burgundian wine-harvest, and the drinkers of blood who consume the noblest produce of this red republic with such intense pleasure, are none other than the most respectable republicans, the bourgeoisie, big and small, of Paris. And in this context that honourable Citizen Denjoy also has a certain weakness for things red, despite the best intentions.

If only one could have had one's pockets full of money in that red republic! The 1848 harvest was so infinitely rich that not enough barrels could be found to take all the wine. And what is more, of such quality — better than '46, perhaps even better than '34! The peasants came pouring in from all sides to buy up what was still left of the '47 at bargain prices — at 2 francs per cask of 140 litres of good wine; cart after cart came in by every gate with empty barrels, and yet they could not cope. I saw with my own eyes a wine-merchant in Auxerre pouring out several barrels of '47, quite good wine, into the street, simply in order to accommodate the new wine, which offered very different prospects to the speculator of course. I was assured that this wine-merchant had poured away as many as forty large barrels (*fûts*) in this way in a few weeks.

Having consumed several pints of both the old and the new, I crossed the Yonne in the direction of the hills on the right bank. The highroad follows the valley; however I took the old, shorter road across the hills. The sky was overcast, the weather gloomy, I was myself rather tired, and I therefore spent the night in the first village, a few kilometres from Auxerre.

Next morning I set out very early in the most magnificent sunshine imaginable. The route passed with never a break between vineyards over a fairly high ridge. But on top, I was rewarded for the exertion of the climb by a most splendid panorama. Before me, the

\(^a\) Drinkers of blood.—*Ed.*
hilly downward slope all the way to the Yonne, then the green valley of the Yonne, rich in meadows and planted with poplars, with its many villages and farms; beyond it the grey stone Auxerre, nestling against the scarp on the far side; villages everywhere, and everywhere, as far as the eye could see, vines, nothing but vines, and the most brilliant warm sunshine, attenuated only in the distance by a touch of autumn in the air, beating down over this great cauldron in which the August sun brews one of the noblest of wines.

I do not know what the reason is for the peculiar charm of these French landscapes which are not distinguished by any particularly attractive contours. It is of course not this detail or that, it is the whole, the ensemble, which invests them with the stamp of satisfaction such as is rarely found elsewhere. The Rhine and the Moselle have more beautiful combinations of crags, Switzerland has greater contrasts, Italy a fuller palette of colours, but no country has regions that make up so harmonious an ensemble as France. It is with an extraordinary inner peace that the eye roves from the broad, luxuriant meadows of the valley to the hills which are covered with vines of equal luxuriance right to their summits, and to the countless villages and towns rising from the foliage of the fruit-trees. There is nowhere a piece of bare ground, nowhere a discordant patch of infertility, or a harsh outcrop of rock with walls inaccessible to vegetation. Everywhere flora in profusion, a fine, rich green just taking on a shade of autumnal bronze, set off by the brilliance of a sun which even halfway through October still burns hotly enough for not a single grape to be left unripe on the vine.

I went a little further and a second, equally fine view unfolded before me. Far below, in a narrower bowl in the hills, lay Saint-Bris, a small township that likewise earned its livelihood entirely from the vine. The same components as before, but more closely huddled together. Pastures and gardens down in the valley round the little town, vineyards all round about on the slopes of the bowl, only on the north side ploughed fields or fields and meadows of green clover growing on the stubble. Down in the streets of Saint-Bris the same bustle as in Auxerre; everywhere barrels and wine-presses, and all the inhabitants busy amidst laughter and jokes with pressing the grape-juice, pumping it into the barrels or carrying it through the streets in great vats. Amongst it all, a market was being held; in the broader streets peasant carts were halted with vegetables, corn and other field produce; the peasants with their white Phrygian caps and the peasant women with their Madras handkerchiefs round their heads thronged gossiping, shouting, laughing amongst the vintners;
and the little town of Saint-Bris presented a picture of such lively bustle that one could believe one was in a big city.

Past Saint-Bris my way took me once more up a hill by a long ascent. But I climbed this hill with especial pleasure. Everybody was still occupied with the grape-harvest here, and a grape-harvest in Burgundy has a merriness about it of a different order to one in the Rhineland even. At every step I found the gayest company, the sweetest grapes and the prettiest girls; for here, where there is a small town always within three hours travel, where the population has a great deal of contact with the outside world by virtue of their trade in wine, here a certain degree of sophistication prevails, and no one assumes this sophistication more rapidly than the womenfolk, for they derive the most immediate and striking benefits from it. No French townswoman dreams of singing

If I were as pretty
As the girls who're country-bred,
I'd wear a yellow straw hat
With a rose-red ribbon tied.  

On the contrary, she knows only too well that it is to the town, to the absence of arduous labour, to civilisation and its hundred aids to cleanliness and arts of toiletry that she owes the perfecting of her charms; she knows that even if country girls have not already inherited that coarse-boned build from their parents which the Frenchman so abhors and which is the pride of the Germanic race, country girls—as a result of exacting farm labour in the most burning sunshine and the heaviest rain alike, the difficulties in the way of keeping clean, the absence of any aids to physical culture, and their admittedly venerable but no less ungainly and tasteless attire—will mostly end up as ungainly, waddling scarecrows, comically dolled up in garish colours. Tastes vary; our German compatriots mostly prefer the farmer's daughter, and they are perhaps right to do so: all due respect for the kicks—similar to those of a trooper—and especially the fists of a strapping dairymaid; all honour to the grass-green and fiery-red check gown that embraces her mighty waist; hats off to that impeccably flat expanse that reaches from the back of her neck down to her heels and gives her from behind the appearance of a board covered with brightly coloured calico! But tastes vary, and so that portion of my fellow citizens—which differs from me, though being no less worthy of respect for that, must forgive me if the cleanly-washed, smoothly-combed, slimly-built Burgundian women from Saint-Bris and

\[a\] Goethe, “Kriegserklärung” (modified).—Ed.
Vermenton made a pleasanter impression on me than those earthily dirty, tousled, young Molossian buffaloes between the Seine and the Loire who gape at one as though struck dumb if one rolls a cigarette, and take to their heels screaming if one asks them the way in good French.

It will therefore readily be believed that I spent more time lying in the grass with the vintners and their girls, eating grapes, drinking wine, chatting and laughing, than marching up the hill, and that it would have taken me no longer to have climbed the Blocksberg or even the Jungfrau than this insignificant ridge. The more so since one can eat one's fill of grapes sixty times over each day and has thus the best of excuses at each vineyard to establish contact with these constantly laughing and obliging people of both sexes. But everything must come to an end, and this hill was no exception. It was already afternoon when I descended the far side into the delightful valley of the Cure, a small tributary of the Yonne, to the little town of Vermenton, which has an even finer setting than Saint-Bris.

Not far beyond Vermenton, this attractive region comes to an end. One gradually approaches the higher ridge of the Faucillon which divides the basins of the Seine, the Rhône and the Loire. From Vermenton one climbs for several hours and crosses a broad infertile plateau, where rye, oats and buckwheat largely take the place of wheat.\footnote{At this point the following note is written in an unknown hand: "[The manuscript breaks off here.]"—Ed.}
APPENDICES
RECEIPTS OF THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY
OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE FOR MONEY RECEIVED
AND PAID OUT\textsuperscript{359}

I

April 2, 1848

Communist League
Workers of all countries, unite!

The Central Authority certifies that it has received the sum of twenty-five francs (f. c.)\textsuperscript{a} from its member Karl Marx.

Paris, April 2, 1848

For the Central Authority

K. Marx
Engels
Henry Bauer
Joseph Moll

II

Communist League
Workers of all countries, unite!

The Central Authority has received an advance of seventy-four francs 20 centimes from its member Marx, which is hereby confirmed.

Paris, April 2, 1848

For the Central Authority

Engels
Bauer
J. Moll

\textsuperscript{a} Fidei-commissum.— Ed.
Communist League
Workers of all countries, unite!

League member Friedrich Crüger acknowledges that he has received the sum of twenty-five francs as an advance from the Central Authority and he promises to repay this sum as soon as possible to the League.

Paris, April 2, 1848

Friedrich Crüger


Printed according to the manuscripts

Published in English for the first time
TO ALL WORKERS OF GERMANY

BROTHERS AND WORKERS!

If we do not want once again to be the most deceived of all, and do not want for a long series of years to be exploited, despised and downtrodden by a handful of men, then we must not lose a moment, we must not remain inactive for a single minute.

Isolated, as we have been hitherto, we are weak although we number millions. United and organised, on the other hand, we shall constitute an irresistible force. Therefore, brothers, everywhere in towns and villages form workers' associations in which our conditions are discussed, measures proposed to change our present situation, representatives from the working class to the German Parliament nominated and elected, and all other steps taken that are necessary for safeguarding our interests. Furthermore, all workers' associations in Germany must as quickly as possible enter into and keep in contact with one another.

We propose that for the time being you choose Mainz as the centre for all the workers' associations and that you enter into correspondence with the undersigned Executive Committee so that we can agree on a common plan and as soon as possible definitively decide the seat of the Central Committee etc. at a meeting of delegates of all the associations.

We expect letters without postage pre-paid, just as for our part we shall write to the associations without pre-payment.

Mainz, April 5, 1848

The Workers' Educational Association in Mainz

On behalf of the Executive Committee

Speaker
Wallau

Writer
Cluss
Address: Secretariat of the Workers' Educational Association in Mainz, c/o Herr Adolf Cluss, Mainz, Franziskanergasse No. 156½.

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Printed according to the Deutsche Volkszeitung

Published in English for the first time
MARX'S APPLICATION FOR PRUSSIAN CITIZENSHIP

To the police authorities in Cologne

I have the honour herewith to request you to prevail upon the relevant Department to grant me citizenship in the city of Cologne. I was born on May 5, 1818, in Trier, studied at the local gymnasium and at the universities of Bonn and Berlin. In 1842 and 1843 I lived in Cologne as editor of the now defunct Rheinische Zeitung. When that newspaper ceased to exist I went abroad and relinquished my Prussian citizenship. After the events which took place recently, I returned to my country and now I intend to settle with my family in Cologne.¹

Cologne, April 13, 1848

Yours faithfully,

Dr. Karl Marx

Address: Apostelstrasse 7

First published in the Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft No. 3, 1968

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

¹ The following version of the last sentence is given in the rough draft of this letter: “Following an invitation to take part in the editing of a newspaper that is to be founded in Cologne, I have now returned to my country, and intend to settle with my family in Cologne.”—Ed.
ACCOUNT OF A STATEMENT MADE BY KARL MARX
TO THE COLOGNE POLICE INSPECTOR

The petitioner, the politically unreliable Dr. Karl Marx, was born in Trier on May 5, 1818, lived in Cologne in 1842-43, worked as editor of the Rheinische Zeitung, subsequently he went abroad and from there he obtained the enclosed permission to emigrate, which was issued by his home town Trier, and has therefore lost his Prussian citizenship.

According to his statement he is working on a book on economics which he intends to publish and he proposes to live partly on the proceeds of his writings and partly the personal property of his wife, who, together with their three children, is still staying in Trier.

The stamp attached to the application has been cancelled and is duly enclosed herewith.

Cologne, April 19, 1848

Hünermund,
Police Inspector

First published in the Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft No. 3, 1968
Printed according to the manuscript
Published in English for the first time

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a Jenny Marx.— Ed.
b Their daughters Jenny and Laura and their son Edgar.— Ed.
A new spirit has broken through in Germany. It has overthrown the old regime, it has doomed the old world to destruction. It demands a new society, a new life.

It is the spirit of the people. The people has taken sovereign power, the people that does not want any division, any class rule, which regards its component parts as co-operating members of one great body. It is its will that is to guide its life, regulate its work, create its well-being.

The first task for this will is to create the forms in which it can deploy its strength safe from oppression or falsification. These are the forms of democracy. Already the people is preparing to elect a double representation from which it expects the establishment of its rights, the division of the state powers and the guarantee of order, in short, a new Constitution.

This is great, difficult work, even though only preparatory. The overthrown power will resist it, personal interest will not voluntarily submit to the demands of the whole. Democracy must stand its ground in the struggle against both these enemies of an order which serves the will of the whole, and whose purpose is the good of the whole: it will have on its side the experience of the past and the needs of the present.

The immediate aim of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung is to co-operate vigorously in this immediate public work. For the time being its chief task will be a thorough examination of the questions which relate to the constitution of Germany and Prussia in conjunction with the same or similar questions which occupy people abroad. It will not close its columns to any tendencies except those stemming from

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A reference to the election of the Prussian and the German National Assemblies.—Ed.
absolutism or particular interests, it will not represent any particular party within the democracy, it will not proceed according to any preconceived theory and will not prematurely reject any view, even if it has not yet found general sympathy.

But if the political formation of the fatherland is the most immediate of the great tasks which the German nation is determined to solve, it is by no means the greatest and by far not the most difficult task. Political democracy is merely the means to achieve thoroughgoing changes in civil society. All wishes, all demands are directed to this end. The worst sufferings of unemployment, of deprivation, of misery weigh on the great majority of the nation, in particular the working class. The general demand, the general longing is to abolish a condition in which the existence of the whole is dependent on the carelessness of the governing, on the accidental insight or short-sighted egoism of private individuals, a condition which indeed still lacks guiding principles and general institutions, without which there can be no free activity, no security of earning a living, no true enjoyment of life. Everywhere, in agriculture, in industry, in commerce, in education etc., there is a recognised need for the most important reforms. The nation demands a free, happy life in free, happy work.

Between the will and the deed, between decision and execution, there is, however, a great distance, a hard road. Difficulties of every kind stand in the way. Not only malevolence, but incompetence, even more, will have to be overcome. Here every ounce of energy is required to overcome ignorance, narrow-minded particularism, and monopolistic aspirations; it is necessary to subordinate the conflicting interests, due to occupation and locality, to a common order which establishes and maintains the well-being of the whole, to organise work, intercourse and consumption according to the conditions of life of a great nation which strives to promote the well-being of the whole and of every individual not by war and exploitation but by peaceful exchange and united cooperation.

It is in this field, however, that the least thorough preparations have been made; here, where the need became general before the insight did, it is above all the press which is qualified to bring the existing circumstances to public notice, to examine the conditions for change, to discuss the means of reform, to help educate public opinion, to give a salutary direction to the will of the whole. This, then, is also the task of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, on which it will concentrate its efforts more and more, in the measure in which political discussions retreat into the background.
No special justification is needed for the choice of the city of Cologne as the seat of such an enterprise. Cologne, the capital of the Rhine Province, the capital of all West Germany, as perhaps no other place in Germany, offers a suitable locality and the resources required for the publication of a great newspaper. Cologne can also confidently look forward to any change in the conditions of work and intercourse which is at the same time an improvement, and apart from the patriotism of its inhabitants, their local interest alone would make them sympathetic towards any reforms contributing to the well-being of the nation.

While, therefore, the prospects for the success of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung can in every respect be said to be most favourable, there arises the question of the financial resources which must be raised to cover the costs in the initial period, so long as the number of subscribers and advertisements have not yet made the enterprise secure. For this purpose a capital of 30,000 talers is required, half of which is to be regarded as a reserve fund. This capital is to be raised through a limited joint-stock company.

It will be divided into 600 shares of fifty talers each, and the payment will be in such instalments as to enable the less affluent also to promote the enterprise by their participation.

Lists for the subscription of shares are open at:

Herr W. Clouth, at St. Agatha No. 12
Wolff & Kapferer, Hochstrasse No. 55
Max Kemmerich, St. Katharinen 2 B
Esch & Henn, Kleine Sandkaul No. 1.

Please send applications from outside Cologne to:
Dr. Daniels, Mittelstrasse No. 2,
Cologne, April 1848.

By “provisional agreement” of the first shareholders, the following conditions have been added to those announced above:

1) As soon as 200 shares are subscribed, a general meeting of shareholders will be called to agree upon the Rules of the company. The latter thereupon comes into operation.

2) The management of the editorial office and the engagement of contributors and correspondents will be the responsibility of Herr Heinrich Bürgers.

Written by Heinrich Bürgers in April 1848
Printed according to the journal
First published in the Westphälisches Dampfboot No. 12, May 17, 1848
Published in English for the first time
President Marx asks Gottschalk what his opinion or his decision is in regard to the League: what attitude towards the League he, Gottschalk, now intends to adopt.

Gottschalk states that he repeats his resignation already submitted, since the transformation undergone by the present conditions required also a recasting of the Rules of the League, and under the existing Rules his personal freedom was in jeopardy; he states, however, that in all cases where the League might call upon his energies he would when the occasion arises do everything in his power.

H. Bürgers, President
Jos. Moll, Secretary
ARTICLES OF THE NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG
COMPANY

Article 1

From today for a period of five years, a limited joint-stock company is formed for the purpose of publishing a daily newspaper under the title Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie.

Article 2

As a business the company carries the name H. Korff & Co., and a change of the latter shall have no effect on the continued existence of the company.

Article 3

The premises of the newspaper office in Cologne at any given time shall be the address of the company.

Article 4

The capital of the company, which is fixed at 30,000 Prussian talers, will be raised by 600 shares of 50 talers each, and shareholders shall at once proceed to form the company.
Article 5

Payment of shares is made, if necessary, in instalments of between 5 and 10 per cent which are called on the order of the managers of the company announced by two insertions in the company’s newspaper.

Article 6

If a shareholder does not pay a demanded instalment within the specified time, the company has the right either to declare forfeited the rights arising from the subscription, and from any payments already made, or to take him to court to force him to comply with contract.

Article 7

Interim receipts will be issued against payment of instalments, which on completion of payment are exchanged against shares.

Article 8

Interim receipts and shares are signed by the company managers.

Article 9

Shares bear serial numbers, are registered and, like the interim receipts, are transferable.

Article 10

The transfer of shares and interim receipts is performed by a declaration to that effect, signed by both the transferor and the transferee, and if fifty shares are already issued in the name of the transferee, only by permission of the managers, and in this case the company reserves the right to acquire the shares presented for transfer, for the purpose of amortisation.

a In the original the word Gerant is used, which means the person who is legally responsible for the management of the newspaper and also the responsible publisher of the newspaper. In the article this word is rendered as “manager”. In ensuing documents, where the other aspects seem to be predominant, the term “responsible publisher” is used.—Ed.
Statut

der
"Neuen Rheinischen Zeitungs-Gesellschaft."

§ 1.

§ 2.
Als Firma führt die Gesellschaft den Namen H. Korff & Comp. und hat die Aenderung derselben auf das Fortbestehen der Gesellschaft keinen Einfluß.

§ 3.
Das jedesmalige Lokal der Zeitungs-Expedition in Köln ist das Domizil der Gesellschaft.

§ 4.
Das Kapital der Gesellschaft, welches auf 30,000 Thaler Pr. Cour. festgesetzt ist, wird durch 600 Aktien, jede zu 50 Thaler zusammengebracht und treten Comparenten als Gesellschaft sofort zusammen.

§ 5.

§ 6.
Jahlt ein Aktionair einen eingesorderten Erschluß nicht

Articles of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung Company
Appendices

Article 11

Every shareholder shares in the gains and losses of the company in proportion to the number of his shares, but is answerable for its liabilities only with the amount of his share.

Article 12

Every shareholder living elsewhere is obliged to choose an address in Cologne; failing that, the address of the company is regarded as such.

Article 13

The heirs or assigns of a shareholder can in no circumstances apply for affixation of seals, form an opposition, demand an inventory or licitation, even if there are among them minors or other disqualified persons; they must content themselves with the annual balance-sheet and the dividends as they are fixed for the other shareholders.

Article 14

The company is represented by a manager (Hermann Korff) and two co-managers (Louis Schulz and Stephan Adolph Naut), whose shares are called in for the period of their management.

Article 15

The manager assumes legal liability for the content of the newspaper, handles the commercial business of the company, the publication of the newspaper, the editing of advertisements and checking of proofs. The commercial direction is in his hands with the co-operation and control of the two co-managers.

As emolument for their trouble the manager and co-managers receive a percentage of the income from subscriptions after deducting postage and stamp duty: 5 per cent of the first thousand subscriptions, 4 per cent of the next thousand, 3 per cent of the third thousand, 2 per cent of the fourth and thereafter 1 per cent of every thousand. The manager receives one-fifth of this amount, the two co-managers two-fifths each. In addition, the manager receives an annual salary of 800 talers. To be valid, all bills and promissory notes require the signatures of the manager and the two co-managers.
Article 16

The managers are expressly forbidden to participate, either directly or indirectly, in any similar enterprise.

Article 17

The salaried manager cannot allow a substitute to represent him without the permission of the co-managers, whereas the latter may do so any time they like on their own responsibility.

Article 18

The retirement of one or more of the managers either through death or termination of the employment does not entail the dissolution of the company and does not affect this agreement in any way. In such a case those who remain in office must in the first week after the demise or termination of employment call a general meeting to decide on the filling of the vacancy.

Article 19

After one year has passed, the manager is allowed to leave the company, giving three months notice. Likewise, the two co-managers are entitled by unanimous decision and with the co-operation of the general meeting to give three months notice to the manager. The co-managers are entitled to leave at any time, giving three months notice.

Article 20

The managers must contact a bank in the usual commercial manner and transfer to it, at interest, all cash which is not for immediate use or necessary for the current expenses of the week, so as to be able to use it at any time it may be needed. Repayments by the bank must be receipted over the signature of the manager and the two co-managers.

Article 21

The general meeting of shareholders elects annually a Supervisory Board consisting of seven members which superintends the conduct of business.
Article 22

Every member of the Supervisory Board is entitled to resign from his position if he has announced his intention in writing six weeks before. If the position of a member of the Board falls vacant, the Supervisory Board nominates a substitute who keeps his position until it is definitively filled by the general meeting.

Article 23

The Supervisory Board takes all decisions by majority vote in the presence of at least five members. If the voting is equal, the chairman has the casting vote.

Article 24

Minutes are taken of all proceedings and decisions and are signed by the Supervisory Board members present.

Article 25

The Supervisory Board meets regularly once a month; at the invitation of the chairman as often as he deems necessary, or if two members or one of the managers demand it.

Article 26

The Supervisory Board stands by the managers as controlling committee, checks the books and shares record at any time, either directly or through an authorised shareholder or non-shareholder, inspects the cash and the balance-sheet.

Article 27

The members of the Supervisory Board receive neither salary nor a premium for their trouble.

Article 28

Every year in the month of February a general meeting is held, the first of these in the year 1849. Extraordinary general meetings may be called as often as the Supervisory Board deems necessary, or if
one of the managers or 20 members of the company who own at least 40 shares demand it.

**Article 29**

The invitation to ordinary or extraordinary general meetings is extended twice through the company's newspaper, to extraordinary ones with a brief indication of the agenda. Ordinary general meetings are called by the Supervisory Board, extraordinary ones by the latter or by one of the managers.

**Article 30**

The general meeting consists of all shareholders whose shareholdings have been entered in the company's register for at least six weeks. Registration is effected for the first time by signing the company contract, later upon written demand with the company. The holder of one share has one vote, of four shares two votes, of ten shares three votes, of fifteen shares four votes, of twenty and more shares five votes. Absentees can be represented by shareholders, but these can never combine more than ten votes in one person. Written authority for representation of absent shareholders must be submitted to the Supervisory Board for inspection on the day of the general meeting at the latest.

**Article 31**

All decisions are taken by an absolute majority; if voting is equal, the chairman has the casting vote. All elections, however, are made by simple majority. If two or more persons receive equal votes, the election is decided by lot.

**Article 32**

Elections are always held by secret ballot, but decisions only when holders of at least 50 shares demand it.

**Article 33**

In case of a secret ballot the chairman appoints two scrutineers and distributes the ballot papers which carry on the reverse side the number of votes and his signature. Every authorised representative
can cast a separate ballot paper for each shareholder he represents, in addition to his own.

Article 34

Regular items for the agenda of the general meeting are:
  a) Managers’ report on last year’s business;
  b) Supervisory Board’s report on the audit of the accounts;
  c) decisions on any criticism raised by the Supervisory Board against the accounts, and endorsement;
  d) election of members of the Supervisory Board;
  e) decision on matters referred to the general meeting by the Supervisory Board, the managers, or individual shareholders.

Article 35

Special motions by individual shareholders must be received by the managers at the latest a week before the general meeting, otherwise they are entitled to defer the decision to the next general meeting.

Article 36

Minutes of the proceedings of the general meeting are taken by a shareholder appointed by the chairman; to be valid, they must be signed by the chairman, the Supervisory Board members present, and at least two other shareholders.

Article 37

The managers draw up a balance-sheet annually on 1st December and together with the receipts pass it on for auditing to the Supervisory Board at the latest on 20th January. The Board must present it to the ordinary general meeting together with its report.

Article 38

During the last days before the general meeting the balance-sheet and receipts must be available to all shareholders for inspection in the business premises of the company.

Article 39

If at the closing of the annual accounts after deduction of interest a net surplus is shown, then 1) all contracted royalties are settled, and
2) ten per cent is put to a reserve fund for unexpected losses and improvements of the newspaper and for extraordinary expenditures, and 3) the remaining sum is distributed as dividends among the shareholders.

Article 40

The use of the reserve fund, which must not exceed the sum of 10,000 talers, is decided by the general meeting upon the motions of the Supervisory Board and the managers.

Article 41

The managers announce by two insertions in the company's newspaper where the interest and dividends can be collected annually commencing on 1st March.

Article 42

Interest and dividends which have not been collected within two years from the pay-day announced, or collection of which has not been notified by any person within the specified period, become the property of the company.

Article 43

The company is automatically dissolved before the expiry of the period specified in Article 1 if losses occur which exhaust four-fifths of the subscribed share capital.

Article 44

In all these cases the managers must call an extraordinary meeting which shall decide on the manner in which the company is to be liquidated.

Article 45

Changes of Articles can be decided at a general meeting by a majority of three-quarters of the voters present or represented if their general content was indicated in the notice.
Appendices

Article 46

Disputes between the company and shareholders shall be settled by arbitration.

Printed by W. Clouth in Cologne

First published as a separate leaflet in July 1848

Printed according to the leaflet

Published in English for the first time
Cologne, July 7. The responsible publisher\(^a\) of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Korff, and its editor-in-chief, Karl Marx, were interrogated yesterday at the office of the examining magistrate, both of them being accused of insulting or libelling the Chief Public Prosecutor, Herr Zweiffel, and the policemen who arrested Anneke. The interrogation began at 4 o'clock. After its conclusion, at about 6 o'clock, the examining magistrate and Public Prosecutor *Hecker* accompanied the accused to the office of the editorial board, where with the aid of a police inspector a search of the premises took place in order to discover the manuscript and thus the author of the inculpated article.\(^b\) There was found a note in an unknown handwriting but it was not a copy of the inculpated article. This note was added to the dossier of the indictment against *Marx and consorts*. In view of this last expression, it seems that it is intended to institute proceedings against the editorial board *en masse* although the responsible publisher, Korff, who alone appends his signature to the newspaper, undertakes, of course, also the legal responsibility for it.

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\(^a\) *Gérant.* See footnote on p. 544.—*Ed.*

\(^b\) See this volume, pp. 177-79.—*Ed.*
Cologne, July 22. This morning the editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Karl Marx, was again summoned before the examining magistrate to be interrogated on account of the incriminated article on the arrest of Herr Anneke. This time the summons did not include the responsible publisher of the newspaper, Herr Korff.

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 53, July 23, 1848

Published in English for the first time
Hereupon Dr. Marx, editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, examines the principles of Herr Weitling, pronounced at the meeting of the Democratic Society held a fortnight ago, and in a pithy and fairly long speech seeks to prove, on the grounds of the historical development of the revolutions that have taken place during the last few centuries, that the separation of political and social interests assumed by Weitling is as unthinkable as their direct opposition, that, rather, the political and social interests must interpenetrate. The claim that social development retards political development was also incorrect; unfortunately, in respect of social development we Germans had only now arrived at the point which the French had already reached in the year 1789; the present contradictions could only be resolved by sharply defining them and emphasising the interests of the individual classes; only in this way, that is by using intellectual weapons, can an amicable settlement be achieved. The disregard of the position of the various strata of the population to one another, the refusal to make reciprocal concessions and wrong notions about class relations have led to the bloody outcome in Paris. The dictatorship which Weitling proposed as the most desirable constitutional form is, for similar reasons, regarded by Marx as impractical and quite unfeasible, since power cannot be attained by a single class; the intention to carry on a dictatorship in accordance with a system devised by a single brain, deserves to be called nonsensical. On the contrary, the governing power, just as the Provisional Government in Paris, must consist of the most heteroge-

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*On July 21, 1848.— Ed.*
neous elements, which by means of an exchange of views have to agree on the most appropriate mode of administration.

Herr Engels reports on the Government's rejection of the application for citizenship of Dr. Marx. As the latter was a Rhineland Prussian by birth, and as since the March revolution all political refugees have had their citizenship restored to them, this interpretation of citizenship involved injustice and breach of faith; he would thereby be regarded as a foreigner who could be expelled at any time.

First published in the newspaper Der Wächter am Rhein, 2. Dutzend, No. 1, August 23, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 407-10.—Ed.
Cologne, August 4. In accordance with the decision of the Democratic Congress in Frankfurt, which resolved that Cologne should be the seat of the Executive for the Prussian Rhine Province and authorised the democratic associations there to convene a district congress for organising the democratic party in the province, the Central Committee of the associations here invites all democratically-minded associations in the Rhine Province to appoint delegates to this congress, which will take place here on Sunday, August 13. The delegates must report their arrival in the upstairs hall of the Stollwerk premises.

The Central Committee
of the three democratic associations in Cologne

Schneider II, Marx
(For the Democratic Society)

Moll, Schapper
(For the Workers' Association)

Becker, Schützendorf
(For the Association for Workers and Employers)

At a moment when reaction, operating under the name of itinerant "constitutional" congresses, is reviewing and concentrating its forces throughout the state, democrats do not need any more exhaustive exposition of the necessity for an energetic counter-
attack. They merely have to make use of the same freedoms which the Association "With God for King and Fatherland" and its branch associations enjoy.

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 66, August 5, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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* Words from the decree of Frederick William III issued on March 17, 1813, announcing the setting up of the army reserve.—*Ed.*
Cologne, August 4. Our entanglement with the office of the Public Prosecutor continues to take its course. Last Monday the responsible publisher Korff was again summoned before the examining magistrate and yesterday two of our editors, Dronke and Engels, were cited as witnesses. Dronke is away at present; Engels appeared but was not interrogated on oath, since it is supposed that the note recently confiscated in our office is in his handwriting and it is possible, therefore, that he, too, will be involved in the indictment.

It is clear that the prosecution is not satisfied with the manager functioning as the responsible publisher. The editor-in-chief has to be implicated, the author of the article in question has to be discovered, the editors—any one of whom could be the author of the article in question—have to be made to give evidence against one another, indeed, if possible, against themselves.
To Police Superintendent Geiger

Here.

Sir, I inform you that I have immediately appealed\textsuperscript{a} to the Ministry of the Interior against the paper drawn up by you\textsuperscript{b} and that I continue to regard myself as before as a citizen of the German Empire.

Cologne, August 5, 1848

Editor-in-Chief of the \textit{Neue Rheinische Zeitung} Dr. Karl Marx

First published in the \textit{Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft} No. 3, 1968

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

\textsuperscript{a} See this volume, pp. 407-10.— \textit{Ed.}

\textsuperscript{b} Ibid., p. 408.— \textit{Ed.}
After the minutes of the preceding general meeting had been read and approved at the request of acting President Marx, Herr Wolff read out the protest to the German National Assembly against the partition of Poland, which was joyfully greeted and adopted with acclamation.

Herr Rittinghausen gave many reasons vindicating Herr Marx's right to citizenship recently contested by the Prussian Government. He considered that the best thing would be, by means of a deputation tomorrow, to make the Government reverse this illegal and altogether ridiculous action, and if the Government is unwilling to do that, to send a protest at such behaviour directly to the Minister. The protest was read and adopted, and in the event of the refusal of citizenship for Marx not being withdrawn people will be invited to sign the protest this evening.

Herr Marx dwelt in more detail on the grounds proving the injustice of the measures adopted against him, and the applause of the whole meeting testified to the force of his arguments. The circumstance on account of which the Government refused him the right of citizenship really lies in the fact that previously attempts had been made in vain to win him over to the side of the Government.

Herr Engels reported a new vexatious police measure against Schapper by which the latter is threatened with deportation. He described the intervention of the police and especially stressed that in any case Schapper as a citizen of Nassau has the right to be

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a See this volume, pp. 564-65.—Ed.
b Ibid., pp. 407-10.—Ed.
c Ibid., pp. 383-84.—Ed.
regarded as a German and as such, by the decision of the Frankfurt National Assembly, is entitled to reside in any of the 38 German states.

Rittinghausen, Schneider and Bürgers were elected as delegates to put the case of Marx and Schapper before the Regierungspräsident and the Police Superintendent and try to effect a reversal of the decisions in question.

Deputy Gladbach, whose appearance was greeted with stormy applause, explained at length that salvation should not be expected to come either from the Berlin Assembly or from the Frankfurt Assembly.

Herr Engels stressed that it was Gladbach who had always distinguished himself by his liberal outlook and audacity and especially by his vigorous protest against the way the Schleswig-Holsteiners were dealt with in Spandau. Thereupon three cheers were given for Herr Gladbach.

First published in the newspaper Der Wächter am Rhein, 2. Dutzend, No. 2, August 25, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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a See this volume, pp. 180-81 and 192-93.—Ed.
Cologne, August 12. The Democratic Society of Cologne has submitted the following protest to the National Assembly:

To the High National Assembly!

The Democratic Society of Cologne, considering
1. that Germany, which is engaged in a struggle for freedom, does not desire to oppress other nationalities but to promote their efforts for freedom and independence;
2. that the liberation of Poland is a vital question for Germany;
3. that Poland has in fact been repeatedly robbed of its freedom and national independence by three despots;
4. that since 1792 all attacks upon Poland and all partitions of Poland have always been aimed by reaction against the freedom of the whole of Europe, and, on the other hand, whenever a liberation of the peoples took place there was insistence also on the restoration of Poland;
5. that even the Committee of Fifty, in the name of the German people, indignantly rejected any share in the outrage committed against Poland and clearly proclaimed the duty of the German people to co-operate in the restoration of an independent Poland;
6. that after the March revolution even the King of Prussia, compelled by the force of public opinion, solemnly assented to the reorganisation of Posen;
7. that despite that the National Assembly in Frankfurt, which, it is true, arose from indirect elections, in its sitting of July 27, 1848, voted for the incorporation of three-quarters of the Grand Duchy of Posen in the as yet non-existent German Empire and thereby incurred the guilt of a new partition of
Poland and the flouting of liberty in the same way as did the Vienna Congress and the German Federal Diet;

8. that nevertheless the healthy part of the German people will not and cannot take any part in oppressing the Polish nation for the benefit of reaction and in the interests of a number of Prussian bureaucrats, landowners and hucksterers;

resolves in its sitting today:

to make a formal protest against the decision adopted by the German National Assembly on July 27, 1848, in regard to the Grand Duchy of Posen and herewith to lay before Germany, Poland and the whole of Europe its vigorous objections to this incorporation which is solely of advantage to the reactionary party in Prussia, Russia and Austria.

On behalf of the Democratic Society,

The Committee

First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 74, August 13, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time
Cologne, August 12. The interesting relations between our newspaper and the Public Prosecutor's office continue to take their course. Yesterday one of our editors, Ernst Dronke, was again summoned to appear before the examining magistrate as a witness. There was no interrogation on oath since information had been received that, on the evening after Anneke's arrest, Dronke had visited Anneke's wife and obtained there particulars about the arrest. When the witness asked against whom the indictment was being made, an explanation of the term "Marx and consorts" was given to the effect that it was merely possible that the responsible publisher Korff would be indicted whereas they intended to indict the editor-in-chief, Karl Marx, as the supposed author of the incriminated article.

Incidentally, Dronke stated that he did not consider himself bound to tell the truth, since as editor it was possible he might be implicated in the authorship of the article and he would not testify against himself.

First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 74, August 13, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time
Engels from Cologne: A characteristic feature of the Rhineland is hatred of Prussian officialdom and dyed-in-the-wool Prussianism; it is to be hoped that this attitude will endure.
NOTE IN THE NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG  
ON MARX'S DEPARTURE FOR VIENNA

Cologne, August 24. The editor-in-chief of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Karl Marx, yesterday went to Vienna for a few days.\textsuperscript{352}

First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 85, August 25, 1848  
Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
FROM A NEWSPAPER ITEM
LISTING THE NAMES OF VISITORS
WHO HAD JUST ARRIVED IN VIENNA

New Arrivals
August 27


First published in the Wiener Zeitung No. 236, August 30, 1848
Printed according to the newspaper Published in English for the first time

*There follows a list of other persons who had arrived in Vienna that day.—* Ed.
Vienna, August 29. At yesterday's meeting of the Democratic Association it was discussed whether the Association should approach the Emperor or the Imperial Diet so as to bring about the downfall of Minister Schwarzer or rather the fall of the entire Doblhoff Ministry. Herr Julius Fröbel and Herr Marx were present as guests and both took part in the debate from different standpoints.

Herr Julius Fröbel was of the opinion that the Association should approach the Emperor, whereas Herr Marx maintained that the democratic principle was to be found in the Imperial Diet. No one here is surprised that the Berlin "theoretical" so-called democrats in practice seek to "reach agreement" with the sovereigns.

Vienna, August 30. The meeting of the Democratic Association on the 28th of this month is one of the most interesting and important events in our current history. Among the guests present we mention the well-known political writer Julius Fröbel and the editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Herr Karl Marx; both of them have become important on account of their particular fate. As writers, too, they occupy a definite position which is of importance for Germany....

Herr Marx was of the opinion that it was a matter of indifference who was Minister, for here too—as in Paris—it was now a question of the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. His speech was very witty, trenchant and instructive....
... in a Viennese Association, where a debate about the dismissal of the Ministers was in progress, an academic from abroad really had the audacity to say the following:

“Up to now the speakers mentioned only two great powers, the Imperial Diet and the Emperor, to whom they intended to appeal in order to bring about the dismissal of the Ministers; but the greatest power, the people, has been forgotten! We must appeal to the people and must try to influence it employing every possible means. We must raise a storm against the Government, and must work towards this end in every possible way, even using Mephistophelian means. We must use the press, posters and discussions to achieve this.”

Printed according to the newspapers

Published in English for the first time
NEWSPAPER REPORTS OF MARX'S SPEECH
IN THE FIRST WORKERS' ASSOCIATION
OF VIENNA ON AUGUST 30, 1848

[Die Constitution No. 133, September 1, 1848]

Dr. Marx spoke about the workers, especially the German workers abroad.—The national workshops and the latest workers' revolution in Paris. He asserted that the German workers could be proud that a considerable number of those deported were their compatriots.—The Chartists in England and the recent Chartist movements. England and the complete emancipation of the workers of Europe. Belgium.

[Der Volksfreund No. 109, September 3, 1848]

Dr. Marx, editor of the [Neue] Rheinische Zeitung, greeted the Association and said that he felt it an honour to speak also to a workers' association in Vienna, as he had already done in Paris, London and Brussels.
REPORT OF MARX'S LECTURE ON WAGE LABOUR AND CAPITAL AT THE MEETING OF THE FIRST WORKERS' ASSOCIATION OF VIENNA ON SEPTEMBER 2, 1848

...Dr. Marx delivered a fairly long lecture on wage labour and capital. He said in his introduction that all revolutions are social revolutions. Capital consists not of money, but of raw materials, instruments of production and articles of consumption; wage labour produces capital as distinct from the products. The assertion that the interests of the capitalist and of the wage labourer are identical is false. Along with division of labour, competition among the workers grows and wages fall; but this occurs still more owing to the use of machines. Production costs determine wages. Civilisation does not increase the well-being of the workers, but does the opposite. Taxes and the price of the necessities of life increase.

The lecturer spoke also about the remedies that had been tried and their inadequacy, such as, for example, Malthus' theory of over-population. The workhouses in England. Industrial training. Abolition of protective tariffs and of taxes. Finally, he stated that conditions must improve because not all the workers are used as workers, but part of them are maintained....

First published in Die Constitution No. 136, September 5, 1848
Published in English for the first time
REPORT OF PLATOON LEADER MENTÉS
OF THE COLOGNE CIVIC MILITIA

Third Standard

Company No. XVI

Report

of the 5th Platoon of the Standard Guard of September 1, 1848

Absent from the standard guard without excuse:

Corporal Herr C. Mohr

ditto " Ferd. Rhien

Sculptor

Pharmacist

Cap-maker

Editor of the

Neue Rheinische Zeitung

ditto

ditto

ditto

Militiaman J. A. Fischer

ditto G. Weerth

ditto E. Dronke

ditto F. Engels

ditto F. Schnabel

ditto C. Kayser

ditto R. Kayser

ditto M. Olzem

ditto Jac. Schmidt

ditto Fried. Greven

ditto Wm. Engels

ditto Joh. Struben

ditto Ign. Wieners

ditto J. P. Mohr

ditto M. Woocker

ditto C. Deckker

Cap-maker

Merchant

ditto

ditto

Shoemaker

Butcher

Garment-maker

ditto

Roofer

Grocer

Cologne, September 2, 1848

Platoon leader

M. Mentés

Printed according to the manu-
script

Published for the first time

* In the original the whole line is crossed out and the following note inserted: “he turned up”. — Ed.
No. 201 of the *Breslauer Zeitung* publishes a report from Berlin that knight Schnapphahnski has bought many shares in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and for this reason the series of feature articles about him has come to an end, because it is not possible for a newspaper to wage a polemic against its own shareholders. The allegedly democratic *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* considers itself bound to reproduce this insinuation in its columns. Whatever concoctions it may be desired to invent in Berlin, a *Silesian* newspaper ought to have known that this assertion was a lie and why it was a lie. Unfortunately for it, however, the treacherous assertion comes too late. No. 92 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, which was published long before the arrival of No. 201 of the *Breslauer Zeitung*, contains the continuation of the feature articles in question. Moreover, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* is the newspaper of a party and has already given sufficient proof that it is not to be bought.

**The Responsible Publishers of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung***

First published in the supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 93, September 3, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time
Cologne, September 5. Yesterday one of our editors, Friedrich Engels, was again summoned to appear before the examining magistrate in the investigation against Marx and consorts, but this time not as a witness but as co-accused. The preliminary investigation has ended, and if the Public Prosecutor's office does not make any further proposals, the Council Chamber will shortly have to decide whether Marx, Engels and Korff will have to appear before the Assize Court on the charge of insulting or libelling Chief Public Prosecutor Zweiffel and the six policemen.

First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 95, September 6, 1848

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

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a See this volume, p. 566.—Ed
An armistice with Denmark, which has been ratified by Prussia, has been presented by the Prussian Government to the Imperial Government, and by the Imperial Government to you.

The undersigned German citizens resident in Cologne protest against this armistice, and, considering:

1. that Prussia has concluded this armistice on the basis of an authorisation issued by the Imperial Regent but not countersigned by any responsible Imperial Minister, and hence legally invalid;

2. that Prussia has exceeded this authorisation in every point thus pursuing only the interests of absolutism and its own, un-German plans;

3. that no political agreement may be concluded without previous authorisation of the National Assembly;

4. that this armistice forces the victorious German troops to an ignominious retreat, instals a Danish Government in Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg, betrays to Denmark the Provisional Government, which arose from the revolution and was recognised by Germany, and all its decisions; withdraws the Schleswig troops from the German High Command and delivers Schleswig-Holstein to civil war;

5. that whereas Germany has constantly fought the revolution in Italy, Posen and Prague, the Danish war is the only one in which Germany defends the revolution against legitimism and absolutism;

\[a\] Archduke John of Austria.— Ed.
request you: to reject the armistice concluded by Prussia in violation of the authorisation and in defiance of the Central Authority and the National Assembly, and to defend the revolution in Schleswig-Holstein even at the risk of a European war, and never again to entrust the present Prussian Government with diplomatic negotiations on behalf of Germany; and, finally, to declare that Germany will on no account force the Danish-speaking North Schleswig to become a part of Germany against its will.

Cologne, September 7, 1848

First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 98, September 9, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE MEETING
OF THE COLOGNE WORKERS’ ASSOCIATION
HELD ON SEPTEMBER 11, 1848

After reading the minutes of the previous meeting, the secretary, Citizen Kalker, declared that because of his departure from here, which would take place tomorrow, it would no longer be possible for him to give his services as secretary of the Association and that he herewith handed over his functions to the Association.

Thereupon Citizen Blum jun. was proposed as secretary and accepted.

The latter then took the floor and related the detailed circumstances of the arrest of himself and Citizen Salget last Sunday evening in Wesseling by the Burgomaster of that place. For, on their way back to Cologne, after visiting a Workers’ Association founded earlier in Cassel, they visited the Workers’ Association in Wesseling; they had spoken there about social reform for barely a quarter of an hour, when Geier, the local Burgomaster, suddenly appeared accompanied by a policeman, arrested them, and placed them in custody in the latter’s house, but next morning, with the most friendly civility, he let them go home peacefully.

President Moll thereupon asked Citizen Blum whether he had perhaps promised the Burgomaster of Wesseling not to take any steps against him, and when the question was answered in the negative, he moved that, to safeguard their rights and prevent similar illegal and arbitrary arrests, the meeting should decide to take the necessary steps, namely through the courts, which was agreed unanimously.

Citizen Röser requested the managing committee of the Society to invite the Workers’ Association in Frechen to the public meeting to

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a See this volume, p. 426.—Ed.
be held on the 15th in Worringen. The secretary was instructed to comply.

Citizen Dronke: We have now reached a point which could be more important and fraught with more consequences than many might perhaps think. The Government of Action has fallen, along with its world-enchanting financial plans. But let us not assume that we are now at the goal of our desires, or that anything will be done for us; let us not even count on getting a Government of the Left. On the contrary, we now have the prospect of a Government which does not even belong to the Chamber and will consist of people from the past, von Vincke etc. Behind such a Government stands absolutism in all its grandeur, all its insolence and arrogance. It will probably wish to disperse the Chamber with the aid of Pomeranian bayonets, and then the struggle between monarchy and nation will be inevitable. Perhaps while we are sitting here they are already fighting on the barricades in Berlin.

Thereupon the meeting turned to the social question, and President Moll remarked that we had come to a halt on the question whether an organisation of work was possible or not. People often threw at us the failure of the national workshops in France in order to prove that an organisation of work was impossible.

Citizen Engels made a lengthy speech on this subject. His speech was received with great applause.

After a written reply from the local Town Council had been read, concerning the request that the expenses of our delegates to the workers’ congress in Frankfurt be defrayed, in which the Town Council asks for further details, the meeting was closed.

Voluntary contributions amounted to 11 silver groschen and 7 pfennigs.

First published in the Zeitung des Arbeiter-Vereines zu Köln No. 33, September 21, 1848.
Printed according to the newspaper Published in English for the first time
To Dr. Marx, Esquire, in Cologne

In reply to your submission of the 23rd of last month, I have to inform you that I cannot consider it illegal that for the time being the Royal Government in Cologne has rejected your request to be accorded the status of Prussian, since you do not possess a right to naturalisation; for your status of Prussian became extinct under Paragraph 20 of the law of December 31, 1842, Statute Book 1843, p. 17, by your acceptance of the Deed of Release which you requested for the purpose of emigrating to North America in the year 1845, of which you also availed yourself when you settled abroad. A claim to readmission, however, is neither conferred on the emigrant by that law nor can it be derived from the decision of the Prussian Assembly of March 30 of this year nor from general legal principles.

Berlin, September 12, 1848

Minister of the Interior
von Kühlwetter

First published in the Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt No. 176, June 27, 1913

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

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a See this volume, pp. 407-10.— Ed.
Cologne, September 14. We return to the subject of yesterday's mass meeting and its results, since these have caused a fairly considerable sensation in our city.

The mass meeting on the Frankenplatz was opened shortly after 12 o'clock by Herr W. Wolff, who briefly explained its purpose and proposed that Herr H. Bürgers should preside over it. Herr Bürgers, who was elected by acclamation, came on to the platform and gave the floor again to Herr Wolff, who then proposed that a Committee of Public Safety be formed to represent the parts of the population of Cologne not represented in the existing legal authorities. Herr F. Engels seconded the motion, which was supported also by Herr H. Becker and Herr E. Dronke. The proposal was adopted amid stormy applause by the audience of at least 5,000-6,000 persons, with only five votes against, after no opposer had come forward despite repeated invitations. It was then decided to fix the number of members of the Committee at 30, and these 30 were elected. Since these included also two, Gottschalk and Anneke, who were under arrest, two substitutes for them were also elected.

Herr F. Engels then proposed the following address to the Berlin Assembly:

To the Assembly which is to agree on the Prussian Constitution in Berlin.

The undersigned citizens of Cologne,

considering:

that the Assembly which is to agree on the Prussian Constitution has made it the bounden duty of the Government to issue without further delay the decree
decided on August 9 concerning reactionary efforts of officers so as to calm the country and also avoid a breach with the Assemblya;

that in consequence of this decision the Auerswald-Hansemann Government has been dismissed and the King has charged Imperial Minister Beckerath, who has just been overthrown, to form a new Government;

that Herr Beckerath by no means affords the requisite guarantees for implementing the decision of the Assembly; and that, on the contrary, in view of his known counter-revolutionary sentiments, an attempt to dissolve the Assembly is to be expected;

that an Assembly elected by the people for reaching agreement on the Constitution between King and people cannot be unilaterally dissolved, because otherwise the Crown would not be on a level with, but above the Assembly;

that a dissolution of the Assembly would therefore be a coup d'état;
call upon the [members of the] Assembly,
in the event of an attempt to dissolve the Assembly, to do their duty and defend their seats even against the force of bayonets.

This address was unanimously adopted, following which the meeting came to an end.

Although numerous delegates from the Citizens' Association were present in the upper parts of the square, and although it is said that a number of well-known "wailers"364 did their utmost to recruit rowdies by persuasion and the offer of money, and furthermore although policemen in plain clothes were present in fairly large numbers, nevertheless the meeting was skilful enough to prevent all attempts at disturbing the peace.

Meanwhile the commanders of the civic militia were sitting in the Town Hall and debating what to do, for some of them considered that disturbances were bound to occur. In the middle of their deliberations the door opened and the leaders of the Citizens' Association burst into the room, declaring that the Committee of Public Safety was the first step towards revolution, that Cologne was in danger and the red republic on the verge of being proclaimed,

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a See this volume, pp. 417-18.—Ed.
and that if the civic militia by itself was insufficient to maintain order, the Citizens' Association with all its resources would put itself at the disposal of Herr von Wittgenstein! Herr von Wittgenstein was adroit enough to refuse this offer and to refrain also from calling any of the civic militia to arms. The consequences proved how right the civic militia was on this occasion.

Not satisfied with this, while the mass meeting was still in progress, the gentlemen of the Citizens' Association posted up copies of a "Protest", which we reproduce below. Within five minutes the Protest, which was unsigned, disappeared without trace from every part of the city. Towards evening it reappeared as a leaflet in bold type, printed at the press of the Kölnische Zeitung and distributed to subscribers to this newspaper. This time it had the following amusing introduction:

Cologne, September 13, 1848

The so-called democrats want to exploit the alarm caused by the latest decisions of the Assemblies in Frankfurt and Berlin in order to regain the ground they have increasingly lost and to provoke a conflict at all costs. With this aim, too, the significance and danger of the friction between the army and the citizens which occurred in Cologne on the 11th of this month has been recklessly depicted with deliberate exaggeration and exploited for criminal purposes. By means of a wall-poster, even this morning a mass meeting was convened to be held in the open air at midday, and this meeting actually elected by acclamation a list of persons who had been proposed and agreed upon in advance, to a Committee of Public Safety.

It is unquestionably true that no one should recognise such an authority, which has arisen from a casually assembled mass of people, bypassing the existing official bodies, and that the members of this committee, should they presume to act as such, at once make themselves liable to legal proceedings. It is however better to prevent crimes than to punish them after they have been committed and perhaps claimed many victims.

Hence it is our duty to warn all citizens and to call their attention to the present danger.

To this end, the following protest is issued, together with an appeal:

Protest

The formation of a Committee of Public Safety is the first step towards Revolution.

Whoever wants true freedom and order is invited to support the existing authorities with all his might, to oppose the criminal efforts of a minority and to protest against the formation of a Committee of Public Safety.

In particular, all members of the civic militia are urged to do their duty and energetically protect law and order. The pretended danger from the army is non-existent, but the real danger arises from the formation of a Committee of Public Safety.

Several members of the managing committee of the Cologne Citizens' Association.
The Committee of Public Safety held its first meeting yesterday evening and in the first place decided to file this amusing protest, and the gentlemen of the Citizens' Association will evidently have to be satisfied with that. The Committee elected a president, a secretary and three members of an Executive Committee. Furthermore, it adopted a communication addressed to the Regierungspräsidient, the Commandant's office, the Town Council, and the command of the civic militia, in which it notified these authorities of its formation and informed them that it would use all legal means to pursue the aim of maintaining calm, in agreement with the authorities wherever possible, but at the same time watching over the preservation of the people's rights. It resolved moreover to announce this by means of a wall-poster to the inhabitants of Cologne. We shall publish both documents tomorrow.

This morning, people's minds have already been to some extent set at rest. People laugh at yesterday's alarm which caused them to see in the Committee a Provisional Government, a comité de salut public, a conspiracy for a red republic, in short, everything but what it actually is: a committee elected directly and publicly by the people, a committee which undertakes the task of representing the interests of the part of the population not represented in the legally instituted authorities, a committee which operates only in a legal way and has no intention of wanting to arrogate any other authority than the moral influence which the right of free association, the laws, and the confidence of the electors allow it to exert.

First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 103, September 15, 1848
Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time

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a Hermann Becker.— Ed.
b Funk.— Ed.
c Weyll, Bernigau and Moll.— Ed.
MASS MEETING IN WORRINGEN

Cologne, September 18. Yesterday a large public meeting took place at Worringen. From Cologne five or six large Rhine barges, each with a few hundred persons, and with the red flag at the prow, made the trip down the Rhine. More or less numerous delegations were present from Neuss, Düsseldorf, Krefeld, Hitdorf, Frechen and Rheindorf. The meeting, which was held in a meadow at the side of the Rhine, comprised at least 6,000-8,000 persons.

Karl Schapper from Cologne was appointed chairman, and Friedrich Engels from Cologne secretary. On a proposal put by the chairman, the meeting declared unanimously, except for one vote, in favour of a republic, and in fact for a democratic social republic, a red republic.

On the proposal of Ernst Dronke from Cologne, the same address to the Berlin Assembly that had been adopted the previous Wednesday at the meeting on the Frankenplatz in Cologne (in which the Assembly was called upon, in the event of its being dissolved, not to give way even before the force of bayonets*) was also unanimously adopted by the Worringen meeting.

On the proposal of Joseph Moll from Cologne, it was decided to recognise the Committee of Public Safety elected at the public meeting in Cologne and on the motion of a member of the meeting three hearty cheers were given for this Committee.

* See this volume, pp. 582-84.—Ed.
On the proposal of Friedrich Engels from Cologne, the following address was unanimously adopted:

To the German National Assembly in Frankfurt.

The German citizens here assembled hereby declare that if as a result of the resistance of the Prussian Government to the decisions of the National Assembly and the Central Authority a conflict should arise between Prussia and Germany, they will be ready to sacrifice their lives and property on the side of Germany.

Worringen, September 17, 1848

On the proposal of Schultes from Hitdorf it was resolved that the Kölnische Zeitung did not represent the interests of the Rhine Province.

In addition, there were speeches by W. Wolff from Cologne, F. Lassalle from Düsseldorf, Esser from Neuss, Weyl, Wachter, Becker and Reichhelm from Cologne, Wallraf from Frechen, Müller, a member of the Worringen Workers' Association, Leven from Rheindorf, and Imandt from Krefeld. The proceedings concluded with a short speech by Henry Brisbane of New York, the well-known editor of the democratic-socialist New-York Tribune.

During the meeting, news came from a trustworthy source that it was intended “on Tuesday to send the 27th Regiment again to Cologne, to draw in also the remaining battalions of the regiment, to provoke conflicts between the soldiers and the citizens, and to take advantage of this occasion to proclaim the city in a state of siege, to disarm the civic militia, and in short to deal with us in the same way as with Mainz”.

In case this report should actually prove to be well founded and a clash take place, the inhabitants of the areas around Cologne present at the meeting promised their help. In fact, the people from Worringen are only waiting to be called upon for them to appear on the scene.

Let the ex-commander of the civic militia, Herr Wittgenstein, take note of this.

First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 106, September 19, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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a See this volume, pp. 20 and 23.—Ed
The favour of reprinting is requested.

PROCLAMATION

The citizens assembled in a mass meeting in Cologne on September 20, considering:

that the decision of the Frankfurt National Assembly of the 16th, approving the dishonourable armistice with Denmark, is a betrayal of the German people and of the honour of German arms,

declare:

Article 1. The members of the Frankfurt so-called National Assembly, with the exception of those who have announced to the people their readiness to resign, are traitors to the people;

Article 2. The fighters at the barricades in Frankfurt have rendered a meritorious service to the fatherland.

This proclamation is to be distributed as widely as possible by wall-posters and through the press.

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a A separate leaflet with the text of the Proclamation was also issued. In this leaflet the introductory phrase was printed in the following form: “The citizens assembled in a mass meeting, which was summoned by the Committee of Public Safety, the Democratic Association and the Workers’ Association, in Cologne on September 20....”— Ed.
The office of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* is prepared to accept contributions for the support of the insurgents and their families.*

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 110, September 23, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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* In the leaflet this sentence is replaced by the following text: "The office of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has consented to accept contributions in aid of those who fought on the barricades in Frankfurt and their families, and it will forward them to Deputy Schlöffel from Silesia for appropriate use."

"The other democratic newspapers will undoubtedly act in a similar way." — Ed.
ANNOUNCEMENT
OF THE RESPONSIBLE PUBLISHERS
OF THE NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS

During the state of siege imposed on Cologne, when the pen has to submit to the sabre, the NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG has been forbidden to appear and for the time being is unable to fulfil its obligations to its esteemed subscribers.

We hope, however, that the exceptional situation will continue only for a few days more, and then during the month of October we shall be able to ensure the dispatch of our newspaper to our subscribers in an enlarged format, with new powerful means for its support, the more punctually because before long the printing will be done by a new rapid printing-press.

Cologne, September 28, 1848

THE RESPONSIBLE PUBLISHERS

Published as a leaflet
Printed according to the leaflet
Published in English for the first time
ANNOUNCEMENT
OF THE RESPONSIBLE PUBLISHERS
OF THE NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS

According to the assurance of the office of the Fortress Commandant received in reply to our inquiry, the state of siege will end in Cologne on October 4 and accordingly the 

NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG
WILL APPEAR AGAIN ON OCTOBER 5.

We take this opportunity, therefore, to invite the friends of our paper, with references to the circular of September 28, to subscribe for the 4th quarter, and accordingly to notify the nearest post-office as soon as possible.

New equipment will enable us in future to avoid any irregularity in dispatch.

The subscription rate for three months in Cologne is 1 taler 15 silver groschen, and in all other places in Prussia 1 taler 24 silver groschen 6 pfennigs. Advertisements are 1 silver groschen 6 pfennigs per 8-point line of column width (4 columns per page) or the equivalent space.

Cologne, September 30, 1848

THE RESPONSIBLE PUBLISHERS

Published as a leaflet
Printed according to the leaflet
Published in English for the first time
INVITATION TO SUBSCRIBE TO THE NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was quite unjustifiably suppressed for some days by the armed reaction during the state of siege imposed on the city of Cologne. After today's lifting of the state of siege, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* will once more defend the democratic interests of the whole people with energy and circumspection. This is just now the more essential since we have all seen with what brazen ruthlessness the armed reaction has come out in the most recent period in opposition to the freedom justly won by the people. Making this announcement to supporters of democracy, we ask them at the same time for really numerous subscriptions for the fourth quarter now commencing, since the democratic newspapers, which moreover encounter hostility from many sides, especially need the active co-operation of their supporters.

For Cologne, the subscription per quarter costs 1 taler 15 silver groschen. In Prussia outside Cologne it is 1 taler 24 silver groschen 6 pfennigs. Outside Prussia the printed matter mail charges in the foreign country concerned have to be added.

Advertisements: per 8-point line of column width (4 columns per page) or the equivalent space, cost 1 silver groschen 6 pfennigs.

Cologne, October 3, 1848.

*H. Korff*

Responsible Publisher of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

Published as a leaflet

Printed according to the leaflet

Published in English for the first time
WARRANT FOR THE ARREST
OF HEINRICH BÜRGER AND FRIEDRICH ENGELS

Warrant for arrest. The persons described below have taken refuge in flight from the investigation instituted against them on account of crimes envisaged in Articles 87, 91 and 102 of the Penal Code. On the basis of the order for their appearance in court issued by the examining magistrate here, I therefore request all authorities and officials whom it may concern to be on the look-out for them and, if discovered, to arrest them and have them brought before me.

Cologne, October 3, 1848

For the Chief Public Prosecutor,  
Public Prosecutor Hecker

Description. I. Name: Joh. Heinr. Gerhard Bürgers; occupation: writer; place of birth and residence: Cologne; religion: Catholic; age: 28 years; height: 5 feet 7 inches; hair, eyebrows and eyes: brown; forehead: round; nose: thin; mouth: medium; beard: brown; teeth: good; chin and face: oval; complexion: healthy; figure: slender; language: German.

II. Name: Friedrich Engels; occupation: merchant; place of birth and residence: Barmen; religion: Evangelical; age: 27 years; height: 5 feet 8 inches; hair and eyebrows: dark blond; forehead: ordinary; eyes: grey; nose and mouth: well-proportioned; teeth: good; beard: brown; chin and face: oval; complexion: healthy; figure: slender.

First published in the Kölnische Zeitung No. 271, October 4, 1848.
BLACK LIST

Cologne, October 13. A very well-informed friend in Brussels writes to us:

"Engels and Dronke were arrested and transported across the frontier in a prison van only because they were imprudent enough to give their names. A worker from Cologne, Schmitz, who is supposed to have played an active part in the freeing of Wächter, shared the same fate. The fact is that the Brussels police had a long list of persons who have fled from Cologne. Thus the Belgian police were accurately informed also about the alleged participation of Schmitz in the freeing of Wächter."

Is perhaps acting Police Superintendent Geiger informed about the authors and senders of this black list?

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 116, October 14, 1848

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

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*See this volume, pp. 459-61.—Ed.*
The acting President, Citizen Röser, stated that Dr. Marx had acceded to the request of the deputation sent to him from the Association that he should put himself at the head of our Association, and he therefore asked him to take his seat.

Dr. Marx: His position in Cologne was precarious. The reply he had received from ex-Minister Kühlwetter to his request for renaturalisation was tantamount to a concealed order for his expulsion. He would, of course, lodge a protest against it in the National Assembly. On the other hand, he was to be tried at the Assize Court for an alleged press offence. Moreover, owing to the temporary dispersion of the editorial board of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung he was overburdened with work. Nevertheless, he was ready, provisionally until Dr. Gottschalk was set free, to accede to the desire of the workers. The Government and the bourgeoisie ought to realise that, despite their acts of persecution, there were always persons to be found who would be ready to put themselves at the disposal of the workers.

Dr. Marx then spoke in some detail about the revolutionary activities of the German workers abroad, and in conclusion stressed their outstanding role in the recent Vienna revolution. He therefore proposed an address to the Vienna Workers' Association. (Adopted with acclamation.)...

The President's proposal (concerning the rules of procedure) was that the first hour should be devoted to the interests of the Association (i.e. to its internal and external affairs), that during the

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a See this volume, p. 581.—Ed.
second hour social and political questions should be discussed, and that the meeting should begin at 8.30. (Adopted.)...

First published in the Zeitung des Arbeiter-Vereines zu Köln No. 40, October 22, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper Published in English for the first time
The President, Dr. Marx, opened the meeting with some remarks about the system of indirect election.

Citizen Röser: We have received a request to send a delegate to the Democratic Congress to be held in Berlin on the 26th of this month. In this connection, however, the question arises whether the Workers’ Association should send someone separately or together with the Democratic Association. At the last committee meeting of your Association decision was taken in favour of the former alternative, namely to act independently, but it remains for the general meeting to give its approval and in connection with such acceptance it is essential that the question of cost should be taken into account. Therefore I move:

That we elect a delegate to represent us alone, and that we levy a voluntary contribution to cover the expenses.

The motion was adopted and the contributions fixed at a minimum of one silver groschen....

* Citizen Beust was proposed and elected delegate to the Congress in Berlin.

The President, Dr. Marx, and the Vice-President, Citizen Röser, were confirmed in their official positions by the meeting....
... The President, Dr. Marx, gave a short report on the events in Vienna and stressed especially that it was only as a result of the manifold betrayal on the part of the bourgeoisie there that it became possible for Windischgrätz to capture the city....

First published in the newspaper Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit No. 6, November 12, 1848

Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
NOTES
AND
INDEXES
NOTES

1 "Demands of the Communist Party in Germany" were written by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in Paris between March 21 (when Engels arrived in Paris from Brussels) and March 24, 1848. This document was discussed by members of the Central Authority, who approved and signed it as the political programme of the Communist League in the revolution that broke out in Germany. In March it was printed as a leaflet, for distribution among revolutionary German emigrant workers who were about to return home. Austrian and German diplomats in Paris informed their respective governments about this as early as March 27, 28 and 29. (The Austrian Ambassador enclosed in his letter a copy of the leaflet which he dated "March 25"). The leaflet soon reached members of the Communist League in other countries, in particular, German emigrant workers in London.

Early in April, the "Demands of the Communist Party in Germany" were published in such German democratic papers as Berliner Zeitungs-Halle (special supplement to No. 82, April 5, 1848), Düsseldorfer Zeitung (No. 96, April 5, 1848), Mannheimer Abendzeitung (No. 96, April 6, 1848), Trier'sche Zeitung (No. 97, April 6, 1848, supplement), Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (No. 100, April 9, 1848, supplement), and Zeitung für das deutsche Volk (No. 21, April 9, 1848).

Marx and Engels, who left for Germany round about April 6 and some time later settled in Cologne, did their best along with their followers to popularise this programme document during the revolution. In 1848 and 1849 it was repeatedly published in the periodical press and in leaflet form. Not later than September 10, 1848, the "Demands" were printed in Cologne as a leaflet for circulation by the Cologne Workers' Association both in the town itself and in a number of districts of Rhenish Prussia. In addition to minor stylistic changes, point 10 in the text of the leaflet was worded differently from that published in March-April 1848. At the Second Democratic Congress held in Berlin in October 1848, Friedrich Beust, delegate from the Cologne Workers' Association, spoke, on behalf of the social question commission, in favour of adopting a programme of action closely following the "Demands". In November and December 1848, various points of the "Demands" were discussed at meetings of the Cologne Workers' Association.

Many editions of the "Demands" published during the revolution and after its defeat have survived to this day in their original form, some of them as copies kept in the police archives.
At the end of 1848 or the beginning of 1849 an abridged version of the “Demands” was published in pamphlet form by Weller Publishers in Leipzig. The slogan at the beginning of the document, the second paragraph of point 9 and the last sentence of point 10 were omitted, and the words “The Committee” were not included among the signatories.

In 1853, an abridged version of the “Demands” was printed, together with other documents of the Communist League, in the first part of the book Die Kommunisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, published in Berlin for purposes of information by Wermuth and Stieber, two police officials, who staged a trial against the Communists in Cologne in 1852.


The letter to the editor of the Populaire and the Declaration are in Engels’ handwriting. Both documents were drawn up at the end of March 1848 after Engels’ arrival in Paris and reflect the struggle which the leaders of the Communist League were waging against those German petty-bourgeois emigrant leaders in Paris, Herwegh and Bornstedt among others, who intended to speed up revolution in Germany by moving in a volunteer legion organised by using private donations and subsidies from the Provisional Government of the French Republic. Appeals to enlist were accompanied by demagogic appeals to the patriotic and revolutionary sentiments of German emigrants. Marx, Engels and other members of the Central Authority of the Communist League spoke out against the adventurist nature of such plans to “export revolution” and advised German workers instead to return to their home country individually in order to take part in the revolutionary events that were brewing there. “We opposed this playing with revolution in the most decisive fashion,” Engels later wrote in his work On the History of the Communist League, “To carry out an invasion, which was to import the revolution forcibly from outside, into the midst of the ferment then going on in Germany, meant to undermine the revolution in Germany itself, to strengthen the governments and to deliver the legionaries ... defenceless into the hands of the German troops.”


The German Democratic Society (below it is called the Society of German Democrats) was formed in Paris after the February revolution of 1848. The society was headed by petty-bourgeois democrats, Herwegh, Bornstedt (the latter expelled from the Communist League) and others, who campaigned to raise a volunteer legion of German emigrants with the intention of marching into
Germany. In this way they hoped to carry out a revolution in Germany and establish a republic there. Late in April 1848 the volunteer legion moved to Baden where it was dispersed by government troops.

4 The German Workers' Club was founded in Paris on March 8 and 9, 1848, on the initiative of Communist League leaders. The club's aim was to unite German emigrant workers in Paris, to explain to them the tactics of the proletariat in a bourgeois-democratic revolution, and also to counter the attempts of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats to stir up the German workers by nationalist propaganda and enlist them into the adventurist invasion of Germany by volunteer legions. The club successfully arranged the return of German workers one by one to their home country to take part in the revolutionary struggle there.

5 On March 29, 1848, the supplement to No. 89 of the Trier'sche Zeitung carried a report from Paris, dated March 24, in which the activity of the German Democratic Society (see Note 3) was criticised. This article was apparently written by one of Marx's followers in the Communist League, probably with Marx's help. The author vehemently denounced the idea of an armed invasion of Germany by the volunteer legion and stated that the German Workers' Club associated with the Communist League had nothing to do with this venture.

Deeply hurt by this article, the leaders of the German Democratic Society sent Marx a note signed by Bornstedt, Löwenfels, Börnstein, Volk and Mayer in which they demanded the author's name. The reply is published here from a copy made by Engels. After Marx had rejected their demand, one of the society's leaders, Herwegh, wrote a memorandum for the German periodicals (on April 3, 1848), in which he justified the idea of a volunteer legion and venomously attacked communists.

6 Marx's letter was published in L'Alba on June 29, 1848, with the following introductory note by the editors: "We publish the following letter received from Cologne to show what feelings the noble-minded Germans entertain towards Italy; they ardently wish to establish fraternal relations between the Italian and German peoples, whom European despots have tried to set against each other."

The reply by the editors of L'Alba, signed by L. Alinari, is quoted in Engels' article "Germany's Foreign Policy" (see this volume, p. 167).

An English translation of this letter was published in the magazine Labour Monthly No. 5, 1948, and in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Selected Correspondence (Moscow, 1955, London, 1956).
organisation made them easy prey to narrow craft and petty-bourgeois influences and particularist moods, while the Communist League, for which there was no sense in continuing secret activities during the revolution, was too weak and small in number to be instrumental in consolidating the workers. Marx and Engels realised this after studying the reports submitted by the Central Authority emissaries on the situation in the League's local communities. In this context, the role of a newspaper in influencing the masses, in their ideological and political education and consolidation, seemed peculiarly important. The paper could be used for political guidance of the activities of Communist League members, who were instructed by Marx and Engels to avail themselves of every legal opportunity and join the emerging workers' associations and democratic societies.

Marx and Engels decided to publish the paper in Cologne, the capital of the Rhine Province, one of the most economically and politically advanced regions in Germany. The new paper was given the name of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung to emphasise that it was to continue the revolutionary-democratic traditions of the Rheinische Zeitung, which Marx had edited in 1842 and 1843. Taking account of the specific circumstances, with the absence of an independent mass workers' party in Germany, Marx, Engels and their followers entered the political scene as a Left, actually proletarian, wing of the democratic movement. This determined the stand of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, which began to appear under the subtitle "The Organ of Democracy".

When they started the paper, Marx and Engels had to cope with serious financial difficulties as well as with the opposition from sectarian elements in the Communist League (Hess, Anneke and others), who intended to publish a purely local sheet under a similar title. In April and May 1848, Marx and Engels worked hard selling shares in the paper, finding contributors and establishing regular contacts with democratic periodicals in other countries. The editorial committee was known for its unanimity of views, well-co-ordinated work and strict division of functions.

As a rule, Marx and Engels wrote the editorials formulating the paper's stand on the most important questions of the revolution. These were usually marked "*Köln" and "**Köln". Sometimes editorial articles marked with one asterisk were printed in other sections under the heading of news from Italy, France, England, Hungary and other countries. In the early months of the paper's existence Marx was fully occupied with administrative and organisational matters and most of the leading articles were written by Engels. In addition to this, Engels also contributed critical reviews of debates in the Berlin and Frankfurt National Assemblies, articles on the national liberation movements in Bohemia, Posen and Italy, and on the war in Schleswig-Holstein, revolutionary developments in Hungary and political life in Switzerland. Wilhelm Wolff contributed articles on the agrarian question, on the condition of the peasants and their movement, particularly in Silesia. He was also responsible for the current events section. Georg Weerth wrote feuilletons in verse and prose. Ernst Dronke was for some time the Neue Rheinische Zeitung correspondent in Frankfurt am Main and wrote several articles on Poland. Ferdinand Wolff was for a long time one of the paper's correspondents in Paris. The only article which Heinrich Bürgers wrote for the Neue Rheinische Zeitung was almost entirely rewritten by Marx. Ferdinand Freiligrath, who became one of the paper's editors in October 1848, published his own verses.

The Neue Rheinische Zeitung was a daily paper (from September 1848 it appeared every day except Monday). Its editors often published a second edition
on one day in order to supply their readers with prompt information on all the most significant revolutionary developments in Germany and Europe; supplements were printed when there was too much material to be squeezed into the four pages of the number, while special supplements and special editions printed in the form of leaflets carried the latest and most important news.

The consistent revolutionary tendency of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, its militant internationalism and political accusations against the Government displeased its bourgeois shareholders in the very first months of the paper's existence; its editors were persecuted by the Government and attacked in the feudal-monarchist and liberal-bourgeois press. Following the appearance of the paper's first number, which carried Engels' article "The Assembly at Frankfurt" (see this volume, pp. 16-19), a large number of the shareholders withdrew their financial support, and articles in defence of the June uprising of the Paris proletariat frightened away most of the rest. The editors now had to rely on German and Polish revolutionary circles for funds.

To make Marx's stay in the Rhine Province more difficult, the Cologne authorities, on instructions from Berlin, refused to reinstate him with the rights of Prussian citizenship (which Marx had renounced in 1845); on several occasions he and other editors of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung were summoned to court. On September 26, 1848, when a state of siege was introduced in Cologne, several democratic newspapers, the Neue Rheinische Zeitung among them, were suspended. To avoid arrest, Engels, Dronke and Ferdinand Wolff had to leave Germany for a time. Wilhelm Wolff stayed in Cologne but for several months lived illegally. When the state of siege was lifted, the paper resumed publication on October 12, thanks to the great efforts of Marx who sank all his ready money into the paper. Until January 1849, the whole burden of the work, including editorial articles, lay on Marx's shoulders since Engels had to stay out of Germany (in France and Switzerland).

Persecution of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung editors by the legal authorities and the police was intensified, particularly after the counter-revolutionary coup in Prussia in November-December 1848.

In May 1849, when the counter-revolution went into the offensive all over Germany, the Prussian Government issued an order for Marx's expulsion from Prussia on the grounds that he had not been granted Prussian citizenship. Marx's expulsion and repressions against other editors of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung caused publication of the paper to be ceased. Its last issue (No. 301), printed in red ink, came out on May 19, 1849. In their farewell address to the workers, the editors of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung said that "their last word will everywhere and always be: emancipation of the working class!"

The September Laws, promulgated by the French Government in September 1835, restricted the rights of jury courts and introduced severe measures against the press. They provided for increased money deposits (caution money) for periodical publications and introduced imprisonment and large fines for publication of attacks on private property and the existing political system.

The opening session of the all-German National Assembly, the purpose of which was to unite the country and draft a Constitution, took place on May 18, 1848, in Frankfurt am Main at St. Paul's Church. Among the deputies elected in various German states late in April and early in May, there were 122 government officials, 95 judges, 81 lawyers, 103 teachers, 17 manufacturers and wholesale dealers, 15 physicians and 40 landowners. The liberal deputies, who were in the majority.
turned the Assembly into a mere debating club, incapable of taking any resolute decisions.

In writing this and the following articles concerning the debates in the Frankfurt National Assembly, Marx and Engels made use of the stenographic reports which later appeared as a separate publication, *Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen der deutschen constituirenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main, Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig, 1848-1849*.

Engels' article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the “Neue Rheinische Zeitung”. 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 16

At the sitting of the Frankfurt National Assembly on May 19, 1848, the liberal Deputy Raveaux proposed that Prussian deputies elected to both the Berlin and Frankfurt Assemblies should have the right to be members of both. The Berlin Assembly, i. e. the Prussian National Assembly, was convened on May 22, 1848, to draft a Constitution "by agreement with the Crown". The Assembly was elected under the electoral law of April 8, 1848, by universal suffrage and an indirect (two-stage) voting system. Most of the deputies belonged to the bourgeoisie or liberal bureaucracy. p. 17

The limited understanding of a loyal subject— an expression used by the Prussian Minister of the Interior von Rochow. In his letter of January 15, 1838, addressed to the citizens of Elbin who expressed their dissatisfaction at the expulsion of seven oppositional professors from the Hanover Diet, Rochow wrote: "Loyal subjects are expected to exhibit due obedience to their king and sovereign, but their limited understanding should keep them from interfering in affairs of heads of state." p. 18

The *Preparliament*, which met in Frankfurt am Main from March 31 to April 4, 1848, consisted of representatives from the German states, most of its delegates being constitutional monarchists. The Preparliament passed a resolution to convokve an all-German National Assembly and produced a draft of the "Fundamental Rights and Demands of the German People". Although this document proclaimed certain rights and liberties, including the right of all-German citizenship for the residents of any German state, it did not touch the basis of the semi-feudal absolutist system prevalent in Germany at the time. p. 18

The seventeen "trusted men" who represented the German governments were summoned after the March revolution in Germany by the Federal Diet, the central body of the German Confederation (which was founded in 1815 by the Congress of Vienna). The "trusted men", among them Dahlmann, von Schmerling, Uhland and Bassermann, met in Frankfurt am Main from March 30 to May 8, 1848, and drafted an all-German Imperial Constitution based on constitutional-monarchical principles.

The *Federal Diet* consisted of representatives of the German states. Though it had no real power, it was nevertheless a vehicle of feudal and monarchical reaction. After the March revolution of 1848, reactionary circles in the German states tried to revive the Federal Diet and use it to undermine the principle of popular sovereignty and prevent the democratic unification of Germany. p. 18

Auerswald's decree, dated May 22, 1848, and published on May 23, 1848, in the *Preussische Staats-Anzeiger* No. 21, p. 215, included Raveaux's proposal (see Note 10). p. 19
On May 22, 1815, Frederick William III, who, during the war with Napoleonic France, had to respond to the demand for a Constitution, issued a decree in which he promised "popular representation", that is, to set up Provincial Assemblies of the Estates in Prussia and to convene an all-Prussia representative body. All that ever resulted from these promises, however, was the law of June 5, 1823, which created Provincial Assemblies of the Estates with limited, advisory functions.

The **German Confederation**—see Note 13.

*Lazzaroni*—a contemptuous nickname for declassed proletarians, primarily in the Kingdom of Naples. They were repeatedly used by the absolutist Government in the struggle against liberal and democratic movements.

The reference is to the “cordial agreement” (*entente cordiale*) between France and England in the early period of the July monarchy (1830-35). The “agreement”, however, proved unstable and was soon followed by intensified contradictions.

Sanfedists (from *santa fede*—holy faith)—supporters of the papacy who joined terrorist gangs to fight against the Italian national liberation movement.

On August 10, 1792, the monarchy in France was overthrown by a popular uprising in Paris. The sculpture of a dying lion by Thorwaldsen was installed in Lucerne some time later, to commemorate the Swiss guards who were killed defending the royal palace.

On July 29, 1830, the Bourbons were overthrown in France.

In July 1820, the Carbonari, aristocratic and bourgeois revolutionaries, rose in revolt against the absolutist regime in the Kingdom of Naples and succeeded in having a moderate liberal Constitution introduced. Intervention by the powers of the Holy Alliance, however, led to the restoration of the absolutist regime in Naples.

On all these occasions Swiss mercenaries were used by the counter-revolutionary forces.

The reference is to treaties concluded between the middle of the fifteenth and the middle of the nineteenth centuries between Swiss cantons and European states for the supply of Swiss mercenaries.

An article dealing with this subject was originally written by Heinrich Bürgers, but Marx editorially deleted half of it and rewrote the rest (see Marx’s letter to Ferdinand Lassalle of September 15, 1860).


In 1848-49 the advocates of a bourgeois constitutional system in Germany called the republican democrats “agitators” (*Wühler*) and these in turn called their opponents “wailers” (*Heuler*).
On March 29, 1848, the Camphausen Government in which Hansemann held the post of the Minister of Finance replaced the Government of Count Arhim-Boitzenburg, which had been formed on March 19, 1848, when revolution broke out in Prussia.

In writing this and other articles concerning the Prussian National Assembly, the authors made use of the stenographic reports, which later came out as a separate edition entitled Verhandlungen der constituirenden Versammlung für Preussen 1848, Berlin, 1848.


The United Diet—an assembly of representatives from the eight Provincial Diets of Prussia, similarly based on the estate principle. The United Diet sanctioned new taxes and loans, discussed new Bills and had the right to petition the King.

The First United Diet, which opened on April 11, 1847, was dissolved in June, following its refusal to grant a new loan. The Second United Diet met on April 2, 1848, when the Camphausen Ministry was in office. It passed a law on the elections to a Prussian National Assembly and sanctioned the loan. The United Diet session was closed on April 10, 1848.

See Note 10.

According to tradition, around 390 B.C. the Gauls captured Rome with the exception of the Capitol, whose defenders were warned of the approaching enemy by the cackling of the geese from the Temple of Juno.

In this article Engels describes one of the episodes in the war between Germany and Denmark over Schleswig and Holstein.

By the decision of the Congress of Vienna (1815) the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were incorporated into the Kingdom of Denmark in spite of the fact that Germans constituted the majority of the population in Holstein and in Southern Schleswig. Under the impact of the March revolution, the national liberation movement of the German population grew in strength and assumed a radical and democratic nature, becoming part of the struggle for the unification of Germany. Volunteers from all over the country rushed to the aid of the local population when it rose up against Danish rule arms in hand. Prussia, Hanover and other states of the German Confederation sent to the duchies federal troops, under the command of the Prussian General Wrangel, who entered Jutland on May 2. The Prussian Government, however, declined to take a firm stand on the Schleswig-Holstein issue, for it feared a popular outbreak and an intensification of the revolution. The liberal majority of the Frankfurt National Assembly also cherished secret hopes of an agreement with the Danish ruling circles, at the expense of national unity. Things were complicated by the intervention of Britain, Sweden and Russia in favour of Denmark, and their demand that federal troops be withdrawn from the duchies. (In this connection, Engels alludes to the Note of May 8, 1848, which Chancellor Nesselrode handed in to the Berlin Cabinet and in which this demand was accompanied by the threat of a break between Russia and Prussia.)

All these circumstances had a negative effect on the military operations against Denmark undertaken by the German federal troops and volunteer detachments.
The report on the defeat of the German federal troops appeared on May 30, 1848, in No. 11179 of the Börsen-Halle, and was then reprinted in most of the German papers. In English it appeared on June 3 in The Times No. 19880.

29 The reference is to the presidents of the Provincial Diets of the Estates, which were formed in 1823 and consisted of heads of princely families, representatives of the nobility (the latter enjoying the greatest influence), and representatives of towns and rural communities. The competence of the Diets was limited to local economic and administrative problems. They could also express opinions on government Bills submitted for discussion.

30 See Note 25.


32 An allusion to the speech which the French lawyer André Dupin addressed to the Duke of Orléans (representative of the younger branch of the Bourbons), made King of the French by the July revolution of 1830. In his speech, Dupin emphasised that the Duke of Orléans was elected "not because he was a Bourbon but although he was a Bourbon". This was an answer to the question whether the King should adopt the name of Philippe VII or Louis Philippe.

33 Concerning the German-Danish war over Schleswig-Holstein see Note 28.

34 The army of the anti-French coalition, in which Prussian forces participated, defeated Napoleon’s army in the vicinity of Berlin at the battles of Grossbeeren (August 23, 1813) and Dennewitz (September 6, 1813).

35 Excerpts from an announcement published in the supplement to the Berliner Zeitungs-Halle No. 128, June 4, 1848, under the title “Berliner Tagesgeschichte” [Sicherheits-Ausschutz], are quoted in this article with some digressions.

36 In February 1846, the Prussian police in Posen tracked down the leaders of preparations for a national liberation uprising in Poland and carried out wholesale arrests. As a result, a general uprising aimed at restoring Poland’s independence was staved off and only sporadic outbursts occurred (among them an unsuccessful attempt by a group of Polish revolutionaries to capture the Posen fortress on March 3). Only in the Republic of Cracow, which since the Congress of Vienna had been under the joint control of Austria, Russia and Prussia, did the insurgents gain power on February 22 and create a National Government of the Polish Republic, which issued a manifesto abrogating all feudal obligations. The Cracow uprising was suppressed in early March 1846 and, in November, Austria, Prussia and Russia signed a treaty incorporating the free city of Cracow into the Austrian Empire.

37 In late April and early May 1848, Berlin was the scene of a compositors’ strike for higher wages and shorter working hours. The workers disregarded the threat of deportation, and succeeded in forcing their employers to abandon an attempt to make them sign, as a condition of agreement, a statement in which the workers would acknowledge their “errors” and repent.

The left wing of the Frankfurt National Assembly consisted of two factions: the Left (Robert Blum, Karl Vogt and others), and the extreme Left known as the radical-democratic party (Arnold Rüge, Friedrich Wilhelm Schlößel, Franz Zitz and others). Though the sympathies of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* were with the extreme Left wing rather than with more moderate groups of democrats, it criticised the former for their vacillations and halfway stand on the basic problems of the German revolution—abolition of feudal survivals and unification of the country.

See Note 13.

The *Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation* was founded in 962 and lasted till 1806. At different times, it included the German, Italian, Austrian, Hungarian and Bohemian lands, Switzerland and the Netherlands, forming a motley conglomeration of feudal kingdoms and principalities, church lands and free cities with different political structures, legal standards and customs.

The *agreement debates* (*Vereinbarungsdebatten*) was the name given by Marx and Engels to the debates in the Prussian National Assembly, which met in Berlin in May 1848 to draft a Constitution “by agreement with the Crown” according to the formula proposed by the Hansemann-Camphausen Government. Marx and Engels labelled the Berlin Assembly, which adopted this formula and thereby rejected the principle of popular sovereignty, the “Agreement Assembly” and its deputies “the agreers”.

The reference is to the treaty signed by Russia and Prussia on March 29, 1830, on the extradition of deserters, prisoners of war and criminals. A secret declaration adopted simultaneously with the agreement made persons guilty of political offences also subject to extradition. The governments of both countries used this convention in their struggle against the Polish national liberation movement.

Abbreviation for *Preussische Seehandlungsgesellschaft* (Prussian Sea Trade Society). This trade credit society, founded in 1772, enjoyed a number of important state privileges. It offered large credits to the Government and actually played the part of banker and broker. In 1904 it was made the Prussian State Bank.

According to the *Verordnung wegen der künftigen Behandlung des gesamten Staatsschulden-Wesens* (Decree on the Future Handling of All Government Debts), issued in Prussia on January 17, 1820, new loans and government debts had to be guaranteed by the forthcoming Prussian Assembly of the Estates, as well as by the Government.

After the March revolution of 1848, an insurrection of the Poles broke out in the Duchy of Posen for liberation from the Prussian yoke. The Polish peasants and artisans took an active part in this together with members of the lesser nobility.
The Prussian Government was forced to promise that a committee would be set up to carry through the reorganisation of Posen (creation of a Polish army, appointment of Poles to administrative and other posts, recognition of Polish as an official language etc.). Similar promises were given in the Convention of April 11, 1848, signed by the Posen Committee and the Prussian Commissioner. On April 14, 1848, however, the King of Prussia ordered that the Duchy of Posen be divided into an eastern Polish part and a western “German” part, which was not to be “reorganised”. During the months following the suppression of the Poles by Prussian troops that broke the Convention, the demarcation line was pushed further and further east and the promised “reorganisation” was never carried out.

In the table of contents of this issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the article is listed under the title “A New Partition of Poland”, but the text itself begins with the heading “The Seventh Partition of Poland”. This refers to the decree issued on June 4, 1848, by General Pfuel, the commander of Prussian troops in Posen, which further extended the territory of the western “German” part of the duchy at the expense of its eastern “Polish” part, which was to be “reorganised” as promised by the Government, but never was (see Note 46). This was the fourth time that the line of demarcation was pushed further east to the detriment of the Polish population (the three previous occasions were April 14, April 22 and May 2, 1848). Ironically calling this the “seventh partition of Poland”, Engels shows it to be a continuation of the policy of appropriation of Polish lands by the European powers. This found reflection in the three partitions of Poland (by Prussia, Austria and Russia) at the end of the eighteenth century (1772, 1793, 1794-95); in the transfer to Russia (by Napoleon, under the Peace Treaty of Tilsit concluded in 1807) of a part of Polish territory in exchange for recognition of the Duchy of Warsaw, created by Napoleon as a vassal state; in the decision of the Congress of Vienna (1815), which abolished the Duchy of Warsaw and once again sanctioned the annexation of the Polish lands by Prussia, Russia and Austria, and also in Austria’s annexation of the free city of Cracow in 1846.

The reference is to the return of the Prince of Prussia to Berlin (on June 4, 1848) from England, where he had fled during the March revolution.

Following the unsuccessful revolutionary action of the Paris workers on May 15, 1848, the Constituent Assembly adopted a decree on the reorganisation of national workshops, and steps were taken to abolish them altogether; a law was passed banning gatherings in the streets, a number of democratic clubs were closed and other police measures taken.

Repealers—supporters of the repeal of the Anglo-Irish Union of 1801, which abrogated the autonomy of the Irish Parliament. Ever since the 1820s, the demand for the repeal of the Union became a mass issue in Ireland. In 1840, a Repeal Association was founded whose leader, Daniel O'Connell, proposed a compromise with the English ruling circles. In January 1847 its radical elements broke away from the Association and formed an Irish Confederation; representatives of its Left revolutionary wing stood at the head of the national liberation movement and in 1848 were subjected to severe repression.

The Committee of Fifty was elected by the Preparliament (see Note 12) in April 1848, mainly from among the representatives of its constitutional-monarchist majority, with moderate republicans receiving only 12 seats. The Committee rejected the
proposal of the Federal Diet (see Note 13) to create a directory of three men to constitute a provisional Central Authority of the German Confederation.

At the beginning of June 1848, a similar proposal was submitted to the Frankfurt National Assembly. As a result of the debate, the Assembly decided on June 28 to form a provisional Central Authority composed of an Imperial Regent and an Imperial Ministry.

52 The “property of the entire nation” — the words inscribed by armed workers in Berlin on the walls of the palace of the Prince of Prussia, who had fled to England during the March revolution of 1848.

53 The reference is to the republican insurrection in Baden, led by the petty-bourgeois democrats Friedrich Hecker and Gustav Struve, which was crushed in April 1848. The main regions of the insurrection were the Lake district (Seekreis) and the Black Forest (Schwarzwald).

54 See Note 23.

55 On June 9, 1848, the Frankfurt National Assembly rejected a Bill bringing the approval of any future peace treaty with Denmark within the Assembly’s jurisdiction. The Assembly thus avoided taking any responsibility for the final settlement of the Schleswig-Holstein question and allowed the Federal Diet complete freedom of action on this issue.

56 Part of this article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Articles from the “Neue Rheinische Zeitung”, 1848-49, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972.

57 The decree on the press, by Frederick William IV, published on March 18, 1848, cancelled the censorship of periodicals and introduced caution money (from 500 to 2,000 talers) instead as a guarantee against the publication of anti-government articles; this system existed in Prussia until the adoption of the 1874 press law.

58 This was how the conflict between the King and the United Diet (see Note 25) in 1847 was described in government circles.

59 On March 24, 1848, soldiers and non-commissioned officers killed on the night of March 18 during the popular insurrection were buried at the Invaliden Cemetery in Berlin. In their public announcements the authorities deliberately underestimated the number of casualties in order to disguise the extent of the fighting and to cover up the fact that the troops had been beaten by the people.

60 Among the Left deputies of the Prussian National Assembly were Johann Jacoby, Georg Jung, Karl d’Ester and Benedikt Waldeck.

61 On June 3, 1848, the Berlin National Assembly debated a motion that members of the Assembly should join the march, organised by students, to the grave of the revolutionary fighters who had fallen in March; the motion was rejected by a majority vote.

62 On May 15 and 26, 1848, there was a popular armed uprising in Vienna to defend the gains achieved during the March revolution. This forced the Austrian
Emperor Ferdinand I to proclaim the manifestos of May 16 and June 3, in which he made a number of new concessions; among other things, he gave the status of Constituent Assembly to the Imperial Diet, which was about to be convened.

p. 79

Wends—the German name for the Labe Slavs who, in the early Middle Ages, occupied the territory between the Elbe (Labe) and the Oder (Odra). In the middle of the eleventh century, while fighting against German and Danish expansion, they formed an early feudal confederation, which existed till the first third of the twelfth century; it also comprised a group of West-Slavonian tribes living on the Baltic coast (future Pomerania), who were ethnically close to the Wends.

p. 82

In this article the outcome of the Cologne by-election of June 14, 1848, is compared with that of the general election that had taken place on May 10, 1848. Both were elections of deputies to the Frankfurt National Assembly.


p. 87

Citizens' associations (Bürgervereine), consisting of moderate liberal elements, arose in Prussia after the March revolution. Their aim was to preserve “law and order” within the framework of a constitutional monarchy, and to combat “anarchy”, i.e. the revolutionary-democratic movement.

p. 87

The Democratic Society in Cologne, which met in Franz Stollwerk's Café, was founded in April 1848. Among its members were small proprietors, workers and artisans. Marx and Engels took an active part in the management of the Society. At the meetings, Marx, Engels and other members of the editorial staff of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung managed to get certain resolutions adopted which unmasked the anti-revolutionary policy of the Prussian Government and condemned the irresolute conduct of the Berlin and Frankfurt Assemblies. A year later, when Marx and his followers took practical steps to create an independent mass party of the proletariat, they decided to sever all organisational links with petty-bourgeois democrats, and withdrew from the Democratic Society. Nevertheless they continued to give support to the revolutionary actions of democratic forces in Germany.

p. 87

Enraged by the disavowal of the March revolution by the Prussian National Assembly (see this volume, pp. 73-86), workers and artisans from Berlin stormed the arsenal on June 14, 1848, in order to arm the people in readiness to defend the gains of the revolution. This was, however, a spontaneous and unorganised action and military reinforcements as well as civic militia detachments quickly dispersed and disarmed the people.

p. 89

Influenced by the revolutionary action of the working people of Berlin, the Prussian National Assembly adopted a resolution of June 15, 1848, which declared that the Assembly “does not need the protection of the armed forces but instead places itself under the protection of the people of Berlin”.

p. 89

During the night of August 4, 1789, the French Constituent Assembly, under the impact of the growing peasant unrest, announced the abrogation of a number of feudal obligations which had already been abolished by the insurgent peasants.

p. 89
On March 21, 1848, Frederick William IV, frightened by the barricade fighting in Berlin, issued an appeal “To My People, and the German Nation” in which he promised to set up a representative institution based on the estate principle, and to introduce a Constitution, ministerial responsibility, public trials, juries etc.


The Slav Congress met in Prague on June 2, 1848. It was attended by representatives of the Slav countries forming part of the Austrian Empire. The Right, moderately liberal wing, to which Palacký and Šafařík, the leaders of the Congress, belonged, sought to solve the national problem through autonomy of the Slav countries within the framework of the Habsburg monarchy. The Left, radical wing (Sabina, Frič, Libelt and others) wanted to act in alliance with the revolutionary-democratic movement in Germany and Hungary. Radical delegates took an active part in the popular uprising in Prague (June 12-17, 1848), which was directed against the arbitrary rule of the Austrian authorities, and were subjected to cruel reprisals. On June 16, the moderate liberal delegates declared the Congress adjourned for an indefinite period.

After the suppression of the Prague uprising, the Czech liberals took the lead of the national movement, which they turned into an instrument against the revolutionary-democratic forces of Germany and Hungary, and into a prop for the Habsburg monarchy and, indirectly, for Russian Tsarism. This was the reason why the Neue Rheinische Zeitung denounced this movement in the months that followed.

The reference is to the wars waged by the peoples of Europe against Napoleonic France in 1813-14 and 1815, following the defeat of Napoleon's army in Russia in 1812. These were, indeed, of a contradictory nature and their character was affected by the counter-revolutionary aims and expansionist policy of the ruling circles in the feudal monarchical states fighting on the side of the anti-French coalition. But especially in 1813, when the struggle was aimed at liberating German territory from French occupation, they turned into a genuinely popular national liberation war against foreign oppression. In this passage, Engels ridicules the over-patriotic zeal with which the representatives of Germany's ruling classes speak of the 1813-14 and 1815 wars. Later, when once again considering that period of the history of Germany, Engels in a series of articles entitled “Notes on the War” (1870) stressed the progressive nature of the people's resistance to Napoleon's rule and in his work The Role of Force in History (1888) wrote: “The peoples' war against Napoleon was the reaction of the national feeling of all the peoples, which Napoleon had trampled on.”

The battle of the nations at Leipzig (October 16-19, 1813) ended with victory for the Russian, Prussian, Austrian and Swedish troops over Napoleon's forces.

At the battle of Waterloo (June 18, 1815) Napoleon's forces were defeated by British and Prussian troops commanded by Wellington and Blücher.
Most Prussian fortresses capitulated to the French without a fight after the defeat of the Prussian troops at Jena and Auerstedt (October 14, 1806). The fortress of Cüstrin, for instance, surrendered to a small French detachment on November 10, 1806, and Magdeburg, with its many-thousand-strong garrison and artillery, was surrendered by General Kleist on November 8, 1806, after the first salvo fired by the French from light field mortars.

The Prussian General Pfuel ordered the heads of captured insurrectionists in Posen in 1848 to be shaved and their arms and ears branded with lunar caustic (in German Höllenstein, i.e. stone of hell). This was how he got the nickname "von Höllenstein".

The assault upon the arsenal on June 14, 1848 (see Note 67) led to a ministerial crisis in Prussia and the downfall of the Camphausen Government. The conservative and aristocratic members of the Government, Kanitz, Schwerin and Arnim, resigned on June 17. An attempt to reorganise the Government failed and on June 20 the entire Ministry resigned.


The reference is to the national liberation war against Austrian domination. On March 18, 1848, a popular armed uprising broke out in Milan, the capital of Lombardy; and after five days of bitter fighting the Austrian troops were driven out. The Austrians were also driven out of the Venice region, where a republic was proclaimed. On March 25, Charles Albert, King of Sardinia (Piedmont), declared war on Austria in the hope of exploiting the patriotic movement in his own dynastic interests. In April, the Italian army won a number of minor victories in the vicinity of Verona, but the hesitant policy of Charles Albert resulted in a serious defeat for the Italians at Custozza on July 25, 1848, and the Austrian army under the command of Field Marshal Raderzky reoccupied Milan on August 6. On August 9, Charles Albert concluded an armistice, which aroused vehement popular protests. Once again Lombardy found itself under the yoke of the Austrian Empire.

Fighting was resumed in March 1849, but the Sardinian forces were routed on March 21-23 at the battles of Mortara and Novara.

The Provisional Government of Lombardy was formed on March 22, 1848, after the Austrian troops had been driven out of Milan; its members were mainly moderate liberals.

Pandours—soldiers of the Austrian army, whose irregular infantry units were recruited mainly in the South-Slav provinces of the Austrian Empire.
The article was written a few days before a new Government which replaced the Camphausen Ministry was finally formed. The formal head of the new Government—the so-called Government of Action (June 26-September 21, 1848)—was Rudolf von Auerswald, a dignitary close to the Court; Hansemann, one of the candidates for the post of Prime Minister, remained the Minister of Finance just as he had been under Camphausen, but was the actual leader of the Government. Representatives of the Right groups, such as Milde and Gierke, entered the Ministry together with some of the former Ministers. Karl Rodbertus, one of the leaders of the Left Centre, was also a member of the Government, but he soon resigned from his post.

p. 111

An allusion to the speech from the throne made by Frederick William IV at the opening of the United Diet on April 11, 1847. The King said he would never agree to grant a Constitution which he described as a “written scrap of paper”.

The words “bourgeois grain and wool merchants” refer to Camphausen who, in his youth, engaged in oil and corn trading, and to Hansemann who started his commercial career as a wool merchant.

p. 115

An English translation of this article was first published in the collection: Karl Marx, On Revolution, ed. by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971 (“The Karl Marx Library” series), under the title “Prussia’s Feudal Reforms”.

p. 117

Liege money—dues which the feudal lord was entitled to receive on the selling of a vassal estate.

p. 117

See Note 69.

p. 118

Patrimonial jurisdiction—the right of landlords to pass judgment upon their peasants and to fine them; limited in Germany in 1848 and abolished in 1877.

p. 118

The Bill on the establishment of mortgage banks envisaged the founding of annuity-offices for the realisation of the redemption of peasant obligations under terms extremely favourable to the landlords. The bank was to advance compensation to the landlords amounting to eighteen times the value of the annual obligations of the peasants, the latter having to pay back this sum within 41 years.

p. 118

Between 1807 and 1811, the Ministers Stein and Hardenberg carried out certain agrarian reforms in Prussia. In October 1807, serfdom was abolished but all the feudal obligations of the peasants remained. In September 1811, the peasants received the right to redeem their obligations on the condition that they surrendered up to half of their land to the landlord or paid a corresponding sum of money. In 1845, the amount of the redemption payment was established at twenty-five times the value of annual feudal dues.

p. 118

The article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Articles from the “Neue Rheinische Zeitung”: 1848-49, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972.

p. 119

Following the revolutionary action of the Viennese masses on May 15, 1848, Emperor Ferdinand and his Court fled to Innsbruck, a small town in Tyrol, which became the mainstay of feudal aristocratic counter-revolution.
Engels is referring to the spontaneous rising of textile workers in Prague towards the end of June 1844. The revolt, in the course of which mills were destroyed and machines smashed, was brutally crushed by Austrian troops.

The full title of this Committee, which was set up in Vienna during the revolutionary events of May 1848, was the Committee of Citizens, the National Guard and Students for Maintaining Safety and Order and Defending the Rights of the People.

By referring to Windischgrätz as the Tilly of Prague Engels is comparing him with Johann Tilly, the army commander of the Catholic League during the Thirty Years' War, famous for the savage way he dealt with the Protestant population of conquered towns as well as for his military pillage.

The national guard—an armed civic militia that was formed in Paris at the beginning of the French revolution of 1789-93 and existed, with intervals, till August 1871. During the February revolution of 1848, a considerable section of the national guard took the side of the insurgents, but in the course of the Paris uprising in June 1848 the Provisional Government employed the national guards of bourgeois districts in the fight against the workers.

In the Neue Rheinische Zeitung this item was followed by a report on the events in Paris printed in smaller type and based, apparently, on the French newspapers which had just arrived. Part of it read: "The immediate cause of the new uprising was measures directed at abolishing the national workshops—censuses of the workers, expulsion of workers who were not born in Paris to their native parts or to Sologne to build canals, introduction of piecework in the remaining workshops etc.—as well as the law on reintroduction of caution money for journals, open attacks (see today's issue of our paper, 'Paris', June 22) on the popular press, debates in the National Assembly so closely resembling those in the Chamber of Peers under Louis Philippe that even the noble knight Montalembert, in his speech at the session on the 22nd, said the same things, in a somewhat different form, which he had said shortly before the February revolution in defence of money-bags, the law against street gatherings etc."

The report quoted at length the French newspaper Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires' account of the events of June 22 in Paris. It was hostile towards the insurgents and misrepresented their conflict with the Minister of Public Works, Marie, a moderate republican and spokesman of the Government. For this reason the Neue Rheinische Zeitung's report ended with a warning: "It should not be forgotten that the Journal des Débats, which printed this report, is an old Court sheet and Marie is an advocate of the law against street gatherings and the man of the National."

This refers to the address sent by the electors of Berncastel to August Reichensperger, their deputy in the Prussian National Assembly, expressing their indignation at his conduct, and that of other deputies from the Rhine Province, during the debate on the revolution: their vote to pass on to the agenda was considered repudiation of the revolution.

The reference is to the Labour Commission that met at the Luxembourg Palace under the chairmanship of Louis Blanc. This was set up on February 28, 1848, by the Provisional Government under pressure from the workers, who demanded a
Ministry of Labour. The Commission, in which both workers and employers were represented, acted as mediator in labour conflicts, often taking the side of the employers. The revolutionary action of Paris workers on May 15, 1848, led to the end of the Luxembourg Commission, since the Government disbanded it next day.

National workshops were instituted by a government decree immediately after the February revolution of 1848. The Government thus sought to discredit Louis Blanc’s ideas on the organisation of labour in the eyes of the workers and, at the same time, to utilise the workers of the national workshops organised on military lines in the struggle against the revolutionary proletariat. Revolutionary ideas, however, continued to gain ground among workers employed in the national workshops, and the Government took steps accordingly to limit the number of workers employed in them, to send some off to public works in the provinces etc. This caused great indignation among the Paris proletariat and was one of the reasons for the June uprising. After its suppression, the Cavaignac Government issued a decree disbANDING the national workshops (July 3, 1848).

On June 7, 1848, the Constituent Assembly passed a law against gatherings. Any violation of this law was punishable by imprisonment of up to ten years.

101 The mobile guard was set up by a decree of the Provisional Government on February 25, 1848, to fight against the revolutionary masses. These armed units consisted mainly of lumpenproletarians and were used to crush the June uprising in Paris.

102 The Palais Royal was the residence of Louis XIV from 1643; in 1692 it became property of the Orléans branch of the Bourbons. Following the February revolution of 1848 it was proclaimed state property and its name was changed to Palais National.

103 The reference is to the Café Tortoni on the boulevard des Italiens; when the Stock Exchange was closed, business transactions were carried on in this café and its vicinity. As distinct from the official Stock Exchange, the Café Tortoni and the adjacent district became known as the “small Stock Exchange”.

104 The municipal guard of the republic (also known as the republican guard)—a detachment of 2,600 men subordinated to the Prefect of Police—was formed on May 16, 1848, by decree of the French Government, frightened by the revolutionary action of the Paris workers on May 15. The republican guard fulfilled police functions in Paris.

105 This article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Articles from the “Neue Rheinische Zeitung”. 1848-49, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972.

106 An article published in The Northern Star No. 557, June 24, 1848, under the title “The New Rhenish Gazette” stated: “Neue Rheinische Zeitung is the title of a new daily journal lately started at Cologne. This journal, which announces itself ‘the organ of the democracy’, is conducted with singular ability and extraordinary boldness; and we hail it as a worthy, able, and valiant comrade in the grand crusade against tyranny and injustice in every shape and form. The principal editor is Dr. Marx, one of the ablest of the defenders of Labour’s rights in Europe. The assistant editors include W. Wolff, of Breslaw, a sterling democrat: Dr.
Dronke, of Coblentz, ex-state prisoner; F. Wolff, of Cologne (was ten years in Paris); H. Bürgers (of Cologne, a favourite popular orator, and member of the first popular assembly at Frankfort); Frederick Engels, whose able writings have often graced the columns of the Star; and George Weerth, a name honourably known to our readers as the unmasker of the Freetrade delusionists at the celebrated Brussels Conference. We wish our contemporary a long career of usefulness and victory.”

Words from the French patriotic song based on the Song of the Girondists from Chevalier de Maison-Rouge, a play by Alexandre Dumas (father) and Auguste Maquet which was staged in 1847. The words and music of the refrain are taken from Rouget de Lisle. The song won wide popularity not long before the 1848 revolution and was known as “the second Marseillaise”.

The Society of the Rights of Man and the Citizen was a democratic organisation that arose during the July monarchy. Led by Armand Barbès, Aloysius Huber and others, the Society united a number of clubs in the capital and the provinces and fought for the implementation of the Jacobin Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen adopted in 1793. Some of the members of this Society were leaders of the June uprising. For instance, the retired officer Kersausie, Chairman of the Society’s Committee of Action, drew up a plan for an armed uprising which was partially carried out during the June events in Paris.

The reference is to the heroic defence of Saragossa during the Spanish people’s war of liberation against Napoleon’s rule. The city was twice besieged by the French (from June to August 1808 and from December 1808 to February 1809) and it was only after the second siege, during which over 40,000 of its defenders perished, that Saragossa surrendered to the superior forces of the French.

The municipal guard of Paris, formed after the July revolution of 1830, was subordinate to the Prefect of Police and used to suppress popular uprisings. Following the February revolution of 1848, the municipal guard was disbanded.

The Île Louvier, separated from the right bank by a narrow branch of the Seine, was connected with the mainland in 1844, forming a stretch between the boulevard Morland and the Henry IV embankment.

An allusion to the fact that, in suppressing the proletarian uprising, the republican guard undertook police functions similar to those of the monarchist municipal guard.

A passage from this article by Marx was later included in the first article of the series “From 1848 to 1849” (subsequently published by Engels under the title The Class Struggles in France), printed in the journal Neue Rheinische Zeitung: Politisch-Ökonomische Revue in 1850.

An English translation of this article was first published in 1851 under the title “June 29, 1848” in No. 16 of the Chartist weekly Notes to the People which was edited by Ernest Jones. Later translations appeared in England and the United

The party which formed around the daily paper *Le National* in the 1840s was composed of moderate republicans headed by Armand Marrast; it was supported by the industrial bourgeoisie and a section of the liberal intellectuals.

The party that supported the French daily *La Réforme* consisted of democrats and republicans headed by Ledru-Rollin; petty-bourgeois socialists led by Louis Blanc were also associated with it.

The *Executive Committee* (the Commission of the Executive Government) — the Government of the French Republic set up by the Constituent Assembly on May 10, 1848, to replace the Provisional Government which had resigned. It survived until June 24, 1848, when Cavaignac's dictatorship was established.

The dynastic opposition — an oppositional group in the French Chamber of Deputies during the July monarchy (1830-48). The group headed by Odilon Barrot represented the views of the liberal industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, and favoured a moderate electoral reform, which they regarded as a means of preventing revolution and preserving the Orléans dynasty.

The legitimists were supporters of the Bourbon dynasty, which was overthrown in 1830. They upheld the interests of the big hereditary landowners.

See Note 49.

The reference is to an official poster which appeared in the streets of Paris on June 26 announcing that "the insurgents have been defeated, the struggle has ceased, and order has triumphed over anarchy".

This article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung", 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972.

The reference is to the Paris uprising of June 5-6, 1832, prepared by the Left wing of the republicans as well as by members of secret societies including the Society of the Friends of the People. The uprising flared up during the funeral of General Lamarque, an opponent of Louis Philippe's Government. The insurgent workers threw up barricades which they defended with great courage and persistence.

The royalist uprising in Paris on 12 and 13 Vendémiaire (October 4 and 5), 1795, was suppressed by the republican troops under the command of General Bonaparte.

On July 25, 1792, the Duke of Brunswick, commander-in-chief of the Austro-Prussian army fighting against revolutionary France, issued a manifesto, in which he threatened to raze the whole of Paris to the ground. p. 165

In 1785 an uprising against the rule of the aristocracy and the Catholic clergy who supported William of Orange broke out in the Netherlands. The uprising, which was led by the republican bourgeoisie, deposed William of Orange. Two years later, however, with the help of Prussian troops, he again became the Stadholder of the Netherlands. p. 165

Under an agreement between Britain, France and Russia concluded at the London Conference of 1830, Greece, whose people rose in revolt against Turkish rule in 1821 and won national independence, was to become a monarchy. The Bavarian Prince Otto was made King of Greece in 1832 while still a minor. He arrived in Greece accompanied by Bavarian troops and high officials and ruled as Otto I. This rule was strongly opposed by the Greek people. p. 165

At the Congress of the Holy Alliance (a covenant of European monarchs founded on September 26, 1815, on the initiative of the Russian Emperor Alexander I and the Austrian Chancellor Metternich), which began in Troppau in October 1820 and ended in Laibach in May 1821, the principle of intervention in the internal affairs of other states was officially proclaimed. Accordingly, the Laibach Congress decided to send Austrian troops into Italy to crush the revolutionary and national liberation movements there. French intervention in Spain with similar aims was decided at the Congress of Verona in 1822.

Ypsilanti was a Greek patriot who made an unsuccessful attempt to raise a revolt against Turkish rule in March 1821. He fled to Austria, was arrested and imprisoned until 1827. p. 165

In the 1820s and 1830s Austria and Prussia supported the clerical and feudal party headed by Dom Miguel, which opposed any measures designed to restrict absolutism in Portugal. p. 165

Austria and Prussia supported Don Carlos, who in 1833 started a civil war in Spain in order to win the throne with the help of the clerical and feudal party. p. 165

See Note 36. p. 166

See Note 83. p. 167

The party of the National—see Note 115.

The party of Thiers united bourgeois politicians with royalist tendencies supporting the Orléans dynasty and voicing their opinions in the newspaper La Constitutionnel. Before February 1848, they upheld a monarchy with republican institutions and thereafter a republic with monarchical institutions.

The dynastic opposition—see Note 117. p. 168

The Executive Committee—see Note 116.

The September Laws—see Note 8. p. 168

The reference is to the clashes between Prussian troops stationed at Trier and its citizens on May 2, 3 and 4, 1848, provoked by the authorities. On the order of
Schreckenstein, commander of the 2nd Army Corps, the civic militia of Trier was disbanded. p. 171

136 See Note 8. p. 171

137 The *Holy Hermandad*—a league of Spanish cities founded at the end of the fifteenth century with the co-operation of the royal authorities who wanted to make use of wealthy townspeople in their fight against the feudal magnates in an attempt to establish royal absolutism. From the middle of the sixteenth century the armed forces of the Holy Hermandad carried out police functions. Thus the police in general has often been ironically labelled the "Holy Hermandad". p. 177

138 Anneke spoke at the meeting of the Cologne Workers' Association (see Note 245) which took place at the Gürzenich Hall on June 25, 1848, to debate the setting up of a united commission which was to consist of representatives from the three democratic organisations of Cologne: the Democratic Society, the Workers' Association and the Association for Workers and Employers. p. 178

139 The *Code pénal*—the penal code adopted in France in 1810 and introduced into the regions of Western and South-Western Germany conquered by the French. The *Code pénal* and the *Code civil* remained in effect in the Rhine Province even after the region was annexed by Prussia in 1815. The Prussian Government attempted to reduce the sphere of its application and reintroduce the Prussian Penal Code: a whole series of laws and decrees were promulgated designed to guarantee feudal privileges. These measures, which met great opposition in the Rhineland, were annulled after the March revolution by the decrees issued on April 15, 1848. p. 178

140 On March 3, 1848, Anneke was arrested together with Gottschalk and Willich because they had helped to organise a mass meeting in Cologne. All three were accused of "incitement to revolt and founding an illegal association". They were released from prison on March 21, 1848, on the royal amnesty. p. 178

141 The *Köslin address*—on May 23, 1848, junkers and officials of the town of Köslin (Pomerania) issued an appeal to the Prussian population to march on Berlin to crush the revolution. p. 181

142 These countries were the chief markets for Prussia's spinning and weaving industry. They were lost even before the revolution of 1848 and 1849. p. 182

143 The Prussian General Pfuel ordered the heads of captured Polish insurgents in Posen to be shaved in order to humiliate them. p. 182

144 During the summer of 1848, a special detachment of armed men dressed in civilian clothes was set up in Berlin. These persons were to be used in addition to the regular police to break up street gatherings and mass demonstrations. Another of their functions was to gather intelligence. These special policemen were called "constables" by analogy with the special constabulary employed in England to disperse the Chartist demonstration on April 10, 1848. p. 185

145 At the close of the session of July 4, 1848, the Prussian National Assembly decided to grant the committee investigating the events at Posen unlimited authority. Contrary to all parliamentary rules, representatives of the Right attempted to
organise a vote on a motion to limit the powers of the committee. The deputies of the Left walked out of the Assembly in protest. The Right made use of this to pass the motion prohibiting the committee from travelling to Posen and interrogating witnesses and experts on the spot. Thus the Assembly’s original decision was illegally annulled. For debates on the Posen committee see this volume, pp. 57-61, 195-98 and 200-07.

On April 8, 1848, during a secret mission on behalf of the King of Prussia Major Wildenbruch handed a Note to the Danish Government. It stated that Prussia was not fighting in Schleswig-Holstein in order to rob Denmark of the duchy but merely in order to combat “radical and republican elements in Germany”. The Prussian Government tried every possible means to avoid official recognition of this compromising document.

The article was published in a special supplement to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 39, and also in No. 40 of this newspaper where it was dated “Cologne, July 9”.

See Note 145.

The Thirty Years’ War, 1618-48—a European war, in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs and the German Catholic princes rallied under the banner of Catholicism and fought against the Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands and a number of German states. The rulers of Catholic France—rivals of the Habsburgs—supported the Protestant camp. Germany was the main arena for this struggle, the object of plunder and territorial claims. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) sealed the political dismemberment of Germany.

The Long Parliament (1640-53)—the English Parliament which was convened by Charles I and became the constituent body of the English revolution.

On October 20, 1842, the Rheinische Zeitung published a Bill on divorce which was being secretly prepared in government quarters. This started a broad public discussion of the Bill in the newspapers. The publication of the Bill in the Rheinische Zeitung and the blunt refusal of its editors to name the person who had sent in the text of the Bill was one of the reasons for the suppression of the Rheinische Zeitung. For details see present edition, Vol. 1, pp. 274-76 and 307-10.

Kamptz—member of the Central Investigation Commission in Mainz (see Note 308), which was instituted in 1819 by decision of the conference of German states. He was one of the instigators of the campaign against the representatives of the opposition among students, intelligentsia and other liberal elements; known as the “demagogues”, they upheld Germany’s unity and constitutional reforms.

Black, red and gold—the colours of the national liberation movement in Germany.

On the motion of the Democratic Society (see Note 66), the popular meeting that gathered in Cologne at the Gürzenich Hall on July 9, 1848, adopted an address to
the Prussian National Assembly in which the activities of the Auerswald-Hansemann Government were denounced and the Prussian Assembly was asked to declare the Ministry “divested of the confidence of the country”. p. 210

155 See Note 149.

156 *Svornost*—the Czech national militia formed after the revolutionary events of March 1848 in the Austrian Empire. It was recruited mainly from among students. Its main detachment guarded the Czech Museum in Prague where the Slav Congress was in session (see Note 73). During the June uprising in Prague, this detachment was disarmed and arrested by government troops. The Austrian authorities disbanded the national militia even though it was commanded by moderate representatives of the Czech movement (Baron Karel Villány) who disapproved of the insurgents. p. 213

157 *Fictitious purchases*—business transactions concluded for a definite period during which no transfer of goods or securities takes place. The speculative element arises from the difference between rates of exchange on the market and commodity prices. p. 224

158 See Note 44.

159 The first article, dated “Cologne, July 17”, from the cycle “The Debate on Jacoby’s Motion”, was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the “Neue Rheinische Zeitung”. 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. All the other articles in this cycle are published in English for the first time. p. 232

160 On June 28, 1848, the Frankfurt National Assembly decided to set up a provisional Central Authority consisting of the Imperial Regent (Archduke John of Austria) and an Imperial Ministry. Since the Central Authority had neither a budget nor an army of its own, it possessed no real power. In the Prussian National Assembly the formation of a provisional Central Authority was debated at the session of July 11, 1848, when Johann Jacoby tabled this motion on behalf of the Left deputies. p. 232

161 See Note 13.

162 See Note 12.

163 The *Customs Union (Zollverein)* of the German states, which established a common customs frontier, was founded in 1834 and headed by Prussia. Brought into being by the necessity for an all-German market, the Union embraced all the larger German states with the exception of Austria. p. 236

164 *Vendée*—a department in Western France; during the French Revolution the centre of a largely peasant-based royalist uprising. The word “Vendée” came to denote counter-revolutionary actions. p. 237

165 See Note 149.

166 The *Anti-Corn Law League* was founded in 1838 by the Manchester factory owners Cobden and Bright. By demanding unrestricted free trade, the League fought for the abolition of the Corn Laws, which established high tariffs on imported
agricultural produce in order to maintain high prices on the home market. In this way, the League sought to weaken the economic and the political position of the landed aristocracy, as well as to cut workers' wages. The struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landowning aristocracy over the Corn Laws culminated in their repeal in 1846. p. 238

On April 2, 1848, the republican minority headed by Friedrich Hecker and Gustav Struve walked out of the Preparliament (see Note 12), to show its opposition to the policy of compromises pursued by the liberal majority. They counted on support among broad circles of the revolutionary-minded population in Southern and Western Germany, particularly in Baden. Frightened by the growth of the republican movement, the Baden Government decided to increase its army, asked for military assistance from neighbouring German states and issued an order for the arrest of the republican Joseph Fickler, who was denounced by the liberal Karl Mathy. These measures led to the republican uprising on April 12, 1848, under the leadership of Hecker and Struve. Ill-prepared and lacking organisation, the uprising was crushed by the end of April. p. 239

In most German states elections to the Frankfurt National Assembly were indirect. Under the law of April 8, 1848, the Prussian National Assembly too was elected by two-stage voting. p. 248

See Note 13. p. 249


In June 1848, Danish and Prussian plenipotentiaries met at Malmö (Sweden) to negotiate an armistice in the war over Schleswig-Holstein (see Note 28). An agreement was reached on July 8 and approved by the King and the Prussian Government, but the commander-in-chief, General Wrangel, refused to sign it because it was obviously disadvantageous to the German side. The armistice was signed in a modified form on August 26, 1848 (see Note 271). p. 253

See Note 41. p. 259

An ironical allusion to the Magna Carta Libertatum — a deed which the insurgent barons of England forced King John to sign on June 15, 1215. Magna Carta introduced certain limitations on the royal prerogative, primarily to the advantage of the big feudal lords. Some concessions were also granted to the knights and the townspeople. p. 257

See Note 17. p. 259

On the armistice negotiations with Denmark see Note 171.

The article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 266

See Note 13. p. 266
The **Sound tax** was a toll which, from 1425 to 1857, Denmark collected from all foreign vessels passing through the Sound.

The **Workers' Congress** met in Berlin between August 23 and September 3, 1848, on the initiative of several workers' organisations. At this Congress, many workers' associations united into the Workers' Fraternity. The programme of the Congress was drawn up under the influence of Stephan Born and set the workers the task of implementing narrow craft-union demands, thereby diverting them from the revolutionary struggle. A number of its points bore the stamp of Louis Blanc's and Proudhon's utopian ideas. The editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* did not approve of the general stand taken by Born, but they refrained from criticising his views in the press, bearing in mind the progressive nature of the endeavour to unite workers' associations. The programme of the Workers' Congress was published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (No. 31, July 1, 1848) as a report from Berlin without editorial comment.

On April 6, 1848, the Posen Assembly of the Estates rejected the proposal of the Prussian Government to incorporate the Grand Duchy of Posen into the German Confederation (see Note 13).

The government Bill on the compulsory loan was submitted to the Prussian National Assembly on July 12, 1848.

**Sliding scale** — a way of regulating tariffs on imported grain products practised in England during the operation of the Corn Laws, a system of raising or lowering tariffs in proportion to the fall or rise of grain prices on the home market. One set of sliding-scale regulations was introduced by the Peel Ministry in 1842.

The First Democratic Congress in Frankfurt am Main was held between June 14 and 17, 1848; it was attended by delegates from 89 democratic and workers' associations from different towns in Germany. The Congress decided to unite all democratic associations and to set up district committees headed by the Central Committee of German democrats, with headquarters in Berlin. Fröbel, Rau and Kriege were elected members of the Central Committee and Bayrhoffer, Schütte and Anneke — their deputies. Even after this decision, the democratic movement in Germany still lacked unity and organisation because of the weakness and vacillations of its petty-bourgeois leaders.

The Congress discussed the political programme and organisational structure of the democratic party. A programme point that ran as follows was adopted: "There is only one acceptable constitution for the German people: a democratic republic, i.e. a system under which the whole society is responsible for the freedom and welfare of its every member." However, nothing definite was said about the ways to attain this aim.

Moderate liberal elements in Germany, adherents of the constitutional monarchy, began to unite into constitutional associations and clubs, headed by the Constitutional Club in Berlin, and into citizens' associations (see Note 65). Associations of Right-wing forces sprang up alongside them, particularly in Prussia, such as the Prussian associations (*Preussenvereine*) and the counter-revolutionary Association for the Protection of Property and the Well-Being of All...
Classes. Catholic organisations in the Rhine Province — associations of Pius IX (Piusvereine) — which campaigned for a moderate constitutional programme resorting to demagogical phraseology, joined either the liberal or the reactionary camp. p. 289


Feudalism was abolished, and juries and the *Code Napoléon* were introduced in the Rhine Province during the French Revolution and Napoleon’s Empire. Feudal relations were not restored in the Rhineland even after its incorporation into Prussia (1815) where remnants of feudalism survived in spite of the reforms of 1807-11, allowing redemption of feudal obligations.

The Bill abolishing feudal obligations was submitted to the Prussian National Assembly by the Minister of Agriculture Gierke on July 11, 1848, and discussed on July 18. p. 290

See Note 88. p. 293

See Note 69. p. 295

This article was first published in English in the magazine *Labour Monthly*, 1948, Vol. XXX, No. 8, and later in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the “Neue Rheinische Zeitung”: 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 296

Under the Poor Law of 1834 the only relief available to the poor who were fit for work was admission to a workhouse. These were dubbed “Poor Law Bastilles”. p. 296

In 1824, under mass pressure the English Parliament repealed the ban on trade unions. However, in 1825 it passed a Bill on workers’ associations confirming the repeal of the ban on the trade unions but vigorously limiting their activities. Merely to urge workers to join a union and take part in a strike was considered, for example, as “coercion” and “violence” and was liable to criminal prosecution. p. 297

This refers to bloody clashes between workers and police in Birmingham, Glasgow, Newcastle and Sunderland in 1839. The most significant event was the Newport rising in November 1839, due to the deplorable conditions of the South-Wales miners and growing discontent after Parliament had turned down the Chartist petition and a number of popular Chartist agitators (Henry Vincent and others) were arrested. The leaders of the insurrection intended it to lead to a general armed struggle for the People’s Charter. Three poorly armed insurgent detachments (numbering 3,000 men) entered Newport at dawn on November 4 but were dispersed by troops and police who had been brought in advance. On January 13, 1840, the leaders of the insurgents were sentenced to capital punishment which was commuted to transportation as a result of a protest campaign.

When Parliament rejected the second Chartist petition in August 1842 in conditions of economic crisis and growing poverty, disturbances broke out in some
of the industrial districts in England. In Lancashire and in a considerable part of Cheshire and Yorkshire strikes assumed a general nature and in some places (Stockport, Preston and others) they turned into spontaneous revolts. The Government responded with mass arrests and severe sentences for Chartist leaders.

See Note 166.

The fight for legislative restriction of the working day to ten hours began in England as early as the end of the eighteenth century, and from the 1830s on large sections of the workers became involved in it. In an attempt to use this popular slogan against the industrial bourgeoisie, representatives of the landed aristocracy supported the Ten Hours' Bill in Parliament. The Bill limiting working hours for women and young children was passed by Parliament on June 8, 1847.

This refers to the battle of Custozza, near Verona, between the Austrian army, under the command of Radetzky, and Piedmont troops under the command of King Charles Albert. The fighting went on for three days, from July 23 to 25, without bringing decisive victory to either side. Eventually the Austrian command mustered superior forces and dealt a heavy blow at the Piedmont troops, who were scattered largely due to poor generalship which doomed them to inaction at the decisive moment.

In the battle of Curtatone (five kilometres from Mantua) on May 29, 1848, the Austrian troops forced the Tuscany corps, which fought on the side of the Piedmont army, to retreat. The resistance offered by this corps, however, enabled the Piedmont troops to regroup their forces and on May 30, in the battle of Goito, to hurl back the Austrians to their former positions. Nevertheless, the Piedmont command failed to make use of this success.


In this article the phrase “secret treaties with Napoleon” refers to the Treaty of Tilsit signed in July 1807 by France, Russia and Prussia. In an attempt to split the defeated powers, Napoleon made no territorial claims on Russia and even managed the transfer of part of the Prussian monarchy's eastern land to Russia. He consolidated an alliance with Alexander I when the two emperors met in Erfurt in the autumn of 1808. At the same time, this treaty imposed harsh terms on Prussia, which lost nearly half its territory to the German states dependent on France, had to pay indemnities, had its army limited etc. However, Russia, as well as Prussia, had to sever alliance with England and, to her disadvantage, join Napoleon's Continental System. Napoleon formed the vassal Duchy of Warsaw on Polish territory seized by Prussia during the partitions of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century, and planned to use the duchy as a springboard in the event of war with Russia. Sharp contradictions between France and Russia led to Napoleon's campaign against Russia in 1812.

This refers to the “Appeal to the Germans” issued on March 25, 1813, in Kalisch after the defeat of Napoleon's Grand Army in Russia in 1812. The Russian Tsar and the King of Prussia called upon the Germans to fight Napoleon and demagogically promised them freedom and independence. It later transpired that the monarchs' intention was to use the national liberation movements to strengthen the feudal monarchies and privileges of the nobility.
For the congresses of the Holy Alliance held in Laibach and Verona, see Note 128. The delegates of the states forming the German Confederation held a conference in Carlsbad in August 1819. On the initiative of the Austrian Chancellor Metternich and with the approval of the Russian Tsar, measures of struggle against the opposition movement were worked out. The decisions of the conference were approved by the Federal Diet (see Note 13) on September 20, 1819. The Carlsbad decisions envisaged the introduction of preliminary censorship in all German states, strict supervision of universities, prohibition of students’ societies, establishment of an investigation commission to suppress so-called demagogues.

See Note 164.

See Note 12.

The first partition of Poland took place in 1772 between Prussia, Austria and Russia.

See Note 146.

This refers to the Polish national liberation uprising of November 1830-October 1831. The majority of its participants were revolutionary nobles (the szlachcicy) and its leaders came from the ranks of the aristocracy. It was suppressed by Russian troops, with the support of Prussia and Austria. In spite of its defeat, the uprising was of major international significance because it diverted the forces of counter-revolution and thwarted their plans regarding the bourgeois revolution of 1830 in France and the 1830-31 revolution in Belgium.

This refers to the rescripts by Frederick William IV of February 3, 1847, convening the United Diet, in which the King referred to the laws on estates representation promulgated in Prussia between the 1820s and the 1840s. The convocation of the United Diet (see Note 25) was presented by the King as implementation of his earlier promises to introduce a Constitution.

An allusion to the suppression of the Cracow national liberation uprising in 1846 by Austrian troops and the abolition of the status of the free city of Cracow ("the Cracow Republic") by decision of the three powers — Austria, Prussia and Russia (see Notes 36 and 47).

In the summer of 1848, the anti-feudal movement and the struggle for complete liberation from the yoke of the Turkish Sultan grew in intensity in the Danube principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia), which formally remained autonomous possessions of Turkey. The movement in Wallachia grew into a bourgeois revolution. In June 1848, a Constitution was promulgated, a liberal Provisional Government was formed and George Bibesco, the ruler of Wallachia, abdicated and fled from the country.

On June 28, 1848, twelve-thousand Russian troops entered Moldavia and in July of the same year, Turkish troops also invaded the country. Intervention helped to restore the feudal system and the subsequent entry of Turkish troops into Wallachia, with the consent of the Tsarist Government, brought about the defeat of the bourgeois revolution.

Grave economic difficulties (almost universal crop failure) and natural calamities (cholera epidemics and devastating fires) exacerbated the class contradictions in
Russia in the spring and summer of 1848. This year witnessed the rise of the peasant movement, cholera "riots" in St. Petersburg and Riga and popular revolts in some gubernias, for example, in Vladimir Gubernia. An important seat of revolutionary ferment was the Kingdom of Poland.

The item was printed in the column "French Republic". It deals with the Press Bill submitted to the French Constituent Assembly at the end of July 1848 and widely discussed in the German press. The Bill provided for severe punishment for insult, in the press, of the authorities, attacks on property, religion and family principles. It was passed by the Assembly on August 9-11, 1848.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of July 6, 1848, carried a report received from Ewerbeck, its Paris correspondent, under the heading "Bakunin". The author reported the current rumour that Mikhail Bakunin was in the secret service of Nicholas I and that George Sand was in possession of evidence to this effect. Such rumours circulated among Polish emigrants even before the 1848 revolution. On July 16, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* reprinted Bakunin's statement to the editors of the *Allgemeine Oder Zeitung* in which he refuted these accusations. It also carried Bakunin's letter to George Sand asking her to make a public statement testifying to the falsity of the rumour, which discredited him as a revolutionary. On August 3, Marx received George Sand's letter to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* through the Polish democrat Kościelski and immediately published it with an introductory note from the editors.

In 1853 certain English newspapers accused Marx of having used the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* to spread insinuations against Bakunin. Early in September 1853 Marx refuted these charges — the authors of which were emigrants hostile to proletarian revolutionaries — in statements to the editors of the *Morning Advertiser* and the *People's Paper* (see present edition, Vol. 12). In the statement to the *Morning Advertiser* he recalled that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had published Bakunin's letters of self-acquittal and the relevant letter of George Sand; he also quoted the editors' introductory note to this letter.

Subsequently, in his letter to Lassalle written on March 3, 1860, Marx gave the following description of this episode: "I printed in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* a denunciation of Bakunin received from two different sources in Paris, the one being a Pole I knew and the other — the *Paris lithographic bulletin*, which would anyway have circulated this denunciation to all papers even if I had not printed it. The fact that the accusation was made publicly was in the interest of the cause as well as of Bakunin himself. I reprinted immediately Bakunin's refutation which appeared in the *Neue Oder Zeitung*. Kościelski, whom Bakunin sent to Cologne in order to challenge me to a duel, examined the letters from Paris and became convinced that as an editor I was in duty bound to have the denunciation printed (it appeared as a report with no comments). Therewith he wrote to Bakunin informing him that he could no longer represent his interests. Kościelski became one of the best and most treasured friends of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. I gave public satisfaction to Bakunin in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and made it up with him when we met in Berlin in August 1848. Subsequently (in 1851) I broke a lance defending him in the *Tribune*" (This refers to "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany", an article which Engels wrote for Marx and in which he highly praised Bakunin as a participant in the Dresden uprising of May 1849.)
An allusion to the closest entourage of Frederick William IV (the Gerlach brothers, Radowitz and other prominent figures with counter-revolutionary aspirations).

Proudhon's speech is set forth and quoted in this article according to newspaper reports. The full text of Proudhon's speech at the session of the French National Assembly on July 31, 1848, was published in *Compte rendu des séances de l'Assemblée nationale*, Vol. II, Paris, 1849, pp. 770-82.

The *Inquisition proceedings*—a form of criminal proceedings under absolutism, which allowed extremely wide powers to judges, who combined the functions of prosecutor and examining magistrate, trial in camera, and the use of torture to obtain evidence. The Inquisition proceedings became particularly notorious in Catholic Church courts and especially those of the Holy Inquisition which examined crimes of heresy.

*Lettres de cachet*, i.e. warrants for arrest signed by the King of France at the time of the absolute monarchy. Any person could be imprisoned without investigation or court proceedings.

See Note 92.

The *threshing gardeners (Dreschgärtner)*—the name applied in some places in Germany, particularly in Silesia, to dependent peasants who rented a plot of land with a house from the landowner and, in return, had to work for him (mainly harvesting) for a small payment in cash or in kind.

*Banalities* (the original has *Zwangs- und Bannrechte*)—feudal lords' right to impose taxes on peasants for the obligatory use of flour mills, wine presses etc. owned by feudal lords.

Traditional holidays with carnivals in Belgium to celebrate its separation from Holland and its independence proclaimed at the time of the 1830 revolution.

The debates on the Grand Duchy of Posen were held in the Frankfurt National Assembly on July 24-27, 1848.

Engels refers to the repeated promises of Frederick William III to introduce a Constitution in Prussia based on the estate principle.

This refers to the cowardly and servile conduct of the Prussian bureaucracy after the defeat of Prussia by Napoleonic France in the battles of Jena and Auerstedt in October 1806 (see also Note 77).

The treaties signed by Russia, Prussia and Austria in Vienna on May 3, 1815, and the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna signed on June 9, 1815, which legalised the abolition of the Duchy of Warsaw established in 1807 by Napoleon and a new partition of the Polish lands between Austria, Prussia and Russia, pledged that representative bodies and national political institutions would be set up in all
Notes

Polish lands. In Posen this resulted in the convocation of an assembly of the estates endowed with advisory functions. p. 343

See Note 36. p. 344

The Convention of Jaroslawiec was concluded between the Posen Committee of Polish insurgents and the Prussian Commissioner General Willisen on April 11, 1848. It stipulated that the Polish insurgents were to lay down their arms and disband. In return, the Poles were promised the “national reorganisation” of Posen, i.e. the formation of a Polish army, the appointment of Poles to administrative and other posts and recognition of Polish as an official language. However, the Convention was treacherously violated by the Prussian administration, and the national liberation movement in Posen was brutally suppressed by Prussian troops. The border between the western (“German”) part of the Duchy of Posen, which was not liable to reorganisation, and the eastern (Polish) one, was shifted further to the east. The promised “reorganisation” was never carried out. p. 346

See Note 149. p. 346

The chambers of reunion (chambres de réunion) were set up by Louis XIV in 1679-80 to justify and provide legal and historical grounds for France’s claims to certain lands in neighbouring states, primarily in the territory of Germany; these lands were subsequently occupied by French troops. p. 347

The Polish Constitution of 1791 expressed the aspirations of the progressive sections of the nobility and urban bourgeoisie. It abolished the liberum veto (the principle that resolutions of the Diet could only be passed unanimously) and the elective monarchy, provided for a Government responsible to the Diet and granted the urban bourgeoisie various political and economic rights. The Constitution was directed against feudal anarchy and aimed at strengthening the Central Authority; it also alleviated to some extent the position of peasant serfs by recognising the legal force of commutation agreements between landowners and peasants. As a result of the revolt of the nobility and the interference on the part of Catherine II of Russia and Frederick William II of Prussia, the Constitution was repealed in 1792-93 and a second partition of Poland between Russia and Prussia took place. p. 351

The majority of deputies to the Frankfurt National Assembly were members of the liberal Centre which, in its turn, was split into two factions — the Right Centre (Dahlmann, Gagern, Bassermann, Mathy, Mevissen and others) and the Left Centre (including Mittermaier, Werner and Raveaux). The deputies of both centres were supporters of the constitutional monarchy. p. 354

On August 6, 1848, troops of all German states were, by an order issued by the Imperial Minister of War Peucker on July 16, 1848, to take the oath of allegiance to the Imperial Regent Archduke John at the celebration parade. Frederick William IV, who himself claimed to be the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of the German Confederation, cancelled the parade in Prussia appointed for August 6. p. 359

Janiszewski apparently quoted the following words by Jean Jacques Rousseau addressed to the Poles: “If you cannot prevent the enemy from swallowing you
up, try at least to prevent him from digesting you.” See also his work *Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne, et sur sa réformation projetée.* p. 366

At a session of the Frankfurt National Assembly on August 7, 1848, Deputy Brentano spoke in favour of amnesty for the participants in the Baden republican uprising and for their leader Hecker. The Right-wing deputies kept interrupting Brentano and finally forced him to leave the rostrum. p. 368

Paragraph 6 of the *Fundamental Rights of the German People* worked out by the Frankfurt National Assembly as part of the future Constitution (it was adopted on August 2, 1848) abolished all estates privileges and all titles not connected with office. p. 368

Don Carlos who, in 1833, appeared as a pretender to the Spanish throne against Isabella, daughter of King Ferdinand VII, referred to the 1713 law prohibiting succession to the throne along the female line. In 1838-40, Lichnowski took part in the civil war unleashed by Don Carlos and was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general. p. 370

*Wasserpolacken*—original name of ferrymen on the Oder who were mainly natives of Upper Silesia; subsequently it became widespread in Germany as a nickname of Silesian Poles. p. 370

The *Albigensian wars* (1209-29) were waged by the feudal magnates of Northern France, together with the Pope, against the movement of townspeople and the lesser nobility, supported by peasants, in Languedoc, in the south, who were seeking independence from the north. This movement took the form of a “heresy”, being directed against the power and doctrine of the Catholic Church as well as against the secular power of the feudal state. And its adherents were called “Albigenses” from the city of Albi, one of their main centres. The Albigensian heresy was wiped out after twenty years of war, and a considerable part of Languedoc annexed to the lands of the French kings. The whole of Languedoc was annexed to France in 1271, retaining, however, a measure of self-government which was finally abolished at the time of the absolute monarchy. p. 372

See Note 73. p. 374

During the Cracow national liberation uprising in 1846 (see Note 36) the Austrian authorities provoked clashes in Galicia between Ukrainian peasants and detachments of Polish insurgents. When the uprising was suppressed, the participants in the peasant movement in Galicia were severely persecuted. p. 375

The *Wahl-Manifest der radicalen Reformpartei für Deutschland* written by Ruge and published in *Die Reform* No. 16, April 16, 1848, proclaimed “the editing of the rationale of events” as the main task of the National Assembly. p. 377

The reference is to one of the legends woven round the foundation of the Swiss Confederation, the origin of which dates back to the agreement of the three mountain cantons of Schwyz, Uri and Unterwalden in 1291. According to this legend, representatives of the three cantons met in 1307 in the Grütli (Rütli) meadow and took an oath of loyalty in the joint struggle against Austrian rule. p. 377
This refers to a system of general treaties set up by the Vienna Congress (September 1814-June 1815) which embraced the whole of Europe, with the exception of that part then incorporated in Turkey. The decisions of the Congress helped to restore feudal order, perpetuated the political fragmentation of Germany and Italy, sanctioned the incorporation of Belgium into Holland and the partitions of Poland and outlined measures to combat the revolutionary movement.

Lamartine's manifesto (of March 4, 1848)—a circular of the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the foreign policy principles and goals of the Provisional Government of the French Republic.

On July 27, 1848, the Frankfurt National Assembly approved the decision passed earlier by the Federal Diet (see Note 13) to include a number of regions of the Grand Duchy of Posen into the German Confederation, sanctioned the powers vested in the twelve deputies elected from these regions (though the Polish population had refused to take part in elections to the Frankfurt Parliament), confirmed the demarcation line established by General Pfuel in Posen after the repeated transference of this line further east and obliged the Prussian Government “to guarantee the security of Germans residing in Posen”.

This decision aroused strong indignation in democratic circles in Germany. For example, on August 11, a general meeting of the Cologne Democratic Society, presided over by Marx, adopted a resolution of protest against the Frankfurt Assembly decisions on the Polish question and sent it to the Assembly (see this volume, pp. 564-65).

See Note 230.

For the Cologne Democratic Society, see Note 66.

The Cologne Workers' Association—a workers' organisation founded by Andreas Gottschalk on April 13, 1848. Its 300 members had increased to 5,000, the majority of whom were workers and artisans, by the beginning of May. The Association was led by the President and the committee, which consisted of representatives of various trades. The newspaper Zeitung des Arbeiter-Vereines zu Köln was the organ of the Association, but from October 26 it was replaced by the Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit. There were a number of branches of the Association. After Gottschalk's arrest, Moll was elected President on July 6 and he held this post till the state of siege was proclaimed in Cologne in September 1848, when he had to emigrate under threat of arrest. On October 16, Marx agreed to assume this post temporarily at the request of Association members. In November Röser became acting President and on February 28, 1849, Schapper was elected President and remained in this post until the end of May 1849.

The majority of the leading members (Gottschalk, Anneke, Schapper, Moll, Lessner, Jansen, Röser, Nothjung, Bedorf) were members of the Communist League.

During the initial period of its existence, the Workers' Association was influenced by Gottschalk who, sharing many of the views of the "true socialists", ignored the historical tasks of the proletariat in the democratic revolution, carried on sectarian tactics of boycotting indirect elections to the Federal and Prussian National Assemblies and came out against support of democratic candidates in elections. He combined ultra-Left phrases with very legalistic methods of struggle (workers' petitions to the Government and the City Council etc.) and supported the demands of the workers affected by craft prejudices etc. From the very
beginning, Gottschalk's tactics were resisted by the supporters of Marx and Engels. At the end of June a change-over took place under their influence in the activities of the Workers' Association, which became a centre of revolutionary agitation among the workers, and from the autumn of 1848 onwards, also among the peasants. Members of the Association organised democratic and workers' associations in the vicinity of Cologne, disseminated revolutionary literature, including the "Demands of the Communist Party in Germany", and carried on among themselves education in scientific communism through the study of Marx's writings. The Association maintained close contact with other workers' and democratic organisations.

When, in the spring of 1849, Marx and Engels took steps to organise the advanced workers on a national scale and actually started preparing for the creation of a proletarian party, they relied to a considerable extent on the Cologne Workers' Association.

The mounting counter-revolution and intensified police reprisals prevented further activities of the Cologne Workers' Association to unite and organise the working masses. After the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* ceased publication and Marx, Schapper and other leaders of the Association left Cologne, it gradually turned into an ordinary workers' educational society.

Paragraph 1 of Article 1 of the *Fundamental Rights of the German People* worked out by the Frankfurt National Assembly was adopted at its session of July 21, 1848, with the following wording: "Every German possesses the general German right of citizenship from which it accrues that a citizen of every separate state enjoys all rights of a naturalised citizen of another state."

After the battle of Custozza (see Note 195) the Piedmont troops retreated. On August 4, 1848, they were defeated near Milan, into which the Austrian army of Radetzky entered on August 6. On August 9, 1848, an armistice was concluded under which Piedmont undertook to withdraw its armed forces from the cities and fortresses of Lombardy and Venice, thus surrendering them to the Austrians.

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*Carbonari*—members of bourgeois and aristocratic revolutionary secret societies which appeared in Italy in the early nineteenth century. They fought for national independence and unification of Italy and at the same time demanded liberal-constitutional reforms. The Carbonari played an important role in the revolutionary developments in the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia early in the 1820s and also during the revolutionary struggle in Italy against Austrian rule and local feudal monarchies in the 1830s.

During the revolution of 1821 in Piedmont, Prince Charles Albert of Carignano made overtures to the Carbonari and they appointed him regent. However, afraid to lose his right to the Sardinian Crown if events took an unfavourable turn, he fled from Turin, abdicated his regency and helped to suppress the movement.

The battle of *Goito* (May 30, 1848) was part of the hostilities between the allied Italian forces and Austrian vassals, which started with the battle of Curtatone (see Note 196).

The battle of *Mozambano* (July 24, 1848) was an episode in the battle of Custozza (see Note 195) between the Piedmont and Austrian armies.
In both cases, the Piedmont Command proved incapable of energetic action against the enemy and of taking advantage of successes achieved at separate sectors along the front. p. 388

See Note 248. p. 389

Quotations are taken from the rescript of Frederick William IV dated March 18, 1848, on the speeding up of the convocation of the United Diet (see Note 25). p. 390

See Note 246. p. 391

This is a list of the battles between the Austrians and the French during the French Revolution, the Directory, the Consulate and the Empire, in which the Austrian army was defeated at Jemappes (November 6, 1792), at Fleurus (June 26, 1794), at Millesimo (April 13-14, 1796), at Rivoli (January 14-15, 1797), at Neuwied (April 18, 1797), at Marengo (June 14, 1800), at Hohenlinden (December 3, 1800), at Ulm (October 17, 1805), at Austerlitz (December 2, 1805), at Wagram (July 5-6, 1809). p. 396

Sonderbund—a separatist union formed by the seven economically backward Catholic cantons of Switzerland in 1843 to resist progressive bourgeois reforms and defend the privileges of the church and the Jesuits. The decree of the Swiss Diet of July 1847 on the dissolution of the Sonderbund served as a pretext for the latter to start hostilities against other cantons early in November. On November 23, 1847, the Sonderbund army was defeated by federal forces. p. 396

On the defeat of the Piedmont army at Custozza on July 25, 1848, see Note 195. On July 26-27 the Austrians routed the Piedmont troops at Volta and on August 6, 1848, occupied Milan. p. 396

See Note 238. p. 396

The revolution of 1848 in Italy, followed by revolutionary events in other European countries, was started by the people's uprising of January 12 in Palermo and the successful armed struggle in Sicily against the absolute monarchy of the Neapolitan Bourbons. p. 397

This article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 399

For the storming of the arsenal, see Note 67.

On August 21, 1848, meetings and demonstrations were held in Berlin against the assault, engineered by reactionary forces, on members of the Democratic Club in Charlottenburg (then a suburb of Berlin). The demonstrators demanded the resignation of the Auerswald-Hansemann Ministry and the punishment of those involved in the incidents in Charlottenburg; they also threw stones at the building in which Auerswald and other Ministers met. The Government retaliated with further repression. p. 400

This refers to Prussia's participation in the wars of the anti-French coalition against Napoleon in 1813-14 and 1815 (see Note 76). p. 400
See Note 235. p. 400

This article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 402

The armistice between Sardinia and Austria concluded on August 9, 1848 (see Note 247), was originally to last six weeks but was prolonged. It was annulled on March 12, 1849, but soon after hostilities were resumed the Sardinian army was defeated, Charles Albert abdicated and Victor Emmanuel II, the new King, again concluded an armistice with the Austrians on March 26. p. 402

On August 21, 1848, workers' disturbances started in Vienna, caused by the growth of unemployment and the Government's decree on the reduction of wages. On August 23 the national guards of bourgeois and aristocratic districts opened fire on unarmed workers who were protesting against this measure. The counter-revolutionaries who supported Emperor Ferdinand (who returned to Vienna from Innsbruck on August 12) and his court camarilla, and were preparing to attack the achievements of the revolution, took advantage of the situation, which had undermined the unity of the democratic forces. p. 402

This article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 404

The so-called *Risquons-Tout trial*, held in Antwerp from August 9 to 30, 1848, was a fabrication of the Government of Leopold, the King of the Belgians, against the democrats. The pretext was a clash, which took place on March 29, 1848, between the Belgian Republican Legion bound for its home country from France and a detachment of soldiers near the village of Risquons-Tout not far from the French border. Mellinet, Ballin, Tedesco and other principal accused were sentenced to death, but this was later commuted to 30 years imprisonment, and still later they were pardoned. p. 404

The *German Workers' Association* was founded by Marx and Engels in Brussels at the end of August 1847, with the aim of politically educating German workers residing in Belgium and spreading the ideas of scientific communism among them. Its best cadres were members of the Communist League and it maintained contacts with Belgian workers' and democratic associations. Its activities ceased soon after the February revolution of 1848 in France when its members were arrested and deported by the Belgian police. p. 406

On his arrival in Cologne on April 11, 1848, Marx successfully applied to the Cologne City Council for citizenship. However, the decision was subject to approval by the local royal authorities who were slow in answering. At the beginning of August 1848, after four months' delay, Marx was informed that his application had been turned down. The conduct of the Cologne authorities aroused indignation in the city's democratic circles. The Cologne Democratic Society sent a deputation demanding that police measures against Marx should cease (see this volume, pp. 562-63). In reply to Marx's complaint, the Prussian Minister of the Interior Kühlwetter approved the decision of the local authorities on September 12, 1848 (see this volume, p. 581). Although the protest campaign
prevented reactionary circles from carrying out their schemes with regard to Marx immediately, he was in danger of being deported from Prussia as a “foreigner”. Subsequently, the Prussian Government deported Marx for alleged “violation of the right of hospitality”. This act and repressive measures against other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* caused the newspaper to cease publication in May 1849.

Under the impact of the March revolution in the German states, the Federal Diet (see Note 13) established by its special decision of March 30, 1848, the representation quota to the German National Assembly. On April 7, an amendment to this decision was approved which extended the right to vote and to be elected to political refugees who returned to Germany and were reinstated in German citizenship.

On August 26, 1848, an armistice for the term of seven months was signed between Denmark and Prussia in the Swedish city of Malmö. The armistice provided for a ceasefire between Prussia and Denmark, replacement of the provisional authorities in Schleswig by a new Government to be formed by the two contracting parties (the representatives of the Danish monarchy predominant), separation of the troops of Schleswig and Holstein, and other onerous terms for the national liberation movement in the duchies. The revolutionary-democratic reforms which had been introduced were now virtually eliminated. Though the Prussian ruling circles had waged the war against Denmark in the name of the German Confederation, they sacrificed all-German interests to dynastic and counter-revolutionary considerations when they concluded the armistice. They were also prompted by the desire to avoid complications with Russia and Britain, which supported Denmark. Nonetheless, as Engels foresaw, on September 16, the Frankfurt National Assembly approved by a majority vote the armistice concluded in Malmö.

This editorial note was published in parentheses at the end of the article “The Financial Project of the Left” in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. It gave the following information:

"Berlin, Sept, 6. The deputies Waldeck, Zenker, Anwandter, Krackrügge, Reuter, d'Ester, Stein, Elsner, Otto, Behrends, Jacoby, Schultz and others on the Left have placed the following financial plan before the National Assembly:

"The Ministry is empowered to issue paper money to the sum of — million talers at 3 1/3 per cent interest and to be redeemed in twenty consecutive years against an annual sum of — million talers.

"This paper money will bear the name 'Prussian interest-bearing notes'."

The author then lists the terms of issue and circulation of the above-mentioned "interest-bearing notes" and quotes the opinion of the Left-wing deputies on the advantages of their financial project. The following consideration is given particular mention:

"The above plan will provide the Government with the means it needs to meet the requirements of the state and save it from resorting either to the hated measure of a compulsory loan or the expensive one of a loan from individual bankers....

"By issuing smaller denominations the interest-bearing notes plan will satisfy the pressing need for a freer circulation of capital, which does not occur in the
case of a loan ... make it possible to exchange government bonds, which are sluggish in circulation and exposed to big fluctuations in exchange, for interest-bearing notes; it will also give the private individual and every worker the chance to invest his savings at interest without losing his disposal of them and free him from the cumbersome savings-banks and from the intermediary of bankers with their usual deductions for commission.

"The interest-bearing notes plan will entice out of its hiding-place and bring into circulation the ready cash at present lying unproductively in the hands of timid capitalists and as a necessary consequence promote the flow of ready cash back to the state banks, while at the same time impeding the export abroad of coined metal. This can only be to the benefit of the country....

"The same security that in any case would have to be put up by the Government for any loan will form the security for the Prussian interest-bearing notes, but this plan spares the Government the humiliation of having to haggle with foreign bankers over the amount to be gained by the latter at the expense of Prussia; the plan also gives the Government a favourable opportunity to show the world that Prussia possesses sufficient means within itself to pay for its requirements, thereby reinforcing the confidence of the Prussian people in their own strength and emancipating them from the arbitrary power of foreign usurers."

On August 9, 1848, in view of the frequent sorties of Prussian officers, the Prussian National Assembly voted for the proposal of Stein, a deputy of the Left, requesting the Minister of War to issue an army order to the effect that officers opposed to a constitutional system were bound to quit the army. Despite the National Assembly's decision, Schreckenstein, the Minister of War, did not issue the order; so Stein tabled his motion for the second time at the session of the National Assembly on September 7. As a result of the voting, the Auerswald-Hansemann Ministry had to resign. Under the Pfuel Ministry that followed, the order though in modified form was issued on September 26, 1848, but this also remained on paper.

This refers to the visit of Frederick William IV to Cologne on August 13-15, 1848, in connection with the festivities to mark the sixth centenary of the laying of the cornerstone of St. Peter's Church.

This article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972.

See Note 146.

Re August 10, 1792, see Note 20.

During May 31-June 2, 1793, the Girondist Government representing the republican circles of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, which strove to prevent the further development of the revolution, was overthrown by the masses in Paris. Twenty-nine Girondist leaders were expelled from the National Convention (later on, many of them took part in counter-revolutionary conspiracies and riots), and the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the Jacobins was established in France.

The second, third and fourth articles of this series (dated September 12, 13 and 15) were published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung under the title "Crisis;"

279 Decrees (ordonnances) issued by the King of France on July 26, 1830, abolished freedom of the press, dissolved Parliament and changed the electoral law, reducing the electorate by seventy-five per cent. These emergency measures taken by Charles X's Government led to the July 1830 bourgeois revolution in France as a result of which the Bourbon monarchy was replaced by the Louis Philippe liberal monarchy.

On February 24, 1848, the Louis Philippe monarchy was overthrown and the Second Republic proclaimed in France. p. 430

280 In his message of September 10, 1848, Frederick William IV agreed with the view of his Ministers that the resolution passed by the Prussian National Assembly on September 7, 1848 (see Note 273), was an infringement of the "principle of constitutional monarchy", and approved their decision to resign as a protest against the Assembly's action. p. 430

281 This refers to Stein's proposal accepted by the Prussian National Assembly on August 9 on the resignation of reactionary officers (see Note 273). The Assembly passed a resolution couched in rather mild terms after it had discussed the situation in the army following the shooting down on July 31 by the garrison of the Schweidnitz fortress in Silesia of the civil guard and townspeople, as a result of which 14 people were killed and 32 seriously wounded. The Minister of War was asked to warn officers to abstain from "reactionary tricks", and it was recommended that they resign from the army if they disagreed with the resolution. The Auerswald-Hansemann Ministry raised no objection because it was sure the deputies would not demand the faithful implementation of the resolution. But the Minister of War's non-observance of the Assembly's recommendations led to a conflict between the Government and the Assembly and to a ministerial crisis. p. 432

282 Vendée — see Note 164.

The Constituent Assembly in France (Constituante) held its sessions from July 9, 1789, to September 30, 1791. p. 432

283 On September 13, 1848, a clash took place between the soldiers and officers of the 1st and 2nd Regiments of the Guards stationed in Potsdam. This was provoked by the Command detaining a letter written by the soldiers to Deputy Stein and the National Assembly thanking them for adopting the September 7 resolution on the resignation of reactionary officers. During these disturbances the lower ranks at one point resorted to building barricades. Cuirassiers of the Guards stationed in Nauen refused to obey their officers and attack the civil population. p. 433

284 In 1648 Frederick William, the Elector of Brandenburg, supported the candidature of John Casimir to the Polish throne; in 1656, after taking advantage of the King of Poland's difficult situation he concluded a military pact with Charles Gustav, King of Sweden, and supported his claims to the Polish crown. In
the war of 1655-60 between Sweden and Poland, he manoeuvred between the warring parties and thus secured the final incorporation of Eastern Prussia in Brandenburg.

On April 5, 1795, in Basle, Prussia concluded a separate peace treaty with France, the first anti-French coalition having already begun to disintegrate.

In November 1805, Russia and Prussia concluded a convention in Potsdam on joint action against Napoleonic France. The Prussian Government undertook to join the third anti-French coalition (Britain, Austria, Russia and Naples), but after the defeat sustained by the Austrian and Russian armies at Austerlitz, it renounced its obligations.

This refers to the debate in the Frankfurt National Assembly in the summer and autumn of 1848 on the status of Limburg, a province of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, then part of the German Confederation. Numerous explanations on this subject were offered to the Assembly by representatives of the so-called Central Authority (the Imperial Ministry).

This article was first published in English in the collections: Karl Marx, On Revolution, ed. by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971, and Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972.

After the Ministers sent in their resignation, Frederick William IV, in his message of September 10, 1848, while expressing his agreement with their motives for resigning, asked them to carry out their duties pending the appointment of successors.

This article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972.

On September 16, 1848, the Frankfurt National Assembly ratified the Malmö armistice by a majority vote. This evoked profound indignation among democratic circles and the broad masses. On September 17 the citizens of Frankfurt and the surrounding neighbourhood held a mass protest meeting at which they demanded that the Assembly be dissolved and a new representative body set up. The Imperial Government countered by summoning Prussian and Austrian troops to Frankfurt. An insurrection broke out the next day, but the poorly armed people sustained a defeat despite their stubborn barricade fighting. Unrest in many parts of Germany, particularly in the Rhineland, and another attempt at a republican uprising in Baden on September 21, were an echo of the Frankfurt events.

The first article on the Frankfurt uprising had no title because it was published in the supplement to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung which had no table of contents.

On September 21, 1848, a Ministry headed by Pfuel was formed in Prussia by royal order. It consisted of top officials and high-ranking officers. Outwardly its attitude towards the National Assembly was one of loyalty, but actually the Pfuel Ministry sought to organise and unite the counter-revolutionary forces. Pfuel and
his colleagues paved the way for the overtly counter-revolutionary Government of Count Brandenburg (November 8, 1848), which accomplished a coup d'état in Prussia.

See Note 23.

The Committee of Public Safety consisting of 30 people was formed by the democratic and workers' organisations of Cologne at their mass meeting on September 13, in view of the ministerial crisis in Prussia, the menace of a counter-revolutionary coup and the increasing popular unrest in the Rhine Province aroused by the armistice with Denmark concluded at Malmö. The editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, including Marx, Engels, Wolff, Dronke and Bürgers, as well as the leaders of the Cologne Workers' Association Schapper and Moll, were elected among its members. The Committee of Public Safety became a guiding centre of the Cologne solidarity movement with the Frankfurt insurgents and of the mass struggle against encroachments on the revolutionary gains and democratic freedoms by the Prussian authorities, who started openly to persecute members of democratic and proletarian organisations.

The public meeting at Worringen (near Cologne), at which, besides the townspeople, peasants from the neighbouring villages were present, was called by the workers' and democratic organisations on September 17, 1848. It played an important part in rallying the masses to fight against the counter-revolution. The meeting recognised the Committee of Public Safety in Cologne, adopted an address supporting the protest made by democratic circles against the armistice between Prussia and Denmark and declared for a democratic social republic in Germany. For details on the meeting see this volume, pp. 586-87.

See Note 23.

See Note 137.

The Cologne authorities, frightened by the upsurge of the revolutionary-democratic movement, resorted to police persecution and on September 26, 1848, placed the city in a state of siege "to safeguard the individual and property". The military commandant's office issued an order prohibiting all associations that pursued "political and social aims", cancelled all meetings, disbanded and disarmed the civic militia, instituted courts martial and suspended publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and a number of other democratic newspapers. On October 2 the protest campaign made the Cologne military authorities lift the state of siege, and on October 3 subscription to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was resumed. However, Marx was not able to resume publication of the newspaper until October 12 because of lack of funds and because Engels and Dronke had had to leave Cologne, under threat of arrest.


A popular uprising that took place in Vienna on October 6-7, 1848, was sparked off by the orders of the Austrian Government to dissolve the Hungarian Diet and
send Austrian troops to the Croatian Ban Jellachich who, supported by the Imperial Court, had started a counter-revolutionary campaign against Hungary but sustained defeat at the hands of the Hungarian revolutionary troops on September 29. The masses, headed by the petty-bourgeois democrats, prevented the Vienna garrison from marching on Hungary and, after fierce fighting, captured the city. The Austrian Emperor and his court fled to Olomütz (Olomouc) on October 7, 1848, and were later followed by the Ministry. The majority of Czech deputies to the Austrian National Assembly (Reichstag) who belonged to the national-liberal party departed for Prague in haste.

The reference is to the holidays held in September 1848 to mark the eighteenth anniversary of the Belgian revolution of 1830.


At the session of the Prussian National Assembly on September 29, 1848, Deputy d’Ester demanded that the Government lift the siege of Cologne and call the Cologne Garrison Headquarters to account for unlawful actions.

On October 2, 1848, a group of counter-revolutionary bourgeois in Cologne (Stupp, Ammon and others) handed an address to the Prussian National Assembly in which they stated that the demand that the siege of Cologne be lifted put forward by d’Ester and supported by the Rhine Province deputies Borchardt and Kyll allegedly “does not reflect the mood and opinions of the burghers”.

See Note 245.

For Stein’s Army Order see Note 273.

On September 17, 1848, the commander of the Brandenburg military area, General Wrangel, issued an army order which demanded that “public law and order” be secured, threatened “elements who were against law” and called upon the soldiers to rally around their officers and the King.

When the popular unrest in Cologne provoked by the arrests of democratic and workers’ leaders on orders of the Cologne authorities was at its highest, Marx and his associates called upon the workers to refrain from premature armed actions and from succumbing to provocation in a situation unfavourable for the revolutionary forces. Marx uttered this warning at the meeting of the Cologne Workers’ Association in the Kranz Hotel on September 25, 1848, and later at a popular meeting in the Eiser Hall attended by members of the Cologne Democratic Society.

Thiers’ work published in the newspaper La Constitutionnel in September and October 1848, was later printed in pamphlet form under the title De la propriété, Paris, 1848.

Thiers’ speech was a reply to the proposal made by Deputy Turck to found a state mortgage bank with a fixed rate of exchange.

The Direct Commission of Mainz was founded in 1819 by decision of the Carlsbad conference of German states (see Notes 152 and 199) to investigate “tricks of the
demagogues”, i.e. for the struggle against the opposition movement in the German states. The Commission, whose members were appointed by the individual governments of the German states, was authorised to hold direct inquiries and make arrests in all the states of the German Confederation.

309 The reference is to the “law on the protection of the Constituent National Assembly and the officials of the Central Authority” according to which offences against National Assembly deputies and the officials of the Central Authority were punishable by imprisonment. This law was a repressive measure adopted by the Frankfurt National Assembly majority and the Imperial Government on October 9, 1848, i.e. after the September uprising in Frankfurt.

Black-red-golden—a symbolic combination of colours signifying the unity of Germany.

310 In September 1848 Turkish troops supported by the Tsarist Government occupied Wallachia to suppress the national liberation movement. In Bucharest, they were guilty of bloody outrages against the civil population. The proclamation published by the Turkish government commissioner Fuad Effendi declared the necessity of establishing “constitutional order” and “eliminating all vestiges of the revolution”.

311 See Note 86.

312 See Note 273.

313 On events of August 23 in Vienna see Note 264.

On October 5, 1848, it became known in Vienna that Austrian troops were to be sent to suppress the Hungarian national liberation movement and that a battalion of grenadiers had received marching orders. This news caused general indignation and a popular uprising on October 6 and 7.

314 See Note 133.

315 On May 15, 1848, a popular uprising in Naples, caused by King Ferdinand II’s infringement of constitutional rights, was savagely crushed (see this volume, pp. 24-26), declassed elements (lazzaroni) being active in its suppression.

Early in September 1848 Neapolitan troops sent by Ferdinand II to suppress the revolutionary movement in Sicily bombarded the town of Messina for four days and, having captured it, committed violent outrages. Ferdinand earned for himself the derisive nickname “Bomba”.

The capture of Milan by Austrian troops on August 6, 1848, was accompanied by outrages against the population.

316 See Note 18.

317 In the summer of 1848 the Cologne Public Prosecutor’s office was already trying to start legal proceedings against the editors and the publisher of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, accusing them of insulting the Public Prosecutor and police in connection with the newspaper’s defence of the arrested leaders of the Cologne Workers’ Association Gottschalk and Anneke (see this volume, pp. 176-79). In the autumn, the Cologne Public Prosecutor Hecker issued orders to bring to trial Marx, the editor-in-chief, and Korff, the newspaper’s responsible publisher, for
printing a number of articles, including the proclamation “To the German People” written by the republican Friedrich Hecker. Despite the negative findings of the examining magistrate, who in October 1848 stated that there were insufficient grounds for prosecution, the Public Prosecutor's office insisted on pressing its accusations and, in addition, put forward new ones (see Marx's article "Three State Trials against the Neue Rheinische Zeitung", present edition, Vol. 8). Another charge was brought against Marx for his participation in the revolutionary movement as a leader of the Cologne democratic organisation.

p. 485

\[318\] See Note 310.

\[319\] See Note 139.

\[320\] The reference is to the opposition of Marx and his followers in March 1848 to the plan of the German legion of volunteers to enter Germany with the aim of starting a revolution; this plan was supported by Herwegh, Bornstedt and others (see Note 2).

p. 488

\[321\] The Deutsche Volkszeitung for April 17, 1848, published a report from Paris which censured the German communists' negative attitude towards Herwegh's plan.

p. 488


p. 490

\[323\] The reference is to the Second Democratic Congress which was held in Berlin from October 26 to 30, 1848. Here, a new Central Committee of German democrats (d'Ester, Reichenbach, Hexamer) was elected, the question of constitutional principles was discussed and the “Declaration of the Rights of Man” adopted. However, the motley composition of the Congress led to discord and differences on the main issues. In response to the proposal of the Left-wing representatives to appeal to the people to support the Viennese insurgents, the majority of the delegates, who were against it, walked out. But the appeal was adopted by the rest of the delegates. Though worded in a bombastic style, it actually contained merely an appeal for aid from German governments which were manifestly hostile to revolutionary Vienna. On the whole, instead of adopting resolute measures to mobilise the masses for struggle against counter-revolution, the Congress limited itself to passing sterile and contradictory resolutions.

It took a more consistent and radical position during the discussion of the social question on October 30. Several points of the “Demands of the Communist Party in Germany” were made the basis of the practical proposals of the reporter on this question (the reporter being a delegate from the Cologne Workers' Association Beust) which were submitted for discussion by the Congress to all democratic societies.

p. 490

\[324\] See Note 23.

\[325\] This article was first published in English in the collections: Karl Marx, On Revolution, ed. by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971, and Karl Marx and Frederick
An ironical allusion to the previous political activities of Brüggemann who for his participation in the student opposition movement and his support for freedom of the press at the Hambach festivities (1832), was sentenced to death for “high treason”. This sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. During the amnesty in 1840 Brüggemann was pardoned.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* gives reports on events in Vienna from the above-mentioned *Preussische Staats-Anzeiger*, and the *Allgemeine Oder-Zeitung*.


*Slovanská Lípa*—a Czech national society founded at the end of April 1848. The leadership of the society in Prague was in the hands of moderate liberals (Šafařík, Gauč), who joined the counter-revolutionary camp after the Prague uprising in June 1848, whereas the provincial branches were mostly led by radicals.

During the French Revolution, Koblenz was the centre for the counter-revolutionary émigrés.

See Note 238.

This article was first published in English in the collection: Karl Marx, *On Revolution*, ed. by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971.

The *Academic Legion*—a student military organisation set up in Vienna in March 1848. Each faculty of the University formed a detachment divided into companies. The majority of the Legion were radical democrats. Lecturers and professors of the University as well as writers, poets, journalists and doctors, made up part of the Legion. The Legion played an important part in the revolutionary movement in Austria in 1848.

See Note 101.

Frederick Engels' travel notes “From Paris to Berne” have survived in the form of an unfinished fair copy. Prior to his trip the following events took place: On September 26, 1848, a state of siege was declared in Cologne and an order to arrest some of the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Engels among them (see this volume, p. 593), was issued. Engels emigrated to Belgium and, together with Dronke who joined him en route, arrived in Brussels; but the Brussels police arrested both of them and, on October 4, deported them from Belgium (see this volume, pp. 459-60). On October 5, Engels and Dronke arrived in Paris. After a few days, Engels, who had almost no ready money, started on foot for Switzerland. About November 9 he reached Berne via Geneva and Lausanne, where he stayed for a while. Engels began writing his travel notes in Geneva, as evidenced by the original title to the manuscript, “From Paris to Geneva”. The manuscript is appended with two sheets of sketches drawn by Engels en route (see illustrations between pages 508 and 509 of this volume) between Auxerre (France) and Le Locle (Switzerland).
On the first sheet there are the following designations (in angular brackets are names crossed out by Engels; in square brackets — inexact names of localities in the manuscript):

1) Route from Auxerre to Chalon with marks:
“Auxerre—Saint-Bris—Vermonton—Pont aux Alouette—Lucy le Bois—Avalon—(Rouvray)—Saulieu—(in the direction of Dijon)—Chanteaux—Rouvray—(in the direction of Dijon—Arnay-le-Duc—Château—(a long village)—here I went to the post-office—coal mines—an inn—a beautiful valley, wine—the same—Chagny—Chalon.”

2) Route from Beaufort to Geneva with marks:

On the same sheet there are several drawings, including one of a rider in the Hungarian uniform. There are also discernible names:

- Czechs
- Croats
- Serbians
- Magyars
- Illyrians
- Bosnians
- Slovaks
- Slovenes
- Poles
- Ruthenians
- Bulgarians

On the second sheet there are the following designations:

1) Route from Auxerre to Geneva with marks:
“Auxerre—Saint-Bris—Vermonton—Pont aux Alouette—Lucy le Bois—Avalon—(Rouvray)—Saulieu—(in the direction of Dijon)—Chanteaux—Rouvray—(in the direction of Dijon—Arnay-le-Duc—Château—(a long village)—here I went to the post-office—coal mines—an inn—a beautiful valley, wine—the same—Chagny—Chalon.”

2) Route from Moirans to Saint-Claude with marks:
“Moirans—wind mills—Pont du Lizon [in the manuscript Pt. d’Ison]—Saint-Claude.”

3) Route from Geneva to Le Locle with marks:
“Geneva—Bellerive—Coppe—the most popular songs of the French Revolution. It also remained popular later.

Mourir pour la patrie—see Note 107.

Notes 647
338
On the first sheet there are the following designations (in angular brackets are names crossed out by Engels; in square brackets — inexact names of localities in the manuscript): p. 507

Chant du départ (A Marching Song) — one of the most popular songs of the French Revolution. It also remained popular later.

See Note 100.

The maximum laws and the law against buying up food supplies (June 26, 1793; in the manuscript Engels uses the German transliteration Akkapareurs for the French word accapareur—meaning “usurer”, “profiteer”) were adopted by the Convention under pressure from the masses, who were demanding fixed prices and effective measures against profiteers in food at a time of deepening food crisis and rising prices. The first maximum adopted on May 4, 1793, introduced fixed prices for grain; the decree of September 11, 1793, fixed a single price for grain and flour; on September 29, 1793, fixed prices on other staple goods (second maximum) were introduced. p. 520
All the three receipts are in Engels' handwriting.

The address “To All Workers of Germany” on behalf of the Mainz Workers' Educational Association was drafted by the emissary of the Communist League who arrived from Paris, member of the Central Authority Karl Wallau, and Communist League member Adolf Cluss. The address was published in several democratic newspapers. On April 8, 1848, on their way to Cologne, Marx and Engels stopped at Mainz where, together with the local communists, they discussed the further plan of action aimed at preparing ground for a mass party of the German proletariat with the Communist League forming its nucleus.

On December 1, 1845, Marx, then residing in Brussels, asked officially to be relieved of his Prussian citizenship with the intention of depriving the Prussian authorities, who were making attempts to get him expelled from Belgium, of any opportunity to interfere in his affairs. After the March revolution of 1848 in Germany Marx returned to his homeland and applied for Prussian citizenship. He wrote his application to the police office on the second day after his arrival in Cologne. The rough copy of the application has also survived. The fair and the rough copy of the application are written in an unknown hand; the signature, place and date are in Marx's handwriting. The fair copy differs considerably in some places from the rough one, which mentions Marx's intention to publish the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Apparently Marx thought better about informing the police of this.

On April 18 Marx was summoned to Police Inspector Hünermund who wrote an account of Marx's statement. From the text of the account (see next document) it is evident that Marx declined once again to reveal to the police his plans to publish a newspaper.

Subsequent events showed that Marx had good reason not to trust the police. The Cologne regional police office deliberately delayed answering his application and, after the publication of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, it firmly rejected it. In a report to the Minister of the Interior, the regional police office described the editors of the newspaper as very dangerous revolutionaries who were striving to overthrow the existing system. Oberpräsident of the Cologne Province Eichmann called Marx the “soul” of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, stressing that he was “the most prominent figure among the republicans of Cologne”. The Prussian Government did their best to induce the Cologne police to take measures against the activities of the editor-in-chief of the revolutionary newspaper. This was why Marx was refused Prussian citizenship (see this volume, pp. 407-10).

This document is not included among those kept in the police archives, connected with granting Marx Prussian citizenship. Apparently it was given back to Marx.

This document reflects events prior to the publication of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung and gives new information on the situation in which Marx and his followers were campaigning for the foundation of a truly revolutionary proletarian organ. Before his arrival in Cologne, Marx, who was already planning this publication, got to know from Georg Weerth's letter that Hess and Anneke, members of the Cologne communities of the Communist League, intended to found a democratic newspaper of the same title. An announcement of the publication of a new paper printed in the Kölnische Zeitung on April 7, 1848, above their signatures showed that it was going to be an ordinary local petty-bourgeois
paper, having nothing to do with the class struggle of the proletariat and lacking any understanding of the true tasks of the German revolution. The announcement evoked different responses: various rich bourgeois offered financial advice, petty-bourgeois intellectuals offered to collaborate, Communist League members expressed astonishment at the paper’s programme. Marx and Engels hastened their return to Germany.

On April 11, 1848, they arrived in Cologne and at once started to discuss the idea of a newspaper with Communist League members. Marx and his followers succeeded in strengthening their position. Hess, who was barred from taking part, left Cologne for Paris.

Much effort was made to settle issues with the democrats who, as one of the conditions for supporting the newspaper, demanded a repudiation of republican propaganda; financial problems were also acute, since the cautious attitude of the Rhenish bourgeois towards Marx and Engels’ convictions greatly reduced the financial sources for the newspaper. In mid-April, Engels went to Barmen, Elberfeld and other towns to seek out shareholders.

The decision to include Heinrich Bürgers, who was prone to the petty-bourgeois influence, on the editorial board of the newspaper was a compromise. Bürgers wrote the prospectus, published here, in the spirit of petty-bourgeois socialism, in a moderate and ellusive tone (even the bourgeois Elberfelder Zeitung mentioned on April 30, 1848, the “indefinite expressions” of this “socialist republican document”). The prospectus, however, expressed the intention of publishing an all-German political newspaper rather than a local sheet and the necessity of paying attention to the social question and the condition of the “workers’ estate”. It also proved the importance of choosing Cologne — the centre of the Rhine Province, the most progressive in Germany — as the place of its publication. The names of the editors were not mentioned. Although by that time it had already been decided that Marx would be editor-in-chief, the composition of the editorial board was not yet settled.

Displaying great resourcefulness and persistence in overcoming political and financial difficulties, Marx succeeded in enlisting on the editorial board true proletarian revolutionaries, thus ensuring a clear revolutionary line for the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. In a brief space of time he completed the formidable organisational preparations for a daily political newspaper. At the end of May, the newspapers of the Rhine Province and other parts of Germany announced that the Neue Rheinische Zeitung would begin publication on June 1, 1848. p. 539

344 Before the March revolution of 1848, there existed in Cologne a Communist League community which included d’Ester, Daniels, Bürgers, Anneke, Gottschalk and others, the majority being under the influence of the “true socialists”. At the beginning of April 1848, the community was joined by Communist League members who had returned from emigration. As seen from the minutes published in this volume, soon after the arrival of Marx and Engels in Cologne sharp differences arose between them and Gottschalk. This document is signed by Bürgers and Moll, the leaders of the community; Marx was present at the sitting as the President of the Central Authority of the Communist League. p. 542

345 The meeting of the shareholders who financed the Neue Rheinische Zeitung was held at the end of May 1848, and a provisional committee was elected consisting of Hermann Korff, Karl Wachter and Georg Weerth who apparently undertook the final editing of the Articles. The document was discussed at meetings of shareholders on June 18 and 21; in July, the Articles, printed as a separate pamphlet by Wilhelm Clouth, were sent to the shareholders.
From the very beginning, differences arose between shareholders and editorial board. Many of the shareholders, displeased at the revolutionary trend of the newspaper, refused their contributions. They were particularly disturbed by the articles in defence of the proletarian uprising in Paris in June 1848. This led to the editor-in-chief, Marx, seeking other financial sources (the aid of the German and Polish democrats etc.) including his own personal means. p. 543

Hermann Becker, one of the leaders of the Cologne Democratic Society, despite Marx's objections, invited Wilhelm Weitling who had returned from emigration to address a general meeting.

In his speech delivered on July 21, 1848, Weitling, who called himself "a democrat, socialist and communist", proclaimed as a vital task of the revolution the establishment of a dictatorial Provisional Government consisting of a narrow circle of persons—"very keen people", having in mind himself as the sole dictator. Like Gottschalk, Weitling ignored the bourgeois-democratic character of the revolution and called for immediate and revolutionary fulfilment of his utopian plans for social transformation, considering that political questions merely distracted from the main aim. At the next meeting of the Democratic Society on August 4, Marx gave his reply. We can only judge the contents of his speech from this newspaper report. The author of this highly imperfect report, apparently, did not clearly understand the meaning of Marx's speech and some propositions are therefore presented in very confusing and inexact manner.

In his speech, Marx dealt especially with the peculiarities of the German revolution and its vital task: to eliminate the remnants of feudalism. In his controversy with Weitling, Marx stressed the close connection between political and social struggle, the inseparability and interdependence of political and social demands. The principal difference between Marx's position and that of Weitling was also manifest in the issue of the form of government which should be established after the victory of the revolution. Emphatically rejecting the idea of a one-man dictatorship, Marx saw the necessity to establish a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship founded on the union of those classes which had accomplished the revolution—proletariat, peasantry and petty bourgeoisie. p. 556

The First Rhenish District Congress of Democratic Associations was held in Cologne on August 13 and 14, 1848. Marx and Engels took part in the work of the Congress.

It was proposed that regional committees should be organised of representatives of democratic associations, with their headquarters in a number of cities. The Regional Committee of the Rhine Province and Westphalia was to have its seat in Cologne. The Central Committee of the three democratic associations in Cologne (see Note 348), which was organised prior to the Congress, was confirmed as the Rhenish Regional Democratic Committee, which included, besides its President Schneider II, Marx, Schapper and Moll. Under the influence of the Communist League members—deputies to the Congress—a resolution was passed on the necessity of conducting work among the factory proletariat and also among the peasants. The Congress recommended that every possible support be rendered to the democratic press (this primarily concerned the Neue Rheinische Zeitung).

The Central Committee of the three democratic associations of Cologne—the Democratic Society, the Workers' Association and the Association for Workers and Employers—was organised at the end of June on a decision of the First
Democratic Congress in Frankfurt am Main. This Committee functioned as the Regional Committee until the convocation of the Rhenish Congress of Democrats. Marx was its member.

349 The document is written in an unknown hand, but signed by Marx.

350 This protest was made on August 11, 1848, at a general meeting of the Cologne Democratic Society. The meeting was presided over by Marx (see this volume, p. 562).

351 In its address “To the German People” on April 6, 1848, the Committee of Fifty, which was elected by the Preparliament in April 1848 (see Note 51) and consisted mostly of liberals, called for support for activities aimed “at returning Poles their homeland”. This call was, however, very vague.

352 Marx went to Vienna to strengthen ties with the democratic workers’ organisations and to collect funds for the publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in view of the refusal of many shareholders to subsidise the newspaper after it came out in defence of the Paris insurgents. Marx left Cologne on August 23, and stayed for a few days in Berlin, where he met Left-wing deputies of the Berlin National Assembly, the Russian revolutionary Mikhail Bakunin and other democrats.

Marx arrived in Vienna on August 27. The next day, at a meeting of the Democratic Association, he spoke against the representative of the Berlin Central Committee of Democrats, Julius Fröbel, who supported the proposal to petition the Emperor to dismiss Minister of Labour Schwarzer—the main culprit in the bloody clashes between the bourgeois national guard and the workers in Vienna on August 23, 1848. Marx was opposed on principle to conciliating monarchs. On August 30 Marx delivered a lecture to the first Vienna Workers’ Association on the June insurrection in Paris, noting that German emigrant workers had taken part in it, and on September 2 lectured on wage labour and capital. During his talk with the leader of the German-Bohemian faction in the Austrian National Assembly (*Reichstag*) Borros, he was convinced that the national antagonism between Czechs and Germans did not extend to relations between the workers of the two nationalities since these were united by common class interests.

On his way back, Marx visited Dresden and again Berlin. Here he attended sessions of the Prussian National Assembly and met the Polish revolutionary Kościelski who in the name of the Polish democrats later sent him two thousand talers for the publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. About mid-September Marx returned to Cologne.

353 Reference to Paris is apparently made because of the passport Marx had on him, issued by the Paris police office on March 30, 1848 (see illustrations between pages 408 and 409 of this volume).

354 This excerpt was in the retrospective review signed PBS and published in the supplement to the *Wiener Zeitung*. The author of the review wrote with overt hostility about the “encroachments” of the Left organisations, criticising “a certain association”—this refers to the Vienna Democratic Association—because it let foreign politicians “drastically criticise” the measures of the Austrian Government and breed “distrust”. Having cited Marx, the author exclaims: “For me these words are unforgettable as they reflect all the chasm, all plans of this party.”
On September 8, 1848, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* published the following note by its Vienna correspondent Müller-Tellering concerning this report: “At today's sitting of the first Vienna Workers' Association Marx delivered a speech on the social-economic question.”

In a series of satirical articles, Georg Weerth ridiculed the Prussian reactionary Prince Lichnowski under the name of the knight Schnapphahnski. The articles “Life and Deeds of the Famous Knight Schnapphahnski” were published unsigned in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in August-September and December 1848.

The public meeting in Cologne at which this address was adopted in connection with the debates on the ratification of the armistice at Malmö (see Note 289) in the Frankfurt National Assembly, was convened on the initiative of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, as may be judged from the extant handwritten notes which Marx wrote later (at that time he was away). Engels apparently took part in the drafting of the address. The editorial board of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* published the text of the address in the editorial marked “Cologne, September 8” and supplied it with the following note: “Last night a public meeting was held in Rauch's Riding School to protest against the Prussian-Danish armistice and against the Prussian civic militia law which has been partially passed. Although the posters announcing the meeting were put up only late in the morning, the large hall, which holds no fewer than two and a half thousand people, was filled to overflowing, and at least twice that number were turned away because there was no room....”

During the summer of 1848, the Cologne Workers' Association discussed the social question. Marx's followers (Schapper, Moll and others) were trying to explain to the workers the groundlessness of utopian plans to transform society on the basis of existing capitalist relations, like Louis Blanc's scheme to create a workers' association with the aid of the state ("organisation of labour"), and other similar petty-bourgeois socialist projects. Engels made a detailed report, but its content was not noted in the minutes. The Cologne discussion on the social question was of great importance for the dissemination of the ideas of scientific communism among the workers.

See Note 100.

On July 15, 1848, an Artisans' Congress opened in Frankfurt to work out the Trade Rules. As apprentices were not admitted to the Congress by the worker-masters, the former convened their own congress on July 20 and invited representatives from the workers' associations. The work of the Apprentices' Congress lasted, with intervals, till September 20. At the Congress along with the protest against the narrow position of the Artisans' Congress and the criticism of the Trade Rules the following ideas were widespread: the ideas of the German economist Winkelblech (who took part in the work of both congresses) on the re-establishment of guilds, his theory of "federal socialism", and the desire to evade political questions. The Apprentices' Congress supported the idea of establishing the all-German Workers' Union with the aim of improving the workers' conditions and proposed to the National Assembly that a "social Parliament" be convoked and a "social Ministry" be formed.
A copy of this letter sent to the Cologne regional administration is extant. The postscript runs as follows: "The copy of the above-mentioned instruction is sent to the royal regional administration for information, being at the same time a reply to the notice of the 20th of last month on remission of the application."

In his letters to Görtz, the Chief Burgomaster of Trier, of October 17 and November 10, 1845 (see present edition, Vol. 4), Marx supported his request to be released from Prussian citizenship by stating his intention to emigrate to the United States of America (no other documents testifying to this intention are available). In accordance with this, the letter of Regierungspräsident of Trier von Auerswald to Oberpräsident of the Rhine Province and the Minister of the Interior of November 6, 1845, concerning Marx's release from citizenship mentions the same motive. Officially Marx was released from Prussian citizenship on December 1, 1845.

On the election of Marx, Engels and other editors of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung to the Cologne Committee of Public Safety see Note 292.

The Citizens' Association—see Note 65. Waiters—see Note 23.

On September 11, 1848, soldiers of the 27th Regiment billeted in Cologne clashed with citizens supported by the democratic part of the civic militia.

This proclamation was published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung without title and also as a separate leaflet the title of which is given here. The text of the leaflet differs somewhat from the version printed in the newspaper. Different wording is given in the footnotes.

Because of its lack of funds and other difficulties the publication of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung was resumed not on October 5 but 12, 1848.
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Charles II (Charles Louis de Bourbon) (1799-1883)—Duke of Lucca (1815-47), Duke of Parma from 1847, abdicated in 1849.—24

Charles X (1757-1836)—King of France (1824-30).—153

Charles Albert (Carlo Alberto) (1798-1849)—King of Sardinia (1831-49).—41, 305, 306, 385-89, 395, 396

Chazal, Pierre Emanuel Félix, Baron (1808-1892)—Belgian general, took part in the 1830 revolution; War Minister (1847-50, 1859-66); originally a cloth merchant in Brussels.—336

Chezy, Helmina (Helmine) von (1783-1856)—German romantic authoress.—516

Christian Karl Friedrich August (1798-1869)—Duke of Schleswig-Holstein.—255

Cieszkowski, August (1814-1894)—Polish philosopher and economist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—198, 219

Cincinnatus, Lucius Quinctius (5th cent. B.C.)—Roman politician and general, patrician, model of virtue and simplicity.—234

Clements, Friedrich Jacob (1815-1862)—German philosopher and theologian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848.—367

Clouth, Wilhelm—owner of the Cologne printshop in which the Neue Rheinische Zeitung was printed from June 1 to August 27, 1848.—208, 541, 553

Cluss, Adolf (d. after 1889)—German engineer, member of the Communist League; secretary of the Workers' Educational Association in Mainz (1848); in 1849 emigrated to the United States where he stood as a disciple and follower of Marx and Engels.—535

Cobden, Richard (1804-1865)—English manufacturer, a leader of the free traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League.—151, 238, 299

Coburg—descendants of the Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha dynasty, occupied thrones in Belgium, Portugal and other European countries.—166

Cockerill, John (1790-1840)—English manufacturer.—340

Colomb, Friedrich August von (1775-1854)—Prussian general who commanded the Prussian Army Corps in Posen (1843-48).—92, 104, 210, 313, 491
Congreve, Sir William (1772-1828) — English officer and military inventor. — 134

Corday d'Armont, Marie Anne Charlotte (1768-1793) — participant in a counter-revolutionary conspiracy during the French Revolution, assassin of Marat, executed on the decision of the Revolutionary Tribunal. — 154

Cripps. — 278

Cromwell, Oliver (1599-1658) — a leader of the English revolution; became Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland in 1653. — 80, 237, 439

Crüger, Friedrich — member of the Communist League, took part in the activity of the Workers' Brotherhood founded by Stephan Born. — 534

D

Dahlmann, Friedrich Christoph (1785-1860) — German liberal historian and politician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848. — 237, 414

Damesa, Steriol — merchant. — 569

Damesme, Edouard Adolphe Marie (1807-1848) — French general, commanded the mobile guard during the suppression of the June 1848 uprising. — 136, 137, 160

Dane — deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848. — 330

Daniels, Roland (1819-1855) — German physician, member of the Cologne Community of the Communist League, friend of Marx and Engels. — 541

Danton, Georges Jacques (1759-1794) — prominent figure in the French Revolution; leader of the Right wing of the Jacobins. — 237

Davenant, Charles (1656-1714) — English economist and statistician, mercantilist. — 477

Deckker, C. — grocer, member of the Cologne civic militia. — 574

Del Carretto, Francesco Saverio (c. 1777-1861) — Italian politician, Minister of the Police in the Neapolitan Kingdom (1831-January 1848). — 24

Delescluze, Louis Charles (1809-1871) — French revolutionary; Government Commissioner of the Department du Nord (1848); member of the Paris Commune (1871). — 404

Delolme, Jean Louis (1741-1806) — Swiss statesman and lawyer, advocate of constitutional monarchy. — 430

Denjoy, Jean François Polinis (1809-1860) — French politician, monarchist; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49); later deputy to the Legislative Assembly. — 525

Dierschke — Prussian judicial official; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848. — 82, 181, 182, 327, 328, 330, 331

Doblhoff, Anton, Baron von (1800-1872) — Austrian statesman, moderate liberal; Minister of Trade (May 1848) and Minister of the Interior (from July to October 1848). — 570

Dolleschall — police official at Cologne. — 393

Dombasle, Christophe Joseph Alexandre Mathieu de (1777-1843) — French agronomist. — 469

Dornès, Auguste (1799-1848) — French journalist and politician, moderate republican; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848). — 137

Dronke, Ernst (1822-1891) — German writer, at first "true socialist", later member of the Communist League and an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. — 15, 459, 560, 566, 580, 582, 586, 594

Duchâtel, Charles Marie Tannevuy, Comte (1803-1867) — French statesman, Orleansist; Minister of the Interior (1839 and 1840-February 1848). — 38, 60, 111, 122, 199, 220, 221, 250, 419
Ducoux, François Joseph (1808-1873)—French physician and politician, moderate republican; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848); after the June uprising became Prefect of Police in Paris.—148

Duesberg, Franz von (1793-1872)—Prussian Minister of Finance (1846-March 1848).—36

Dufaure, Jules Armand Stanislas (1798-1881)—French lawyer, Orleanist; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848), Minister of the Interior (October-December 1848) in the Cavaignac Government.—168

Dumont, Joseph (1811-1861)—German journalist, moderate liberal; in 1831 became owner of the Kölnische Zeitung.—150, 152-54, 156, 395, 462, 497, 501

Duncker—Prussian official; in 1848 a leader of the Left Centre in the Prussian National Assembly.—37, 58, 241, 242, 419

Duvernoy, Heinrich Gustav (1802-1890)—Württemberg statesman, Minister of the Interior (1848-49) in the liberal Government.—249

Duivier, Franciade Fleurus (1794-1848)—French general, took part in suppressing the June 1848 insurrection.—136, 137, 142, 162

Engels, W.— tailor, member of the Cologne civic militia.—574

Esselen, Christian (1823-1859)—German writer, democrat; in 1848 a leader of the Workers' Association in Frankfurt, editor of the Allgemeine Arbeiter-Zeitung.—18

Esser, Christian Joseph (born c. 1809)—German worker, member of the Cologne Workers' Association; in 1849 editor of its newspaper Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit.—178, 587

Esser I. Johann Heinrich Theodor—Prussian official, lawyer, clerical; Vice-President of the Prussian National Assembly (Centre) in 1848.—57, 85, 173, 185

d'Ester, Karl Ludwig Johann (1813-1859)—German socialist and democrat, physician; member of the Cologne community of the Communist League; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; in October 1848 became a member of the Central Committee of Democrats.—86, 173-75, 182-84, 216, 462

F

Fay, Gerhard (1809-1889)—German lawyer, liberal.—87

Feldhaus—German teacher; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—229

Ferdinand I (1793-1875)—Emperor of Austria (1835-48).—456, 499, 570

Ferdinand II (1810-1859)—King of Sicily and Naples (1830-59).—24-26, 143, 385-86, 471, 483

Fernbach—German democratic student.—176

Feuerstein, Anton—merchant.—569

Fickler, Joseph (1808-1865)—German democratic journalist, a leader of the Baden democratic movement in 1848-49.—239, 288
Fischer, J. A.—cap-maker, member of the Cologne civic militia.—574
Flottwell, Eduard Heinrich von (1786-1865)—Prussian statesman, Minister of Finance (1844-46), Obepräsidet of Posen and later of Westphalia; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—356, 357, 368
Forstmann—German merchant; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—195, 223, 225
Fould, Achille (1800-1867)—French banker and politician, Orleanist, subsequently Bonapartist; Minister of Finance several times in the period between 1849 and 1867.—125
Fouquier-Tinville, Antoine Quentin (1746-1795)—leading figure in the French Revolution; Public Prosecutor of the Revolutionary Tribunal (1793).—405
Fox, Charles James (1749-1806)—English statesman, leader of the Whig Party.—102
Francis V (1819-1875)—Duke of Modena (1846-59).—387
Frederick I (“Barbarossa” or “Redbeard”) (c. 1123-1190)—German King from 1152, Holy Roman Emperor (1155-90); waged several campaigns against Italy.—395, 396
Frederick II (the Great) (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—242, 340, 341
Frederick VII (Frederik Carl Christian VII) (1808-1863)—King of Denmark (1848-63).—255, 268, 422-24, 434, 435
Frederick William (1620-1688)—Elector of Brandenburg (1640-88).—244, 245, 435
Frederick William II (1744-1797)—King of Prussia (1786-97).—348, 349
Frederick William III(1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—338, 343, 355, 411, 449
Frederick William IV (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—20, 54, 62, 63, 73, 77, 106, 194, 255, 273, 275, 287, 311, 390, 391, 420, 430, 474, 476, 564, 583
Freiligrath, Ferdinand (1810-1876)—German poet; member of the Communist League; one of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung editors in 1848-49.—395-97, 456
Frencken—Prussian official; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—207
Friedrich Christian August (1829-1880)—Duke of Schleswig-Holstein (Prince from 1863); officer of the General Staff of the Schleswig-Holstein army (1848).—192, 255
Fröbel, Julius (1805-1893)—German radical writer and publisher; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—570
Fuad Pasha Mehmed (1814-1869)—Turkish statesman, government commissioner in the Danube principalities (1848); took a leading part in suppressing the national liberation movement; in later years Minister of Foreign Affairs and Grand Vizier.—473, 485
Funk—German democrat, member of the Democratic Society of Cologne (1848).—176, 585

G

Gagern, Heinrich Wilhelm August, Baron von (1799-1880)—German politician, deputy to and President of the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre), President of the Imperial Ministry (December 1848-March 1849).—232, 358, 368, 394, 424, 439, 440, 448, 473
Gagern, Maximilian Ludwig, Baron von (1810-1889)—German official; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848; brother of Heinrich Gagern.—413
Ganneron, Auguste Victor Hippolyte (1792-1847)—French industrialist, banker and politician.—125
Geier—Burgomaster of Wesseling.— 426, 579

Geiger, Wilhelm Arnold—Prussian police official, examining magistrate (1848) and then Police Superintendent of Cologne.—178, 384, 390, 391, 393, 394, 408, 409, 561, 594

Gervinus, Georg Gottfried (1805-1871)—German historian, liberal; editor of the Deutsche Zeitung (1847 to October 1848); deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848.—29, 154

Ghika, Basil.—569

Gierke—Prussian official; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; Minister of Agriculture in the Auerswald-Hansemann Government (June-September 1848).—291-95, 328, 331

Girardin, Emile de (1806-1881)—French journalist and politician; between 1830s and 1860s was editor of the newspaper La Presse several times; often changed his political views.—153

Gladbach, Anton (d. 1873)—German democrat; in 1848 deputy to the Prussian National Assembly from Mülheim in the Rhine Province (Left wing); President of the Democratic Club in Berlin.—180, 181, 191-93, 195, 230, 304, 563

Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton, Count Neithardt von (1760-1831)—Prussian field marshal, an organiser of the liberation struggle against Napoleon's rule; took part in drawing up and carrying out Prussian army reforms.—228

Goeden, Adolf—German physician in Posen; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—354, 355, 358, 359, 367, 369

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von (1749-1832)—German poet.—116, 484, 528

Göschel—Chairman of the German League in Leipzig (1848).—214

Gottschalk, Andreas (1815-1849)—German physician, member of the Cologne community of the Communist League; President of the Cologne Workers' Association (April-June 1848); exponent of the "Left" sectarian tendencies in the German working-class movement.—176, 177, 186, 325, 326, 542, 582, 595

Grabow, Wilhelm (1802-1874)—Chief Burgomaster of Prenzlau, moderate liberal; President of the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—180-83, 185, 190-92, 193, 197, 198, 230, 273, 304, 419

Gräff, Joseph—Prussian judicial official; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—95, 243, 302

Grebel—Prussian official, justice of the peace; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—217-19, 221, 229

Greven, Fried.—butcher, member of the Cologne civic militia.—574

Griesheim, Karl Gustav von (1798-1854)—Prussian military official; representative of the Ministry of War in the Prussian National Assembly (1848).—97-99, 192

Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl (1785-1863)—German philologist, professor of Berlin University, liberal; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Centre) in 1848.—336

Grolmann, Karl Wilhelm Georg von (1777-1843)—Prussian general, took part in the liberation struggle against Napoleon's rule; in 1806 participated in drawing up and carrying out Prussian army reforms.—228

Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume (1787-1874)—French historian and conservative statesman who actually directed France's home and foreign policy from 1840 until the February revolution of 1848.—38, 68, 111, 122, 147, 188, 206, 472, 480, 481, 518
H


Harney, George Julian (1817-1897)—prominent figure in the English labour movement, a Chartist leader (Left wing); editor of The Northern Star.—8, 129

Harpprecht, Heinrich von (1802-1859)—lawyer, President of the Supreme Court of Württemberg.—249

Hébert, Michel Pierre Alexis (1799-1887)—French lawyer and statesman, Orleanist; Chief Public Prosecutor (from 1841), Minister of Justice (1847-February 1848).—187, 459

Hecker—Prussian judicial official, Public Prosecutor at Cologne (1848).—178, 186, 187, 208, 239, 314, 450, 451, 484-88, 513, 554, 593

Hecker, Friedrich Karl Franz (1811-1881)—German democrat, a leader of the Baden republican uprising in April 1848; emigrated to the USA.—485-89

Heckscher, Johann Gustav Wilhelm Moritz (1797-1865)—German lawyer, Imperial Minister of Justice (July-August 1848) and Minister of Foreign Affairs (August-September 1848); deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre).—413, 414

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—156, 364, 486

Heimsoeth, Heinrich—Prussian official; lawyer at the Court of Appeal in Cologne (1848).—489

Heine, Heinrich (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—50, 112, 172, 189, 190, 205, 222, 248, 261, 284, 290, 304, 397, 457, 480

Heinrich LXII (1797-1853)—Prince of Reuss-Lobenstein-Ebersdorf, a tiny German principality (1822-48).—234

Henry V—see Chambord, Henri Charles Ferdinand Marie Dieudonne, Comte de

Hergenhahn, August (1804-1874)—German liberal politician; in 1848-49 Prime Minister of Nassau; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre).—19

Herwegh, Georg Friedrich (1817-1875)—German democratic poet, a leader of the German Democratic Society in Paris.—9, 10, 488

Heyne—Burgomaster of Bromberg (Posen); deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848.—198

Hildenhagen, Louis—German clergyman; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848.—303

Hirschfeld, Alexander Adolf von (1787-1858)—Prussian general; took part in suppressing the insurrection in Posen (1848).—210, 313

Hofer—German peasant; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—81

Hohenzollerns—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—67

Holberg, Ludvig, Baron (1684-1754)—Danish writer, historian and philosopher.—422

Homer—semi-legendary epic poet of Ancient Greece, author of the Iliad and the Odyssey.—66

Hüffer, Johann Hermann (1784-1855)—Chief Burgomaster of Münster, moderate liberal; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—175-75
Hünermund, Eduard—Police Inspector in Cologne.—538

Hüser, Johann Hans Gustav Heinrich von (1782-1857)—Prussian general: commandant of Mainz (1844-49).—17, 19, 20, 92, 133

I

Imandt, Peter—German teacher, democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; in later years a political émigré; member of the Communist League, follower of Marx and Engels.—587

Itzenplitz—a family of Prussian counts.—56

J

Jacoby, Johann (1805-1877)—German radical writer and politician; a leader of the Left wing in the Prussian National Assembly (1848); in the 1870s was close to the Social-Democratic Party.—82, 232, 233, 235, 236, 238, 239, 240-41, 242-43, 273

Janiszewski, Jan Chryzostom (1818-1891)—Polish theologian and politician; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly in 1848.—365, 366, 368, 369

Jansen, Johann Joseph (1825-1849)—German democrat, member of the Communist League; a leader of the Workers' Association in Cologne (1848), follower of Gottschalk; shot for his participation in the Baden-Palatinate insurrection of 1849.—178

Jellachich (Jelačić), Josef, Count (1801-1859)—Austrian general, Ban of Croatia; took part in suppressing the revolution of 1848-49 in Hungary and Austria.—458, 473, 477, 491, 499, 503

Jentsch—deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Centre) in 1848.—276

John (Johann) (1782-1859)—Archduke of Austria. Imperial Regent from June 1848 until December 1849.—229, 232, 240, 253, 287, 411, 413, 577

Jonas, Ludwig (1797-1859)—German theologian, clergyman in Berlin; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—85

Jones, Ernest Charles (1819-1869)—prominent figure in the English labour movement, proletarian poet and journalist, a Chartist leader (Left wing); friend of Marx and Engels.—8, 114, 129

Jordan, Wilhelm (1819-1904)—German writer; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848; at first belonged to the Left wing, but after debates on Poland, joined the Centre.—351, 359-64, 366, 367, 378, 395

Jottrand, Lucien Léopold (1804-1877)—Belgian lawyer and writer, democrat; President of the Democratic Association in Brussels (1847).—405

Jung, Georg Gottlob (1814-1886)—German writer, Young Hegelian, a manager of the Rheinische Zeitung, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—53, 59, 84, 100, 185

K

Kaiser—major-general.—459

Kalker, Johann Wilhelm—secretary of the Workers' Association in Cologne in 1848.—178, 579

Kämpf—German teacher; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848.—243

Kampitz, Karl Christoph Albert Heinrich von (1769-1849)—Prussian conservative statesman; Minister of Justice (1832-42).—208

Kanitz, August Wilhelm Karl, Count von (1783-1852)—Prussian general; Minister of War (May and June 1848) in
the Camphausen Government.—64, 74, 96

Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—486

Kaunitz-Rietburg, Wenzel Anton, Prince von (1711-1794)—Austrian statesman and diplomat, a supporter of an “enlightened” form of absolutism; took part in the first partition of Poland (1772); a bitter enemy of the French Revolution.—92

Kayser, C.—merchant, member of the Cologne civic militia.—574

Kayser, R.—merchant, member of the Cologne civic militia.—574

Kersausie, Joachim René Théophile Gaillard de (1798-1874)—French revolutionary, took part in the July revolution of 1830; headed the Committee of Action of the Society of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (1848); author of a military plan implemented by the participants in the June uprising in Paris; later joined the Garibaldi movement.—157, 158, 164

Kerst, Samuel Gottfried (1804-1875)—deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Centre) in 1848.—364, 366-69

Kohlparzer, Franz Xaver—deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848.—110

Korff, Hermann—Prussian officer, democrat; in 1847 was discharged from the army on account of his political views; responsible publisher of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49); subsequently emigrated to the USA.—486, 543, 554, 555, 560, 566, 576, 592

Korn—German democrat; took part in the revolutionary movement in Berlin (1848).—97

Kosch, Raffael Jakob (1803-1872)—German physician, moderate liberal; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848.—419

Kotzebue, August Friedrich Ferdinand von (1761-1819)—German writer and journalist, extreme monarchist.—153

Krause—deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Centre) in 1848.—217

Krogh, Gerhard Christopher (1785-1860)—Danish general, commander-in-chief of the Danish army (from July 1848 until April 1849, and in 1850) during the Schleswig-Holstein war.—434

Kühlwetter, Friedrich Christian Hubert von (1809-1882)—Prussian statesman; Minister of the Interior in the Auerswald-Hansemann Government (June to September 1848).—174, 181, 182, 185, 192, 193, 199, 202-07, 229, 230, 262, 275-76, 407, 581, 595

Kusa, Alex.—569

Kyll, Ulrich Franz—German lawyer, democrat; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—462

L

Ladenberg, Adalbert von (1798-1855)—member of the Prussian bureaucracy, Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine (1848-50).—188

Lagerheim, Elias (1791-1864)—Swedish diplomat, Ambassador to Denmark (1848).—270, 287

Lamarque, Maximilien, Comte de (1770-1892)—French general; a leader of the liberal opposition during the Restoration period and under the July monarchy.—158

Lamartine, Alphonse Marie Louis de (1790-1869)—French poet, historian and politician; a leader of the moderate republicans in the 1840s; Minister of Foreign Affairs and virtually head of the Provisional Government (1848).—128, 131, 144, 378, 404, 481, 494
Lamennais, Hugues Félicité Robert de (1782-1854) — French abbot, writer, Christian socialist.— 155

Lamoricière, Christophe Léon Louis Juchault de (1806-1865) — French general, moderate republican; participated in suppressing the June uprising of 1848; Minister of War in the Cavaignac Government (June to December 1848); deputy to the Constituent Assembly.— 126, 136, 137, 161, 162, 163

Larochejaquelein (La Rochejaquelein), Henri Auguste Georges Du Vergier, Marquis de (1805-1867) — French politician, a leader of the legitimist party; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848).— 140, 149, 155, 323

Lassalle, Ferdinand (1825-1864) — German writer and lawyer, petty-bourgeois socialist; participated in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863); an initiator of the opportunist trend in the German Social-Democratic movement.— 587

Latour, Théodore, Count Baillet von (1780-1848) — Austrian conservative statesman; Minister of War in 1848; killed in October 1848 during the uprising in Vienna.— 499, 503

Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste (1807-1874) — French writer and politician, a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats; editor of La Réforme; Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government in 1848.— 128, 298, 404, 440, 515

Lehmann, Peter Martin Orla (1810-1870) — Danish liberal, editor of the newspaper Faærdelandet (1839-42); Minister without Portfolio in 1848.— 253

Leiningen, Karl Friedrich Wilhelm, Prince von (1804-1856) — Bavarian general, Imperial Prime Minister (August-September 1848).— 377

Lelewel, Joachim (1786-1861) — Polish historian and revolutionary; participant in the Polish uprising of 1830-31; a leader of the democratic wing of the Polish emigrants; Committee member of the Brussels Democratic Association in 1847-48.— 351, 354, 360, 361, 375

Lensing (b. 1783) — canon from the Rhine Province; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.— 207

Leo, Heinrich (1799-1878) — German historian and writer, extreme monarchist, ideologist of Prussian Junkerdom.— 361

Leonidas — King of Sparta (c. 488-480 B. C.); hero of the battle of Thermopylae during the Greco-Persian war.— 512

Leopold I (1790-1865) — King of Belgium (1831-65).— 333, 336, 405, 482

Leroux, Pierre (1797-1871) — French writer, utopian socialist; deputy to the Constituent (1848-49) and Legislative (1849) Assemblies.— 150

Leven — German democrat.— 587

Lichnowski, Félix Maria, Prince von (1814-1848) — Prussian officer; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing); killed during the September 1848 uprising in Frankfurt.— 313, 364, 368-71, 375, 376, 499, 575

Ligne, Eugène Lamoral, Prince de (1804-1880) — Belgian statesman, Ambassador to France from 1843 to 1848, to Italy in 1848-49.— 461

Lisiecki — official in Posen; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.— 302

Loe, Maximilian, Baron von — Prussian landowner; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.— 207

Louis XI (1423-1483) — King of France (1461-83).— 372

Louis XIV (1638-1715) — King of France (1643-1715).— 326, 347
Louis XV (1710-1774) — King of France (1715-74).—326
Louis XVI (1754-1793) — King of France (1774-92); guillotined during the French Revolution.—153, 425
Louis Napoleon — see Napoleon III
Löw, Hermann (1807-1879) — German professor; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848-49.—381
Löwenstein, Lipmann Hirsch (d. 1848) — German orientalist, democrat; President of the Workers' Association in Frankfurt in 1848, delegate to the First Democratic Congress held in Frankfurt (June 1848).—18
Löwinsohn, Moritz — German democrat, a director of the Berlin People's Club, delegate to the Second Democratic Congress held in Berlin (October 1848).—97
Lüttichau, Christian Friedrich Tönne, Count von — Prussian official.—343

M
Machiavelli, Niccolò(1469-1527) — Italian politician, historian and writer.—212
Malou, Jules Edouard Xavier (1810-1886) — Belgian statesman; Minister of Finance (1844-47).—483
Malthus, Thomas Robert (1766-1834) — English clergyman and economist, advocated the misanthropic theory of population.—282, 573
Mamiani della Rovere, Terenzio, Count (1799-1885) — Italian poet and journalist, philosopher and politician, advocate of constitutional monarchy; Minister of the Interior to Pope Pius IX (from May to August 1848).—385
Marat, Jean Paul (1743-1793) — a Jacobin leader during the French Revolution.—234
Marie de Saint Georges, Alexandre Pierre Thomas Amable (1795-1870) — French lawyer and politician, moderate republican; in 1848 Minister of Public Works in the Provisional Government, later Minister of Justice in the Cavaignac Government.—168
Märker, Friedrich August (1804-1889) — Prussian statesman; Minister of Justice in the Auerswald-Hansemann Government (from June to September 1848); deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Centre) in 1848.—226, 318, 431
Marrast, Armand (1801-1852) — French writer and politician, leading moderate republican, editor-in-chief of Le National; member of the Provisional Government and Mayor of Paris (1848).—128, 144, 153, 154, 168, 515
Marx, Jenny (née von Westphalen) (1814-1881) — wife of Karl Marx.—538
Mathy, Karl (1807-1868) — official, journalist and politician from Baden, moderate liberal; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—249, 288, 289, 448
Mütze — German teacher; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—189, 193, 219
Maucler, Paul Friedrictch Theodor Eugen, Baron von (1783-1859) — conservative statesman from Württemberg; Minister of Justice from 1818; Chairman of the Privy Council (1831-April 1848).—249
Mellinet, François Aimé (1768-1852) — Belgian general of French descent; participant in the democratic movement and in the 1830 revolution in Belgium; Honorary President of the
Democratic Association in Brussels; one of the accused at the Risquons-Tout trial.—335, 405-06, 461

Mentés, M.—platoon leader in the Cologne civic militia.—574

Metternich-Winneburg, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Prince (1773-1859)—Austrian statesman and diplomat; Foreign Minister (1809-21) and Chancellor (1821-48); a founder of the Holy Alliance.—92, 387, 396

Meusebach, von—Prussian official; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—58

Mevissen, Gustav von (1815-1899)—German banker; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848-49.—194

Meyendorf, Pyotr Kazimirovich, Baron (1796-1867)—German lawyer, moderate liberal; a leader of the Left Centre in the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848.—239

Mehr, Robert von (1799-1875)—German lawyer, moderate liberal; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; Imperial Minister of Justice (1848-49).—473

Mehr, C.—sculptor, corporal in the Cologne civic militia.—574

Mehr, J. P.—roofer, member of the Cologne civic militia.—574

Moll, Joseph (1813-1849)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, a watchmaker by trade; a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; President of the Cologne Workers’ Association (from July to September 1848), member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats; killed in battle during the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849.—7, 9, 452, 454, 468, 533, 542, 558, 579, 580, 585, 586

Moltke, Karl, Count von (1798-1866)—Schleswig-Holstein statesman, leader of the Danish counter-revolutionary party; from September 1848 head of the Provisional Government of Schleswig-Holstein formed after the armistice between Prussia and Denmark.—412, 413, 447

Monecke, Edmund—German student, democrat.—176

Montesquieu, Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et de (1689-1755)—French philosopher and sociologist. Enlightener.—204, 206, 236, 246, 336, 430

Moritz, Daniel Samuel—Prussian judicial official; deputy to the Prussian Nation
al Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848.—60, 185, 276, 331, 332

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus (1756-1791) — Austrian composer.—385

Müller — German pastor; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Centre) in 1848.—80, 81, 83

Müller — member of the Workers' Association in Worringen (the Rhine Province) in 1848.—587

Müller, Friedrich (b. 1811) — Police Superintendent in Cologne; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848.—87, 196, 409, 463

Müller-Tellering, Eduard von (born c. 1808) — German lawyer and journalist, democrat; *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* correspondent in Vienna in 1848 and 1849; after the revolution emigrated and made slanderous accusations against Marx and Engels.—457, 503

Musard, Philippe (1793-1859) — French musician and composer.—512

Napoleon I Bonaparte (1769-1821) — Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—80, 153, 161, 228, 237, 250, 251, 290, 308, 309, 314, 520

Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte) (1808-1873) — Prince, nephew of Napoleon I, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—155, 515, 522, 525

Natzmer, von (d. 1890) — Prussian officer, sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment in a fortress for refusal to shoot at the people during the storming of the arsenal in Berlin on June 14, 1848; escaped in 1849.—97-99

Naunyn — Burgomaster of Berlin in 1848.—46

Naut, Stephan Adolph — a co-manager of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Company.—547

Necker, Jacques (1732-1804) — French banker and politician; Minister of Finance on several occasions in the 1770s and 1780s, attempted to carry out reforms.—39, 282

Nesselrode, Karl Vasilyevich, Count (1780-1862) — Russian statesman and diplomat; Foreign Minister (1816-56), Chancellor of State from 1845 onwards.—307-12

Nethe — Prussian official; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Centre) in 1848.—303

Neumann, von — Prussian general, chief adjutant of the King of Prussia.—270

Nicholas I (1796-1855) — Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—103, 191, 308-13, 365, 505

Nückel — member of the Cologne Town Council.—500

O

O'Connell, Daniel (1775-1847) — Irish lawyer and politician, leader of the liberal wing of the national liberation movement.—113

O'Connor, Feargus Edward (1794-1855) — a Chartist leader (Left wing), editor of *The Northern Star*.—113, 114, 129

Olberg — Prussian officer; in 1848 took part in suppressing the national liberation movement in Posen.—104

Olzem, M. — merchant, member of the Cologne civic militia.—574

Orange — stadholders of the Netherlands from 1572 to 1795 with intervals, royal dynasty after 1815.—165, 336

Ostendorf, Gottfried Friedrich Johannes Julius (1823-1877) — German teacher, moderate liberal; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848-49.—367

Otto I (1815-1867) — Bavarian prince, King of Greece (1832-62).—165
**P**

Pagnerre, Laurent Antoine (1805-1854) — French publisher, republican; deputy to the Constituent Assembly in 1848.—360

Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount (1784-1865) — British statesman, Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58 and 1859-65); at the beginning of his career a Tory, from 1830 onwards, a Whig.—480, 481

Parrisius, Eduard Rudolf (1818-1905) — Prussian officer of justice; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848.—57, 58, 61, 173, 221-22, 242

Patow, Erasmus Robert, Baron von (1804-1890) — Prussian statesman, Minister of Trade, Industry and Public Works in the Camphausen Ministry (from April to June 1848).—106, 111, 117, 118, 171, 292, 328

Payer, Jean Baptiste (1818-1860) — French scholar; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848).—155

Peel, Sir Robert, 1st Baronet (1788-1850) — British statesman, moderate Tory; Prime Minister (1841-46); repealed the Corn Laws in 1846.—281, 298

Pellmann, Anton — German lawyer; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848.—87

Pelz, Eduard (1800-1876) — German journalist, democrat; a leader of the Workers' Association in Frankfurt (1848) and editor of the Deutsche Volkszeitung and Allgemeine Arbeiter-Zeitung.—18

Perrot, Benjamin Pierre (1791-1865) — French general; took part in suppressing the June 1848 uprising in Paris.—68, 163

Pfahl — Prussian notary; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—184

Pfemf, Ernst Heinrich Adolf von (1779-1866) — Prussian general; Governor of Neuchâtel in 1832-48; commandant of Berlin in March 1848; headed the suppression of the uprising in Posen in April and May 1848; Prussian Prime Minister and Minister of War in September and October 1848.—64, 65, 104, 116, 251, 313, 347, 463, 466, 473, 476, 477, 489

Philipp, Adolf (1813-1877) — Prussian official; Vice-President of the Prussian National Assembly in 1848.—216

Piegza — Polish teacher; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—229

Pillersdorf, Franz, Baron von (1786-1862) — Austrian statesman; Prime Minister (from May to July 1848).—120

Pinder, Julius Hermann (b. 1805) — Prussian official, moderate liberal; Oberpräsident of Silesia, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—194

Pinto, Isaac (1715-1787) — Dutch stock-jobber and economist.—279, 281, 419

Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti) (1792-1878) — Pope (1846-78).—385

Plato (c. 427-c. 347 B.C.) — Greek philosopher.—244-45, 303

Plönnis — Prussian official; Vice-President of the Prussian National Assembly in 1848.—84

Plouguéolm, Pierre Ambroise (1796-1863) — French official, lawyer; member of the Chamber of Deputies (1846-48).—187

Pohle — Prussian officer of justice; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Centre) in 1848.—198

Pokrzywnicki — Prussian official of Polish descent; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—198

Pourtalès, Albert, Count von (1812-1861) — Prussian diplomat.—269
Prince of Prussia—see William I

Proudhon, Pierre Joseph (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist, a founder of anarchism; deputy to the Constituent Assembly in 1848.—321-24

Przyłęski, Leon (1789-1865)—Archbishop of Gnesen and Posen (1845-65).—201, 338

Puttkamer, Eugen von (1800-1874)—Prussian official; Chief of Police in Berlin from 1839 to 1847.—46, 47

Q

Quetting—police-sergeant in Cologne.—390

R

Radetzky, Josef, Count of Radetz (1766-1858)—Austrian field marshal; commander-in-chief of the Austrian forces in Northern Italy from 1831; headed suppression of the Italian national liberation movement in 1848 and 1849.—92, 109, 133, 136, 376, 386, 387, 395-97, 402, 473, 487

Radowitz, Joseph Maria von (1797-1853)—Prussian general, conservative statesman; a leader of the Right wing in the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848 and 1849.—314, 364-66, 376, 414, 426-28

Raimund, Ferdinand (1790-1836)—Austrian actor and dramatist.—107-08

Raspail, François Vincent (1794-1878)—French natural scientist, journalist and socialist; participant in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; deputy to the Constituent Assembly.—157

Raumer, Friedrich Ludwig Georg von (1781-1873)—German historian; in 1848 Imperial Ambassador to Paris, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre).—377

Raveaux, Franz (1810-1851)—German politician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848-49.—17-19

Reedtz, Holger Christian (1800-1857)—Danish statesman, diplomat; represented the Danish Government during the armistice negotiations in the Schleswig-Holstein war (1848-50); Minister of Foreign Affairs (1850-51).—270, 446

Rehfeld—deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Centre, later Right wing) in 1848.—54-55

Reichenbach, Eduard, Count von (1812-1869)—Silesian democrat; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; member of the Central Committee of Democrats from October 1848.—82, 100, 184, 220, 276

Reichensperger I, August (1808-1895)—German lawyer and politician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848-49.—84, 94, 122

Reichensperger II, Peter Franz (1818-1892)—German lawyer and politician; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848; brother of August Reichensperger.—94, 174, 196, 202, 207, 236-38, 302, 418, 436

Reichhelm—German democrat; member of the Cologne Committee of Public Safety in 1848.—587

Reuter (died c. 1860)—Prussian official; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—58, 60, 61, 196, 202

Rhien, Ferdinand—pharmacist, corporal in the Cologne civic militia.—574

Ricci, Alberto (1795-1876)—Sardinian diplomat, Ambassador to France.—480

Richter, Karl (1804-1869)—German clergyman, professor of theology; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—45, 201
Riedel, Adolf Friedrich Johann (1809-1872) — Prussian politician; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—84

Rimpler, O. — Prussian resigned artillery officer; commander of the Berlin civic militia from July 1848.—476

Rittinghausen, Moritz (1814-1890) — German journalist and politician, democrat, contributor to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, member of the Cologne Democratic Society and, later, of the German Social-Democratic Party.—562, 563

Ritz — Prussian official; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—58, 59, 173, 190-91, 303

Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de (1758-1794) — prominent figure in the French Revolution, leader of the Jacobins, head of the revolutionary Government (1793-94).—153, 155

Rochow, Gustav Adolf Rochus von (1792-1847) — Prussian Minister of the Interior (1834-42).—36

Rodbertus-Jagetzow, Johann Karl (1805-1875) — German economist; leader of the Left Centre in the Prussian National Assembly during the 1848-49 revolution.—111, 112, 174, 188, 195, 273, 419, 425, 427

Rogier, Charles Latour (1800-1885) — Belgian Minister of the Interior (1847-52); moderate liberal.—188, 460, 461, 483

Rolin, Hippolyte (1804-1888) — Belgian lawyer, politician, leader of the liberal party, Minister of Public Works (1848-50).—335

Romanovs — dynasty of Russian tsars and emperors (1613-1917).—308

Rosenkranz, Johann Karl Friedrich (1805-1879) — German Hegelian philosopher and literary historian.—363

Röser, Peter Gerhard (1814-1865) — prominent figure in the German workers' movement, cigar-maker by trade; Vice-President of the Cologne Workers' Association (1848-49), publisher of its newspaper Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit, member of the Communist League.—579, 595, 597

Rothschild, Jacob (James), Baron de (1792-1868) — head of the Rothschild banking house in Paris.—125, 468

Rotteck, Karl Wenzeslaus Rodecker von (1775-1840) — German historian and liberal politician.—80

Rougemont de Lowemberg — French banker.—125

Ruge, Arnold (1802-1880) — German radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—371-80

Russell, John Russell, 1st Earl (1792-1878) — British statesman, Whig leader; Prime Minister (1846-52 and 1865-66), Foreign Secretary (1852-53 and 1859-65).—206, 377, 379

S

Salget — member of the Committee of the Cologne Workers' Association.—426, 579

Sand, George (pseudonym of Amandine Lucie Aurore Dupin, baronne Dudevant) (1804-1876) — French novelist, representative of the democratic trend in romanticism.—315-16, 360

Savigny, Friedrich Karl von (1779-1861) — German lawyer, head of the historical school of law; Minister for the Revision of Laws (1842-48).—317

Schaffgotsches — a family of counts in Silesia.—56

Schapper, Karl (c. 1812-1870) — prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League.
member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats; a leader (1848-49), and later President (from February to May 1849) of the Cologne Workers' Association. After the revolution, a leader of the sectarian group in the Communist League, later a member of the General Council of the First International.—7, 9, 383, 384, 390-94, 452, 463, 558, 562, 586

Schapper—wife of Karl Schapper.—390

Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von (1755-1813)—Prussian general and politician; Minister of War (1807-10) and Chief of the General Staff (1807-13); reorganised the Prussian army.—228

Schleiermacher, Friedrich Daniel Ernst (1768-1834)—German philosopher, theologian and preacher.—85

Schleinitz, Alexander, Baron von (1807-1885)—Prussian statesman; Minister of Foreign Affairs (June 1848, 1849-50, 1858-61).—106, 111, 210

Schlichting—Prussian officer.—181

Schlöffel, Friedrich Wilhelm (1800-1870)—Silesian factory owner, democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—18, 368, 589

Schmerling, Anton von (1805-1893)—Austrian statesman; in 1848 deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre), Imperial Minister of the Interior (from July to September), Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (from September to December).—313, 473

Schmidt, Ernst Friedrich Franz—German clergyman; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—368

Schmidt, Jac.—shoemaker, member of the Cologne civic militia.—574

Schmitz—worker in Cologne.—594

Schneck, F.—cap-maker, member of the Cologne civic militia.—574

Schnappahnski—see Lichnowski, Felix Maria

Schneider—Prussian official; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing, later Left Centre) in 1848.—233-35, 257

Schneider II, Karl—German lawyer, democrat; President of the Cologne Democratic Society and member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats (1848).—87, 558, 563

Scholz—deputy to the Prussian National Assembly in 1848.—185

Schrann, Rudolf (1813-1882)—German democratic journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—99, 219

Schreckenstein, Ludwig Johann Karl Gregory Eusebius, Baron Roth von (1789-1858)—Prussian general; Minister of War from June to September 1848.—20, 96, 106, 111, 171, 180, 181, 183-84, 191-94, 228-31, 313, 418

Schröder—prison warder in Cologne.—325

Schücking, Christoph Bernard Levin (1814-1883)—German writer; contributor to the Kölnerische Zeitung, author of many feuilletons (1845-52).—395-98

Schulz—German democrat.—587

Schulz, Louis—a co-manager of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung Company.—547

Schulz(e)—Prussian officer of justice; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—82, 190, 191

Schulze-Delitzsch, Franz Hermann (1808-1883)—German economist and politician; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; later one of the leaders of the Progressist Party and advocate of producer cooperatives.—78-80, 82, 227, 303

Schuselka, Franz (1811-1889)—Austrian journalist and liberal politician; in 1848 deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) and to the
Austrian National Assembly.— 365, 366

Schütze—Prussian officer of justice; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—304

Schützendorf—German petty-bourgeois democrat, member of the Cologne Association for Workers and Employers in 1848.—558

Schwanbeck, Eugen Alexis (1821-1850)—German journalist, an editor of the Kölnische Zeitung.—497

Schwarzer, Ernst (1808-1860)—Austrian official and journalist; Minister of Public Works (July to September 1848).—570

Schwerin, Maximilian Heinrich Karl, Count von (1804-1872)—Prussian statesman; in 1848 Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine (March to June), deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing).—74, 82, 96

Sebaldt—Prussian official; Landrat and Chief Burgomaster of Trier in 1848.—94, 95

Sébastien, Horace François Bastien, Comte (1772-1851)—French marshal, diplomat, Orleanist; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1830-32), Ambassador to London (1835-40).—147

Senard, Antoine Marie Jules (1800-1885)—French lawyer and politician; President of the Constituent Assembly in June 1848, Minister of the Interior in the Cavaignac Government (June to October 1848).—137, 140

Senff, Emil—Prussian officer of justice in Posen; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848.—354, 356, 358, 359, 361, 367, 369

Shakespeare, William (1564-1616)—English dramatist and poet.—466

Siebert—deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—221

Simons, Ludwig (1803-1870)—German lawyer; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848; Minister of Justice (1849-60).—207, 241, 301, 302

Smith, Adam (1723-1790)—Scottish economist.—299

Sobieski, Jan (John III) (1624-1696)—King of Poland (1674-96) who, as commander of the combined Polish and Austro-German forces, achieved a decisive victory over the Turks at Vienna in 1683.—196

Sobrier, Marie Joseph (c. 1825-1854)—French democrat, member of secret revolutionary societies during the July monarchy; founded the newspaper Commune de Paris in March 1848 as a mouthpiece for the Paris prefecture.—155

Solms-Lich und Hohenolms, Ludwig, Prince von (1805-1880)—Prussian liberal landowner, advocate of constitutional monarchy; marshal of the Rhenish Provincial Diet (1837-45) and later of the First United Diet of 1847.—36

Sommer, Johann Friedrich Joseph (1793-1856)—Prussian lawyer and politician; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—196

Stein, Heinrich Friedrich Karl, Baron von und zum (1757-1831)—Prussian statesman, one of those who initiated and helped implement moderate reforms.—246

Stein, Julius (1813-1889)—Silesian teacher and journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—100, 233, 417, 418, 463, 476, 492

Steinäcker, Christian Karl Anton Friedrich, Baron von (1781-1851)—Prussian general, commandant of the Posen fortress in 1848.—92, 210

Stenzel, Gustav Adolf Harald (1792-1854)—German historian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing, later Right Centre) in 1848.—338, 340-43, 344-48, 349, 353, 354, 356, 359
Stradal—German jurist from Tep-litz.—215
Struben, Joh.—tailor, member of the Cologne civic militia.—574
Struve, Gustav von (1805-1870)—German democrat, journalist by profession; a leader of the Baden republican uprisings of 1848 and of the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849.—485, 488
Stupp, Heinrich Joseph (1793-1870)—Prussian official, clerical; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—101-03, 302, 336
Sydow, Karl Leopold Adolf (1800-1882)—German clergyman and theologian; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—83, 84
Tacitus, Cornelius (c. 55-c. 120)—Roman historian and orator.—370
Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de (1754-1838)—French diplomat, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1797-99, 1799-1807, 1814-15), France’s representative to the Congress of Vienna (1814-15).—96
Tamnau—Prussian officer of justice; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly in 1848.—418
Tedesco, Victor André (1821-1897)—Belgian lawyer, socialist, a founder of the Brussels Democratic Association; associate of Marx and Engels in 1847-48, member of the Communist League; one of the defendants at the Risquons-Tout trial.—405, 406
Temme, Jodocus Donatus Hubertus (1798-1881)—German lawyer, democrat; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1849.—46, 59, 97, 230
Theux de Meylandt, Barthélémy Théodore, Comte de (1794-1874)—Belgian statesman, head of the Catholic party; Prime Minister (1846-47).—483
Thiers, Louis Adolphe (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman; Prime Minister (1836, 1840); deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848); head of the Orleanist monarchist party after 1848; organised the suppression of the Paris Commune; President of the Republic (1871-73).—154, 168, 321, 323, 440, 467-71, 473, 478
Thorvaldsen, Bertel (1768-1844)—Danish sculptor.—26
Thun-Hohenstein, Leo, Count von (1811-1888)—Austrian statesman of Czech descent; one of the most influential advisers of Emperor Francis Joseph I; Minister of Religious Worship and Education from 1849 to 1860.—120
Thurn und Taxis, Karl Alexander, Prince von (1770-1827)—German influential prince, enjoyed hereditary post-office privileges in a number of German states.—349
Tilly, Johann Tserclaes, Count of (1559-1632)—commander of the army of the Catholic League in the Thirty Years’ War.—120
Trélat, Ulysse (1795-1879)—French politician, moderate republican; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848), Minister of Public Works (May to June 1848).—148
Tresckow, Hermann von (1818-1900)—Prussian officer; fought in the war against Denmark in 1848 and 1849.—348
Tresckow, Sigismund Otto—German merchant, from 1796 owner of a landed estate in Owinsk (Posen).—343, 348
Turck, Léopold (1797-1887)—French physician and journalist, politician;
deputy to the Constituent Assembly in 1848.—467, 468, 470

Töshaus—Prussian official; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—195, 196

U

Unruh, Hans Victor von (1806-1886)—Prussian engineer and politician; a leader of the Centre in the Prussian National Assembly in 1848, President of the Assembly from October.—417-19

Urban—German veterinary; a leader of the barricade fighting in Berlin during the March events of 1848; took part in the storming of the arsenal on June 14, 1848.—97

V

Valdenaire, Victor (1791-1859)—Prussian democrat; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—94, 301, 302

Venedey, Jakob (1805-1871)—German radical writer; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; after the 1848-49 revolution, liberal.—32, 154, 409

Vergniaud, Pierre Victurnien (1753-1793)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, Girondist.—84

Verhaegen, Pierre Théodore (1800-1862)—Belgian liberal politician.—336

Villány (Villáni) de Castello Pillonico Karel Dráhotin Marie (1818-1883)—Czech baron; representative of the Left wing of the national movement (1848), member of the Preparatory Committee for the convocation of the Slav Congress, arrested after the June uprising in Prague.—214

Vincke, Georg, Baron von (1811-1875)—Prussian politician; a leader of the Right wing in the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848-49.—194, 376, 420, 427, 428, 580

Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro) (70-19. B.C.)—Roman poet.—67

Vogt, Karl (1817-1895)—German natural scientist, vulgar materialist, petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49.—235

Wallach—Prussian official, Regierungspräsident of Bromberg (Bydgoszcz).—357

Waldeck, Benedikt Franz Leo (1802-1870)—German lawyer and radical politician; Vice-President of the Prussian National Assembly and a leader of its Left wing in 1848.—173, 235, 236, 419, 425, 427-29, 433

Walther, Karl—German democrat; member of the Cologne Committee of Public Safety in September 1848.—587, 594

Wallraf—German democrat.—587

Wallau, Karl (1823-1877)—German emigrant resident in Brussels; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League in 1848, Chairman of the Workers’ Educational Association in Mainz.—535

Wallmoden-Gimborn, Karl, Count von (1792-1883)—Austrian general; took part in suppressing the revolutionary movement in Bohemia and Hungary (1848-49).—120

Wallraf—German democrat.—587

Wander—German clergyman; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—226

Wangenheim, Karl August von (1773-1850)—Prussian official; deputy to
the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848.—276

Wartensleben, Alexander, Count von (1807-1883)—Prussian landowner; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848.—364, 365

Weber, Carl Maria Friedrich Ernst von (1786-1826)—German composer.—516

Weerth, Georg (1822-1856)—German poet and writer, member of the Communist League, a founder of proletarian poetry in Germany; an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung in 1848-49.—15, 575

Weichsel—Prussian officer of justice; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848.—172

Weitling, Wilhelm Christian (1808-1871)—one of the early leaders of the working-class movement in Germany, tailor by trade, a theoretician of utopian egalitarian communism.—556

Welcker, Karl Theodor (1790-1869)—German lawyer, liberal journalist; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848.—424

Welden, Franz Ludwig, Baron von (1782-1853)—Austrian general; took part in the campaign against the national liberation movement in Italy in 1848; commandant of Vienna after the suppression of the October 1848 uprising; commander-in-chief of the Austrian troops fighting against the Hungarian revolution (April to May 1849).—109, 386, 387, 397

Wencelius—deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—94, 302

Werner, Johann Peter—German lawyer; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848.—19

Weyll, Bartholomäus Joseph—German lawyer; member of the Democratic Society and the Committee of Public Safety in Cologne in 1848; delegate to the Second Democratic Congress in Berlin (October 1848).—585, 587

Wiedenmann, Christian—Prussian official; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Centre) in 1848.—237

Wieners, Ign.—tailor, member of the Cologne civic militia.—574

Wigand, Otto (1795-1870)—German publisher and bookseller, owner of a firm in Leipzig, published works by radical writers.—360

Wildenbruch, Ludwig von (1803-1874)—Prussian diplomat; envoy to Copenhagen in 1848.—191, 267, 310, 424

William I (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, King of Prussia (1861-88), German Emperor (1871-88).—66, 68, 107, 427, 448, 466, 491

Willisen, Karl Wilhelm, Baron von (1790-1879)—Prussian general and military theorist; royal commissioner in Posen in 1848.—104, 346, 347

Windischgrätz, Alfred Candidus Ferdinand, Prince (1787-1862)—Austrian field marshal; commanded the troops which crushed the uprisings in Prague and Vienna in 1848; led the Austrian army against the Hungarian revolution in 1848-49.—91-93, 120, 133, 271, 313, 473, 491, 497, 498, 503, 505, 598

Windischgrätz, Maria Eleonora (1795-1848)—wife of Prince Alfred.—92, 214

Winkelried, Arnold (d. 1386)—semilegendary hero of the Swiss war of liberation against the Habsburgs; the legend runs that he secured the victory over the Austrian Duke Leopold in the battle at Sempach at the price of his life.—26

Wittgenstein, Heinrich von (1800-1868)—Prussian official; in 1848 Regierungspräsident (May to September) and commander of the civic militia in Cologne.—450, 497, 584, 587
Wolffers, Franz Anton von (b. 1813) — German journalist of Belgian descent; contributor to and member of the editorial board of the *Kölner Zeitung* in 1848.—150, 152-56, 296, 297, 497

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Die Constitution. Tagblatt für constitutionelles Volksleben und Belehrung—a democratic newspaper which appeared in Vienna from March to October 1848; its editor was L. Hafner.—572, 573

Le Constitutionnel—a French daily published in Paris from 1815 to 1817 and from 1819 to 1870; in the 1840s it voiced the views of the moderate wing of the Orleanists
and during the 1848 revolution became the mouthpiece for the monarchist bourgeoisie (the Thiers party).—154, 156, 187, 467, 479

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Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst—a Young Hegelian literary and philosophical journal published under this title in Leipzig from July 1841 under the editorship of Arnold Ruge. In January 1843 it was closed down and prohibited throughout Germany.—380

Deutsche Volkszeitung—a German democratic daily published in Mannheim in April 1848 under the editorship of Julius Fröbel and Eduard Pelz.—488, 536

Deutsche Zeitung—a German daily published in Heidelberg under the editorship of Georg Gervinus from 1847 to September 1848; then, up to 1850, it appeared in Frankfurt am Main; it supported constitutional monarchy and unification of Germany under Prussian hegemony.—69, 115, 116, 325, 464

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Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen—a German daily published in Berlin from 1785; in the 1840s advocated moderate liberal views; also known as the Vossische Zeitung after its owner Christian Friedrich Voss.—436

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Le Messager de Gand et des Pays-Bas—a daily published in Ghent from 1830; it was subsidised by the Dutch Orangists and the local Flemish bourgeoisie associated with them; in 1848 it came out in support of the demands advanced by the workers.—460


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La Nation, organe quotidien démocrate socialiste—a Belgian democratic newspaper published in Brussels from 1848 to 1856.—459, 460

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Neue Berliner Zeitung—a German conservative and monarchist daily published in Berlin from June to October 1848.—113, 114

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The Northern Star—an English weekly, central organ of the Chartists; published from 1837 to 1852, first in Leeds, then in London. Its founder and editor was Feargus O'Connor, George Harney being one of its co-editors. Engels contributed to the paper from 1843 to 1850.—129, 151, 298, 478

L'Observateur belge—a Belgian liberal daily published in Brussels from 1835 to 1860.—187, 336, 467

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Le Politique—a Belgian daily published in Brussels in 1847 and 1848, organ of the constitutionalists.—187

Le Populaire de 1841—a French newspaper published in Paris from 1841 to 1852; it propagated peaceful utopian communism; up to 1849 it was edited by Étienne Cabet.—298

La Presse—a French daily published in Paris from 1836; in the 1840s, mouthpiece for the opposition to the July monarchy; organ of moderate republicans in 1848-49, later a Bonapartist paper.—187
Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger—a paper founded in Berlin in 1819; from 1819 to April 1848 it was a semi-official organ of the Prussian Government.—30, 216, 316, 497

Der Radikale. Deutsche Zeitung für In- und Ausland—an Austrian democratic paper published in Vienna in 1848.—570

La Réforme—a French daily, organ of the republican democrats and petty-bourgeois socialists, published in Paris from 1843 to 1850. Several of Engels' articles were published in this paper between October 1847 and January 1848.—144, 298, 478, 493-95

Le Représentant du Peuple. Journal quotidien des travailleurs—a French newspaper published in Paris between April and August 1848 under the editorship of Proudhon.—322

Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe—a German daily founded on January 1, 1842, as an organ of the Rhenish bourgeois opposition, and published in Cologne till March 31, 1843. When edited by Marx (from October 15, 1842, to March 17, 1843), the paper became a mouthpiece of revolutionary-democratic ideas which led to its suppression. Engels was one of its contributors.—208, 497

La Ruche populaire—a French workers’ monthly published in Paris from 1839 to 1849; it was associated with utopian socialists.—298

Schlesische Zeitung—a German daily published in Breslau (Wroclaw) from 1742; organ of the constitutional monarchists on the eve and during the revolution of 1848-49.—501

Schleswig-Holsteinische Zeitung (Altona).—34

Seeblätter—a German paper published in Constance from 1837 to 1849; it voiced moderately liberal ideas until 1848, when it assumed a democratic trend.—536

Severnaya pchela (Northern Bee)—a Russian political and literary newspaper, semi-official organ of the Tsarist Government, published in St. Petersburg from 1825 to 1864.—191

Le Siècle—a French daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1939. In the 1840s it was an oppositional organ which demanded electoral and other reforms.—187

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The Times—an English conservative daily founded in London in 1785.—151, 216, 460, 461

L'Union. Bulletin des ouvriers rédigé et publié par eux-mêmes—a French monthly published in Paris from December 1843 to September 1846 by a group of workers influenced by Saint-Simon's ideas.—298
Der Volksfreund. Zeitschrift für Aufklärung und Erheiterung des Volkes—an Austrian democratic newspaper published in Vienna.—572

Vossische Zeitung—see Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen

Der Wächter am Rhein—a German democratic newspaper published in Cologne in 1848 and 1849 under the editorship of Kramer.—455, 563

Wiener Zeitung—an official daily published in Vienna from 1780 to 1931.—569, 571

Zeitung des Arbeiter-Vereines zu Köln—a German newspaper, organ of the Cologne Workers' Association, published from April to October 1848; edited by Andreas Gottschalk (till July 1848) and by Joseph Moll (from July to September).—325, 455, 596

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