The post from Vienna has failed to arrive; we are therefore able to learn details from the field of battle on the Upper Danube only indirectly, in snatches. Δ, the "best-informed" Vienna correspondent of the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung, also asserts that Waitzen has been re-occupied by the imperial forces, and that only one Magyar battalion was encountered there, because—the bulk under Görgey had already marched off to Komorn! In this way the thing can indeed be explained, and such an occupation of Waitzen is not only possible but even a mistake of the Austrians, who are now threatened in their rear. Welden has not gone to Pest either but to Neuhäusel on the Waag, where indeed some Austro-Moravian rearguard appears to be stationed. He is marching from there against the Magyars who strongly attacked the retreating imperial forces at Gran. The outcome of this engagement is not yet known.a

The following report in the Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen shows what a lion's den this Hungary is, where the footsteps of many warriors go in but few come out.

"If this thing drags out to the summer, Kossuth's supporters will gain an ally in the fever, which may well be very much more dangerous to the Austrian troops, unaccustomed to the climate, than the Russians, whose entry is expected in the enemy's rear, will be to their opponents. All the proved bravery of our troops is useless against the fever, and it is precisely to the regions where the fever rages most fiercely that the war will shift as soon as the insurgents are forced back from Pest to the east."

Very great alarm reigns in the Banat. While from Peterwardein Perczel strikes terror into the countryside and already threatens Slavonia, while the Danube navigation from Pest to Mohacs continues to be disrupted, Bem is recently reported to be advancing

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a "Wien, 15. April", Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung No. 109, April 19, 1849.— Ed.
on Temesvar with a strong force. He is said to have called upon Temesvar and Arad to surrender to him within a week. The Serbian Voivodina is in its death throes; Kniçanin intends to return there with 8,000-10,000 men, but only after Todorovich, Albert Nugent, Bosnich etc. have been retired. Nugent senior has already been dismissed; Castiglioni, the bombardier of Cracow, has been appointed as his successor, and one deputation after another is going to Bucharest to seek Russian assistance. Puchner too is on the march to the Banat.

Transylvania is still wholly in Bem’s hands. The Russians have been expelled entirely from their last position at the Roterturm Pass. The Magyar party among the Transylvanian Romanians is conducting a strong agitation in favour of Bem and supports his recruiting drive in the country. The organisation of the army is proceeding at a marvellous pace. Moreover, Bem has captured 21 guns with 6,000 shells and 5,000 rifles with one million rounds of ammunition in Hermannstadt. He has persuaded most of the Transylvanian refugees in Bucharest to return, by declaring a general amnesty and simultaneously threatening to confiscate the property of all who stay behind.

We learn from Galicia (April 12) that the Hungarians are advancing nearer and nearer to the Carpathians, while nothing is heard of Vogl’s alleged advance into Hungary. Almost the entire Cracow garrison has marched off to Hungary. It is expected to be replaced by Russians.

An indication that the imperial forces no longer feel secure in Slovakia is given by the transfer of their treasury from Schemnitz to Troppau.

Finally, we give a (Magyar) report from the Neue Oder-Zeitung on the strength of the Magyar army:

The Hungarian army is daily increasing in numbers, daily becoming better organised and more disciplined. According to authentic reports, when the Banat and Transylvanian armies are included as well as the Peterwardein and Komorn garrisons, the army now has 32 regular battalions of infantry and Szeklers, 23 regiments of cavalry (hussars, Uhlans, cuirassiers), 105 Honved battalions, 15,000 national cavalry, hence a total of 197,000 infantry and 30,000 regular cavalry, excluding national cavalry, national guards and Landsturm.

Written by Engels about April 21, 1849

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a Laval Nugent.—Ed.
THE DEBATE ON THE LAW ON POSTERS

[Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 279 (second edition), April 22, 1849]

Cologne, April 21. (The debate in the Chamber.) We return to the sitting of April 13. After the reply to Deputy Lisiecki’s question, the next item on the agenda was the debate on the law on posters.253

After Herr Rohrscheidt had read the report of the Central Commission, Herr Wesendonck moved an amendment for the rejection of the government Bill en bloc.

Herr Arnim (Count) rose to speak. He said that the amendment was impermissible, being tantamount to a motion to proceed to the Order of the Day. But government Bills cannot be passed over in this way. That is established by the standing orders.3

Now at last the gentlemen of the Left realise what the Right intended by para. 53 of the standing orders. In relation to government Bills the Chamber cannot resolve to proceed to the Order of the Day. This seemingly innocent provision, however, meant neither more nor less than the following: you are not entitled to reject any government motion en bloc, but must debate every one of its paragraphs, even if there were a thousand of them.

But that was too much even for the Centre deputies. After a rather lengthy debate during which each of the sides displayed the greatest possible acumen in exegesis, the Chairman finally proceeded with the discussion by declaring Wesendonck’s amendment permissible.

The floor was taken by Herr Rupp, the great Rupp, who was suspended from his post, persecuted, at one time hounded by all the

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See this volume, pp. 295-98.—Ed.

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Given by the Minister of War K. A. Strotha.—Ed.

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"Geschäfts-Ordnung für die Zweite Kammer." — Ed.
newspapers, and expelled from the Gustavus-Adolphus Union\textsuperscript{254} of blessed memory. Herr Rupp delivered a speech after which, in the opinion of the Berlin \textit{National-Zeitung}, which is no less great and no less enlightened than Herr Rupp, there remained little more for the Left to say, not only in the general debate but also in the special debate. Let us take a look at this exhaustive speech of pure reason delivered by Rupp, the Friend of Light.

This exhaustive speech is, indeed, a true product of the \textit{enlightened} spirit, of the spirit of the “free communities”,\textsuperscript{255} i.e. it exhausts nothing but the platitudes which can be uttered on the subject of posters.

Herr Rupp began his speech by pointing out the difference between the arguments in support of the law on posters put forward by the Government and the Central Commission. Whereas the Government presented the law as a mere police measure in the interests of road traffic and aesthetics, the Central Commission, which eliminated this clumsy Prussian trick, put the political motives in the foreground. This afforded wide scope for declamations by the enlightened preacher.

“Thus this Bill is indisputably one of the most important subjects for discussion by the present Assembly. Now we shall not want to say” (we shall not want to say!) “that it is so much (!) a matter of indifference to us whether there are a few more or a few less posters in the world, since (!) the lofty character of right and freedom consists precisely in the fact that even what seems to be most insignificant, when linked with it, immediately itself acquires a higher significance”!!\textsuperscript{a}

Having established the “lofty character” and “higher significance” of posters by this pastoral introduction, and having put his audience in a pious frame of mind, Herr Rupp could calmly give free rein to “the eternally clear, pure and smooth” stream of his pure reason.

First of all, Herr Rupp made the exceedingly shrewd remark “that very often measures have been taken against imaginary dangers, with the result that real dangers are created”.

This platitude evoked delight and cries of “bravo” from the Left.

After this, Herr Rupp with equal profundity of thought pointed out that the Bill contradicts ... the imposed Constitution,\textsuperscript{256} which Herr Rupp does not recognise at all!

It is a strange policy of the Left—to appeal to the imposed Constitution and to cite the kicks received in November as arguments against further kicks!

If the Government considers—Herr Rupp continued—that this Bill does not infringe freedom of the press, but only concerns the use of the streets and squares for the distribution of printed matter, then one could equally well say that freedom of the press prevailed also under the censorship, since it was not the use of the press but only the distribution of its products that was put under control.

One must have lived in Berlin under the censorship to appreciate the whole novelty of this proposition, which already years ago used to be current among all the pettifogging liberals, and which nevertheless was once more greeted by the Left with hilarity and cries of "bravo".

Herr Rupp then quoted the article on freedom of the press in the imposed Constitution and proved in detail that Manteuffel's Bill was in crying contradiction to the Manteuffel Constitution.

But, my dear Herr Rupp, *tout bonhomme que vous êtes*,

have you not yet realised that Manteuffel imposed the Constitution only in order subsequently to annul the few liberal phrases contained in it either by retaining the old gagging laws or introducing new ones.

Indeed, Herr Rupp even went so far as to explain to the Right with some thoroughness that although later on, during the revision of the Constitution, they could include the law on posters in this Constitution, but at present they must reject it, otherwise they would be anticipating the revision of the Constitution!

As though the gentlemen of the Right were concerned with consistency, and not with putting the speediest end to the bad press, associations, agitation, commercial distrust, and other more or less revolutionary achievements!

To these weighty arguments, Herr Rupp then added the following banalities:

1) Posters are condemned because they spread *agitation*. But the prevention of agitation is not a matter for the state in which the rule of law prevails but for a police state.

2) I want a strong government. But a government that cannot tolerate agitation and posters is not a strong government.

3) Germans like to follow a leader.

4) The absence of posters did not prevent March 18 ("Neither horse, nor rider"—etc.).

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*a* However credulous you are.—*Ed.*

*b* From the Prussian anthem *Heil Dir im Siegerkranz* written by B. G. Schumacher on the basis of the poem "Lied für den dänischen Unterthan" by H. Harries, a Schleswig pastor.—*Ed.*
5) Revolutions are the result of despotism.

From this Herr Rupp drew the conclusion that the law on posters must be rejected in the interests of Manteuffel.

"Gentlemen," he exclaimed imploringly, "protect the Government from the self-deception to which this law, like every law of a police state, exposes it!"

According to Herr Rupp, the rejection of Manteuffel's Bill would not be a vote of no confidence in Manteuffel, but, on the contrary, a vote of confidence in him. Herr Rupp wants Manteuffel to become the desired "strong government", and for that reason he does not want to weaken Manteuffel by adopting the law on posters. You think Herr Rupp is joking? He has no such intention. Herr Rupp is a Friend of Light, and a Friend of Light never jokes. Friends of Light cannot tolerate laughter any more than their worthy cousin, Atta Troll.

But the last trump card Herr Rupp played set the crown on his whole speech.

"The rejection of this law will contribute not a little to calm that section of the population which cannot agree to recognise the Constitution prior to its revision."

Herr Rupp's concern is "to calm that section of the population" which has not yet reached the level of Manteuffel!

That, however, is the nature of the gentlemen of the Left! They are tired of turbulent movement and since they are now deputies and realise that they can do nothing against the sabre dictatorship, all they want is that the unpleasant questions of principle should at last be settled, the Constitution revised pro forma with a view to declaring it valid, and an oath of allegiance sworn to it, and "the revolution brought to an end". Then a comfortable life will begin for them, a life of constitutional routine, declaration based on nothing, dealing with nothing, leading to nothing, intriguing, patronage, ministerial reshuffling etc.; that Olympian life of idleness and luxury which the Frenchmen of the type of Odilon,3 Thiers and Molé enjoyed for 18 years in Paris, and which Guizot liked to call the "play of constitutional institutions". If only the unpleasant revolutionary movement were to recede somewhat, a Waldeck Ministry would indeed no longer be an impossibility! And after all the people are not yet mature enough for a republic!

After Herr Rupp's speech precisely everything still remains to be said. It was a question in the first place not of restriction of the freedom of the press in general, but above all of restriction of the

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3 Barrot.— Ed.
freedom of the press in regard to *posters*. What had to be done was to examine the effect of posters, to defend "street literature", and most particularly to champion the right of the *workers* to the literature *provided free of charge* in the form of posters. It was not a matter of glossing over the right of agitation by means of posters, but *frankly to champion* that right. But Herr Rupp said not a word about this. The old phrases about freedom of the press which we had sufficient opportunity of examining in all its aspects during 33 years of censorship—these old phrases were once more trotted out by Herr Rupp at length in a solemn tone, and because he said everything that the gentlemen from the *National-Zeitung* know about the subject, that newspaper considers he has exhausted the subject.

After the "enlightened" Rupp, the "obscurantist" Riedel was given the floor. But Herr Riedel's speech is too good to write about it in haste. *A demain donc, citoyen Riedel*. *

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*Cologne, April 23. Deputy Riedel certainly delivered the most classic speech of the whole debate. Whereas some restraint was still being shown by the ministerial bench, whereas even Manteuffel still employed certain pseudo-constitutional phrases, and only the clumsy parvenu, von der Heydt, at times forgot his constitutional role, Herr Riedel from Barnim-Angermünde was not in the least embarrassed to speak as a dyed-in-the-wool representative of Uckermark. Never before has an electoral constituency been so worthily represented as that of Herr Riedel. Herr Riedel began by asking: what are posters? And he gave the answer:

"Posters in the proper meaning of the word are public statements intended to have a reassuring effect on people's minds."

That, according to Herr Riedel's etymology, is the "definition" of posters.

For the time being we do not want to dispute with Herr Riedel about the derivation of the word "poster" [*Plakat*. We only draw his attention to the fact that if he had read the Bill attentively, he could have saved himself all his etymological exertions. This Bill is concerned not only with "posters" but also with "*pasted notices*",

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* Till tomorrow, therefore, Citizen Riedel.— *Ed.*
which “in the proper meaning of the word” are simply intended to be pasted up.

Instead of this, Herr Riedel expressed his righteous indignation at the most scandalous misuse of the word “poster”.

“As a rule, posters serve merely to inflame passions, to kindle an *impure fire of hatred* or *revenge* particularly against the authorities.... As a rule, therefore, posters are precisely the opposite of what their name implies. Hence their use is usually a misuse” (i.e. a misuse of their *name*) “and therefore the question arises: Ought the local police authorities to help promote this mischief of posters?” (i.e. this misuse of the name “poster”). “Ought the police to make themselves in some measure the accomplices in the mischief caused by the misuse” (of the name) “of posters” (for notices which are in no way posters, i.e. reassuring notices)?

In short, ought posters in future to be employed “in accordance with their definition” (i.e. in accordance with the definition of the word “poster”) or not?

What a great mistake Manteuffel committed in ascribing the law on posters to motives concerned with police duties and beautifying the streets! What a mistake it was for the Central Commission to advocate the law for political reasons! The law is necessary—for etymological reasons and should really be entitled: a law to return the use of the word “poster” to the “proper meaning of the word”.

In this connection, however, the thorough Herr Riedel has committed a thorough blunder. If we, at the risk of boring our readers to death, were to enter into a discussion with Herr Riedel on etymology, we would, with Diez’s grammar in hand, prove to him that the derivation of the [German] word *Plakat* [poster] is not at all from the Latin *placare,* but is only a distortion of the French *placard,* which is connected with the French word *plaque,* which itself is of German origin. Hence Herr Riedel’s whole reassurance theory falls to the ground.

That, of course, is a matter of indifference to Herr Riedel, and rightly so. For this whole reassurance theory is merely a schoolmaster’s *captatio benevolentiae* behind which is an outright appeal to the fears of the propertied classes.

Posters “inflame passions”, they “kindle an impure fire of hatred or revenge particularly against the authorities”, they

“serve as a call to the *unreasoning mass* to demonstrations which menacingly (!) violate order and go beyond the limits of legitimate freedom”.

And therefore posters must be prohibited.

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a To placate, pacify, soothe.—*Ed.*

b Attempt to gain favour.—*Ed.*
In other words: the united feudal lords, bureaucrats and bourgeois successfully accomplished their coup d'état last autumn by force of arms, and now, with the help of the Chambers, want to impose on us the supplementary laws that are still required in order that these gentlemen can enjoy their victory in peace. They are heartily sick of "passions", they will use every means to extinguish "the impure fire of hatred and revenge against the authorities", who for them after all are the most desirable authorities in the world, to establish "order" and to restore "legitimate freedom" to the level that suits them. And what sort of level that is can be judged from the fact that Herr Riedel calls the great majority of the people an "unreasoning mass".

Herr Riedel cannot find words bad enough to describe this "unreasoning mass". He continues:

"These communications" (by means of posters) "are mostly read by just that class of people who are least of all accustomed to written communications, who are not able to test and judge the credibility of written communications with the caution and distrust that is of course displayed by the public accustomed to reading and acquainted with the deceptions of the press...."

Who then form this unreasoning mass, this class least of all accustomed to written communications? Is it the peasants of Uckermark? By no means: since, firstly, they are the "backbone of the nation", secondly, they do not read posters, and, thirdly, they elected Herr Riedel. Herr Riedel has in mind none but the urban workers, the proletariat. Posters are a chief means of influencing the proletariat. By its very position the proletariat is revolutionary; being the class which is as much oppressed under a constitutional regime as under absolutism, the proletariat is quite prepared to take up arms again; it is precisely from the proletariat that the chief danger threatens, and therefore away with everything that could keep alive the revolutionary fervour in the proletariat!

And what is more conducive to keeping alive revolutionary fervour among the workers than posters, which convert every street corner into a huge newspaper in which workers who pass by find the events of the day noted and commented on, the various views described and discussed, and where at the same time they meet people of all classes and opinions with whom they can discuss the contents of the posters; in short, where they have simultaneously a newspaper and a club, and all that without costing them a penny!

It is just this, however, that the gentlemen of the Right do not want. And they judge correctly. For it is from the side of the proletariat that the greatest, indeed the sole danger threatens them; why
should they, who hold the reins of power, not strive by every means to remove this danger?

No one could raise any objection to this. With God's help we have been living for about six months under a sabre dictatorship. We do not harbour the slightest illusion about the fact of being in a state of open war against our enemies, or about the means by which alone our party can come to power. We shall not be so ridiculous as to make moral reproaches against the present ruling triple alliance of junkers, bureaucrats and bourgeois because they strive in every way to enslave us. If the highly moral preacher's tone and bombastic moral indignation of the wailers 259 were not in any case obnoxious to us, we would beware of such an empty phrase-mongering polemic if only because we still intend to take revenge on our enemies.

But what we find peculiar is that the gentlemen who are now in power, and who have an official majority, do not speak as frankly as we do. Herr Riedel, for example, is as genuine an Uckermark man as anyone could wish for and yet he could not refrain from asserting at the end of his speech:

"It has certainly never been my intention to put any kind of barrier in the way of free expression of opinion. I regard the spiritual struggle ... for the truth as a sacred right of free peoples, which no one may call in question."

And in another passage Herr Riedel speaks of his wish

"to allow the distribution of posters on the same basis as that on which literary works in general can be distributed".

What, after all the preceding explanations, are these phrases intended to mean? The existing government and the constitutional monarchy in general cannot nowadays remain in power in civilised countries, if the press is free. Freedom of the press, free competition between opinions means giving freedom to the class struggle in the sphere of the press. And the kind of order that they ardently desire is precisely the stifling of the class struggle, the gagging of the oppressed classes. Hence the party of law and order has to abolish free competition between opinions in the press; by means of press laws, bans etc., it must as far as possible ensure its monopoly of the market; it must, in particular, wherever possible directly suppress the literature provided free of charge in the form of posters and leaflets. The gentlemen are well aware of all this; why do they not say as much frankly?

In fact, Herr Riedel, why do you not propose immediate restoration of the censorship? There is no better means for repressing "passions", extinguishing "the impure fire of hatred and
revenge against the authorities”, and safeguarding “the limits of legitimate freedom”! Voyons, citoyen Riedel, soyons francs! After all, it will come to that in the end!

Herr Riedel resumed his seat. The floor was given to Simons, the Minister of Justice, barrister from Elberfeld, the offspring of a Wuppertal bourgeois family of an equal rank to that of von der Heydt.

Herr Simons set about his task with tremendous thoroughness. It is noticeable that he is still new to the Ministry of Justice.

Posters are pasted up in public streets and squares, said the Minister of Justice. Consequently

“one must look for the definition of public streets and squares”!!

True, Herr Riedel had established the “definition” and “proper meaning of the word” poster in a way deserving our thanks. But that is not the point at all. On the contrary, it is a question of the “definition of streets and squares”. And here the Minister of Justice wins immortal laurels.

Can one imagine a finer school for teaching the ABC than this Chamber where people argue seriously about the definition of streets and squares, about schoolboyish points of grammar, and so forth?

What then is the “definition of streets and public squares”?

It is as follows: streets etc.

cannot be made available for any random and public use”, because “such a definition of streets etc. cannot be proved”!

Hence the reason why we have a so-called Minister of Justice is precisely to give us such profound explanations. In fact, one understands now why Herr Simons found it embarrassing to be presented to the Chamber.

Of course, after such a brilliant performance, the remainder of the Minister’s speech is not worth mentioning. Under the cloak of remarkable erudition in French jurisprudence, Herr Simons brought out some forgotten recollections from his former practice as a Public Prosecutor. Then come statements like the following:

“This question of need must certainly(!) be given an affirmative answer, that at least (!!) is my opinion (!!!!), bearing in mind the doubts (!!!!!) that have been raised (!!!!!).”

Finally, Herr Simons wanted

“to sanction the legal foundation for restricting posters”.

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a Well, Citizen Riedel, let us be frank.—Ed.
To sanction a foundation! Where did you learn such language, Herr Simons?

After such oratorical feats as those of Herr Riedel and Herr Simons, we cannot, of course, dwell on Herr Berends' speech which followed them. Herr Berends correctly felt by instinct that the ban on posters was aimed directly against the proletariat, but his development of the theme was rather feeble.

The general debate came to an end. For rejecting the Bill en bloc there were 152 votes, and against it 152 votes. Among others of the Left who were absent without special permission was Herr Kyll from Cologne. If Herr Kyll had been present the Bill on posters would have been rejected out of hand. Hence we owe it to Herr Kyll that the Bill was adopted in part.

We shall not dwell on the special debate. Its result is well known: the itinerant traders in books have been placed under police surveillance.

For this they can thank Herr Kyll!

Written by Engels on April 21 and 23, 1849

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In the welter of contradictory rumours, some of which are evidently invented by the imperial side, we can be certain of only two facts: firstly, the Magyars have crossed the Gran, and on the left bank of the Danube at Parkány, opposite Gran, have defeated the corps assembled there under Simunich; secondly, they have disappeared from Pest for the second time, and nobody can say where they have gone.

Hence, little can be said about their present position or intentions. It is most likely that they will station themselves along the left bank of the Danube from Waitzen to Komorn, so as, after successfully relieving Komorn, to cross the Danube under the protection of this fortress’s guns and to cut off the retreat of the main imperial army.

The corps defeated at Parkány was made up of the remnants of the Götz brigade, the Simunich division and troops drawn from the corps besieging Komorn that could be spared there.

According to remarks made by Austrian officers in Pest, it is more doubtful than ever that Waitzen has been re-occupied by the imperial forces.

The imperial side is spreading the rumour that Jellachich has defeated the Magyars at Pest and forced them to retreat to Gödöllő. But this rumour is deprived of all significance by the simultaneous and much better established news that the Magyars left Pest during the night, while the peasants in the area kept their watch-fires burning till daybreak to deceive the Austrians.

One part of the Magyar army is said to have moved to the north from Parkány via Ipolyság, so as to be able together with the volunteer forces raised all over Upper Hungary to prevent the entry of Vogl’s corps. According to reports received via Pest and
Pressburg, Vogl is at Zboró (six miles\(^a\) from Eperies); direct reports via Cracow and those in the Bohemian and Moravian papers which are best informed on these areas know nothing of this so far. Vogl's entry has moreover been reported so often that by now no one believes in it any longer. In Pest and Ofen, and also among the troops, the rumour is being disseminated by the imperial side that Kossuth has resigned his post as President of the Hungarian Defence Council and taken to flight so as not to stand in the way of the negotiations which are now said to be about to begin (Welden's proclamation may be remembered\(^b\)).

Two days ago it was reported that an imperial sharpshooter on patrol had shot Kossuth in the Hungarian camp. This report appears to have found no credence, hence this new invention.

The Magyars will take care not to waste precious time on negotiations so that the defeated and weakened Austrians can gather their reinforcements at their leisure and then, supported by 50,000-60,000 Russians, throw their adversaries back across the Theiss again!

Böhm in Vienna has published the report that Komorn continues to be encircled, and that even the bridge from the citadel to the bridgehead on the right bank of the Danube has been destroyed by the royal imperial artillery. What truth there is in that remains to be seen.

Transylvania is still in the hands of the Magyars. Under Bem's direction, it has been converted into a gigantic fortress, unassailable from the Moldavian-Wallachian-Bukovina border. The Magyars make sorties from there into the Bukovina. Thus, on April 9, six companies of Szeklers with two guns advanced as far as Pojana-Stampi, beat the Austrians and retreated across the border with 14 oxen and some horses as booty. Clearly, these raids keep the movement among the peasants in the area very much alive. Kobylica has promised to bring in a Hungarian army on the 12th and to make the peasants masters of all the land.

Perczel still continues to advance in the Bacska. He has invaded the territory of the Chaikist battalion,\(^260\) occupied Gospodincze, and is now in Tschurug on the Theiss, the largest base of the battalion. The Chaikist territory occupies the extreme angle between the Danube and the Theiss, east of Peterwardein.

Both Puchner and the Russians are said to have arrived at Orsova on the borders of the Banat; 10,000 Russians are expected there. In

\(^a\) See footnote on p. 20.—Ed.
\(^b\) See this volume, p. 316.—Ed.
addition, Stratimirovic has emerged again and is rallying volunteer forces against the Hungarians in the Chaikist battalion.

On the other hand, a report from Semlin, dated April 13, says:

"The arrival of the steamboat passengers yesterday presented a sorry sight. The entire personnel of the general command of Transylvania, among them General Pfersmann and General Appel, disembarked. Their shabby garments and their pale countenances betrayed their misfortunes. After an hour's rest, they continued their journey to Vienna by way of Agram. They carried with them the substantial war-chest and the archives."³

In the Voivodina, Rajachich is to assume the civil and Mayerhofer the military administration. The Serbs intend to hold a grand National Assembly on May 20 and to elect a new voivode. Kničanin has the best chances. We have the draft Constitution of the Voivodina before us; long faces will be pulled over it at Olmütz. We shall return to it.

We have just received a letter from Lemberg dated April 16; it says nothing at all of Vogl's entry into Upper Hungary.

Written by Engels about April 23, 1849
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Printed according to the newspaper
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³ "Semlin, 13. April", Der Lloyd No. 183 (evening edition), April 17, 1849.— Ed.
On the 16th, the Hungarians undertook a reconnaissance along the whole line of the imperial army stationed at Pest. The attack did not begin until four in the afternoon; the bombardment lasted until nearly six. No exchange of infantry fire developed; the losses on both sides were small. The attack began with the Hungarian hussars surprising the imperial forces while cooking, causing great confusion; and when the Austrians had won enough time to bring their artillery into operation against them, the Hungarians disappeared equally suddenly. What purpose the Hungarians sought to achieve by this attack is not yet clear. It is supposed that the battle outside Pest was merely a cover for the Hungarians to cross the Danube, and the Magyar correspondent of the Breslauer Zeitung actually claims to know that the attempt was successful. However, perhaps by their sudden reappearance before Pest, the Hungarians merely wished to prevent the imperial forces from drawing off larger sections of troops to Gran and the Komorn road. Nevertheless, Welden, who journeyed on from Pressburg on the 17th, is reported to have ordered 10,000 men from Ofen to Gran on the 18th.

The fortification of Ofen with woolsacks is still going on.

We have no further definite news from the theatre of war at Waitzen and Gran. It is still uncertain who is in possession of Waitzen, but probably it is still occupied by the Hungarians.

Concerning the action at Gran, martial-law reports are again circulating the rumour that the Magyars were defeated there and 2,000 were taken prisoner. Of course, there is not a tittle of truth in this. At most, the imperial forces may have succeeded in holding their ground on the Gran.
Naturally, the story of Kossuth’s alleged flight\(^a\) has dissolved again into pure fable. While the Austrian officers talk of negotiations the Magyars attack, and Kossuth has announced that he intends to recruit another 50,000 men (the Magyar correspondent even mentions a figure of 200,000). Everywhere the *Landsturm* is being called up, and many thousands of them armed with pitchforks and scythes are reported to be marching behind the regular army. The latter is said already to number 35 hussar regiments.

News comes from the Banat that on the 13th Perczel in the area of the Chaikist battalion was driven back at Titel and Wilowa by Stratimirovich; Todorovich, too, is reported to have sent two battalions there.

The journal *Bucovina* paints a heart-rending picture of conditions in that province. Destitution and misery are so intense in the Bukovina that in certain localities there are people who for some weeks past have been living on minced straw or crushed acorns mixed with maize meal.

Written by Engels about April 24, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 281, April 25, 1849

Published in English for the first time

\(^a\) See this volume, p. 331.—*Ed.*
Cologne, April 25. Today we have no new information from the theatre of war. That which we already published yesterday about the departure of a corps of substantial size from Pest to Gran,\(^a\) has been fully corroborated, and this is a most important fact. It obviously constitutes the first step towards the abandonment of Pest.

We do not know the strength of the departed corps, nor how many men still remain in Pest. Some papers report that 10,000 men marched away; if this is so, 5,000-7,000 men at most can have remained in Pest. The *Wanderer*, a martial-law sheet *pur sang*,\(^b\) which has connections with the military camp, speaks of a "departure of the *whole camp*" to Gran having occurred during the night, after Welden had been in Pest for some hours and then returned to Gran. The *Wanderer* relates:

"The march towards Waitzen and the neighbouring area began at 4 a.m. The whole army stationed on the Ofen bank of the Danube as far as Komorn is crossing the river and today will take the offensive against the insurgents at all points, while Schlick and the Ban,\(^c\) operating beyond Waitzen, are attacking them in the rear and on the flanks. Already yesterday it was said at headquarters that decisive results were expected within three days."

The strategic reason which the *Wanderer* gives for the Austrian withdrawal is more than ludicrous. According to it the plan is for the main imperial army to cross the Danube between Komorn (this is how far the retreat has already gone!) and Gran and attack the

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\(^{a}\) See this volume, p. 333.— *Ed.*

\(^{b}\) Thoroughbred.— *Ed.*

\(^{c}\) Jellachich.— *Ed.*
Magyars in the front, while Jellachich and Schlick (! i.e. two out of the three army corps!) will cross over to Waitzen and cut off their retreat.

But if the imperial forces have made such progress that they can already think of such decisive manoeuvres, why do they not remain at Pest, where they are in complete command of the Danube crossing, on the left bank of the river, and march up along that bank towards Waitzen and Balassa-Gyarmat? In this way, with "Schlick and Jellachich's" assistance, they could completely cut off the Hungarians from their base of operations, and totally destroy them after winning one battle, while in case of a defeat their own retreat to Pest could not be cut off?

However, the Wanderer's glosses are the more certainly pure phrases as the small number of reinforcements arrived in the last few days do not allow the imperial side to think even remotely of resuming the offensive.

It is as clear as daylight: what is happening is that the imperial forces are retreating from Pest and taking up new positions in the area from Komorn to Gran and Szent Endrő along the right bank of the Danube and the Gran so as to oppose the Magyar pressure on Komorn. Incidentally, this very "speedily" performed withdrawal is the best commentary on the supposed imperial victory at Parkány on the Gran.

What these manoeuvres seem to suggest is that Welden, in the crude fashion in which he conducts warfare, intends to provoke a decisive battle at all costs and as speedily as possible. His rashness will probably end badly for him.

\(\Delta\), the "best-informed" Vienna correspondent of the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung, a black-and-yellow \(^a\) bureaucrat and an authority for the Kölnische Zeitung, but otherwise an impudent braggart and extremely ignorant of geography, is again lying with remarkable impertinence when he speaks of two Magyar corps marching with all haste towards Kaschau to meet Lieutenant-Field Marshal Vogl's forces. One of these corps is said to be 30,000 strong, the other to be commanded by Görgey (!)—but Lieutenant-Field Marshal Wohlgemuth is alleged to be following hard on their heels and if he could get to Miskolc before them (the Austrians are now on the march to Miskolc!!), the Magyars would have to retreat over the Theiss!!\(^b\) A brilliant strategist, this "best-informed" correspondent of the best-informed Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung.

\(^a\) The Austrian imperial colours.—Ed.

\(^b\) "Wien, 19. April", Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung No. 112, April 22, 1849.—Ed.
These lies show the lengths to which those on the imperial side have to go to sustain the spirit of their troops even to some extent. In a similar way, they also sought to capture Komorn, the fortress they could not capture by force of arms. They sent spies to spread among the garrison the rumour that Debreczín had long ago been taken by the imperial forces; that Mack was already inclined to capitulate, but Esterházy was not. Fortunately, a Magyar spy got through to Komorn and brought the news of the latest Magyar victories.

In the Banat, the Magyars are already beginning the encirclement of Temesvar.

From Galicia, there is still no news at all of Vogl's alleged entry into Hungary with his fictitious twelve battalions, reports of which were so grandly trumpeted abroad. It appears that the plans for the disposition of the troops concerned have been changed so frequently, because Galicia cannot be trusted to keep calm, that they have not yet even been assembled on the border.

There is nothing new from Transylvania. We shall print only an excerpt from a report about Bem, sent to the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung from the Wallachian border. These admissions from the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung are the most striking confirmation of what we have so often said about Bem:

"At this moment, the whole of Transylvania is obedient to the irresistible authority of Bem, a leader who is as bold as he is fortunate, whose genius and exceptional energy have decimated the best troops of two emperors, and driven them from the country. With relatively few and for the most part inexperienced forces, this extraordinary man has been able to set at nought the immense sacrifices demanded by this unprecedentedly bitter struggle, and to frustrate the brilliant feats of arms of the Austrian troops, nay, even the universally feared Russian intervention. Bem's successes are all the more amazing as he has succeeded in conquering a country in which the majority of the inhabitants, and especially the Saxons and Romanians, without exception, remained loyal to their Emperor and readily made every sacrifice, however hard. In face of so sad an outcome of this war, as protracted as it is destructive, all previous sacrifices, indeed even the summoning of foreign assistance, appear as sheer waste, while the reconquest of the country demands new sacrifices which are the heavier as the tireless Bem has increased his power tenfold by promptly levying soldiers and contributions. The inhabitants of Hermannstadt alone are reported to have been afflicted with a levy of four million florins C. M., payable within three days. What is equally distressing is the fact that this so lamentable misfortune, which could have been averted by prudence and strong measures, has led to an extraordinary cooling off in the sympathies which the populations thus afflicted previously gave so cordially to the Government, while their spirits have been crushed and their energy crippled by the imposed Constitution. All this is very natural, considering the enormous distance between the rights demanded in the well-known petitions of the Romanians and Saxons and those granted in the Constitution of March 4, and the obstinacy with which the Vienna Government

\[\text{footnote} \text{a} \text{ Francis Joseph I and Nicholas I.—Ed.}\]
withholds the concessions promised in Olmütz to the Romanian deputation. The common sense of the people sees that fundamentally it is all the same whether its rights are neglected or curtailed by the arrogance of the Hungarians or by an all-powerful Government."3

Written by Engels on April 25, 1849
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3 "Von der walachischen Gränze, 8. April", Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung No. 110, April 20, 1849.— Ed.
Cologne, April 26. We have to report a fact which testifies that *en fait de justice* there is no longer anything impossible. Herr Nicolovius, Public Prosecutor General, clearly intends to surpass even the laurels which Herr Hecker in his time won for himself.

From our previous reports it will be recalled that during the criminal court trial against Lassalle, von Ammon I, deputy Chief Public Prosecutor in Düsseldorf, for three weeks concealed in his office desk and withheld from the examining magistrate a letter of Lassalle’s in which the latter requested a farmer from Schönstein to arrange for a reinforcement of some 100 men to march to Düsseldorf in the event of a struggle and that von Ammon only handed the letter to the examining magistrate when the latter informed him that the investigation had been concluded. It will be recalled that because of this letter—which, incidentally, was so far from containing a direct call for an uprising that neither the Court nor the indictment board included it among the grounds for prosecution—the investigation had to be begun afresh, and this was the reason why Lassalle’s trial was not already concluded in the previous session of the Assize Court.

Lassalle protested at the time to the Public Prosecutor General against this deliberate dragging out of the case by Herr von Ammon I.

The Public Prosecutor General, instead of making any reply to Lassalle, sent the latter’s complaint to the Public Prosecutor’s office

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*a As regards jurisdiction.— Ed.
b See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 344-46, 469-65 and 474-76.— Ed.
c Stangier.— Ed.
in Düsseldorf with instructions to instigate proceedings against Lassalle for this complaint on the basis of Article 222 because in it Herr von Ammon had been insulted!

Pends-toi, Figaro, tu n'aurais pas inventé cela!*

Thus, a letter to Herr Nicolovius is alleged to constitute an insult to Herr von Ammon within the meaning of Article 222! Already once before, on the occasion of the trial of the press, which we had the pleasure of conducting against Herr Zweiffel and Herr Hecker, we explained that Article 222 does not even apply to public insults by the press but only to insults levelled at officials when they are actually present.b

But even if Article 222 were also applicable to insults through printed matter, it would still certainly not occur to anyone to maintain that a letter to a third person could be an insult to an official. According to the practice adopted hitherto in the police courts, it was always requisite that the material containing the insult should be addressed to the insulted person himself or that it should be publicly disseminated. Herr Nicolovius now discovers that if one writes in insulting terms to a third person about an official, that is an insult to the official! It seems, therefore, that one must beware of speaking about officials in a disrespectful tone in one's private correspondence!

The fact that Lassalle's letter was addressed to the official authority superior to Herr von Ammon and was therefore a complaint, a protest, makes the matter still more impossible.

For the law even makes it obligatory for complaints against wrongful actions of officials to be addressed to the superior authority. If, therefore, the substance of the complaint was true, it was perfectly in order; if it was false then the Public Prosecutor General should have instituted legal proceedings on the basis of Article 373—because of a calumniatory complaint. But in that case it would be the easiest thing in the world for Lassalle on the basis of the documents to prove the truth of his complaint, whereas this proof is of no avail to him when brought before a police court on a charge of insulting an official.

The case came before the Court in Düsseldorf. But this Court, too, found that an insult has to be made either publicly, or in the presence of the insulted person, and dismissed the case. The Public

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a Hang yourself, Figaro, you would not have thought of that! (Beaumarchais, La folle journée, ou le mariage de Figaro, Act V, Scene 8.)—Ed.

b See "The First Trial of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung" (present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 304-12).—Ed.
Prosecutor's office opposed this, and our local Cologne indictment board, which has often been tested and has always proved reliable, actually decided to institute legal proceedings based on Article 222 against Lassalle, who is now happily burdened with a police court case.

What else will be achieved with the help of Article 222, if things continue in this way?

Incidentally the Lassalle case will come before the Assize Court on May 3.

Written by Engels on April 26, 1849
First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 283, April 27, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
We begin our news today with the following report from the Neue Oder-Zeitung:

"From private sources we have received the important news that a big battle was fought between Gran and Komorn on the 20th and 21st. Welden led a reserve corps and held the heights near Gran. A large part of the royal imperial forces, including the Jablonowsky and Simunich brigades, was spread out on the plain between Gran and Komorn. The Magyars attacked all the positions of the imperial forces with such fierceness that the latter were thrown into confusion right from the outset. Despite the most courageous defence of the soldiers, Welden had to retreat. In addition to the great loss in dead and wounded suffered by the royal imperial army, 20 guns and 2,000 prisoners fell into the hands of the insurgents.

"According to another report, which generally confirms the news of the Hungarian victory mentioned above, the immediate consequence of this victory has been the relief of Komorn."

Evidently, this Job's news is already known in higher circles, for Government Counsellor von Festenburg, who accompanied Master of Ordnance Welden to Hungary, arrived in Vienna as a courier on the night of the 21st, and between then and the departure of the mail on the evening of the 22nd, not a word transpired either on the reason for his arrival or on the content of the dispatches he brought.

We have to await confirmation of this report, however probable it may seem. The letters from Breslau take us up to the evening of the 23rd; news of the Magyar victory at Komorn on the 21st could hardly have reached Breslau by then. But a letter from another Breslau source also reports that news of the capture of Gran by the Magyars came with the train which arrived there on the morning of the 23rd.

We were quite correct in our estimate of the butcher Welden. He was eager to mark his arrival in the field at once by a great battle and to spread his fame far and wide. According to all the reports from Vienna, this battle actually took place on the 20th and 21st.
All the newspapers now unanimously recognise that the departure of the main imperial forces from Pest was actually the beginning of their retreat from the city. It even appears that they have become convinced of the impossibility to hold Ofen, and that they intend to give this up as well. All the woolsacks requisitioned for the ramparts have been returned to their owners and the sand-bagging of the ramparts has also ceased. According to the Magyar correspondent of the Breslauer Zeitung, the Magyars are said to have already occupied Neu-Pest (the first suburb). There are, by the way, not many of them left; their main corps, as we know, departed long ago, the unmounted Landsturm has for the most part been disbanded, and only the mounted Landsturm, armed with the fokos (a strong staff with a small brass axe at one end) are still at Pest, along with some Honvéds and a few guns.

According to \( \Delta \), the "best-informed" correspondent of the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung, who, incidentally, cannot spell any Magyar or Serb name correctly, the Magyars are no longer stationed along the Danube but along the Gran, from the Leva down to the confluence of the Gran and the Danube. Their main force is said to be located in Ipolytágság (a few miles to the rear). Wohlgemuth, who has 5,000 men, is said to be facing their right flank.

More recent reports state that this right flank has wheeled round, crossed the Gran and advanced towards Neutra, driving Wohlgemuth back to the town. Even the Lloyd admits this. There is no definite news of the positions of the imperial forces. Vienna newspapers and Lithographierte Correspondenz still have "Schlick and Jellachich operating beyond Waitzen in the rear of the insurgents", as if it were possible to get "beyond" Waitzen without first getting "into" it! And Waitzen is and will remain in the hands of the Magyars, despite all the martial-law lies of the black-and-yellow press.

The butcher Welden is ruining himself by his brutal impatience to attack. If he stayed on the defensive, covered by the Danube and the Gran, and if his main force were united with the corps besieging Komorn, he might succeed in holding his ground until the arrival of reinforcements. But he wants to get all the credit for putting down the Magyar revolution, with the result that by now he together with his entire army may have perished.

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a "Wien, 20. April", Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung No. 113, April 23, 1849.— Ed.
b See footnote on p. 20.— Ed.
c "Neuestes", Der Lloyd No. 191 (evening edition), April 21, 1849; No. 194 (morning edition), April 24, 1849.— Ed.
For at last we have more definite news about the Galician reinforcements. Some of them are concentrated on the Jablunka Pass. These are said to be under Benedek's command and to be rapidly advancing on the mountain towns. The others—eight battalions, 1,200 cavalry and 15 guns—are reported to have marched from Lemberg on or about the 16th and a reserve force of six battalions, 800 cavalry and nine guns was supposed to be following. These troops, whose numbers are obviously much exaggerated, were supposed to be marching over the Carpathians in three columns, and to be operating directly against the main Hungarian army and not in the direction of the Theiss. But remarkable obscurity still persists as to when they will arrive.

Hence a report from Breslau that Vogl has been surrounded in the mountains at Munkács and his entire corps destroyed, is false. Munkács lies far to the east of Vogl's line of operations. It is, however, possible that an Austrian column invaded there from Galicia and was beaten.

Concerning Komorn, the imperial forces also had very philanthropic intentions: The brigadier commanding the corps of sappers and engineers, Major-General von Zitta, who himself had built the Komorn fortress, is said to be leading the last attempt to force the capitulation of the fortress which, according to his own declaration, cannot be taken by assault. It is reported that he is attempting to flood the casemates in order to drive out the garrison from this bomb-proof refuge and confront it with the alternative of either surrendering Komorn or seeking shelter from the devastating rain of fire in the ruins of the town.

But this kind intention will surely have been frustrated by recent events.

It is now officially reported that Nugent in the south has very politely but firmly been recalled. His son, who abandoned Zombor to the Magyar Landsturm without a fight, is said to be court-martialled. What a farce! Stratimirovich's victory does not prevent the Magyars from keeping the Bacska occupied; the flight of the Serbs across the Danube and the Theiss is continuing. Mayerhofer is now in command in Nugent's place but is now almost without troops, as they have nearly all been sent to Ofen.

It is confirmed that Bem is in the Banat. He has equipped the Szekler Landsturm well with arms from the Hermannstadt and Kronstadt arsenals and, leaving to it the guarding of the country, is advancing with 30,000-40,000 of his best troops reinforced with Wallachian and Saxon recruits. He is reported to have already taken Temesvar.
The new Hungarian banknotes devised by Windischgrätz have now been issued, but no one will accept them. All exchanges and shops are closed. The Magyar report writes about this:

"Despite the martial-law threat, all the banking-houses and merchants have refused to accept the notes. With the Hungarian army in the vicinity, the imperial military authorities have not deemed it advisable to employ force, and further issue of the banknotes has been deferred until better times. But there is already circulating here a decree of the Hungarian Government, branding these banknotes as 'maliciously manufactured, forged bills' and warning everybody against accepting them. Another of Kossuth's proclamations outlaws those commissars installed by Windischgrätz who have dared partially to reintroduce the compulsory labour abolished by the Diet of 1848. The peasants of Duna Vecse, Germans, have already taken advantage of the proclamation and killed one of these commissars."

Fresh support for the Magyars, which just now, on the eve of their probable victory, is of the greatest significance, is the Polish peasant rising which is about to break out in Galicia. About this movement, which the Cracow martial-law sheet Czas (The Times) seeks as far as possible to conceal, the Vienna Lithographierte Correspondenz writes:

"Forced recruiting has caused a serious situation in the vicinity of Cracow. Three thousand peasants have moved to the large forest near Chrzanov and are camping there. Attempts to persuade them amicably to come out have merely elicited the response: 'We would rather die here than in Hungary; what have the Hungarians done to us?' Many of the young people, who do not wish to serve against the Hungarians either, have fled from Cracow to the forest, and there are fears that this example will prove contagious and that a general rising might develop. It is well known that Cracow is almost totally denuded of troops."

At this moment talk of Russian assistance is more widespread than ever. The rumours are self-contradictory. But it is a fact that between Kalisch and Bucharest 200,000 Russians are already drawn up and ready to invade Galicia and Hungary so soon as the orthodox Tsar gives the order. 40,000 are stationed at Cracow, 50,000 at Brody (Radziwilow), and the remainder partly further to the rear, partly further to the south in Podolia, Bessarabia and the Danube principalities.

We had almost forgotten to inform our readers that the first defeat of the Austrians on the Gran has been confirmed. It was Wohlgemuth who was there in command and did not take 2,000 Hungarian prisoners but rather suffered these losses himself. This accounts for his otherwise inexplicable positions at Leva and later at Neutra.

Written by Engels about April 26, 1849
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 283, April 27, 1849
Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
Cologne, April 26. In the confused news reaching us today from the Hungarian theatre of war via Vienna and Breslau, three clear, definite and undeniable facts stand out:

1. The imperial forces have evacuated Pest and Ofen;
2. The Hungarians have won a victory between the Gran and the Waag;
3. Komorn has been relieved.

The battle itself took place between Leva and Neutra, and it was Wohlgemuth who suffered a complete defeat. He was forced to retreat five miles. Görgey thereupon marched on Komorn with his entire force and, according to the latest news, reached Neuhäusel and Sz. Peter on the Waag, an hour from Komorn.

No credence can be given to a martial-law report that the encirclement area of Komorn has been re-established.

The outposts of the Magyar vanguard are reported to be already at Tynau, five miles from Pressburg. According to other reports they are two miles from Pressburg, and people claim to have seen them even on the March a few hours from Vienna!

Ofen and Pest were completely evacuated on the 21st and 22nd. The imperial headquarters was last located in Gran, from there it has probably been transferred to Raab.

In the south, the Magyars are overrunning wider and wider areas. They are even threatening Semlin on the Turkish frontier, as the Wiener Zeitung admits.

The Hungarians are reported to have invaded Wallachia from Transylvania and defeated the Russians.

In short, the Magyar revolutionary army is advancing victoriously on all fronts. The entire might of all the 36 million Austrians has
Außerordentliche Beilage zu Nr. 283 der R. Rh. Jtg.

Freitag, 27. April 1849.

* Köln, 26. April. Und den verworrenen Nachrichten, die uns heute über Wien und Preßburg vom ungarischen Kriegshauptquartier zukommen, treten drei Thatsachen klar, bestimmt und unleugbar hervor:
1) Die Kaiserlichen haben Pesth und Öden gebäumt.
2) Die Ungarn haben zwischen der Gran und der Waag einen Sieg erreicht.
3) Komorn ist entsehlt.


Ein Standesbericht, der die Wiederherstellung des Komornischen Gernungskrieges meldet, verdient keinen Glauben.

Die Vorposten der ungarischen Vorwärts sollen schon bei Arna, fünf Meilen von Preßburg sein. Nach anderen Berichten stehen sie zwei Meilen vor Preßburg, ja selbst an der March, wenige Stunden von Wien, will man sie gesehen haben?


Von Siebenbürgen aus sollen die Ungarn nach der Balachri eingesalten sein und die Russen geschlagen haben.

Kurfürst der magyarische Revolutionstermin bringt auf allen Punkten siegreich vor. In der Nahme und dem Enthusiasmus eines kleinen Volkes von kaum fünf Millionen scheint die ganze Macht der 36 österreichischen Gesamt Millionen, scheint die tyrannische Armee, die „halb Europa ansaunt", wie Welten sagt. Die Litten Erfahrungen die die Kaiserlichen von 50 Jahren bei Jemmapes und Jemrus machten,machen sie jetzt wieder in Ungarn: mit der Revolution ist nicht gut Krieg führen!


Redakteur en chef Karl Marx.

Druck von J. B. Dieg, unter Hutmacher Nr. 17.

Engels’ article “Hungarian Victories” published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 283 (special supplement), April 27, 1849
been frustrated and the victorious army which in Welden's words "amazed half Europe" has been balked by the daring and enthusiasm of a small nation of barely five million people. The imperial forces are learning once again in Hungary the lesson they were taught at Jemappes and Fleurus 50 years ago\(^2\): it is unwise to make war on revolution!

Written by Engels on April 26, 1849

First published in the special supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 283, April 27, 1849
We shall briefly supplement the news we published this morning in a special edition.

When Welden arrived in Gran, where he set up his headquarters, he made, according to the Wiener Zeitung, the following dispositions: Wohlgemuth with his alleged “five brigades”—in reality only 16,000 men—in the Neutra area was to prevent the Magyars who were advancing via Leva from reaching Komorn. Further south, between the Danube and the Gran, the Veigl brigade was to protect the Komorn siege corps. The bulk of the imperial forces, concentrated at Gran and Szent Endré, was to attempt to take Waitzen and thereby to reach the Magyars’ rear. The official paper admits the superior strength of the Hungarians, especially in light cavalry and artillery.

At the same time it is admitted that 2,000 Hungarians have crossed the Danube at Duna Földvar and are raising the local area in revolt. Between Földvar and the eastern corner of the Plattensee there are about ten miles of mostly swampy country; if the Magyars have occupied this easily defensible region, they are covered on their right flank by the whole length of the Plattensee (10-12 miles long) and can organise the insurrection quite unhindered behind this natural moat. Burits’ imperial brigade, and Horváth’s mobile column which has been sent towards Stuhlweissenburg against them, will be unable to do much harm.

After Wohlgemuth’s defeat on the Gran (in which Welden with the bulk of the imperial forces appears to have remained quite calmly at Gran as a “reserve”), and after the relief of Komorn, which now offers the Hungarians an invaluable point of support, Welden must

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*a Wiener Zeitung No. 97 (evening supplement), April 23, 1849.—Ed.
give up his position at Gran and will perhaps have to fight a bloody battle to effect his retreat to Raab, which leads past the guns of the Komorn bridgehead. Raab, the junction of the two roads to Pest, and the line of the River Raab are the only positions south of the Danube which are perhaps still possible for the imperial forces. But here too the closeness of Komorn and the difficult terrain, broken up into a mass of islands by innumerable branches of the Danube, will prevent regular contact between the bulk and Wohlgemuth's corps. There is not a single defensible position other than the line of the March and Leitha, which means retreating to Austrian territory.

During the departure from Pest and Ofen the greatest confusion prevailed. The "loyal ones" are wailing; the moral impression created by the occupation of the two cities by the revolutionary troops is immense.

Everywhere the peasants and Jews have been driven into the arms of the Magyars by the Windischgrätz-Stadion tyranny. The Slovak peasants, who are indebted to Kossuth for freeing them from feudal burdens, and upon whom Windischgrätz wanted to reimpose the former compulsory labour, are enthusiastic supporters of the Magyars, and are aiding them everywhere with reports, fire-signals etc.

The Serb National Committee in Semlin has applied for protection to the consuls of the three great powers in Belgrade. The English Consul has declined, since the Committee is allegedly not a regular legal authority. Mayerhofer is hurrying to Belgrade. To what depths has "venerable" Austria descended!

Written by Engels on April 27, 1849
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 284, April 28, 1849
Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
Cologne, April 27. Today is Kossuth’s birthday; the leader of the Hungarian revolution is 43 years old today.266

Today an official royal imperial Bulletin (No. 35) already confirms the reports of Hungarian advances which we published this morning: that Wohlgemuth has been defeated, Pest and Ofen are taken, and Komorn is relieved. It is now established that the Hungarians have already passed not only the Gran and the Neutra but even the Waag, and that Wohlgemuth has been driven back to Týnau, five miles from Pressburg. Altogether only four comitats in Hungary are still in imperial hands, and on all sides it is conceded that on Hungarian soil not a single defensible position is left to the imperial forces.

Great excitement prevails in Vienna. The people throng the streets as in the revolutionary days of last year. The military, usually so impudent, have again become remarkably restrained. Vienna is waiting for the Hungarians to cross the Leitha to effect its fifth revolution, a revolution which will not be simply an Austrian, but simultaneously a European one.

Eljen Kossuth! Eljenek a Magyarak!b

Written by Engels on April 27, 1849

First published in the special supplement to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 284, April 28, 1849

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a See this volume, pp. 350-51.—Ed.
b Long live Kossuth! Long live the Magyars!—Ed.
MAGYAR ADVANCES

Cologne, April 28. No commentary is necessary on the royal imperial Army Bulletin No. 35, the main points of which we have already this morning communicated to our readers. It reads as follows:

"Concerning events in the army in Hungary. After the movement back towards Pest made by the Austrian army early this month, in order to concentrate in positions protecting the two cities, the enemy almost daily attempted attacks on the same which, though they were without results, nevertheless gave him proof that our main strength was gathered at Pest and Ofen. Soon afterwards he attacked Waitzen, where two brigades were stationed commanded by General Götz—in the fighting the latter died the death of a hero—and advanced up the Danube via Leled and Kemend. Believing that we were kept sufficiently busy at Pest, the enemy then marched in two strong columns, one on the left bank of the Gran and the other via Ipolyság, towards Leva. Here he assembled about 30,000 of his best troops on the 18th and crossed the Gran in three columns at Kalna, Bars and Sz. Benedek.

"Lieutenant-Field Marshal von Wohl gemuth—in command of five brigades totalling about 15,000 men from Moravia and Austria, which as a reserve were drawn up behind the Gran—made aware of this movement, left Kemend on the night of the 18th to march toward the enemy between Malas and Bese.

"Meanwhile the enemy drew up his entire force—outnumbering ours by two to one—in battle order between Verebely and Nagy Sallo. An attack launched on Nagy Sallo by Prince Jablonowsky's brigade was indeed completely successful, one column already having reached the town, when entry had to be given up because the town was ablaze. The enemy took advantage of this to outflank us on our right between the Gran and Nagy Sallo, at the same time attempting a similar manoeuvre against our left flank from Verebely. A most stubborn battle had already raged from early morning till afternoon; with his proven composure, Lieutenant-Field Marshal von Wohlgemuth made a fighting retreat, leading his very tired troops from one position to

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a "35. Armee-Bulletin. Vom 24, April."—Ed.

b In the special supplement to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung dated April 28 but issued in the morning of April 29, 1849 (see this volume, p. 352).—Ed.
another; the enemy, on the other hand, extended his outflanking manoeuvre even towards Neutra.

"Lieutenant-Field Marshal Wohlgemuth had already previously been given orders to continue his retreat behind the Neutra and even back across the Waag, if things took an unfavourable turn, so as to cover both the valley of the Waag and Pressburg, and beyond the Waag to effect a junction, by way of Schütt Island, with the corps besieging Komorn, where in the meantime the bombardment was continued in the most lively manner.

"The commanding general, Master of Ordnance Baron Weiden, who had arrived in Gran on the 17th, convinced that the main force of the enemy could have made the outflanking movement through the mountains to relieve Komorn, immediately ordered the Ban\(^3\) to sally forth from Pest with his entire force and to attack the enemy, but not to follow up advantages too quickly. On the 19th, the Ban advanced in all directions (!!!!!), but the enemy gave way before him so rapidly that he was not even within reach of our artillery (!).

"On the 20th, another enemy column, which up to then had been held in reserve at Pasztó on the River Ipoly, moved down the right bank of the Gran with the left wing of the enemy towards Kemend and Gran, and immediately attacked the Csorich division, stationed there as a reserve, which, since on that day Lieutenant-Field Marshal Wohlgemuth had already passed Neuhäusel, retreated fighting towards Gran and dismantled the pontoon bridge there so as to defend this point as strongly as possible. The commanding general arrived at Ofen on the 20th.

"Given this military situation, it appeared to the commanding general that to continue to hold Pest and Ofen would have great disadvantages for further military operations, especially since the Danube from Komorn to Waitzen had been taken by the enemy, and neither city offered a useful pivot for the operations. The Master of Ordnance therefore set about concentrating his troops in a secure position, and is convinced that, with the reinforcements placed at his disposal which are marching to his aid, he will soon be in a position to renew the offensive successfully.

"Messages from Pest of the 21st of this month report that the enemy made an attack at Czinkota on that day, but after not very stubborn fighting he was forced back everywhere by our troops which were advancing towards him.

"According to news of the 17th of this month, just arrived from Semlin from the Master of Ordnance Count Nugent, the state of things on the Lower Danube is taking an increasingly favourable turn: the Chaikist area\(^4\) has again been cleared of the enemy; the position at Peterwardein has been much strengthened by the well-placed entrenchments constructed under the energetic direction of Colonel Mamula, and through the troop reinforcements moving on Peterwardein from all directions the corps being formed there will soon be in a favourable position to resume the offensive and advance on Szegedin."

This Bulletin confirms everything that we have already reported from the theatre of war. Moreover, it is written more clearly than the previous imperial hushing-up proclamations.

At Komorn, to which fresh troops and fresh cattle for slaughter have been brought by the Hungarians, many guns were left behind by the imperial forces, which, though in part spiked, fell into the hands of the Hungarians. Now, 24 hours after we pointed it out in

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\(^3\) Jellachich.— Ed.
our newspaper, all the papers bewail the fact that the imperial troops no longer have a single defensible position in Hungary, and will have to withdraw beyond the Leitha and March.

The imperial authorities have glaringly failed in their attempt to issue the new Hungarian banknotes, *alias* "forged bills". The *Ost-Deutsche Post* relates the following story:

“A high-ranking staff officer went into the vault of a money-changer the other day, demanding that he change 2,000 florins of the new paper money into Austrian banknotes, and even offered them at a premium. The money-changer declined to do so, under the pretext that he had only a few Austrian notes. However, he was willing to change a few 100 florins, though without any premium. The officer replied: you are a money-changer, you *must* have notes, and if you do not change them I will have your vault locked up. After some argument between them the notes were exchanged. On the following day, the money-changer’s wife received from that same staff officer a little packet of 5-florin notes in new Hungarian bills. She said that she could not change them. Shortly afterwards, the officer himself appeared, accompanied by an adjutant. In the meantime, the money-changer also arrived and declared that he was certainly willing to change silver money and ducats, but not the banknotes, for, he reasoned, not without logic, *if the bills were valid, the General had no need to change them* and could use them as well as the money-changer; *if they were no good, he did not want to change them*, for he could not use them. He had payments to make in Vienna, and he was so far not aware that the new bills would be accepted in payment there. If he were to change them for the General hundreds of people would immediately turn up with similar requests which he would be unable to satisfy. The General replied that it was beneath his dignity (!!!) to answer him, and ordered the mayor to be fetched, instead of whom a town councillor appeared and locked up the vault on the General’s order.”

The news from Hungary has had a tremendous effect in Vienna:

“As in the days of the barricades last year, crowds were moving up and down the streets. A stranger might suppose that the masses of people swarming hither and thither like ants were there in response to the warm spring weather, but to anyone even moderately familiar with the physiognomy of the capital, it was clear that mighty levers of curiosity, hope and feverish tension must have agitated the Viennese, encouraging them despite the ubiquitous glint of bayonets, despite the vigilance of the police, to a form of passive resistance expressed in crowds gathering at street corners, loud and fearless political beer-hall talk, and a thousand other variations. Former *legionnaires*269 in ranks four and five deep marched past the guards as though on parade, with bold provocative glances; former *national guards* shook hands with one another as though asking ‘Well, will it start soon?’ while those in favour of ‘calm at any price’ despondently and fearfully crept along keeping close to the houses as though Kossuth were at the gates of Vienna.

“That the ‘loyal ones’ have a guilty conscience was clearly and strikingly shown yesterday. In inns and coffee-houses, cries of *Eljen*270 were raised to Kossuth. ‘I am biding my time, and it will come,’ says Perceval to the Queen. Today the tumult seems

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269 *"Pesth, 21. April", Ost-Deutsche Post* No. 81, April 24, 1849.—*Ed.*
270 *Long live!—Ed.*
to have died down somewhat, at least the sound of tramping and the buzzing of voices are not as audible today as yesterday.”

Another letter from Vienna reports:

“The turn in the Hungarian events has produced a simply indescribable despondency among the majority of the city's inhabitants” (i.e. the bourgeoisie). “The numerous refugees arriving here hourly from Pest increase the anxieties, and only now vent is given to the universal execration of Windischgrätz (!). Already loud shouts of ‘treason’ can be heard (!!). However, the city is quiet. Both yesterday and today, troop reinforcements have gone from here to the battlefield. On the other hand, the arrival of fresh troops is again expected here; two battalions have already arrived since yesterday.

“The courier coach with the mail from Pest has already failed to turn up today, and we must be prepared for that city being cut off once again by Kossuth.”

A third correspondent, who already sees half a step further, makes the following observation:

“A ministerial crisis is inevitable, Schwarzenberg will have to follow Windischgrätz, public opinion must have its victims, otherwise—I doubt if I need say more.”

It is obvious that it will now be a matter of crises quite different from ministerial crises!

Important news has come in from the south:

Vetter has advanced towards Stuhlweissenburg and the Plattensee with a Magyar column.

Further to the south, Perczel too has crossed the Danube and recaptured Vukovar, on the road to Fünfkirchen.

Karlowitz in Syrmien has been attacked and bombarded by the Magyars.

We hear from several quarters that Bem has invaded Wallachia and driven the Russians back to Rimnik Vavitza, three and a half miles from the border.

In short: the Magyars are advancing victoriously at all points, and the Austrian “united monarchy”, the centre of European counter-revolution, will be destroyed within a fortnight, unless a miracle happens.

But it is on the ruins of the “united monarchy” that the European revolution will arise anew.

Written by Engels on April 28, 1849

First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 285, April 29, 1849

Published in English for the first time
Cologne, April 28. The rumour already current in the town at midday today was confirmed this evening: the King and his martial-law Government have dissolved the Second Chamber.270

The details can be found below, de dato Berlin.3

By this act the King and his martial-law Ministers have once again broken their word. According to the imposed martial-law Charter of December 5,271 the Chambers were expressly convened “to revise the Constitution”. Only after the first Parliament convened under this Constitution had revised this botchwork was the latter to be regarded as complete and definitively valid. This is how it was imposed in December of last year.

Hence the Chambers had at least a partially constitutional mandate. So long as they had not carried out this mandate, so long as they together with the Crown had not revised the Constitution, they could not be dissolved, any more than the Assembly of blessed memory convened to agree upon the Prussian Constitution.272

Nevertheless it has been dispersed—this miserable Second Chamber, summoned under the sabre dictatorship and the menace of the bayonet, by means of bribery, intimidation and deception!

This is what is called “Prussian honour”, “Prussian loyalty”!

If the Ministers had waited a few more weeks, perhaps the Austro-Hungarian revolution would have spared them the trouble and dispersed both Chambers.

As for the significance of this new coup d'état, it is quite obvious. We are going to be made to experience the rule of the sabre raised

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a The reference is to the report published under the date-line “Berlin, 28. April” in the same issue of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung.—Ed.
to the second power. We shall have most graciously foisted on us laws on the press, on associations, on civil disturbances, on posters etc., to such an extent that the German philistine's eyes will fill with tears. There will be persecution, disciplinary punishment, arrests; the state of siege will be made universal and, to cap it all, finally a new Constitution will be introduced, and an electoral law with property qualifications as well as a House of Lords, a Constitution in which the present first Chamber will figure as the second.

In short, things will be pushed as far as Prussian pluck will permit.

We, for our part, wish only that Herr Manteuffel will once more convene the United Diet\(^{273}\) of blessed memory.

Written by Engels on April 28, 1849
First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 285 (second edition),
April 29, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
Cologne, April 28. Our readers will be thankful to us if from time to time we examine the "splendour and might" of our Hohenzollern royal family and the simultaneous wonderful prosperity of the chief supports of its noble throne, the bug-ridden knights of Brandenburg who have been transplanted into every province.

In this instructive investigation we deal today with the Polish part\(^a\) of our fatherland in the narrower sense. Already last summer, on the occasion of the glorious pacification and reorganisation of Poland carried out by shrapnel and caustic,\(^{274}\) we tested the German-Jewish lies about the "predominantly German population" in the towns, "the large German landed estates" in the countryside, and the royal-Prussian merit for the growth of general well-being. Readers of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* will recall that we learned from official figures and reports of the Archbishop of Gnesen and Posen\(^b\) to the bourgeois transitional Minister Camphausen\(^c\) that in the parts of the territory included within the Prussian demarcation lines, not about one half, but hardly one-sixth, of the population is Germans,\(^d\) whereas the lying statistics of the Prussian Government step by step increased the alleged German population the more the progress of the counter-revolution seemed to make possible a new division and a new diminution of the Polish part of Posen. We discovered that in

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\(^a\) i.e. Grand Duchy of Posen under Prussian rule.—*Ed.*

\(^b\) Przyluski.—*Ed.*

\(^c\) "Korrespondenz des Erzbischofs von Posen Przyluski mit dem Berliner Kabinet." *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Nos. 5, 7, 10, 14, 38, 39 of June 5, 7, 10, 14, and July 8 and 9, 1848.—*Ed.*

\(^d\) "The Frankfurt Assembly Debates the Polish Question" (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 337-81).—*Ed.*
connection with these figures the German national simpletons and
money-grubbers of the Frankfurt parliamentary swamp always
counted as Germans the Polish Jews as well, although this meanest of
all races, neither by its jargon nor by its descent, but at most only
through its lust for profit, could have any relation of kinship with
Frankfurt. We discovered that in fact relatively very few of small
German landowners were ensconced in individual districts of Posen,
and then only as a result of treacherous Prussian speculation on
Polish poverty, since, by the Cabinet Order of 1833, all auctioned
estates could be sold exclusively to Prussian Junkers from the
backwoods, to whom the Government advanced money for that
purpose. Finally, we discovered that the benefits and services
rendered by the Hohenzollern paternalism consisted in the fact that
after the March revolution, out of cowardice, the finest promises
were given of a “national reorganisation”, and then, with the growth
of the counter-revolution, by means of a five times repeated and
ever greater partition, the noose was fastened more tightly round
the neck of the country, whereupon “reorganisation” was made
dependent on “pacification” i.e. the surrender of weapons. Finally,
when this condition was fulfilled, “My glorious army” 275 was let loose
on the unarmed, trustful country in order in alliance with the Jews
to plunder the churches, set fire to the villages, beat the Poles to
death in public places with ramrods or brand them with caustic and,
after having taken revenge for their belief in the “March promises”,
pay honour to God and his Christian-Germanic Majesty on this
field of corpses.

Such was the charitable work of Prussian “reorganisation” in
Posen. Let us now deal also with the origin of large-scale Prussian
landownership, the domains and estates. Their history is no less
instructive as regards the “splendour and might” of the Hohenzoller-
n family and the value of its beloved rogue knights.

In 1793 the three crowne d thieves divided the Polish booty among
themselves according to the same right by which three highwaymen
divide among themselves the purse of a defenceless traveller.276
Posen and South Prussia on that occasion received the Hohenzol-
erns as hereditary rulers in exactly the same way as the Rhine
Province in 1815 received them as hereditary rulers,—in accordance
with the right of trafficking in people and of kidnapping. As soon as
this right of trafficking in people and of kidnapping is abolished, the
Poles, like the Rhinelanders, will cancel with a red stroke the
title-deed of their hereditary Hohenzollern Grand Duke.

The first thing by which in plundered Poland the Hohenzollern
Father of the country manifested his Prussian benevolence was the
confiscation of the lands formerly belonging to the Polish Crown and Church. In general we have not the slightest objection to such confiscation; on the contrary, we hope it will soon be the turn of other crown lands. We ask however for what purpose were these confiscated estates used? In the interest of "the general well-being" of the country, for which the Brandenburg paternal regime was so benevolently concerned during the work of pacification and reorganisation in 1848? In the interests of the people whose sweat and blood created those estates? We shall see.

At that time Minister Hoym, who for twenty years had administered the province of Silesia quite free from any supervision and used that power for the most junker-like swindling and extortions, was entrusted with the administration of South Prussia as well, in reward for his services to God, King and country. In the interests of the "splendour and might" of the dynasty and in order to create a splendid and mighty class of devoted junkers from the backwoods, Hoym proposed to his lord and master\(^a\) that he should bestow as many as possible of the confiscated Church and Crown lands to so-called "deserving persons". And that was done. A host of rascally knights, favourites of royal mistresses, creatures of the Ministers, accomplices whom one wanted to silence, were presented with the largest and richest estates of the plundered country and thereby "German interests" and "predominantly German landownership" were implanted among the Poles.

In order not to arouse royal cupidity, Hoym had as a precaution assessed these estates for the King at a quarter or sixth part of their value, and sometimes even less; he was afraid, and probably not without reason, that if the King were to learn the true value of these estates, he would think of his own "paternal" pocket before anything else. During Hoym's four years of administration after the "pacification",\(^{277}\) from 1794 to 1798, there were in this manner given away: in the Posen administrative region 22, in the Kalisch, formerly Petrikau, region 19, in the Warsaw region 11, altogether 52 larger and smaller groups of estates, which in total contained not less than two hundred and forty-one separate estates. The King was told that the value of these estates was 3 1/2 million talers, but their true value exceeded twenty million talers.

The Poles will know from whom during the coming revolution they will have to extract these 20 million talers, that Polish milliard, stolen from them by the right of traffic in people.

\(^a\) Frederick William II.—Ed.
In the Kalisch region alone the area of the estates given away amounted to *more than a third of all the Crown and Church lands*, and the income from these estates, even according to the miserable estimates of the value of the grants in 1799 alone, was 247,000 talers annually.

In the Posen administrative region the Owinsk estate with its extensive forests was presented to Tresckow, a haberdasher. At the same time the adjacent Crown estate of Szrin, which had not a single tree, was declared a state domain and had to buy its timber at government expense from Tresckow’s forests.

Finally, in other regions, the deeds of gift expressly freed the estates from ordinary taxes, and moreover freed them “*in perpetuity*”, so that no Prussian King should ever have the right to impose new taxes on them.

We shall now see in what manner the stolen estates were given away and to which “*deserving persons*”. The extent of the services of these junkers from the backwoods, however, compels us for the sake of coherent exposition to deal with this subject in a special article.²⁷⁸

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Written by Engels on April 28, 1849  
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The imperial army is disintegrating. The Croats have openly rebelled and forced their Ban, Jellachich, to go with them from Pest down the Danube by steamship to the south, probably so that they may protect their homeland. Jellachich had to give way, and hence the whole of the First Army Corps is on the march southwards.

Welden has indeed withdrawn his headquarters to Raab. Though he insists that Ofen is still garrisoned (by 6,000 men commanded by Schlick, they say), this however is very doubtful.

Another rumour, though immediately disavowed by other sources, has it that Wohlgemuth, who has just been defeated, has now defeated Görgey!!!

The Pest mail of the 22nd arrived in Vienna 24 hours late.

A letter from Pressburg to Breslau of April 24 says

"that the Komorn siege artillery, sailing up the Danube, has just arrived and that the Austrian troops are withdrawing to Pressburg".

Finally the correspondent expresses the fear that all correspondence will probably be interrupted quite soon. The last mail was also missing in Pressburg.

Welden's proclamation, mentioned previously, runs thus:

"To reassure the public we herewith announce that according to news just received from the headquarters of Lieutenant-Field Marshal Baron Welden, Ofen continues to be occupied by an adequate force, and the main army, continuously following the enemy's movements on the right bank of the Danube, is in process of being concentrated. At the same time we announce that Komorn is still under continuous
bombardment and is being kept under observation by our troops. In addition, Csorich's division continues to occupy Gran and covers the Danube crossing.

"The Commanding General and Deputy Governor, Baron von Böhm, Lieutenant-Field Marshal."  

The Austrian retreat towards Vienna is now called "concentration".

The martial-law paper *Die Presse* reports the following on the latest operations:

"The Hungarians were above all concerned to get possession of the left bank of the Danube above Waitzen by a rapid movement under cover of the mountains. Thus they achieved a double purpose: the insurrection gained scope and strength, and they could hope in this way to relieve Komorn, the key to the Danube. The execution of this plan was concealed from the Austrian general by sham attacks on our troops by a few brigades, and since he allowed himself to be deceived it was in the main successful. The insurgents crossed the Eipel and Gran and were thus able to bypass General Wohlgemuth, stationed at Kemend with 15,000 men. This bypassing was executed with far superior numbers of insurgents and could not have been prevented even by Wohlgemuth's most energetic and devoted resistance. The Magyars extended the line of their bypassing to Neutra, and, while their right wing reached the flank of the royal imperial troops between Sallo and the river Gran, their left wing threatened the rear. It seems therefore to have become impossible for General Wohlgemuth to carry out his intention of retreating across the Waag, thus covering Pressburg and occupying the Schütt Island in conjunction with the corps besieging Komorn, for he withdrew to Neuhäusel."  

The (Italian) Mazzuchelli regiment is reported to have gone over to the Hungarians.

In Pest, a proclamation \(^c\) issued by Havas, the royal commissioner, warns the inhabitants against attempts on the departing royal imperial troops, as the destruction of the city would ensue; Havas exhorts them not to place any obstacles in the way of the withdrawal of the troops.—The military hospitals have been placed under the protection of the municipality. The guns have disappeared from Ofen's ramparts. The imperial side must be in a bad way if it has to resort to such proclamations.

*The Hungarian banknotes are*—*al pari*\(^d\); the Austrian notes have dropped considerably.

The *Pester Zeitung* has engaged a Magyar editor; the *Figyelmező* has ceased to appear.

The retreat from Pest is said to be the result of a 48-hour cease-fire granted by the Magyar forces outside Pest to the imperial forces.

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\(^b\) "Wien, 24. April", *Die Presse* No. 98, April 25, 1849.—*Ed.*

\(^c\) Of April 22, 1849, *Der Lloyd* No. 197 (evening edition), April 25, 1849.—*Ed.*

\(^d\) At par.—*Ed.*
The *Neue Oder-Zeitung* writes:

"The Magyar army is reported to amount to 200,000 men, including the *Landsturm*. In newly occupied areas, Kossuth likewise calls up the *Landsturm*, so that his combat forces will soon amount to 300,000 men, etc. etc. The fact is that since March 4 the energy of the Croat troops has declined, and Jellachich is having to employ all his prestige to restrain them."

General of the Cavalry Hammerstein has not left Lemberg to this day, and the First Deutschmeister battalion279 marched off to Stryj only on the 14th of this month, to replace a battalion stationed there and destined for Hungary. The report that Lieutenant-Field Marshal Vogl is with the corps which consists of 20,000 men and is already on Hungarian soil has thus proved incorrect. The entire force now on the way to Hungary probably consists of 53 companies of infantry, six squadrons of cavalry and four artillery batteries, formed up in three columns. The first is commanded by Major-General Barco, the second by Major-General Benedek, and the third by Colonel Ludwig. Lieutenant-Field Marshal Vogl is in charge of the operations.

As a precautionary measure, Lieutenant-Field Marshal Simunich has sent guns to Vienna; but already yesterday they were sent back to Hungary by steamship.

Since the 25th, more fresh troops have arrived in Vienna and others have marched off. Commercial and banking circles have recovered a little from their fears. In the suburbs, especially Josefstadt and Wieden, considerable excitement prevails, and last night, particularly in the former, people drank immoderately in most inns; nay, Hungarian tunes were demanded and chanted.

Two days previously, in the Josefstadt transport depot, a detachment of the Hungarian Alexander infantry regiment,280 which is in process of reorganisation, was worked on by emissaries. But the battalion was quickly sent away, and some of the "agitators"281 were arrested. Today was the first day of recruiting by the drawing of lots and up to now it has passed off quietly, although in the suburbs those liable to conscription had been greatly incited. The Government has taken stringent police measures to check the throng of "agitators" and to remove strangers. Kossuth's proclamations to the sister nation in Vienna, in which it is called upon to aid in the restoration to the throne of the legitimate Emperor Ferdinand, have been read here. In addition, the rumour was circulating that a cabinet council decided yesterday to reject Russian intervention in the Austro-Hungarian question.
Although somewhat belatedly, we are reprinting a letter from Pressburg which appeared in the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*, because it contains much that is interesting.

"The stage-coaches to the Upper Comitats were discontinued already last week; soon afterwards, mail also was dispatched only to Neutra, and—yesterday morning it was already reported that the Hungarians had entered Neuhäu sel (three to four hours from Komorn). During the day, a traveller arriving here from Tynau showed me a proclamation issued by the military commandant there, which refuted the rumour that the Hungarians had entered Neutra as well, but in such a way that from the few lines one might easily infer the opposite. Yesterday afternoon, this doubt was strengthened by the dispatch by train to Tynau of a detachment from the garrison here, provided with guns. Late in the evening, I was told by an acquaintance who had arrived the same day from Neuhäusel that this town was already occupied by an insurgent force of nearly 40,000-45,000 men together with a considerable number of guns, and the royal imperial troops, about 12,000-15,000 men, had withdrawn to Sellye (two hours up-river towards Pressburg), because of the great superiority of the enemy. I was still quite unwilling to believe this strange news, when I heard an imperial army sergeant confirm this sad fact. Both agreed that the troops had run out of ammunition and for that reason alone had to retreat. An observation that unfortunately one has had to hear more than once since the beginning of the unhappy civil war in Hungary.

"Our trades people here were however greatly surprised when this morning they wanted to travel by train to the market in Tynau, and found that railway journey there had been suspended. In answer to their enquiries they were told that last night almost the whole of our garrison, together with artillery, had been hurriedly sent off to Tynau, for which purpose all the carriages had been requisitioned.—It has become known that a fairly heavy encounter between our troops and the enemy army has taken place at Neuhäusel, on which occasion the Nassau infantry regiment is said to have suffered heavily. It is also said that the Tynau railway carriages which left last night will bring back here a large number of royal imperial troops today.

"A camp of about 18-20 battalions is soon to be formed outside one of the city lines. It is certain that already last week, the innkeeper in the Schlossberg fort which is now fairly heavily fortified, was given definite instruction by the military commandant here to lay in all necessary provisions for at least three to four weeks, and the garrison here is expecting at any moment the order to move into that fort with bag and baggage.—The announced issue of the new compulsory notes naturally did not produce a good mood. The standing questions regarding these notes are: (1) To what amount are they to be issued? (2) Will the Bohemian, Silesian and Austrian industrialists accept them at their full value?

"Postscript. Just now we hear that the Hungarian advance guard is already at Szered." \[a\]

The same newspaper carries a report from Vienna about Transylvanian affairs:

"A considerable number of refugees from Transylvania arrived here recently. Some of them, who came directly from Hermannstadt—directly now means through Wallachia and via Esseg—relate the events there in almost identical terms. The

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\[a\] "Pressburg, 22. April", *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* No. 98, April 25, 1849.—*Ed.*
murder stories are in large part invented; looters were shot, and the strictest discipline was soon established. Bem put up to public auction all the belongings of the officers which they left behind, with the exception of General Puchner's belongings and correspondence: these he forwarded to him by some Honveds, together with a polite letter. They were, however, intercepted by the Russians, and none of the refugees was able to say anything about what had happened to either the Honveds or the documents. Incidentally, they depict the condition of the country as deplorable, and the conduct of the Russians towards the refugees as really shocking, but all agree that they were moved by the kindness and considerateness of the Turks."

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Published in English for the first time
FROM THE THEATRE OF WAR

No reports of further victories. On the contrary, we hear now that the Austrians are retreating in the greatest confusion on all fronts.

The brutal butcher Welden has landed himself in a fine mess. He is as good as cut off from Vienna, and the only line of retreat still open to him is that to Styria via Vesprim, along the Plattensee and through the pathless mountains.

Wohlgemuth, completely cut off from the main body of the army, is in a totally indefensible position between Sellye on the Waag and Bös on the Danube, on the Schütt Island. The path to Pressburg is open to Klapka's right wing, which faces Wohlgemuth there.

Pest is now actually occupied by the Hungarians (on the evening of the 23rd). The imperial forces were given sufficient time for their retreat, since on that condition they promised not to bombard Pest. The pretense of the imperial forces to wish to defend Ofen is without significance, for Ofen could have been held only by threatening to bombard Pest.

Welden has again been in Ofen. He obviously does not know where to turn.

Jellachich's Croats have had to turn back; the Danube below Pest was occupied by the Hungarians with artillery. But they will nevertheless attempt to break through to Croatia.

Jablonowsky has already passed through Raab with his brigade, which is going to Oedenburg.

There is great excitement in Vienna. The workers are rejoicing. The mail to Hungary has not been dispatched from there for the past three days.

Fifty thousand Russians are said to have received orders to march into Transylvania from the north and south.
The Olmütz Ministry has now certainly requested Russian intervention in Hungary as well.

The Berlin National-Zeitung quotes the following alleged conditions under which the Hungarians would be willing to conclude peace:

1. Recognition of the Kingdom of Hungary in its old boundaries, hence including Croatia, Slavonia and the Military Border.\textsuperscript{282}

2. Union with Transylvania as resolved and determined last year by the Transylvanian and Hungarian Assemblies.\textsuperscript{283}

3. A general amnesty throughout Austria; the immediate release of all the October prisoners\textsuperscript{a} and compensation for the families of those murdered.

4. Demobilisation to Hungary of the Hungarian regiments still serving in Italy and the other parts of the Empire.

5. Recognition of the Hungarian Constitution of 1848.\textsuperscript{284}

6. Hungary to remain under the government of a provisional executive power originating from the Assembly, until the succession to the throne is established by law, and the King, who is to be elected, has been crowned in Buda-Pest and has sworn loyalty to the Constitution.

7. Galicia to enter into the same relationship to the Austrian union of states in which Hungary stands now and will stand in future, and be called the Polish Kingdom of Galicia; hence Galicia will be linked with Austria in a personal union and will have its own army and its own finances.

8. The share of Hungary in the Austrian National Debt to be determined by the Hungarian Assembly by a simple majority.

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\textsuperscript{a} Those arrested when the October 1848 uprising in Vienna was crushed. — Ed.
Cologne, April 30. The plans of our counter-revolutionary Government are gradually being revealed.

It was intended that a new stage of the Prussian counter-revolution should date from April 27. It was desired to provoke the Berlin people into street fighting, perhaps to allow the insurrection à la Cavaignac to achieve "considerable magnitude", then to crush it by Cavaignac's means and with superior force such as Cavaignac possessed, to proclaim martial law, to favour a few deputies and a good number of agitators with powder and shot, and finally, by new dictated measures to get rid of the troublesome fetters which even the martial-law Charter of December 5 still imposed on our counter-revolution.

The provoked uprising would have provided a sufficient excuse for asserting that the people "were not yet mature enough" for the freedom most graciously bestowed on them, and that it was impossible to govern under such an electoral law and such a Constitution. "To avoid bloodshed", and therefore in the interests of the people, the last remnants of freedom had to be destroyed. "To avoid bloodshed", a state of siege had to be proclaimed throughout the country with the exception of Further Pomerania! All that could be asserted only after a decent-sized revolt in Berlin, with the requisite disturbances in Breslau, Magdeburg, Cologne etc., had taken place and had been successfully suppressed with the aid of grape-shot.

Hence the brutal behaviour of the constables against the Left assembled in the Konversationshalle, and the cordon of troops encircling Dönhoff Square; hence the rapid fire on an unarmed peaceful crowd, which could not disperse because all the streets were barred to it.
The calm behaviour of the people despite all provocation upset the calculations of the counter-revolutionaries. They have no pretext for issuing dictates, but dictate they must. Perhaps this evening already we shall learn what new turn these gentlemen have decided on.

What extensive plans were envisaged is evident from all the circumstances. Firstly, from the simultaneous dissolution of the Chamber in Hanover, secondly and in particular, from Herr Radowitz's journey to Berlin.

Herr Radowitz is the heart and soul of the Prussian counter-revolution. He drafted the plan for the counter-revolution of November last, but he himself still remained behind the scenes and intrigued in Frankfurt on behalf of the Prussian hereditary imperial crown. *This time* Radowitz himself went to Berlin in order, it is said, to come out in the open at last and to become Prime Minister. A Radowitz Government— that is the heart of the matter! *

Furthermore, we definitely know the following facts:

1) In the course of last week all Chefpräsidenten received from their Oberpräsidenten a document informing them of the forthcoming dissolution of the Chamber and directing them to take all necessary precautionary measures.

2) A ministerial rescript was sent to all government authorities stating:

1. That all burgomasters are obliged to report daily to the appropriate government authorities about the impression produced by the dissolution of the Chamber. The government authorities, for their part, must present collective reports on this subject to the Ministry.

2. For the present new elections would not be held; on the other hand, measures will be taken against many members of the "so-called" Left.

3. All precautionary measures should be taken to suppress any attempt at revolt.

The rescript is signed: Manteuffel.

Herr Manteuffel, or rather Herr Radowitz, his superior, could not have rendered a better service to the developing Hungarian-Polish-German revolution than precisely at the present time to come forward openly with his plans for the restoration of the absolutist regime.

Written by Engels on April 30, 1849
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Cologne, May 1. The day after tomorrow the indictment against Lassalle on the charge of direct incitement to take up arms against the royal power will come before the Assizes in Düsseldorf.

It will be recalled that Lassalle, Cantador (head of the Düsseldorf civic militia) and the street-vendor Weyers were arrested last November when the state of siege was proclaimed in Düsseldorf, and an investigation was begun against them on account of the above-mentioned "crime under Articles 87 and 102 of the Code pénal".288

The investigation proceeded as slowly as possible. Whereas the simultaneously instituted tax-refusal trial of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats took place already on February 8 in Cologne,289 one assize period after another elapsed in Düsseldorf before the Cologne indictment board had even referred the case to the Assizes. But Marx, Schneider and Schapper were at liberty, whereas Lassalle was kept in the Düsseldorf remand prison; yet the Code d'instruction criminelle290 lays down that the case of an arrested person should have priority in being dealt with!

In prison Lassalle was given a quite special kind of preference. The Neue Rheinische Zeitung has often enough had occasion to report examples of the tenderness with which he was treated by the myrmidons of the royal-Prussian judiciary.a Whereas all sorts of favours were conferred on Cantador—for, despite his political activity, Cantador had a great many friends among the Düsseldorf bourgeoisie—Lassalle had once again291 to experience the arbitrary

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tyranny to which a royal-Prussian prisoner under examination is subjected. Without speaking of the petty annoyances, we shall merely recall the brutal way in which Herr Morret, the prison governor, treated Lassalle in the presence of the examining magistrate, Herr Ebermeyer (whom we now have the pleasure of having here, in Cologne). Lassalle sent a complaint to the Public Prosecutor's office. The Public Prosecutor General, Herr Nicolovius, decided: the action in question is *neither a crime nor an offence* and therefore cannot be the subject of legal proceedings!

We recall further that the physician considered that outdoor walks were absolutely necessary for Lassalle's health, to which the Public Prosecutor's office gave its consent, *whereas the government authority prohibited them*, although according to the law a prisoner undergoing examination does not come under the jurisdiction of the government authority but solely under that of the Public Prosecutor.

The difficulties involved in gaining access to Lassalle in the prison, the excuses, evasions etc. are familiar to everyone who has ever tried to penetrate into the interior of the Düsseldorf "institution".

The investigation was at last concluded and the case should have gone to the Court. There was then still enough time to bring the case for trial at the last Assizes, which were held in February and March. But they wanted to prevent this at all costs. When the dossiers were submitted to the deputy Chief Public Prosecutor, the "gracious" Herr von Ammon I, for his final conclusion, Herr Ammon suddenly produced a letter from Lassalle to a certain Stangier, a farmer in the Altenkirchen district, in order to base a fresh charge on it. But this letter had for several weeks already lain quietly in the office desk of Herr Ammon, without the idea occurring to him of adding it to the dossiers as a new point in the indictment. Now, when everything was ready and the time for the Assizes was at hand, now Herr Ammon came forward with the letter. Then, of course, new interrogations of witnesses had to take place and the case was delayed for several weeks. And this period was just sufficient to *make it impossible* for Lassalle's case to be dealt with at the *Assizes then about to be held*.

The letter, which Herr Ammon, *as he himself admitted*, had kept for a fairly long time in his office desk, was moreover so unimportant that neither the Court nor the indictment board paid any attention to it or listed it as an additional reason for indictment!

In short, the Assizes were successfully avoided, and the next session began only in May. One deputation after another went to the Public Prosecutor General Herr Nicolovius, and asked for the case to be expedited or for an extraordinary session of the Assizes to be called. Herr Nicolovius promised to do all he could and stated that in
no case would Lassalle be imprisoned for as much as six months. And now! It is hardly two weeks short of six months.

The Court at last decided: all three accused were referred to the indictment board. But here a difficulty arose: people were quite convinced that in the whole Düsseldorf Circuit no jury could be found that would convict Herr Cantador. Hence in order to free Cantador, Lassalle also would have to be acquitted, even by people who would otherwise have convicted him. And it was precisely the conviction of Lassalle that was desired by the authorities in Düsseldorf, the Government, and even the very high and supreme camarilla. The hostility to Lassalle “does not even stop short of the throne”.

This is what has happened:

“The indictment board drops the case against Cantador and sets him free, whereas Lassalle and Weyers remain in prison and have to come before the Assizes.”

Yet the charge against Cantador was exactly the same as against Lassalle, except for a single speech which Lassalle made in Neuss.292 And it is precisely this speech in Neuss that is seized on and for which Lassalle is committed to the Assizes.

Let us briefly recall the whole course of events.

At a time when at any day an open struggle could break out between the now defunct National Assembly and the Crown, Düsseldorf was, as is well known, one of the greatest centres of agitation of all the towns in the Rhine Province. The civic militia here was completely on the side of the National Assembly and, moreover, was led by a democrat. It was ready to turn passive resistance into active resistance as soon as Berlin gave the signal for it. Arms and munitions were available. Lassalle and Cantador stood at the head of the whole movement. They not merely called on the citizens to arm themselves against the Manteuffel Government, they actually provided them with arms. Here, in Düsseldorf, was the centre of their activity. It was here, therefore, if any crime had actually been committed, that this crime must have taken place. But where is it supposed to have taken place? Not in Düsseldorf, but—in Neuss!!

Lassalle was at a meeting in Neuss and called for armed reinforcements to be sent to Düsseldorf. This call did not even have any result, because matters never reached the point of fighting. And yet Lassalle’s crime is supposed to consist in this!

Consequently, Lassalle has not been committed for trial at the Assizes on account of his main activity, on account of the actual arming, or the actual uprising, that was on the point of breaking out in Düsseldorf. There was no “crime” in that. Even the indictment
board, decrepit though it is, had to admit that. The alleged crime consisted in a quite fortuitous, incidental action which was totally dependent on the main action in Düsseldorf and absolutely meaningless apart from it;—it consisted not in the organisation of armed force against the government authorities in Düsseldorf, but in a call to the inhabitants of Neuss to support that organisation!

But, of course, Cantador was not in Neuss when Lassalle made this terrible speech; Cantador did not call on the inhabitants of Neuss for armed resistance, Cantador merely—organised the inhabitants of Düsseldorf for armed resistance and called on the Düsseldorf civic militia, which is itself part of the Government's armed force, to resist the Government. That is the difference, and that is why Cantador was set free, and Lassalle kept in prison up to the present session of the Assizes.

But that is not all. Lassalle also directly appealed to the farmer Stangier for armed reinforcements to be sent to Düsseldorf. This letter is in the dossiers and is cited word for word in the indictment (see Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 277, second edition). Did the indictment regard this letter as a reason for committing Lassalle to the Assizes? By no means. Even the Court, which had put forward nine counts against Lassalle, eight of which were dropped by the indictment board, never thought of including this letter among them. But this letter contains exactly the same alleged "crime" as that committed by Lassalle in Neuss.

Rarely has anything more inconsistent, more contradictory and more incomprehensible been fabricated than this decision of the indictment board to send the case for trial.

But what is certainly commendable is the following: even according to the decision of the Cologne indictment board, in all the agitation that was carried out in Düsseldorf last November, in the direct call for resistance to the Government, in the arming, in the procurement of ammunition, in the direct and open opposition of the civic militia to the Government, in the oath sworn by the civic militia that they would fight, arms in hand, against the Government and in support of the National Assembly—in all this there was no crime. The Cologne indictment board has said so.

And it is true that on this point it agrees with the Cologne Court, and indeed with the Cologne Public Prosecutor's office. During the investigation of the case against the Rhenish District Committee, they both calmly ignored the call to arm against the "enemy", took no notice of the criminal case involved, and confined themselves merely to the fact of a call to revolt punishable by a police court, and it came before the Assizes only because it was issued through the press.
Lassalle was dealt with much more cunningly. First of all criminal proceedings were instituted, and the police court kept in reserve. For in case he were to be acquitted in connection with the speech made in Neuss, he was committed for trial to the police court on account of his call for resistance to officials (revolt) supposed to be contained in two Düsseldorf speeches.

We need merely to recall here the course of the trial of the Rhenish District Committee. The case is completely analagous. At that trial it was argued that the matter under consideration was either a crime (the same as that of which Lassalle is accused) or nothing at all, and that it was not possible to call for armed resistance to the Government without at the same time calling for resistance to all the individual officials who constitute the Government. The jury's verdict was an acquittal.

Lassalle will be in the same position when, after his indubitable acquittal by the jury, he comes before the police court. But meanwhile they have a pretext to apply for the prolongation of the arrest, and in addition it is easier to manipulate the police court than the jurymen!

Tomorrow we shall deal with the indictment itself, and from it, too, prove the absurdity of this whole trial.

Written by Engels on May 1, 1849
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Printed according to the newspaper published in English for the first time
A PRUSSIAN KICK FOR THE FRANKFURT ASSEMBLY

Cologne, May 1. Another new item in the history of the Prussian counter-revolution. The King gives the Frankfurt Assembly a determined kick and contumeliously casts in its face the proffered gold-tinsel crown of an imaginary empire.293

If at the right time the Frankfurt Assembly had acted with energy, it could now order the arrest of this Hohenzollern, who is filled with insolence, and commit him to the Assize Court for "insult to the National Assembly" (Law of September 1848, published also in Prussia294). As yet there exists no "imperial" law that declares the individual sovereigns exempt also from responsibility in regard to the "empire"; and the imperial irresponsibility has been rejected by the Hohenzollern.

The new Prussian "imperial" Note of April 28 softens the "imperial" kick by a few kind observations about the so-called German imperial Constitution. This innocent botchwork is depicted in the Note as a supreme example of all that is bad and as an extreme product of revolution and secret republicanism "exceeding all bounds".

St. Paul's Church as a robbers' cave of carbonari!295 Welcker and Gagern as secret republicans, "Möros with a dagger under his cloak"a! Bassermann, the man who sees spectres, himself turned into one of the "Bassermannic characters"296! That, of course, is flattering for the worthy Frankfurt deputies after all the scorn with which they have been treated by the people, after all the curses

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a Schiller, "Die Bürgschaft".— Ed
heaped on them by the defeated barricade fighters of Frankfurt and Vienna, and there are people of all shades of opinion, right
down to Herr Vogt, who are capable of really believing such
nonsense.

The Prussian Note is the last threat to the Frankfurt Assembly
even before it is actually dispersed. Once more the stubborn
Hohenzollern proffers his hand for a "reconciliation". And, in point
of fact, after the Assembly has gone so far it could truly make one
little step further and become completely a tool of Prussia.

Meanwhile, however, a section of the people, and especially the
peasantry and the lower middle class of the small south German
states, cling to the Assembly and to the so-called imperial Constitu-
tion. The army is favourably disposed towards the imperial
Constitution. The people regard every step, however small, towards
the unification of Germany as a step towards abolition of the petty
sovereigns and liberation from the oppressive burden of taxation.
The hatred of Prussia, too, plays a part here. The Swabians even
made a revolution in support of the so-called imperial Constitu-
tion 297; it was, of course, a storm in a teacup, but all the same it was
something.

Hence, if the worthy Frankfurt deputies possessed the slightest
degree of courage, it would not be possible to disperse the Frankfurt
Assembly without the use of force. They now have a last opportunity
of atoning at least for a small part of the grievous sins they have
committed. If simultaneously with the victories of the Hungarians,
the break-up of Austria, and the fury of the people in Prussia at the
Hohenzollern-Radowitz-Manteuffel betrayals, Frankfurt and South
Germany were to rise up openly in defence of the imperial
Constitution, they could form a temporary centre for a new
revolutionary uprising based on Hungary.

But then the worthy deputies would not have to shrink from
proclaiming civil war either and, in the extreme case, if it comes to
making a decision, they would have to prefer a united and indivisible
German republic to a restoration of the German Federal Diet. 298

But anyone who supposes the Frankfurters capable of that is
greatly mistaken. These gentlemen will make a little noise, offer a
little resistance, enough to satisfy at least to some extent the
requirements of decency, and then they will agree to everything that
the stubborn Hohenzollern dictates to them. Here and there,
perhaps, the people will erect barricades and—will be betrayed as on
September 18. 299

That would be the end of the famous imperial bombastic
dramatical performance, if it depended on the Frankfurt gentlemen.
But perhaps the Hungarian hussars, the Polish Uhlans, and the Viennese proletarians will have a word to say, and then matters can nevertheless take a different turn.

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Cologne, May 1. Deputies who arrived here yesterday from Berlin report that the Chambers have been dissolved in Dresden as well.300

Hanover, Berlin, Dresden—in Munich there has so far only been an adjournment—do you, honest German citizen, now realise what tune is to be played?

Last year, when the Frankfurt Assembly was convened, Prussia ordered all the small states to convene their Chambers. Now, exactly one year later, Prussia orders them to dissolve all the Chambers. Then it was Camphausen, now it is Manteuffel. On each occasion there was the same aim, the same intention. Despite all the phrases, Camphausen and Manteuffel go arm in arm.

And there are still people in Germany who defend the sovereigns!
Cologne, evening of May 1. Reports just received from Berlin and Vienna confirm the continued withdrawal of the imperial troops. In Pressburg, where on the 27th nothing was known about attacks by the Hungarians, there are continuous commotion, confusion and retreat.

An encounter took place near Komorn. A force consisting of two divisions of imperial troops under Schlick drove the Hungarians from the Sandberg near Acs and this is now presented as a victory. But, on looking at the map and discovering that Acs is situated on the right bank of the Danube, a mile* from Komorn, the fact emerges that, even according to this official account, the Hungarians have crossed the Danube near Komorn and are in command of the road from Gran to Pressburg. And Schlick still talks about the royal imperial troops surrounding (!) Komorn!!

Welden's headquarters, transferred from Pest to Kapolna, from Kapolna to Raab, is now moving even further back, to Oedenburg, hard by the Styrian border and to the south of Vienna.

Jellachich has actually received orders to cut his way through to Croatia and to drum up as many men to escort him as possible.

North of the Danube, Wohlgemuth has temporarily disappeared from the scene. He was driven off Schütt (the big island in the Danube); and the Csikos (mounted Landsturm) patrolled with impunity from Komorn to Szerdahely, halfway to Pressburg. Wohlgemuth must have withdrawn towards Pressburg and the March.

*See footnote on p. 20.—Ed.
From Pressburg and Vienna swarms of black-and-yellow\textsuperscript{a} supporters are already in flight, some up the Danube, some to Prague.

It is reported that intervention by the Russians is imminent. One paper even maintains they have taken up positions near Lundenburg, on the border between Austria, Moravia and Hungary, but this is obviously a complete fabrication. It is expected that, as in Transylvania, they will be used as reserve and garrison troops in the towns, thus leaving all the Austrian troops free to concentrate on the Hungarians. \textit{It is said that 15,000 Russians are to come to Vienna as a garrison.}

A Prussian staff officer has also arrived in Olmütz “for the purpose of reaching an understanding with the Austrian Government”. When “My glorious army”\textsuperscript{301} marches in, the Bohemians will soon discover the meaning of this “understanding”!

Tomorrow evening we shall probably have news of further decisive Magyar successes.

Written by Engels on May 1, 1849
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\textsuperscript{a} The Austrian imperial colours.—\textit{Ed.}
Cologne, May 2. Yesterday we promised to return to the indictment against Lassalle.\textsuperscript{a}

Lassalle is charged with a “crime under Articles 87 and 102 of the Criminal Code”.\textsuperscript{b}

Article 87 is directed against an “attempt or a plot the aim of which is to incite (exciter) the citizens or inhabitants to take up arms against the imperial power”.

Article 102 imposes the punishments (mainly the death penalty) laid down in the preceding Articles of the section (which includes Article 87) on all those who by speeches in public places or at public meetings, or by the display of posters, incite (excitent) the citizens to commit these crimes. Only in the event of the incitement being unsuccessful is the penalty mitigated to exile.

Of what is Lassalle being accused?

Since under a single charge he is alleged to have sinned against Article 87 and simultaneously against Article 102, he can only be accused:

of having called for the commission of crimes listed in Article 87 in the manner of Article 102, i.e.

of having incited the citizens to prepare an attempt or a plot the aim of which is an incitement to take up arms against the royal power, i.e.

of having incited the citizens to incitement to take up arms!

\textsuperscript{a} See this volume, p. 376.—\textit{Ed.}

\textsuperscript{b} i.e. Napoleon’s \textit{Code pénal} which was in force in the Rhine Province of Prussia.—\textit{Ed.}
To the ordinary human mind, that is fairly obvious nonsense. But that is how the Public Prosecutor's office and the indictment board wanted it!

The point is that Article 102, which makes incitement to commit the crimes envisaged in Articles 86-101 equivalent to the commission of the crime itself, is, if the incitement is successful, quite properly applicable to all of these Articles. It applies even to the remaining items of this same Article 87. For all these Articles are directed against definite actions, to the commission of which instigation is possible. Article 87, for example, which is directed against commission of an attempt or a plot, speaks also about an attempt or plot against the life and person of the Emperor, and about an attempt or plot aimed at altering or destroying the form of government or the order of succession to the throne. All these are things to which one can "incite" people. Incitement to regicide, or to a revolution, is a possible fact; incitement to a plot the aim of which is regicide or a revolution can also occur. But "incitement to prepare an attempt or plot for the purpose of inciting people to take up arms against the royal power", in short, incitement to incitement, is a crime as impossible and as absurd as "an attempt at a remote attempt at high treason", which in the good old times of Prussian Law cost many an unfortunate member of a students' association ten years imprisonment in a fortress, or as the notorious suspect de suspicion d'incivisme (suspected of suspicion of lack of civic sense), which people wearing legitimist spectacles claim to have found in the prison lists of the time of the Terror in 1793.

Alternatively, if the "incitement to incitement to take up arms" is really a crime that is logically and juridically possible, then for Lassalle to come simultaneously under the passage in question of Article 87 and under Article 102, he should have been indicted not for the speech in Neuss, but for the address to the National Assembly, which states: "We beseech the National Assembly: Issue a call to arms!" 305

Here is the "incitement to incitement to take up arms". But it has not even occurred to this ne plus ultra of an indictment to see a crime in these words.

How did it happen that, out of the long series of Articles in the section in question, the Public Prosecutor’s office selected and combined with Article 102 precisely the passage to which Article 102 does not apply at all?

Quite simply. The crime envisaged by Article 87 involves the death penalty. But in the whole of the Rhine Province no jury could be found that would assist in condemning Lassalle to death. The prosecution
therefore preferred to include Article 102 as well, which prescribes mitigation of the punishment to exile in cases where the incitement to “crime” is unsuccessful. It was thought that a jury prepared to do this could be found.

Hence, in order to get rid of Lassalle, the prosecution invented an impossible crime and combined two passages of the law which in combination are sheer nonsense.

Therefore, either Lassalle is guilty of having violated Article 87, and then one should have the courage to condemn him to death outright, or he is not guilty of having violated Article 87, and then he has not violated Article 102 either, and must certainly be acquitted. But to violate Article 87 in the passage quoted and Article 102 at the same time is an impossibility.

Note the craftiness of the prosecution. The charge against Lassalle really comes under Article 87 (death penalty). But they do not dare to bring that charge against him; so he is charged under Article 87 in combination with Article 102 (exile). And if that does not succeed, if the jury acquits him, he will be brought before the police court and charged under Articles 209 and 217 (six days’ to one year’s imprisonment). And all this for one and the same fact, for his activity as an agitator during the movement to refuse payment of taxes!

Let us now look at the actual corpus delicti—the speech in Neuss on November 21.

Lassalle is charged with having directly incited the people to take up arms against the royal power.

According to the statements of the three witnesses referred to in the indictment, Lassalle did directly incite the inhabitants of Neuss to arm themselves, to procure ammunition, to safeguard by force of arms the liberties they had won, to support the National Assembly by effective action etc. However incitement to take up arms in general is by no means an offence, and still less a crime, most certainly not since the revolution and the law of April 6, 1848 which guarantees to every Prussian the right to bear arms. According to the Code pénal, incitement to take up arms is punishable only if the arming is directed against individual officials (revolt) or against the royal power, or against another section of the citizens (riot). The present case relates especially to incitement, and indeed to direct incitement to take up arms against the royal power.

In all three statements of the witnesses, however, there is not a single word about taking up arms against the royal power, they mention only taking up arms to protect the National Assembly. But the National Assembly was a legally constituted, legally existing body, an
essential part of the legislative authority, and here indeed an essential part even of the constituent authority. Just as the constituent authority stands high above the executive authority, so the National Assembly stood above the "royal Government". To call for the universal arming of the people for the protection of this body, which alongside the King is the supreme legislative authority in the country, is regarded by our Public Prosecutors as a serious crime!

The only passage in which the sensitive nose of a Public Prosecutor could discover a remote reference to the "royal Government" was that concerning the gun-batteries in Neuss. But did Lassalle incite the people of Neuss to arm themselves in order to seize the batteries on the left bank of the Rhine, and in particular did he do so "directly", as is asserted in the résumé of the indictment and as is required for a conviction?

On the contrary! Neither "directly" nor indirectly did he incite them to do so. He merely said that the people of Düsseldorf were expecting that the people of Neuss would seize these batteries. And this mere expression of an "expectation" is, in the opinion of the worthy Public Prosecutors, an excitation directe, a direct incitement to take up arms against the royal power!

Thus, in the quite real arming of Düsseldorf, openly organised for the protection of the National Assembly and clearly directed against none other than the Prussian troops, i.e. against the royal Government (le gouvernement de l'empereur), there is no crime at all, there is merely the offence of resistance to individual officials; but in that mere statement, in those few words, there is a serious crime!

For what Lassalle did, they do not dare to accuse him; but what he said is supposed to be a serious crime. And what did he say? That it was expected that the people of Neuss would seize the batteries. And who did he say was expecting it? Was it perhaps Lassalle himself? On the contrary, it was the people of Düsseldorf!

Lassalle said that third persons expect you to do such and such, and according to the logic of the public prosecution that is a "direct appeal" to you actually to do what is expected.

In Berlin, the Ministers have now dissolved the Chamber and are preparing for further dictatorial measures. Let us suppose that today universal suffrage were to be arbitrarily abolished, the right of association suppressed, freedom of the press destroyed. If we say: We expect that the people will reply to this disgraceful perfidy by erecting barricades—then, according to the Public Prosecutors, we have "directly incited" the citizens of Berlin to arm themselves
against the royal power. And if things turn out as the Public
Prosecutors desire, we would be sentenced either to death or exile,
depending on the circumstances!

The secret of the whole court action against Lassalle consists in its
being an arbitrary trial of a troublesome agitator. In a concealed
form it is a trial on a charge of "stirring up discontent" such as
prior to the March days we, too, had the pleasure of enjoying here
on the Rhine. In the same way, the trial instituted against Weyers is in
a concealed form a trial on a charge of lèse-majesté. Weyers said:
"death to the King" and "the King ought not to be allowed to have
the crown a quarter of an hour longer". And these few words, quite
innocent from the point of view of the Code pénal, are similarly
alleged to contain a "direct incitement to take up arms"!

And even if Lassalle had actually called for arming against the roya-
lar power, what would this mean? Let us adopt the constitutional
standpoint and speak in accordance with constitutional ideas. At that
time, in November, was it not the duty of every citizen not only to
"call for arming", but to take up arms himself in defence of the
constitutional representatives of the people against a perfidious
"royal Government" which, with the aid of soldiers, drove the
Assembly of people's representatives from one building to another,
dispersed their sittings, allowed soldiers to use their official
documents as spills and for lighting stoves, and finally sent the
representatives packing? According to the decisions of the United
Diet, and according to Herr Camphausen's famous "legal basis", not
to mention the achievements of March 19, was not the Assembly an
"entity on a footing of equality" with the Crown? And should one
not be allowed to defend such an Assembly against encroachments
by the so-called "royal Government"?

Moreover, we have seen that it has become second nature for the
"royal Government" to bestow kicks on the people's representatives.
Hardly two months after the convocation of the imposed Chambers
this same "royal Government" disperses them at the first objection-
able decision—disperses the very Chambers which were supposed to
revise the Constitution! The Chambers have now recognised the
validity of the imposed Constitution, and now we know still less
whether we have a Constitution or not. Who knows what will be
imposed on us tomorrow?

And the people who foresaw all that and acted accordingly, who
strove energetically to oppose these violent activities of an arrogant
camarilla, and who, according to the views of all constitutional

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[a] i.e. achievements of the March revolution of 1848 in Prussia.—Ed.
countries and especially England, kept completely to a legal basis, these people are arrested on orders from Manteuffel, Simons and Co., held for six months in prison and are finally brought before the Assize Court charged with incitement to riot!

Written by Engels on May 2, 1849

First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 288, May 3, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time
PROHIBITION OF THE MEETING
OF THE RHENISH MUNICIPAL COUNCILS

Cologne, May 2. It is with especial satisfaction that we inform our readers that the meeting of the representatives of municipal councils of the Rhine Province convened by the praiseworthy Cologne municipal council has been prohibited by a simple government order. The “good citizens”, who felt so “comfortable” when meetings of democrats were prohibited in September, can now offer thanks to their lords and masters. In September 1848 the democrats’ right of assembly was destroyed at least by the respectable violence of the state of siege; the Cologne municipal council’s right of assembly, on the other hand, has met its end by a kick at a time when the legal basis is in finest flower.

Written by Engels on May 2, 1849
Printed according to the newspaper
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Published in English for the first time
Cologne, evening of May 2. The Hungarians are taking advantage of the Austrians' hasty retreat and confusion to make a rapid advance on Vienna, on the one hand, and, on the other, to occupy the whole of Upper Hungary up to the Jablunka Pass and the Moravian border. The Slovakian mountain towns are in their hands, and from there they have advanced to the Jablunka Pass. The Pass itself seems to have been taken by them already, for the thunder of artillery has been heard in Neutitschein (near Teschen), indicating that fighting has already occurred on this side of the Carpathians.

As a result of this swift operation Slovakia has been entirely cleared of imperial troops, the Hungarians thereby gaining an area of 300-350 square miles, with more than 2 million inhabitants providing a source of fresh recruits. The Slovaks, who were formerly in part indifferent, in part even anti-Magyar, are now definitely on the side of the Magyars, since the latter have abolished the feudal burdens of the Slovak peasants and made a number of concessions with regard to language and nationality.

It is expected that the Magyars will cross the Little Carpathians (border range between Moravia and Hungary) and direct the spearhead of their attack against Olmütz. By dispatching a corps over the Jablunka they could also destroy the railway line to Vienna, thus considerably delaying the Russians' march on that city. Almost all regular troops have been withdrawn from the whole of Moravia; the national guard has replaced them everywhere.

On the other flank, the Magyars are advancing directly on Vienna and have, according to our Breslau correspondent, already occupied Raab. The Austrian headquarters has been transferred to Oedenburg, and the commissariat from Pressburg to Hainburg (6 miles from
Vienna). Here the Austrians are expected to make another stand. Indeed, this position, between the Danube and Neusiedler Lake and behind the Leitha, is the only possible one remaining before Vienna.

The line along which the Austrians are attempting to rally their forces for a fresh battle is as follows: the right wing is concentrated around Oedenburg, from the southern tip of Neusiedler Lake nearly up to Güns and the Styrian mountains which it touches on the right; the centre stretches from the northern tip of Neusiedler Lake up to the Danube near Hainburg, blocking the road to Vienna; the left wing, Wohlgemuth’s corps, on the other side of the Danube near Pressburg, is in a position it cannot possibly hold and from which it will certainly have to withdraw across the River March. As a result the war will be carried into the territory of Austria itself, and Kossuth will continue to wage it there as well. Kossuth has declared his intention of forestalling the Russians and being in Vienna on May 10. And Kossuth has shown that he knows how to keep his word. He wanted to be in Pest on April 24 and he entered it on that very day.

There is complete obscurity about what has happened to Jellachich. Some sources state that he is already near Mohacs, not far from the Slavonian border (an impossibility since the distance from Pest to Mohacs is much too great). According to other rumours, from black-and-yellow sources, he has again taken up his position on the Rakos plain near Pest. The latter is, of course, even less true than the former.

From the south no direct confirmation has as yet been received of the capture of Semlin by the Magyars. The rest of the news from this area is contradictory; so is that about the arrival of the Russians. All that is certain is that the Russian troops encamped on the Cracow border have been concentrated and are on the point of marching into Austria.

Written by Engels on May 2, 1849
First published in the special supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 288, March 3, 1849
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Published in English for the first time

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* The Austrian imperial colours.—*Ed.*
Cologne, May 3. The congress of Rhenish municipal councils will take place after all, although in a less official form, and not until next Tuesday.  

It goes without saying that we are expecting nothing at all from this assembly composed of bourgeois elected on the basis of three classes according to the property qualification with the mass of the people debarred from voting. A deputation is to be sent to Berlin, which will not even be allowed into the presence of Herr von Hohenzollern.

But it may be that the congress will not take place at all. On Sunday various party congresses will be held here in Cologne. The Government is trying at all costs to provoke a conflict between the people and the army, in order to be able to muzzle us Rhinelanders, just as the Berliners have been muzzled.

It depends on the workers of Cologne whether this subtle Prussian plan will be frustrated. By their calm behaviour, by unshakable equanimity in the face of the provocations of the soldiers, the Cologne workers can deprive the Government of any excuse for acts of violence.

Decisive events are at hand. Vienna, Bohemia, South Germany, Berlin, are in a ferment and await the right moment. Cologne can play its part, it can play a very powerful part, but it cannot begin any decisive action.

Let the workers of Cologne bear in mind, especially next Sunday, that all the provocations of the Government aim only at causing an outburst of such a kind as will occur at a moment unfavourable for us but favourable for the Government.
Only by great events can revolutions be carried through but if one accepts the challenges of the Government, the most that can result is a revolt.

*Workers of Cologne, remember the 25th of September!*\(^{311}\)

Written by Engels on May 3, 1849

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 289, May 4, 1849

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Published in English for the first time
Cologne, May 3. We have pointed out a hundred times that in the coalition of Russia and Austria Herr von Hohenzollern and his Ministry are the “third party in the alliance”. A hundred times the honest German citizen has indignantly rejected such an assertion.

Very well then: it is now firmly established that one of the secret reasons for the dissolution of the Chambers was that, by a secret agreement with the Olmütz knyaz b and the orthodox supreme Tsar in St. Petersburg, c the Russians’ subordinate knyaz d in Sans-Souci 312 has pledged his word to put 40,000 Prussians into Bohemia to keep the people there in subjection and as reserves against the Hungarians. This was spoken of openly even in the St. Paul’s Church. e It was impossible to persuade even the deputies of the Centre and part of those of the Right in Berlin to keep silent about it. They were therefore dispersed.

But that is not all: the Berlin National-Zeitung reported from Berlin on May 1:

We have just learned from a very reliable source: “Yesterday morning the Management Board of the Upper Silesian Railway received a telegram from the Minister of the Interior that 30,000 Russian soldiers would be transferred from Cracow by means of the Upper Silesian Railway (consequently, from Cracow via Mislowitz, Kosel, Ratibor, Oderberg) to Austria. The Board of the Upper Silesian

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a Schiller, “Die Bürgschaft”.— Ed.
b Francis Joseph I.— The Russian word “knyaz” means “Prince”.— Ed.
c Nicholas I.— Ed.
d Frederick William IV.— Ed.
e The German National Assembly met in the St. Paul’s Church at Frankfurt.— Ed.
The Third Party in the Alliance 395

Railway is informed that the royal Prussian Government has no objection to this and it trusts that the Railway Board will not hinder this transport in any way."

The telegram was signed: von Manteuffel.a

That then is what we have come to: The Government of the imperial Russian subordinate knyaz in Potsdam not only issues warrants for the arrest of Kossuth, Bem and Görgey,b it even allows 30,000 Russian police agents to be sent by rail through Prussian territory to Hungary—and what is more, it sends 40,000 Prussian soldiers to Bohemia in order to hold down a people which has been contemptuously trampled under foot and which is thirsting for revenge!

Hear that, Rhinelanders! It is for this, therefore, that we are being subjected to the Russo-Prussian rule of violence, so that our sons and brothers, Rhinelanders like ourselves, shall be sent to Bohemia and perhaps to Hungary, in order that in the service of the Russian Tsar they will help to suppress the last people that is defending the revolution of 1848 arms in hand!

It is for this we were betrayed to Prussia in 1815, so that the disgrace would fall on us, too, for having allowed the Russians, with bands playing and banners flying, to be marched against the Magyar revolutionary army through our territory, through a country joined with us into a single state.

It was only by force that we became Prussian subjects and have remained Prussian subjects. We were never Prussians. But now, when we are being led against Hungary, when Russian robber bands are setting foot on Prussian territory, now we feel that we are Prussians, indeed we feel what a disgrace it is to bear the name of Prussian!

Written by Engels on May 3, 1849

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Published in English for the first time

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a National-Zeitung No. 116 (supplement), May 2, 1849.— Ed.
b See present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 269-70 and this volume, pp. 257-58.— Ed.
Cologne, evening of May 3. As the flight of the imperial troops from Hungary becomes ever wilder, and the pursuit by the Magyars more inexorable, so much the more confused and contradictory become the reports on events in the theatre of war. They agree only in one respect: that the imperial troops are daily suffering fresh defeats.

The following facts, however, emerge as pretty well certain:

Firstly: The battle at Acs, which the imperial forces depicted as a victory, was a defeat. This follows from the fact that Schlick, who claims to have won a victory here, immediately afterwards retreated to Raab. The Lithographierte Correspondenz, too, states that the outcome of the encounter at Acs proved to be disadvantageous for the imperial troops, and that the Zanini regiment, apart from a few officers, went over to the Hungarians.

Secondly: On April 28, in the region of Hungarian Altenburg (halfway between Raab and Pressburg), the Austrians were defeated again. Various reports concur in stating this. Many wounded were brought across the Leitha and the whole surrounding area is crowded with them. On the 29th and 30th, some 2,000 are said to have been brought to Vienna itself. Some say that Welden's headquarters is in Pressburg, others that it is in Bruck on the Leitha (on Austrian soil). At Raab, too, where Schlick is supposed to have been on the 27th, the pursuing Hungarians are said to have engaged him in a murderous battle.

From this news it would appear that the bulk of the Austrian army has already been driven out of Hungary. And it is beyond doubt that it is for the most part already on Austrian soil, and in Hungary it merely occupies Pressburg and Oedenburg. In addition, what we
predicted is now confirmed, namely that the Hungarians have crossed the Danube at Komorn and are advancing on both sides of this river in a concentric movement against Vienna. The clearance of Slovakia by the Hungarians is now confirmed by the *Wiener Zeitung* as well.

Thirdly: It is practically certain that Jellachich, too, has been *completely defeated*. He himself, as the *Wiener Zeitung* reports, has already arrived in Esseg, which means that, since he only left Pest on the 23rd or 24th, and was already in Esseg on the 26th, he has made a much quicker journey than his corps. It is said that this corps has been *completely destroyed* and that the greater part of the survivors have gone over to the Magyars. According to one report, the battle took place at Kis-Bér, but this is impossible since this place, situated a few miles south of Komorn, is quite outside Jellachich's route. Apart from that this report contains also various other impossibilities. The news of Jellachich's defeat, however, appears in all newspapers and correspondents' reports.

*A manifesto issued by Kossuth proclaims the independence of Hungary and its neighbouring territories from Austria and declares the separation of these territories from the Habsburg-Lorraine dynasty because the latter unleashed such a calamitous war against Hungary.*

From the *south*, no news has come of further advances of the Magyars. Perczel is said to have moved with his main army towards Pest. Rukavina has asked for help from the Serbs in order to fortify Temesvar, but the Serbs have refused it. On the contrary, they are demanding the immediate convocation of the Serbian National Assembly for election of the voivode and constitutional establishment of the Voivodina.

The Hungarians are said to have obtained 80,000 rifles from England via Turkey. The Grosswardein factory supplies them with 300 daily.

Meanwhile, in Vienna joy and excitement prevail among the people, and consternation in the Government. On April 30, *indescribable despondency* was evident on the *Stock Exchange*. Petty traders came from the suburbs and gave accounts of *mounting unrest*. In the afternoon, well-known barricade personalities were noticed in the streets.

The Government is in the throes of complete break-up. Not only has Stadion resigned, but it is already the turn of *Schwarzenberg*, who is to be replaced by Colloredo-Waldsee.

The Russians are coming. The Russian General von Berg has already travelled via Cracow to Vienna. 12,000-15,000 Russians of all
branches of the service, including four squadrons of cavalry and two artillery batteries, were expected in Cracow on May 1 and 2. It is said that the orthodox Tsar* himself will come to the neighbourhood to supervise the operations.

The Russians have already marched into the Bukovina, according to a note from Czernowitz of April 28.

(The Viennese and Prague newspapers have not reached us this evening.)

Written by Engels on May 3, 1849
First published in the supplement to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 289, May 4, 1849

* Nicholas I.—Ed.
Cologne, May 3. We have today received several letters from various parts of Southern Germany; they are all unanimous in conveying the heartening news that everywhere the people are impatiently awaiting the moment when they can at last confront the barefaced counter-revolution of the rulers "by the grace of God" and their worthy accomplices with a genuine revolution—not like that of March—and avenge the acts of violence and infamy that, day after day, for so long have been perpetrated against the people's rights. Everywhere the people are organising themselves into companies, electing leaders, providing themselves with arms and ammunition etc. It is particularly encouraging, however, to learn that the spirit prevailing amongst the majority of the military there precludes the possibility of once again setting the soldiers like murderous dogs and wild beasts upon their brothers and making them run amuck against their own flesh and blood.

The justified anger of the people has reached a level that makes an imminent outbreak appear inevitable. It is to be hoped that this time the storm will rage so mightily through all Germany that at last the whole pack of divinely appointed martial-law addicts, robber knights and traitors to the people will be uprooted utterly and finally from German soil.

Written by Engels on May 3, 1849

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Published in English for the first time
NEWS FROM HUNGARY

Cologne, May 4. We have received the following reports from Vienna dated May 1:

In the concluding days of last month, and especially yesterday, April 30, an unusual amount of activity could be observed in the streets of the capital. There was general excitement as the news spread about the withdrawals of troops from the Hungarian border. Evidence of the heavy losses and defeats sustained by the Austrian side is provided by the continuous transports of maimed and wounded, who for the past two days have been coming, brought in hundreds of carts, to the military hospitals in Vienna. The latter are already so full that all the corridors and the spaces between the beds are being used to accommodate patients. The men brought back under these conditions are in a wretched state, which cannot but remind one of Napoleon's retreat from Russia—pale, emaciated, tattered apparitions, their wounds are covered with makeshift bandages of rags, they lie on the bare planks of the carts. One cannot look upon this picture of suffering without shedding tears of pity. The majority of the wounded received incurable fatal injuries—many losing their noses and chins—in the course of the Hungarian cavalry attacks. In short, it is impossible to describe how badly these poor devils have been mauled. In addition, ten carts laden with caps of all branches of the service, together with cavalry harness, arrived here yesterday, followed by about 500 unmounted horses which had lost their riders in the battle.

Altogether, things look very bad for the Austrian cause in Hungary; a week ago the royal imperial troops were still in Pest, and now their headquarters has been in Oedenburg for several days already; the Austrian army is no longer withdrawing but is in full flight; the Oedenburg supply column has just arrived with soldiers of all branches of the service and military baggage. I met a sergeant-major I know who belongs to an Upper-Austrian regiment formerly stationed in Vienna. According to his account there can be no doubt about the Hungarians' victory, since the latter are taking advantage of the Austrian troops' utter confusion, allowing them no time to rally, but continually attacking with fresh energy and forcing them to fall back. The Hungarian army is far superior to them and is fanatically devoted to its cause, whereas the Austrians, as a result of fatiguing and pointless marches, discouraging losses and setbacks, and as a result of bad leadership having been left in the lurch at decisive moments by their officers, are naturally not defending the cause of the dynasty with the necessary determination. The ignorance displayed by the royal imperial generals
and officers, on whose training during the pre-March period such a vast amount was spent, is said to be unparalleled; they lead the troops straight to the slaughter-house. Inquiries are already being held on five generals. The Hrabowski Regiment (Upper Austrians), which only recently returned from Italy, has changed sides almost to a man, and so has the Lower-Austrian Hess Regiment; in general it is considered that the German troops are not such reliable tools for the designs of the dynasty as the Slav troops are. Altogether five regiments have changed sides, apart from the countless number of Croats. A quite unprecedented and incredible demoralisation has set in in the army. The war in Hungary is being carried on under the command of the Polish General Dembiński. The Polish contingent consists of ten legions, with a total strength of 36,000 men and about 25 generals; they are said to perform unparalleled feats and the royal imperial troops fear them most of all.

On Sunday, April 29, there was a big battle near Wieselburg, with the Austrian losses amounting to 6,000 dead and wounded—so that there are grounds for believing that a sensational defeat has been suffered, and that this accounts for the transports of the wounded.

The army corps commanded by the Ban a is thought to have been completely routed.

The Hungarian insurgents have advanced with a force numbering 15,000 men and 30 pieces of ordnance north-westward into the Turocz comitat and at present hold the county town, St. Martin, as well as Mossocz. It is said they intend to cross the Waag, to occupy the Kisuca valley and block the roads from Silesia and Galicia.

In St. Martin, from which town the Slovakian Landsturm received many volunteers, there is said to be great fear that vengeance will be meted out by the insurgents. Slovakia, too, seems to be falling very much under Magyar influence.

In Pressburg on the 29th the post from Pest failed to arrive for the fourth day in succession. In the heath on the outskirts of the town earthwork and redoubts are being built.

Written by Engels on May 4, 1849
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a Jellachich.—Ed.
LONGING FOR A STATE OF SIEGE

Cologne, May 5. It is still being rumoured that on Sunday, on the occasion of the district congresses of the various parties, a state of siege will once again be imposed on the good city of Cologne.

From all kinds of small preparations by the military authorities, it is clear that at any rate they are preparing themselves for all eventualities. That is not all. Measures are being taken which definitely indicate a desire to provoke disturbances.

Why otherwise has “My glorious army” been suddenly permitted, to the great astonishment of the soldiers themselves, to remain out of barracks until 10 p.m. instead of 9 p.m.?

There is likewise again talk of arrests. We are quite ready to believe in it. The desire for such action has been in existence for a long time. Moreover, it is known that already on one occasion by means of such arrests the plan of provoking disorders proved completely successful.

We repeat, it is of the utmost importance that the democrats, and especially the workers, of Cologne do everything possible so that tomorrow the powers that are eager for a state of siege will not be given even the slightest excuse that will serve them as a cover for their acts of violence.

It is primarily the bourgeoisie that is endangered by the latest counter-revolutionary actions. The bourgeoisie has convened the congress of the towns. Let the bourgeoisie have the honour of saying the first word. Let us wait to see what these gentlemen will decide on Tuesday. We are convinced that many a worthy democrat will be greatly disappointed by the results of this pompous “congress of the towns”.

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a See this volume, p. 392.— Ed.
One thing is certain: if the state of siege is proclaimed before Tuesday then the congress of the towns will not take place and no one will be more pleased at this than precisely the gentlemen who convened it.

If tomorrow the workers allow themselves to be provoked into disorders they will only be pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for the bourgeoisie, and at the same time for the Government. The question is whether they wish to be used for this purpose at a time when all Germany is on the threshold of civil war, and when perhaps they will soon have the opportunity to come forward with their own demands.

Written by Engels on May 5, 1849
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Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
Apart from the news received from our Vienna correspondent (see under Cologne*) there is a complete lack of definite information about the events in the theatre of war. We are therefore restricting ourselves today to a few items of news from the Hungarian-Moravian border that clearly bear the imprint of fear of the Magyars.

The Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen writes:

"From the Galician-Silesian border, April 28. The outcome of the clash near Neutra is that the Magyars have penetrated into the Zips as well as into the north-western foot-hills of the Carpathians. Neumarkt, Budatin and Sillein are in their hands. For some days they have been threatening the passes near Csacze and Jablunka, whither the imperial observation corps has been withdrawn. To avert a Magyar invasion of Silesia, an infantry division has been sent to Csacze, the infantry division stationed at Bielitz since last January has been moved to Jablunka, and, finally, a battalion has been withdrawn from Troppau and stationed in the neighbourhood of Friedek.—Since the day before yesterday fleeing Slovaks have been passing through Saybusch and Andrichau; the Imperial Commissioner from Sillein has been in Teschen for the last four or five days.

"The day before yesterday (the 26th) brisk artillery fire coming from the direction of Sillein or Teplitz could be heard in Saybusch until 6 o'clock in the evening.—However, only those who regard the recent occurrences in Cracow316 and Görgey's simultaneous advance as parts of a co-ordinated plan think it likely that the Magyars will pay a visit to Galicia."\(^b\)

In another report from Silesia published by the same paper it is stated:

"From Karwin, a small Prussian town, about two hours' journey from Troppau, reports have been received that from the castletower many beacons could be observed

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\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 400-01.—\(Ed.\)

\(^b\) This and the following quotations are taken from the Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen No. 103, May 1, 1849.—\(Ed.\)
in the Carpathians on the 24th, and it is believed that they were signals to mobilise the Landsturm in Galicia.

“A host of insurgents, about 15,000 in number, most of them horse-, cattle- and swine-herdsmen, conscripted from their pusztas for the war, and accompanied by several cannon, are said to have advanced up to St. Martin and, on the evening of the same day, even as far as Sillein (about 2½ post stages from Jablunka). Counts Pongrác and Révay, the royal commissioners, fled to avoid death at the hands of the Magyars; Major Wenk crossed to this side of the Waag and called on all the imperial garrisons stationed in Slovakia to concentrate at certain frontier points so as to maintain communications with Moravia and Silesia.

“The borders are manned and all men in the towns and villages capable of bearing arms have been mustered for the Landsturm that is to go into action under the command of Archducal Justiciary Peter in the event of an invasion by the Magyars.—Kossuth’s supporters are doing all they can to make the Slovaks waver. Thus, a song is going the rounds in which every Slovak loyal to the King, a ‘German alien’, is called a traitor to his country; some people are unfortunately led astray by this and have been ensnared. These are the bitter fruits of a mistaken policy pursued by a military leader* who let himself be lulled to sleep by the perfidious Magyar nobility, and whose anti-national measures repressed a people prepared to sacrifice everything in order to humble the Magyars (!?!).”

From Ofen we learn that the garrison left behind by the imperial troops is thought to consist of four infantry battalions, two to three cavalry squadrons and 83 well-manned pieces of ordnance. The fortress has provisions for six weeks.

Written by Engels about May 5, 1849
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Published in English for the first time

* Windischgrätz.—Ed.
The Hungarians continue to advance. They are said to have already made incursions into Styria (near Fürstenfeld on the Raab), into Moravia (near Friedland on the Jablunka) and Galicia (near Raycza on the Moravian border). On the 29th Raab was still in the hands of the imperial troops; since then it is thought to have been abandoned. Pressburg was fortified by the imperial troops; according to some reports it has already been evacuated.

In the south, the imperial troops must be in a bad way. They are said to be evacuating Fünfkirchen, between the Danube and the Drava. Jellachich’s corps, it now appears, was completely scattered, and two regiments of Croats were taken prisoner and put into the ranks of the Honvéd. A report also mentions the encirclement and capture of Simunich.

Bem’s troops are really in the Banat, near Lugos and Karánsebes and are threatening the fortresses of Arad and Temesvar.

The rumours about the expansion of the Magyar army are beginning to assume fantastic proportions. They say that 250,000 Magyars are under arms. While Görgey was fighting Wohlgemuth with a force of 45,000, 18 battalions attacked Jellachich, and in addition to this, Dembiński’s corps, the strongest of all, has not been in action since the battle of Kapolna. Guyon and Klapka are now in command at Raab. The Hungarian Assembly has been convoked for May 10 in Pest. The Russians, 8,000 strong, are said to have entered Cracow.

Written by Engels about May 5, 1849
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We are publishing the following passages from a proclamation by Kossuth, dated Gödöllö, April 7, and taken from the Neue Oder-Zeitung:

"The nation's valiant army has driven out that enemy whose traitorous commissioners in Nograd and Somogy had once more started to subject the people to the yoke of labour services which had been abolished by law and which we shall never permit to be inflicted on you again. It has driven out the enemy who in the past month issued an imperial decree that where the terrier has been abolished, the tenant has to pay half the value of the abolished labour services and tithes out of his own pocket, although the Hungarian law exempted you from this payment. It is our firmest resolve to uphold this law in defence of your freedom.

"Our valiant army is driving from your borders the enemy whose Emperor dared to state: 'Hungary does not exist and will never again exist', and who dared to partition us from our brothers in Transylvania, to tear Croatia from Hungary, to cut up our own fatherland and to turn our most fertile regions into a special Rascian Kingdom, for the benefit of those Rascian robbers with whom he did not scruple to ally himself for the purpose of exterminating the Hungarian nation.

"Our valiant army is driving from your borders the enemy who, wherever he went in his flight, robbed like a common highwayman, who, not content with stealing as much as he could eat and drink, destroyed and laid waste what he was unable to consume, in order to leave famine in his wake; what is more, with inhuman ferocity and out of sheer predatory, malignant instincts he snatched the pillows from under the heads of your children, scattering the feathers to the winds. He did not even spare your churches; he tore the marble slabs from the altars, gutted the roofs of the chapels, while some of the officers stole the silver spoons from those who gave them food: thus behaves the enemy that the Austrian Emperor sent to our country, to destroy it, to exterminate our nation, and to make our people slaves and beggars!

"I prophesied to you months ago that Hungary's freedom, autonomy and independence would blossom out of the tyranny of the Austrian Emperor.

"And, thank God, it is so. Praised be the holy name of the Lord for this, and the nation's blessing and eternal thanks also to the valiant Hungarian army, to those who

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* Francis Joseph I.—*Ed.
gladly sacrificed their lives and blood for the fatherland, who with unshaken courage defeated the united force of the enemy and who with their continuing victories are hastening towards the glorious goal, making you, O Hungarian people, by the sacrifice of their heroic blood free and happy! The enemy boasted of fictitious victories in order to deceive the Hungarian people and to plunge them into desperation.

"That is a characteristic piece of cowardice, for only a coward is capable of lying. The enemy deceived you with lying reports that he had driven our troops out of Transylvania, that Jellachich had taken Szegedin by storm, although he never came anywhere near it.

"Yes, and what is more—now that the enemy has been defeated four times within five days, and forced out of his strongest position, Windischgrätz, Schlick and Jellachich with their whole army in flight from Poroszlo, Pest and Waitzen—now, while I am writing this in Gödöllö, in the very same room where 24 hours ago Windischgrätz dared to dream of Hungary's subjugation—now, whilst his whole defeated army is on the run and we have snatched the whole of Transylvania, two-thirds of Hungary, from the tyrant's clutches—even now he is still not ashamed of spreading the lies in the venal Pest journals that he won a victory near Jasz-Bereny. To remove any doubt in the matter, I give you—my brothers, my friends!—the comforting assurance that I and the splendid leaders of our heroes are in Gödöllö with our army, whither our intrepid Honveds fought their way at bayonet's point. We are in Gödöllö from whose outskirts our artillermen went into action, shelling the arrogant enemy out of his positions; in Gödöllö from whose outskirts our hussars pursued the fleeing enemy up to the Danube at Pest.—And over there in Transylvania the imperial enemy no longer exists. This Emperor sent the wild Muscovites against us, but Bem and our Hungarian army in Transylvania expelled the enemy and his Muscovite protectors, down to the last man, from the sacred soil of Transylvania.

"And down in the Bacska, Perczel took St. Tamas whose capture cost so much blood on other occasions. And he liberated Peterwardein, which was enmeshed by Austrian treachery, and freed the prosperous Alföld from the Rascian robbers. But up here, where the enemy's main force planned to subjugate Hungary, Commander-in-Chief Görgey with his generals Damjanich, Aulich, Klapka and Gaspar defeated Schlick near Hatvan, Jellachich near Tapio-Bicske, Windischgrätz and Schlick rejoined by Jellachich near Isaczeg; and now that they and our victorious troops have taken Gödöllö, they are already standing on the Rakos plain. A few more days, and Hungary will be free and no wicked enemy will violate the soil of our fatherland.

"This is the joyful news I give you, my brothers! Long live the free Hungarian fatherland!"

Written by Engels about May 7, 1849
Printed according to the newspaper
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 292, May 8, 1849
Published in English for the first time
The Austrian army continues to retreat. On April 28 Raab was evacuated; on the 29th, the Hungarian outposts had reached Hochstrasse, two miles from Wieselburg. On the other side of the Danube, the Austrian corps stationed near Dioszeg has also withdrawn to Lanschütz (4 hours from Pressburg). Even on the 30th one could not travel from Pressburg further than Karlsburg (one and a half miles from Pressburg, on the southern bank).

The Austrian High Command is in Laxenburg, 1½ hours from Vienna.

Slovakia is now completely in the hands of the Hungarians who were welcomed with open arms by the inhabitants. The Hungarians have found a mass of weapons there since Windischgrätz had disarmed the rural population and the confiscated rifles were collected and piled up in the county towns. There is no sign of the Slovak Landsturm; Bloudek has disappeared, the guerilla commander Janiczek has gone over to the Magyars. From Slovakia the Hungarians threaten Moravia, Austrian Silesia and Galicia. There is talk of an invasion corps numbering 40,000-60,000 men to transfer the theatre of war to Russian and Prussian Poland. A surprise attack on Prerau, the junction of the Polish-Silesian-Austrian railway lines, must certainly be expected.

In connection with the sudden stoppage in the advance of the Russians, we refer to our report from Breslau. It is true that there is still talk about a large Russian corps advancing on Transylvania; for the present, however, all these reports are unreliable.

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a See footnote on p. 20.— Ed.

It is now confirmed that in the south Bem has invaded the Banat with a considerable force, occupied the mountain passes between the Maros and the Danube, has taken Lugos and is even supposed to have captured Temesvar. As a result of this and the advance of parts of Perczel's corps over the Theiss towards Kikinda District, the Serbian Voivodina has dissolved into thin air.

Jellachich, whose defeat has been repeatedly confirmed, has been appointed commander with full authority over the Southern Army (Croatian-Slavonian-Banat) that is being formed.

This "Southern Army" consists on paper of 30,000 men; in actual fact it numbers at the most 8,000 plus a few thousand men from Serbian robber bands.

Written by Engels about May 7, 1849
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 292, May 8, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
Cologne, May 7. The elements now in ferment in Germany are daily becoming more distinct; the situation is becoming more firmly defined.

While one of the centres of the German counter-revolution, Austria, has its hands more than full in dealing with Hungary, the other centre, Prussia, is sending its armed hordes in all directions against the revolutionary uprising of the people.

In Dresden, that patient town of art and luxury, the people are taking up arms and replying with barricades and musket-fire to the traitorous proclamations of the royal Government. The greater part of the troops are coming over to the side of the people; the struggle is as good as decided; but suddenly Prussian battalions appear and side with the royal traitor against the people.

In the Palatinate, too, the people are taking up arms against the daily more insolent Bavarian counter-revolution; here, too, Prussian battalions stand ready in order to invade at a suitable moment and put an end both to the Frankfurt Assembly and to the uprising in the Palatinate.

In whatever direction one looks in North and South-West Germany, everywhere there are Prussian battalions ready to carry through the counter-revolution by force of arms.

And so that there should be no lack of Prussian battalions, whether in our country or in neighbouring states, recruiting into the army reserve is taking place everywhere in accordance with our glorious military organisation.

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a Frederick Augustus II.—Ed.
b See this volume, pp. 195-96.—Ed.
Thus the centres of the counter-revolution are in one place the Austrian army, in another the Prussian army. Day by day the new revolution opposes an increasingly vigorous and universal resistance to the counter-revolution.

The Dresden Provisional Government is still in existence and rallies the forces of the people in the whole country.

The Palatinate Defence Council is still in existence and every day more and more people of the Palatinate gather around the banner of the revolution.

Finally, in Rhenish Prussia, the army reserve is refusing to march. Even in Elberfeld, in black-and-white Wuppertal, the army reserve is refusing to move beyond its place of assembly.

And lastly, in Austria the most important occurrence is the Hungarian revolution which is irresistibly advancing. The post from Vienna has not arrived—perhaps because the Magyars have torn up the Moravian railway line. That they have broken into Moravia is definitely established. Reports in writing from Ratibor inform us that already eight days ago bombardments from whole batteries were heard in Golkowitz on the Austrian frontier, and on May 3 in Loslau, and likewise in Prussian Upper Silesia. At all events, the battles must have taken place on this side of the Jablunka.

Incidentally, the victory of the Hungarians is more certain than ever before. It is quite definite that the Russians will not come. A few more days, therefore, and the Hungarians will be in Vienna, the Hungarian revolution will have been accomplished and the second German revolution will be ushered in in the most magnificent way.

Written by Engels on May 7, 1849
First published in the special supplement to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 292.
May 8, 1849

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a The colours of the Prussian monarchy.— Ed.
[A QUESTION TO THE WORKERS]

Cologne, May 7. The Prussian gentlemen seem to be making every effort to provoke a riot.

The day before yesterday the artillerymen (concerning whom, incidentally, the Government is labouring under a great illusion) were paid 15 silver groschen per man as a “supplement” for the previous month. True, the infantry also received this supplement.

The officers of one regiment stationed here have directly called on their soldiers to start a riot tomorrow.

This evening a scuffle between soldiers and civilians has already taken place on Neumarkt Square.

Once more we ask the workers whether they want to let the Prussian gentlemen dictate the moment for the uprising?

Written by Engels on May 7, 1849

First published in the special supplement to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 292, May 8, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time
Cologne, May 8. It is said that the French ambassador\textsuperscript{b} in Berlin has protested against the entry of the Prussians into Saxony.

At last, therefore, the French Government has noticed that the East-European counter-revolution menaces it as well, and that the new Holy Alliance\textsuperscript{c} has as its ultimate, supreme aim nothing other than the conquest, and this time, perhaps, the partition of France.

We know positively that in the treaty which has been concluded between the orthodox Tsar and his two subordinate knyazes from Olmütz and Potsdam the ultimate aim of the alliance is declared to be the conquest of France, the abolition of the Republic and the elevation of the “legitimate King”, the “son of holy Louis”, the idiot Henry of Bordeaux to the throne of France and Navarre.

That Odilon Barrot is involved in this plot is hardly doubtful.

This is what they expect you to do, Prussian soldiers of the army reserve! You are being called away from your hearths and homes, from your wives and children, in order first of all to fight against your brothers in Germany and Prussia, to help in suppressing the small remnant of the freedom which you won last year—and then to fight against the Hungarians who are coming to the aid of your threatened freedom—and when you have completed this work to the satisfaction of your knyazes and your supreme lord and master, Tsar Nicholas, then you will be led across the Rhine against the nation whose heroic uprisings in 1789-94, 1830, and 1848 procured you all the freedoms you enjoy.

\textsuperscript{a} “Knyaz” is the Russian word for “prince”.—\textit{Ed.}
\textsuperscript{b} F. V. E. Arago.—\textit{Ed.}
\textsuperscript{c} The Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph and the Prussian King Frederick William IV.—\textit{Ed.}
It is for this that last year as fighters at the barricades, and as the awe-inspiring mass of the people, you won a few liberties for yourselves, so that now, as soldiers of the army reserve, you yourselves will help to suppress these liberties once more and finally, in the service of your supreme master, the Russian Tsar, destroy also the two bulwarks of liberty—Hungary and France!

Written by Engels on May 8, 1849
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 293, May 9, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
Cologne, evening of May 8. The revolution is drawing nearer and nearer. While in Dresden the people are displaying the utmost courage in their struggle against the Saxon and Prussian mercenaries, and armed reinforcements are pouring in from all quarters to repulse the Prussian invasion; while in the Palatinate the people are rallying round the Defence Council, the people's militia is mobilising and arming itself, the military are siding with it and the government officials are acquiescing, the whole of Germany is seething with unrest. Franconia is only waiting for the moment when it, too, can break away from Bavaria; the people there are in a state of great unrest, and the peasantry especially wait with impatience the outbreak of the struggle. We shall be in a position to supply details about this tomorrow. In Baden and Württemberg even the military have declared themselves in favour of the imperial Constitution. Similar reports have been received from Thuringia, Hesse-Cassel and Darmstadt.

Finally in Prussia the movement is gaining momentum with every day that passes and becoming more revolutionary. Breslau is in a state of profound unrest; the minor riots, the mustering of troops, the patrols, the groups of people gathering in the streets, are all harbingers of graver events. The whole of Silesia is in a similar state of tension in anticipation of the news from Hungary and Vienna. Berlin is quiet, held down by the rule of the sabre. On the Rhine and in Westphalia the plans of Hohenzollern despotism are miscarrying because of the resistance of the army reserve which refuses to allow itself to be used as a tool for new coups d'état. The whole of the Berg Country, the District of Hagen, Mülheim an der Ruhr, Krefeld—in
short, precisely the regions with the largest number of black-and-white supporters have suddenly gone over to open insurrection.

The Brandenburg-Manteuffel clique is in the meantime doing its best to provoke the people into revolution. The Staats-Anzeiger which arrived today contains a circular addressed to all heads of provincial administrations, calling on them to take energetic measures against all "revolutionary" activities in support of the imperial Constitution, and also correspondence between Imperial Commissioner Bassermann and Herr Brandenburg in which the latter states: 1) Prussia refuses once and for all to recognise the imperial Constitution, and 2) the Central Authority is to abstain from interference in Prussia's internal affairs, such as dissolution of the Chamber, proclamation of a state of siege etc., once and for all.

We commend these last samples of Hohenzollern arrogance to the people of the Rhine. It seems that through its contemptuous dismissal of even the most trivial concessions the dynasty intends to drive the people into revolution.

If it comes to another revolution, Herr von Hohenzollern, who knows whether the people will leave it at "Hats off!" this time?

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a Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger No. 125, May 8, 1849.—Ed.
THE DEEDS OF THE HOHENZOLLERN DYNASTY

Cologne, May 9. It seems that in the last days of its existence and of the existence of the Prussian state, the Government of Herr von Hohenzollern wants once again to justify to the full the ancient reputation of the Prussian and Hohenzollern name.

Who does not know the description in Heine's poem:

A child with a head as large as a pumpkin,
With the drooping moustache of a grey-haired bumpkin,
With spider-like arms, lengthy but strong,
With the paunch of a giant but guts not so long,
A changeling... a

Who does not know the treacheries, the perfidies, the legacy-hunting, by means of which that family of corporals which bears the name of Hohenzollern rose to greatness?

It is well known that the so-called "Great Elector" b (as though any "Elector" could ever be "great"!) perpetrated the first betrayal of Poland when he, Poland's ally against Sweden, suddenly went over to the side of the Swedes in order to be able to plunder Poland more thoroughly by the Peace of Oliva. 327

People are well acquainted with the absurd figure of Frederick I and the brutal coarseness of Frederick William II.

It is well known that Frederick II, inventor of patriarchal despotism, the friend of Enlightenment with the help of flogging, sold his country by auction to the highest bidders among French entrepreneurs; it is well known that he allied himself with Russia and

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a Heinrich Heine, "Der Wechselbalg" in Zeitgedicht.—Ed.
b Frederick William.—Ed.
Austria in order to carry out the rape of Poland, an act which still today, after the revolution of 1848, remains a permanent blot on German history.

It is well known that Frederick William II helped to accomplish the rape of Poland and that he gave away the stolen Polish national and church estates to his courtiers.

It is well known that in 1792 he entered into a coalition with Austria and England to suppress the glorious French Revolution and invaded France; it is likewise well known that his "glorious army" was most ignominiously driven out of France.

It is well known that he then left his allies in the lurch and hastened to conclude a peace with the French Republic.

It is well known that, while pretending to be enthusiastically in favour of the legitimate King of France and Navarre, he bought the crown jewels of this same king for a song from the French Republic and thus profited from the misfortune of his "dear brother".

It is well known that he, whose whole life was a typical Hohenzollern mixture of opulence and mysticism, senile lasciviousness and infantile superstition, trampled on the free expression of opinions by means of the Bischoffswerder edicts.

It is well known that his successor, Frederick William III, the "Just", betrayed his old allies to Napoleon in exchange for Hanover, thrown to him as a bait.

It is well known that immediately after this he betrayed Napoleon to these same former allies, when being in the pay of England and Russia he attacked the French Revolution embodied in the person of Napoleon.

It is well known what the result of this attack was: the unprecedented defeat of the "glorious army" at Jena, the sudden outbreak of a moral sickness of the whole Prussian body politic, a series of acts of treachery, baseness and sycophancy on the part of Prussian officials from which Napoleon and his generals turned away in disgust.

It is well known that in 1813 Frederick William III, by fine words and magnificent promises, actually induced the Prussian people to believe that they were fighting a "war of liberation" against the French, although it was solely a matter of suppressing the French Revolution and restoring the old rule by the grace of God.

It is well known that the fine promises were forgotten as soon as the Holy Alliance made its triumphant entry into Paris on March 30, 1814.

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a Louis XVI.—Ed.
It is well known that at the time of Napoleon's return from Elba, the enthusiasm of the German people had already cooled down again to such an extent that the Hohenzollern had to try to revive their flagging zeal by the promise of a Constitution (the Edict of May 22, 1815—four weeks before the battle of Waterloo).  

People recall the promises contained in the Act of Federation and the Vienna concluding document: freedom of the press, a Constitution etc.  

It is well known how the “just” Hohenzollern kept his word. The Holy Alliance and congresses for the suppression of nations, Carlsbad decisions, censorship, police despotism, rule of the nobility, arbitrary bureaucratic rule, high-handed administration of justice by ministerial orders, persecution of demagogues, mass sentences, squandering of financial resources, and—no Constitution at all.  

It is well known that in 1820 the people were given a guarantee that taxes and state debts would not be increased, and how the Hohenzollern kept his word: by transforming the Overseas Trading Company into a secret loan bank for the state.  

It is well known how the Hohenzollern responded to the appeal of the French people during the July revolution: by massing troops on the frontier, by suppressing his own people, by crushing the movement in the smaller German states, and by the final enslavement of these states under the knout of the Holy Alliance.  

It is well known that this same Hohenzollern violated neutrality during the Russo-Polish war by allowing the Russians to pass through his territory and thus to attack the Poles from the rear, by putting the Prussian arsenals and depots at the disposal of the Russians, and by affording every defeated Russian corps a safe refuge in Prussia.  

It is well known that all the efforts of the Hohenzollern subordinate knyaz, in unison with the aims of the Holy Alliance, were directed towards strengthening the rule of the nobility, the bureaucracy and the army, and crushing by brute force all freedom of speech, all influence on the Government exerted by the “limited understanding of the subject” and moreover not only in Prussia but in the rest of Germany as well.  

It is well known that there seldom has been a reign in which such praiseworthy intentions were implemented by more brutal and violent means than that of Frederick William III, particularly in 1815-40. Never and nowhere have there been so many arrests and sentences, never were the fortresses so filled with political prisoners, as under this “just” ruler. Moreover, it should be borne in mind what innocent simpletons these demagogues were.
Ought we to speak also of the Hohenzollern\(^a\) who, according to the monk of Lehnin, "will be the last of his tribe"?\(^{359}\) Ought we to speak about the rebirth of Christian-Germanic grandeur, about the emergence of ghastly financial distress, about the Order of the Swan, and about the supreme court for censorship, about the United Diet and the General Synod, about the "scrap of paper",\(^{340}\) about the vain attempts to borrow money, and all the other achievements of the glorious epoch of 1840-48? Ought we to prove, by referring to Hegel, why precisely it will have to be a comedian who closes the series of Hohenzollerns?\(^{341}\)

It will not be necessary. The data given suffice for a full characterisation of the Hohenzollern Prussian name. True, there was a moment when the splendour of this name was dimmed, but since the pleiad of Manteuffel and Co.\(^b\) surrounds the crown, the old grandeur has been revived. Once again, as formerly, Prussia is a vice-regal province under Russian supremacy; once again the Hohenzollern is a subordinate knyaz of the autocrat of all the Russians, and superior knyaz over all the little boyars of Saxony, Bavaria, Hessen-Homburg, Waldeck etc., once again the limited understanding of the subject is reinstated in its old right, that of obeying orders. "My glorious army", as long as the orthodox Tsar\(^c\) himself is not making use of it, is allowed to establish in Saxony, Baden, Hessen, and the Palatinate the order which has prevailed for eighteen years in Warsaw, and in its own country and in Austria it is permitted to glue together the pieces of the shattered crowns with the blood of the subjects. We care as little about the word given earlier in a moment of fear and distress as did our deceased forefathers, and as soon as we have set our house in order we shall march with bands playing and banners flying against France and we shall conquer the land where the vines of Champagne grow, and we shall destroy the great Babylon, the mother of all sin!

Such are the plans of our august rulers; such is the safe harbour towards which our noble Hohenzollern is steering. Hence the ever more frequent dictates and coups d'état; hence the repeated kicks for the cowardly Frankfurt Assembly; hence the states of siege, arrests and persecutions; hence the intervention of the Prussian soldiery in Dresden and South Germany.

But there exists another power, to which, it is true, the gentlemen from Sans-Souci pay little heed, but which will nevertheless interpose

\(^{a}\) Frederick William IV.—\(\text{Ed.}\)
\(^{b}\) i.e. the members of the Brandenburg-Manteuffel Government.—\(\text{Ed.}\)
\(^{c}\) Nicholas I.—\(\text{Ed.}\)
its word like a clap of thunder. That power is the people, the people who, in Paris and on the Rhine, in Silesia and in Austria, in furious anger await the moment for the uprising, and who—who knows how soon—will give their due deserts to all the Hohenzollerns, and all the superior and inferior knyazes.

Written by Marx on May 9, 1849

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 294, May 10, 1849
"Elberfeld, May 8. After several posters appealing to the people to support the army reserve in their refusal of military duty, as well as a proclamation by the army reserve against the King and Government, had been torn down by the police, the latter were attacked and forced to fasten the posters to the offices and doors while the people watched them. Towards the evening, as the crowds grew larger and larger, the rumour spread that troops were on their way. And so the army reserve took up arms and forced the burgomaster to accompany them to the railway station to try and persuade the regular troops to turn back. However, when they were passing the officers' mess von Carnap took refuge in it and the people then demolished the building. Whilst the army reserve marched to the station to prevent the troops from entering the town, the armed forces appeared on the scene, causing confusion among the crowd and lashing out at them to such an extent that a number of casualties had to be carried away.

But the crowd gathered again and went to the town hall where the civic militia had in the meantime been mounted to defend the building. It contains a great deal of ammunition, and the demand was raised that this should be handed over. After this demand had been refused, an attempt was made to force an entry, but this was unsuccessful. A hail of stones had in the meantime smashed several window-panes. At 8 o'clock this morning, the army reserve, fully armed, have taken up positions near Böttcher on Engelnberg where they await the arrival of the military.

Many proletarians armed with weapons have joined them, as well as army reserve units from other parts. The civic militia are equally active, but will not attack the army reserve and only control the crowd. If the military arrive and attack the army reserve, then alas! They will have to come in large numbers if they are to achieve anything." D. Z. 

(This morning artillery left Cologne at an early hour bound for Elberfeld, in order to riddle with grape-shot the honest workers of the Berg Country who are not willing to be used unlawfully as tools by a traitorous camarilla. We trust that the artillery will do its duty.)

Written by Engels on May 9, 1849
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a Frederick William IV.—Ed.
b Düsseldorfer Zeitung.—Ed.
New victories are reported from the Hungarian border! The news about the **defeat of the Austrians** near Hochstrasse that we published a few days ago\(^a\) has been fully confirmed. The island of Schütt is almost completely in the hands of the Magyars.

A **second defeat** has been sustained by the imperial troops near Széred on the Waag, about five miles\(^b\) from Pressburg. Here Görgey fought his way across the Waag, driving the imperial troops nearly back to Pressburg.

In both these battles the Austrian cavalry in particular suffered heavy losses. Galician and German cavalrymen arrived in Vienna in carts and on foot, without their horses and sabres, oftenshouldering their saddles, their ragged, mud-stained and dejected appearance causing dismay amongst the black-and-yellow\(^c\) supporters. The routed andragged remnants of the Hurban corps also passed through Pressburg.

In this town general confusion prevailed among the imperial forces; they expected that a decisive battle would take place here on the 4th or 5th of May, and had given up hope of holding the town. Many black-and-yellow supporters fled from it.—Tyrnau, to the north-west of Széred, was also evacuated by the imperial troops and the railway line connecting it with Pressburg was torn up.

It is certain that the Magyars intend to make Moravia and Lower Austria the theatre of war, i.e. to take Vienna. Even the Vienna

\(^a\) See this volume, p. 409.—*Ed.*

\(^b\) See footnote on p. 20.—*Ed.*

\(^c\) The Austrian imperial colours.—*Ed.*
Lithographierte Correspondenz admits that the whole of Lower Austria is ardently awaiting the arrival of the Magyars.

In the Bukovina, the peasant agitator Kobylica is causing the Government increasing anxiety.

In the Bacska, Perczel is exacting heavy war-contributions from the Serbs who also have to raise recruits. But at the same time he has guaranteed their language and nationality and abolished the Military Border. 343

The Austrian reports now maintain that the alleged deposing of the Habsburg dynasty was a bluff originating from the Austrian Government with the aim of inciting the other provinces against the Magyars. According to other sources the National Assembly revoked its decisions because of their adverse effect on the people. Se non è vero è ben trovato. 5

In the south, according to the Vjestnik [Вјестник] and the Serbske Novine [Србске Новине], Perczel has crossed the Theiss, captured Kikinda District, forced the Serbs to retreat everywhere and now threatens Werschetz. Everyone there has fled to Pancsova. A corps is supposed to have advanced to the outskirts of Temesvar (whose capture by Bem is thus not confirmed). Bem is reported to have taken up his position near Orsova, ready to receive the Austrians and Russians advancing from Wallachia. The Serbs have completely lost their confidence in General Todorovich's conduct of the war. The South-Slav papers are unanimous in admitting that the Banat cannot be held and it will be completely reconquered by the Magyars in a few weeks' time.

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5 Even if it's not true it's well invented.— Ed.
Cologne, May 9. The counter-revolution is advancing swiftly, but the revolution advances still faster.

While the counter-revolution has gained advantages in Dresden, which make its victory probable, and has managed to introduce a state of siege, censorship and martial law by successfully provoking a revolt in Breslau, the revolution can point to quite different victories.

We do not speak of the rapidly growing open rebellion of the army reserve in Rhenish Prussia, involving the most black-and-white districts, nor of the South-German movement, which is being betrayed everywhere by the governments, the bourgeoisie and the Frankfurt National Assembly; we speak only of those great events which, coming from outside, can give strong support and unity to the small, isolated and deceived German movements—we speak of the Magyar and the French revolutions.

While the Magyar revolution is gaining one victory after another, and after the next decisive battle (which must have taken place on May 5 or 6 at Pressburg) will march directly on Vienna and liberate the city, France suddenly enters a stage when the movement is developing again openly and in broad daylight. The underground development of the past months comes to a close; the defeat of the French army at Rome has exposed and discredited the entire Government. The people reappears upon the scene—the people, the ultimate, supreme judge. Whether it happens at the elections or in the course of an open revolution, the French people will shortly

\footnote{The colours of the Prussian monarchy.—Ed.}
give an impetus to the movement, an impetus which all Europe will feel.

The European dynasties will soon see that the chosen people of the revolution has not changed; the French revolution of 1849 will speak to them, not in Lamartinian phrases, but in the language of guns.

Written by Engels on May 9, 1849

First published in the special supplement to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 294, May 10, 1849
Cologne, May 11. From Elberfeld we learn that after twice attacking the people, the soldiery drawn up on the market square were repulsed with several dead and wounded. The colonel of the 16th regiment had his horse shot from under him; he himself was severely wounded. Captain Uttenhoven is reported to have fallen, riddled with bullets in front and—behind (!); it is said that his own men fired at him. The soldiers' attack aroused the most tremendous fury. The majority of the civic militia fought on the side of the people.

The dissolved town council is said to have been replaced by a committee of public safety, and four members of the former council have joined it. The house of the chief burgomaster, von Carnap, was totally demolished; the mahogany furniture from the Hotel von der Heydt was used to build one of the most valuable barricades. A total of about 40 barricades is supposed to be in the town.

At the time of dispatch of this news which, however, cannot be vouched for in every point, the town had been evacuated by the troops, and large reinforcements from the surrounding districts were advancing to support the people of Elberfeld.

When the news that fighting had begun in Elberfeld reached Düsseldorf on the evening of the 9th, a truly heroic struggle was waged at Düsseldorf railway station against the troops who were being sent from Cologne to Elberfeld as reinforcements; and there was soon fierce barricade fighting in all streets. The alarm tocsins were rung the whole night through, and the grape-shot fired by the military was answered by the bullets of the people. Towards morning, the soldiery gained the upper hand, however, and it is

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a See this volume, p. 423.—Ed.
reported that during the day posters were put up on the street corners proclaiming a state of siege and martial law.

There are thought to be about 20 dead among the casualties suffered by the people; they include the well-known forwarding agent Hartmann and a Polish painter who, after springing in front of the advancing soldiers and urging them not to fire on their brothers, was cut down by their bullets and fell dead to the ground.

The military are said to have later shot down defenceless men, women and children, thus marking their victory by even more bloodshed.

Written by Engels about May 10, 1849
First published in the special supplement to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 295, May 11, 1849
Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
THE NEW PRUSSIAN CONSTITUTION

Cologne, May 12. In November of last year, after the dispersal of the people's representatives, the Potsdam member of the Trinity, blessed by divine grace and the state of siege, imposed a Constitution which was to be revised by the Chambers soon to be convened. As we know, the new representatives of the people suffered a fate similar to that of the old ones; the latter were dispersed by Wrangel's bayonets, the former received from Manteuffel a simple little notice of dissolution, ordering them to go home. That put an end, too, to the revision of the Constitution.

Thus the Christian-Germanic sovereign and his accomplices, the whole host of lay-abouts, parasites and vampires sucking the blood of the people, whether of high-born lineage or without ancestry, whether decorated with orders or undecorated, have acquired free scope for planting whatever kind of fruit they like.

In November of last year, the royalty, bureaucracy and junkers were still compelled to use various hypocritical statements and to accept articles of the Constitution which seemed very liberal. The November Constitution had to be framed in a way that would make it possible to ensnare the numerically large, stupid part of the so-called "Prussian people".

Now all such subtle diplomatic considerations have become superfluous. Is not brother-in-law Nicholas already on German soil with 20,000 men? Has not Dresden been demolished by artillery shelling? Does there not exist the closest alliance of Prussia with the cowardly fugitive in Königstein, with imperial Max in Munich, 

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a Frederick William IV.— Ed.
with the bulldog Ernest Augustus of Hanover, with the whole counter-revolutionary gang inside and outside Germany?

Certainly, this moment has been used by the Hohenzollern to the best advantage. He had a new Constitution drawn up for his "beloved" subjects, and he sanctioned and imposed it in Charlottenburg on May 10.

The latest royal-Prussian Constitution, the only one sincerely intended, which also has the advantage over the November Constitution of consisting of only seventeen paragraphs, reads as follows:.

Written by Marx on May 12, 1849  
Printed according to the newspaper  
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 297, May 13, 1849  
Published in English for the first time

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a There followed the "Verordnung über den Belagerungszustand" ("Decree on the State of Siege") of May 10, 1849, which the Neue Rheinische Zeitung published under the heading "The Latest Prussian Constitution".— Ed.
Cologne, May 12. The "new Constitution", the abolition of ordinary laws and law-courts, together with the announcement of murderous privileges conferred by the sovereign on "My glorious army", already came into force in Düsseldorf yesterday.

After the defeat and massacre of the people, the commander immediately asked Berlin for instructions. From Herr von Hohenzollern's accomplices, Brandenburg-Manteuffel, an order was received by telegraph to proclaim the sanguinary law and to set up murderous military courts.

By Articles 1 and 6 of the army orders the right of association is abolished, and Articles 5, 6, 7, 24, 25, 26, 27, and 28, of the imposed "Schnaps" Charter are made invalid.

Last year, under the rule of "citizen and communist" Drigalski, when a state of siege was proclaimed the Düsseldorf press was put under censorship, a measure which gave rise to loud protests and great indignation even among the majority of the feeble Agreeers' company. Today, after the new Hohenzollern achievements, when at the side of the subordinate knyaz in Potsdam there are no Chambers, but instead snub-nosed Cossack kinsmen, today the powers that be are not content with censorship, but proceed simply to suppression of the press.

According to Article 7, Düsseldorf newspapers, and the Neue Rheinische Zeitung as well, are prohibited in the Düsseldorf area. According to Article 8, nothing but official "information" may be published.

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a Frederick William IV.—Ed.
Under "citizen and communist" Drigalski's rule by the sabre, the victims of arbitrary arrests were at least not removed from the jurisdiction of the ordinary law and its regular judges. Today the law and the courts have been suspended and murderous special military courts have been set up.

Article 9. Anyone who by word of mouth, in writing, in the press, or in representational form, incites resistance to the legal (!) orders of the authorities will come before a court martial.

Article 10. Anyone who is caught in open or armed resistance to the measures of the legal authorities, or who by traitorous action exposes the troops to danger or harm, will be summarily shot in accordance with martial law.

The laurels of the murderer Windischgrätz allow no rest to the reinvigorated Hohenzollern!

Written by Marx on May 12, 1849
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 297, May 13, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
Cologne, May 12. At the present time the attention of the entire Rhine Province is concentrated on Elberfeld, a place which is now raising the "banner of revolt" higher than any other Rhenish town.\textsuperscript{a} The dissolution of the Chamber\textsuperscript{354} was the signal for the movement in the otherwise so peaceful Wuppertal. The most addle-pated "wailers"\textsuperscript{355} and the most miserable "hypocrites" had to admit that the guilt of the reaction exceeded all bounds, and carried away by the enthusiasm of those courageous workers whose energy we have never doubted, they have taken up arms and joined the ranks of those heroes on the barricades who are resolved to wage a struggle to the death against the monarchy.

In view of the confused reports which reach us from the battle arena itself, it is impossible to separate the truth from the lies. This much at least seems certain: that the whole population has taken up arms, that streets and houses are barricaded, that from neighbouring places—Solingen, Remscheid, Gräfrath, from localities of the Ennepe highway, in short, from the entire Berg Country—armed reinforcements are hurriedly arriving. It seems certain, too, that the insurgents are already not restricting themselves to the occupation of Elberfeld and Barmen but are extending their measures of defence to the most important points of the environs.

It is confidently asserted that the insurgents also plan to hasten to the aid of Düsseldorf in order to clear that city of Prussian troops. The army reserve, which now for the first time has definitely sided with the people, is playing the main role in these operations. The fighters do not lack munitions and money since several of the richest

\textsuperscript{a} See this volume, pp. 423 and 428-29.—\textit{Ed.}
merchants have readily opened their coffers. Thus, it is said that one trading house alone has given the Elberfeld Committee of Public Safety 500 friedrichsdors.

Under these circumstances, of course, it is not surprising that the royal mercenaries are getting ready to attack in order wherever possible to crush the people in the Berg Country as well and perpetrate the same atrocities as in Breslau, Dresden, Erfurt etc. It is to be hoped that this time things will turn out differently.

The artillery parked at Wesel will move from there to Elberfeld. It is said that the attack has been fixed for next Monday.

We cannot vouch for these reports. But whatever the plans of the counter-revolution may be, Elberfeld will have to face a struggle in which it can truly perform a great service to our country.

Written by Marx on May 12, 1849
First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 297, May 13, 1849
Published in English for the first time

Printed according to the newspaper
Cologne, May 13. We draw our readers’ attention to the recent issues of the Kölnische Zeitung, in particular to today’s issue, that of Sunday, May 13.

Probably never before has the “most vulgar artlessness” gone so closely hand in hand with venal baseness as in the latest leading articles and reports of our admirable contemporary.

Only a few days ago, at the congress of the Rhenish municipal councils, we saw the owner of the Kölnische Zeitung, Herr Joseph Dumont, hastily rising to support the decisions adopted there. Today we see the same man, through his henchman Brüggemann, expressing in every line the most brutal pleasure at the failure of the revolts which were precisely the consequence of those decisions of the Rhenish municipal councils.

In return, however, the Kölnische Zeitung has also the good fortune to be imposed on the Rhenish towns, together with the state of siege, as their sole newspaper.

Truly, what is being simultaneously imposed on these towns is blood and—dirt!

Written by Marx on May 13, 1849

First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 297 (second edition), May 13, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time
Cologne, May 15. The rascally Prussian newspaper does us the special favour of compiling an anthology of unpatriotic expressions published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung about the “imperial-Russian subordinate knyaz in Olmütz” and the “Prussian bug-ridden knights”. The selection is limited to the dispatches from Breslau and is accompanied at the end by the following outburst of indignation of the covertly frivolous “crusader”:

“Compared to this Chimborazo insolence, how flat is the announcement of the wedding of the Prussian King published in the French Moniteur in 1793: ‘Le jeune tyran de Prusse vient d’épouser une demoiselle de Mecklenbourg!’”

In order to complete as fully as possible the account of the “Chimborazo insolence” of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, we ask the rascally newspaper to be so good as to reprint the Premier-Cologne from No. 294 of our newspaper “The Deeds of the Hohenzollern Dynasty”. We hear that Frau von Hohenzollern is a zealous reader of the rascally sheet and we do not adopt so “exclusive” an attitude that we begrudge the respectable lady some historical studies on the family of her spouse for her amusement.

Written by Marx on May 15, 1849

First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 299, May 16, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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See this volume, pp. 359 and 414.—Ed.


See this volume, pp. 418-22. The Premier-Cologne—leading article datelined Cologne.—Ed.

Queen Elizabeth, the wife of Frederick William IV.—Ed.
Cologne, May 15. No sooner had the Holy Alliance of the knout imposed a brand-new state-of-siege Constitution on Prussia than it favoured us today with a second document of no less interest. Those nationally-assembled milksops of Frankfurt, who by their radical philistinism, cowardice and doltishness so faithfully assisted the paid traitors of the German people for a whole year in working for the counter-revolution, are now reaping what they sowed. If it were possible for some glimmer of light to occur in the minds of our National Assembly deputies, and for their breasts to be filled not merely with indignation inspired by March beer, but at least with a small degree of revolutionary indignation and energy, then that ought to be effected by the following "royal order" of the subordinate knyaz in Charlottenburg:

"Royal Order"

"We, Frederick William, by the grace of God King of Prussia etc. etc., hereby, on the proposal of our Ministry, order the following:

§ 1

"The mandate of the deputies elected in the Prussian state to the German National Assembly on the basis of the Decrees of the German Confederation of March 30 and April 7, 1848, and of Our Order of April 11, 1848, has ceased to be valid.

§ 2

"This Our present Order is to be put before the deputies by Our Plenipotentiary in Frankfurt am Main for their guidance and with the

— Ed.
directive to refrain from any participation in the further proceedings of the Assembly.

"Given in Charlottenburg, May 14, 1849

Frederick William
Count von Brandenburg, von Ladenberg, von Manteuffel, von Strotha, von der Heydt, von Rabe, Simons"

Written by Marx on May 15, 1849
Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the special supplement to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 299, May 16, 1849
Published in English for the first time
Cologne, May 15. We still have to report on the latest paternal intentions of the subordinate knyaz in Potsdam\(^a\) towards his "hereditary" subjects, acquired by plunder and traffic in people. We are referring to the newly imposed martial-law Charter,\(^b\) this sole true promise of all the Hohenzollern promises, in which Prussian glory is at last revealed even to the most stupid and credulous simpletons in its fullest natural nakedness, divested of the last traces of its hypocritical comedian's tinsel.

The dispersal of the inoffensive Berlin Chambers, which were supposed to "revise" the imposed Constitution of December 5, was only, as is well known, the necessary preparation for the Russians' entry into German territory. But the agreement arrived at between the Potsdam Bashkirs and the kindred dog-nosed Cossacks of the orthodox Tsar had another purpose besides that of the notorious Trinity's campaign against Hungary,\(^359\) in which Prussia, true to its cowardly, perfidious nature, stood at the gates like a police agent with orders for arrests, while the Austrian and Russian executioners were intended to institute the murder hunt within the country. The true aim of this Hohenzollern alliance was through the entry of the Russians to inspire the Potsdam hero with the necessary courage to take revenge on the revolution for the confession of cowardice wrung from him in March of last year.

We have no need to make excursions into history in order to prove the innate and natural cowardice of the Hohenzollerns at all times, nor perhaps do we even need to go back to the ancestors of this noble

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\(^a\) Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

\(^b\) See this volume, pp. 430-31.—*Ed.*
clan who ambushed unarmed travellers from behind bushes and hedges, and thus as highwaymen laid the foundations for the "splendour of the dynasty". Nor do we need to recall the boastful campaign of Frederick William II against the French Republic, in which the great Hohenzollern was the first to turn tail thus betraying the German "imperial troops" in order together with Russia to set about a new rape of Poland; still less is it necessary for us to mention the pitiful role his successor, Frederick William III, played in the imperial wars before driving "His people" into battle with the aid of lying promises.a The history of the "March achievements" was only a continuation of the old "hereditary" cowardice and perfidy. The Agreement Assembly was the first concession made by this cowardice to the revolution, a concession which superseded the famous boasting about a "scrap of parchment"; the Assembly was dispersed when the fall of Vienna gave the reinvigorated Hohenzollern the necessary courage for that action. The imposed Constitution with the Chambers that were "to revise" the Constitution was the second act of cowardly hypocrisy, since the "unweakened Crown" at that time still considered a few liberal concessions to be necessary. The [Second] Chamber was dismissed when the conspiracy with the Russian Tsar and master had reached the desired conclusion. But only the actual entry of Russians into German territory, only the reliable proximity of the protecting Cossacks, gave the Hohenzollern the courage to come out with the latest plan: abolition of the last hypocritical "constitutional guarantees" by the introduction of the most unrestricted, most arbitrary sabre dictatorship, by the suspension of the old, even the pre-March, laws and law-courts, by revenge with "gunpowder and lead" on the revolution for the cowardice of the Hohenzollerns proclaimed in the March concessions.

That is the historical origin of the recently imposed martial-law Constitution. Let us now look at its content.

Under Articles 1 and 2, "for the event of a disturbance" not only every commandant of a fortress can declare his fortress to be in a state of siege, but every "commanding general" can declare the whole area occupied by the army corps to be in a state of siege.

"For the event of a disturbance", c'est-à-dire, if the commandant or general sees fit to foresee the "event of a disturbance". Or is it possible that the Hohenzollern Ministers, in whose stylistic exercises the most remarkably abundant lack of grammatical knowledge usually predominates, intended to say: "in the event of a distur-

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a See this volume, p. 419.—Ed.
b Nicholas. I.—Ed.
bance”? The interpretation will be left to the well-tested understanding of the generals and commandants.

“For the event of a disturbance”, therefore, a commandant can declare his fortress, and a commanding general a whole province, to be in a state of siege. The limits of this “event” are not defined. Whether the “event of a disturbance” must show itself within the fortress or province or needs only threaten the fortress or province from a greater or lesser distance—that, too, will have to be decided only by the “tact” of the general or the commandant, and “tact”, according to the weighty word of Lieutenant-General Tietzen, is the first requirement of a Prussian officer.

But the power of the general “for the event of a disturbance” has, on the other hand, been most remarkably restricted in the interests of all enthusiasts for the legal basis. Only “for the event of a war” are generals and commandants on their own initiative able to declare provinces and fortresses in a state of siege. “For the event of a disturbance”, however, according to Article 2 of the new Charter, the proclamation of a state of siege emanates from the Ministry; “for this event” the commandant has the right to declare his fortress, and the general his province, in a state of siege only provisionally, subject to being confirmed or (!) rescinded by the Ministry. A pleasant safeguard for subjects threatened by a disturbance! Do we not have “responsible” Ministers? Is not the “legal basis” saved by the merely “provisional power” of the commandant’s or general’s dictatorship, by the existence of a final instance in the person of the “responsible” Minister? True, under Articles 7 and 13 the “provisional power” of the commandant or general gives them the right provisionally to suspend the ordinary law-courts, provisionally to set up courts martial, which then, likewise provisionally, pass death sentences (Article 8) and provisionally carry out the death sentences within 24 hours (Article 13, § 7). But the “legal basis” is always saved by the final confirmation of the “responsible” Minister—long live the legal basis! Our sole secret wish in this context is that the advocates of the legal basis should be the first to experience provisional execution in the name of God and His Majesty the Christian-Germanic subordinate knyaz.

[Cologne, May 16. Cervantes somewhere talks about a worthy alguacil and his clerk, who for the protection of public morality kept

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[a] A Spanish police agent.—Ed.
two women of no ambiguous reputation. These obliging nymphs appeared at big fairs or other festive occasions in such attire that already from far off the bird could be recognised by its plumage. If they managed to entrap some new arrival they immediately contrived to inform their lovers of the hotel to which they had gone. The alguacil and his clerk then broke into the room to the immense fright of the women, created a jealous scene and allowed the stranger to escape only after long pleading and payment of a suitable monetary compensation. In this way they combined advantage for themselves with the interests of public morality, for the victim took care for some time not to give way to his improper inclinations.

Like these guardians of morality, the Prussian heroes of order have a simplified procedure for ensuring normal tranquillity under martial law. The provocative dispatch of some pillars of legality reeking of liquor, a few provocative sabre blows among the people, and the rebellious desires thereby aroused in some remote town or village provide an opportunity for proclaiming a state of siege and thus safeguarding the whole province against further improper disturbances and cheating it of its last remnant of constitutional rights.

Under Article 5 of the new martial-law Charter, on the proclamation of a state of siege the “military commander” can district by district invalidate Articles 5-7 and 24-28 of the latest “acquisitions” imposed in December.

Let us see what still remains when we subtract from the March promises the Articles abolished by the imposition of the new martial-law Charter. “For the event of a disturbance” by the arbitrary decision of a “military commander” there cease to exist:

- Article 5 of the December Constitution: “Freedom of the person is guaranteed.”
- Article 6: “The home is inviolable.”
- Article 7: “No one may be deprived of his legally appointed judge.”
- Article 24: “Every Prussian has the right etc. freely to express his thoughts.”
- Article 25: “Offences committed by word of mouth, writing etc. are punishable in accordance with the general penal laws.”
- Article 26: “If the author of a written work is known and within reach of the power of the court, the printer, publisher and distributor are not liable to punishment.”
- Article 27: “All Prussians have the right to assemble peacefully and without weapons in closed premises.”
- Article 28: “All Prussians have the right to unite in societies for purposes which do not contravene the penal laws.”

As soon as a military commander proclaims a state of siege, “for the event of a disturbance”, “freedom of the person” is no longer

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[a] M. Cervantes, “Coloquio de los perros” in Novelas ejemplares.—Ed.
guaranteed, homes are no longer declared inviolable, the "legal" courts, freedom of the press, protection of printers, and the right of association, cease, and even the "societies" of the philistines—casinos and balls—whose "purposes do not contravene the penal laws", can only exist par grâce de M. le commandant, but not at all by "right".

At the same time Article 4 of the new martial-law Charter lays down that

"with the proclamation of the state of siege" (pur et simple) "the executive power is transferred to the military commander, and the civil-administrative and municipal authorities must carry out the orders and commissions of the military commander".

By this paragraph all the usual forms of municipal and administrative government are safely abolished and the oxen of the snub-nosed, arrogant bureaucracy harnessed under the yoke of the sovereign military dictatorship as "lackeys for executing commissions".

Articles 8 and 9 contain the punishments by which the energetic Hohenzollern intends to defend his safety and order even when he is protected by bayonets and guns. This new penal law has at any rate the advantage of brevity over all the tediously agreed theories of law.

Article 8: "Anyone who in a place or region declared to be in a state of siege is guilty of deliberate arson, of deliberately causing an inundation" (what prudence!), "or who uses open violence and dangerous weapons to attack or resist the military forces or representatives of the civil and military authorities, will be punished by death."

"Resistance to the military forces or representatives of the authorities"! The deeds of "My glorious army" are well known; it is known also that the worthy Pomeranians, Prussians and Upper Silesian Poles, who in the interest of unity are being so zealously grafted into the Western provinces, following the example of His Majesty, derive their courage only from the circumstances and after having disarmed the citizens, as in Düsseldorf, Breslau, Posen, Berlin, and Dresden, they crown the state of siege by the murder of unarmed men, women and children. Hence the "hereditary" subjects of the Potsdam Bashkir knyaz are given the highly commendable freedom, after a state of siege has been proclaimed, either to allow themselves to be "lawfully" murdered by the courageous executors of the benevolence of the sovereign, or by offering "resistance" to allow themselves to be shot in accordance with martial law.

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a See this volume, pp. 429 and 435.— Ed.
Ought we also to discuss the provisions of Article 9, by which the dissemination of reports which “mislead” the authorities and the violation of any “prohibition issued in the interests of public security” etc. are punishable by up to one year’s imprisonment, and even the most ordinary police and gendarme functions are henceforth made more perfect in accordance with martial law?

Ought we to deal with the cowardly perfidy with which the Hohenzollern sovereign, and his accomplices Simons-von der Heydt-Manteuffel decree the formation of courts martial consisting of three “senior officers” and two civil judges appointed by the military commander, in order to preserve the semblance of “legal” procedure in the eyes of the stupid bourgeois and yet at the same time to be sure of a conviction owing to the preponderance in the number of military executioners?

Ought we to take note of the various provisions of Article 13 on “procedure at courts martial”, in which there is nowhere any mention of the testimony of witnesses, but under which judgment can obviously be pronounced in the spirit of the murderer Windischgrätz “in accordance with the coincidence of circumstances”?

Ought we to take note of the provisions that there is no appeal against sentences of courts martial, that death sentences are merely confirmed by the “military commander” and are carried out within twenty-four hours, and lastly that even after the lifting of the state of siege, in cases where sentences of courts martial have not yet been carried out, the “ordinary courts” can only convert the court-martial punishment into a legally imposed punishment, but must “accept the fact as proven” and cannot decide on the correctness or incorrectness of the charge?

Ought we, finally, to examine the last and best Article of this new Constitution which has been strengthened by the Cossacks, according to which “even apart from the state of siege”, consequently “not for the event of a disturbance”, Articles 5, 6, 24-28 of the December acquisition, “personal freedom”, “inviolability of the home”, “freedom of the press” and the “right of association” can be abolished district by district?

After all these splendid things there is no need for us to express our heartfelt good wishes to all well-intentioned Prussians on the new, solely true promises, on the finally true outburst of paternal benevolence resulting from the proximity of the Cossacks. We sincerely rejoice at this bloody castigation of the bourgeois who are so frantic for order, and of the miserable dolts who yearn for a basis of legality.
But the people will soon feel that this new "acquisition" has filled its cup to overflowing, it will wreak vengeance on this lying cowardly race that plagues the land, and the Rhine Province above all will not let slip the long-desired hour when we shall cry out: Ça ira!\textsuperscript{363}

The pitiful ranks of knights
Will soon be riding off.
They shall be offered a stirrup-cup
From bottles of iron to quaff!\textsuperscript{2}

Written by Marx on May 15 and 16, 1849
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung Nos. 299 and 300, May 16 and 17, 1849
Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time

\textsuperscript{2} Heinrich Heine, Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen, Caput VIII.—Ed.
Cologne, May 16. The Neue Rheinische Zeitung, too, was represented at the Elberfeld barricades.  

In order to refute various false rumours, we owe it to our readers to give them a brief report on this matter.

On May 10, Friedrich Engels, editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, went from Cologne to Elberfeld and took with him from Solingen two cases of cartridges which had been captured by the Solingen workers at the storming of the arsenal of Gräfrath. On arriving in Elberfeld, Engels made a report to the Committee of Public Safety on the situation in Cologne, and put himself at the disposal of the Committee. The military commission at once entrusted him with the management of fortification works by issuing the following authorisation:

"The military commission of the Committee of Public Safety hereby empowers Herr Friedrich Engels to inspect all the barricades in the town and to complete the fortifications. All posts at the barricades are hereby requested to assist him wherever necessary.

"Elberfeld, May 11, 1849
(signed) Hühnerbein, Troost"

On the following day the artillery too was put at his disposal.

"Citizen F. Engels is hereby empowered to instal artillery at his discretion, and also to requisition the artisans necessary for this purpose, the costs involved being borne by the Committee of Public Safety.

"Elberfeld, May 12, 1849
Committee of Public Safety
On behalf of which
(signed) Pothmann, Hühnerbein, Troost"
On his very first day in Elberfeld, Engels organised a company of sappers and completed the building of barricades at several exits from the town. He attended all the meetings of the military commission and proposed that it appoint Herr Mirbach as Chief Commandant, which was unanimously agreed to. In the following days Engels continued his activity, he made changes to a number of barricades, decided on the positions for new ones, and strengthened the sapper companies. From the moment of Mirbach's arrival, Engels put himself at his disposal and took part also in the war councils held by the Chief Commandant.

During his whole stay in Elberfeld, Engels enjoyed the absolute confidence of the armed workers of the Berg Country and the Mark, as also of the volunteer corps.

On his very first day in Elberfeld, Engels was asked by Herr Riotte, a member of the Committee of Public Safety, about his intentions. Engels stated that he had come, firstly, because he had been sent there from Cologne; secondly, because he believed that he could perhaps be usefully employed in a military respect; and, thirdly, because, having been born in the Berg Country, he considered it a matter of honour to be there when the first armed uprising of the people of the Berg Country took place. He said that he desired to concern himself exclusively with military matters and to have nothing to do with the political character of the movement, since it was obvious that up to now only a movement under the black-red-and-gold flag* was possible here, and therefore any action against the imperial Constitution had to be avoided.

Herr Riotte was in full agreement with this statement.

On the morning of the 14th, while Engels was accompanying Chief Commandant Mirbach to a general muster on the Engelnberg, Herr Höchster, also a member of the Committee of Public Safety, approached him and stated that although there was absolutely nothing to be said against his behaviour, nevertheless his presence evoked the utmost alarm of the Elberfeld bourgeoisie; they were afraid that at any moment he would proclaim a red republic and that by and large they wished him to leave.

Engels said that he wanted neither to impose his services, nor cravenly to desert his post, and he requested, without otherwise undertaking any kind of obligation, that the above-mentioned request should be presented to him in black and white, over the signatures of all members of the Committee of Public Safety.

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* The colours symbolise Germany's unity, and in this case they denote the unification of the country in accordance with the imperial Constitution.—Ed.
Herr Höchster put the matter before the Committee of Public Safety and on the same day the following decision was adopted:

"While fully appreciating the activity hitherto shown in this town by Citizen Friedrich Engels of Barmen, recently resident in Cologne, it is requested that he should from today leave the precincts of the local municipality since his presence could give rise to misunderstandings as to the character of the movement."

Already before the decision was adopted Engels stated that he would comply with the request of the Committee of Public Safety only if Mirbach ordered him to do so. Mirbach had arrived in Elberfeld at his suggestion, and therefore he could not leave before Mirbach had released him.

On the morning of the 15th, after considerable pressure from the Committee of Public Safety, Mirbach finally signed the requisite order, which was later also made public in the form of a poster.

The armed workers and volunteer corps were highly indignant at the decision of the Committee of Public Safety. They demanded that Engels should remain and said they would "protect him with their lives". Engels himself went to them and calmed them down, referring them to Mirbach and stating that he did not intend to be the first to refuse obedience to the Commandant who had been invited at his suggestion and in whom, moreover, he had absolute confidence.

Engels then took part in one more reconnoissance of the environs and, after handing over his post to his adjutant, departed from Elberfeld.

Let the workers of the Berg Country and the Mark, who have shown such astonishing affection for and devotion to a member of our editorial board, bear in mind that the present movement is only the prologue to another movement a thousand times more serious, in which the issue will concern their own, the workers', most vital interests. This new revolutionary movement will be the result of the present movement and as soon as it occurs Engels—on this the workers can confidently rely—like all the other editors of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, will be at his post, and no power on earth will induce him to forsake it.

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One of the editors of the Kölnische Zeitung, worthy Schwanbeck, has issued a statement about his misfortunes in Elberfeld, in which he also alleges that an "editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung" acted as an informer against him. All that the editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung referred to knows about the affair is as follows. Whilst holding an official appointment in Elberfeld, he was asked by a member of the Committee of Public Safety to identify two gentlemen who claimed to have come from Cologne and who were being detained in the cells at the town hall; one of these gentlemen was none other than worthy Schwanbeck. He declared in the presence of the latter that he would make it his business to see that that gentleman was to be expelled from the town the next morning, which was indeed done. He also recounted to his friend, the member of the Committee of Public Safety, an episode concerning Herr Schwanbeck's connection with Police Inspector Brendamour, which had already been made public by Herr C. Cramer in the Wächter am Rhein. That was the extent of the "informing".

Incidentally whether, as worthy Schwanbeck maintains, "there is nothing to spy on in Elberfeld", no one is in a better position to say than the Prussian officer who is still detained as a spy in Elberfeld and who was promptly arrested whilst roaming around there under a false name.

Written by Engels on May 16, 1849
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 500 (second edition), May 17, 1849

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

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a Kölnische Zeitung No. 117, March 17, 1849.— Ed.
b Frederick Engels.— Ed.
c See this volume, pp. 447-49.— Ed.
d Cramer, C., "Polizeispione", Der Wächter am Rhein No. 51, May 6, 1849.— Ed.
Cologne, May 18. Some time ago Berlin demanded that the local authorities re-introduce a state of siege in Cologne. It was intended to use martial law to suppress the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, but this met with unexpected resistance. The municipal authorities of Cologne then turned to the Public Prosecutor's office here in order to achieve the same purpose by arbitrary arrests. But this failed on account of the legal scruples of the judiciary, just as it had failed twice before on account of the common sense of the Rhenish juries. There was nothing for it but to resort to a police ruse, and this, for the time being, has achieved its purpose. The "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" ceases publication for the present. On May 16, its editor-in-chief Karl Marx received the following government note:

"The tendency of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung to provoke in its readers contempt for the present government, and incite them to violent revolutions and the setting up of a social republic has become stronger in its latest pieces" (!). "The right of hospitality" (!) "which he so disgracefully abused is therefore to be withdrawn from its editor-in-chief, Dr. Karl Marx, and since he has not obtained permission to prolong his stay in these states, he is ordered to leave them within 24 hours. If he should not comply voluntarily with this demand, he is to be forcibly conveyed across the frontier.

"Cologne, May 11, 1849
Royal Government
Moeller

To Herr Geiger, Royal Police Superintendent, here."

Why these absurd phrases, these official lies? The trend and tone of the latest pieces of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung do not differ a whit from its first "sample piece". In that "first piece" we wrote among other things:
"The project of Herr Hüser" (in Mainz) "is only part of the grand plan of the Berlin reactionaries who seek to ... deliver us defenceless into the hands of the army."\(^a\)

_Eh bien, Messieurs, qu'en dites-vous maintenant?\(^b\)_

As to our tendency, did not the Government know it? Have we not declared before the jury that it was now "the duty of the press to undermine the whole basis of the existing order"\(^c\)? Regarding the Hohenzollern subordinate kniaz one can read the following in the issue of October 19, 1848:

"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 the people. At this moment His Majesty, just as he did before the March days, seems again to believe in Slavdom's 'legs of iron'; and perhaps the people in Vienna will turn out to be the magician who will transform the iron into clay."\(^d\)

_Est-ce clair, Messieurs?\(^e\)_

And the "social republic"? Have we proclaimed it only in the "latest pieces" of the _Neue Rheinische Zeitung_?

Did we not speak plainly and clearly enough for those dullards who failed to see the "red" thread running through all our comments and reports on the European movement?

The November 7 issue of the _Neue Rheinische Zeitung_ says, "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 the new European society.

"The crushing counter-blows 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:

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\(^a\) See the article "Hüser" (present edition, Vol. 7, p. 20).— _Ed_.

\(^b\) Well, gentlemen, what do you say now?— _Ed_.

\(^c\) "The First Trial of the _Neue Rheinische Zeitung_"; Speech by Karl Marx (present edition, Vol. 8, p. 317).— _Ed_.

\(^d\) Marx, "Reply of the King of Prussia to the Delegation of the National Assembly" (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 474-75).— _Ed_.

\(^e\) Is that clear, gentlemen?— _Ed_.

“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 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.”

Est-ce clair, Messieurs?

From the very beginning we did not consider it necessary to conceal our views. During a polemic with the judiciary here, we told you:

“*The actual opposition of the ‘Neue Rheinische Zeitung’ only begins with the tricolour republic.*”

And at that time we were speaking with the prosecution. We summed up the old year, 1848, in the following words (cf. the issue of December 31, 1848):

“The history of the Prussian bourgeoisie, like that of the German bourgeoisie in general between March and December, shows that a purely bourgeois revolution and the establishment of bourgeois rule in the form of a constitutional monarchy is impossible in Germany, and that only a feudal absolutist counter-revolution or a social republican revolution is possible.”

Did we therefore have to advance our social republican tendency only in the “last pieces” of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*? Did you not read our articles about the June revolution,* and was not the essence of the June revolution the essence of our paper?

Why then your hypocritical phrases, your attempt to find an impossible pretext?

*We have no compassion and we ask no compassion from you. When our turn comes, we shall not make excuses for the terror.* But the royal terrorists, the terrorists by the grace of God and the law, are in practice brutal, disdainful and mean, in theory cowardly, secretive and deceitful, and in both respects disreputable.

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*a* Woe to the conquered!—*Ed.


The Prussian Government's piece of paper goes even to the absurd length of speaking about the "right of hospitality which was disgracefully abused" by Karl Marx, the editor-in-chief of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung.

The right of hospitality which the insolent intruders, the anterior Russians (Borussians), forced upon us, inhabitants of the Rhineland, on our own land—this hospitality was indeed "disgracefully" abused by the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. We believe that we have thereby rendered a service to the Rhine Province. We have saved the revolutionary honour of our country. From now on the Neue Preussische Zeitung alone will enjoy the full right of citizenship in the Rhine Province.

In parting we should like to remind our readers of the words printed in the first issue we published in January:

"The table of contents for 1849 reads: Revolutionary rising of the French working class, world war." a

And in the East, a revolutionary army made up of fighters of all nationalities already confronts the alliance of the old Europe represented by the Russian army, while from Paris comes the threat of a "red republic".

Written by Marx on May 18, 1849
Printed according to the newspaper
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 301, May 19, 1849

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a Marx, "The Revolutionary Movement" (present edition, Vol. 8, p. 215).—Ed.
Cologne, May 18. At a moment when the actual entry of Russian troops turns the Magyar war into a European war, we are compelled to discontinue our reports on its further course. The only thing we can still do is once more to provide a brief survey of the development of this grand East-European revolutionary war for our readers.

It will be remembered that in the autumn of 1847, even before the February revolution, the Diet at Pressburg, under the leadership of Kossuth, adopted a number of revolutionary decisions, such as those providing for the right to sell landed property, the peasant's right to live where he likes, the commutation of feudal obligations, the emancipation of the Jews and equal taxation of all classes. On the very day the February revolution began in Paris (February 22) the Diet permitted Croats and Slavonians when dealing with their internal affairs to use their own language for official purposes and finally, by demanding a separate responsible ministry for Hungary, it made the first step towards a separate Hungary.

The February revolution broke out, and with it came the collapse of the resistance of the Viennese Government to the demands of the Hungarians. On March 16, the day after the Viennese revolution, consent was given for the formation of an independent Hungarian Government thereby reducing the association between Hungary and Austria to a mere personal union.

The now independent Magyar revolution made rapid progress. It abolished all political privileges, introduced universal suffrage, did away with all feudal obligations, labour services and tithes without payment—compensations being payable by the state—brought
about the union with Transylvania and compelled the appointment of Kossuth as Minister of Finance and the dismissal of the rebellious Ban Jellachich.

Meanwhile the Austrian Government recovered from the blow. While the supposedly responsible ministry at Vienna remained powerless, the camarilla at the Innsbruck Court grew steadily more powerful. It relied on the imperial army in Italy, on the national desires of the Czechs, Croats and Serbs and on the stubborn narrow-mindedness of the Ruthenian peasants.

The Serbian insurrection, instigated with the help of money and emissaries from the Court, broke out in the Banat and Bacska on June 17. On the 20th Jellachich had an audience with the Emperor at Innsbruck and was reappointed Ban. Jellachich returned to Croatia, renounced allegiance to the Hungarian Government and on August 25 declared war against it.

The treachery of the Habsburg camarilla was plainly evident. The Hungarians tried once more to persuade the Emperor to return to constitutional methods. They sent a deputation of 200 members of the Diet to Vienna; the Emperor replied evasively. Feeling ran high. The people demanded guarantees and forced a change in the Government. Traitors, who sat in the Pest Government too, were removed, and on September 20 Kossuth was appointed Prime Minister. But only four days later the Palatine Archduke Stephan, the representative of the Emperor, escaped to Vienna and on the 26th the Emperor issued the well-known manifesto to the Hungarians in which he declared that the Government was rebellious and dismissed it, appointing the Magyarophobe Jellachich governor of Hungary and encroaching on the most important revolutionary gains of Hungary.

The manifesto, not having been countersigned by an Hungarian Minister, was declared null and void by Kossuth.

Meanwhile Jellachich, taking advantage of the disorganisation and treachery prevailing among the nominally Hungarian, but in reality old imperial, officers and general staff, advanced as far as Stuhlweissenburg. There he was defeated by the Hungarian army, despite its treacherous leaders, and driven back into Austrian territory to the very walls of Vienna. The Emperor and the old traitor Latour then decided to send reinforcements to Jellachich and to reconquer Hungary with the aid of German and Slav troops. But the revolution broke out in Vienna on October 6, and for the time being put an end to the royal imperial schemes.

Kossuth immediately marched with a Magyar corps to the assistance of the Viennese people. At the Leitha he was prevented
from moving immediately on Vienna by the indecision of the Vienna Imperial Diet, the treachery of his own officers and the bad organisation of his army, which consisted for the most part of the Landsturm. He was finally obliged to arrest more than a hundred officers, send them to Pest and have some of them shot. Only after this did he dare to attack. But it was too late—Vienna had already fallen, and his undisciplined Landsturm men were thrown back at Schwechat by the regular Austrian troops.372

The truce between the imperial troops and the Magyars lasted six weeks. While both armies did their utmost to strengthen their forces, the Olmütz camarilla carried out a coup which it had been preparing for a long time. It forced the idiot Ferdinand—who had compromised himself by concessions to the revolution and was now useless—to abdicate and placed on the throne Sophia's son, the boy Francis Joseph, whom it intended to use as its tool. On the basis of the Hungarian Constitution the Pest Diet rejected this change of sovereigns.

Finally in the middle of December the war started. Hungary by then was practically surrounded by the imperial army. The offensive was launched from all sides.

From Austria three army corps, no less than 90,000 strong, under the supreme command of Field Marshal Windischgrätz, advanced southward from the Danube. Nugent with about 20,000 men marched from Styria along the left bank of the Drava. Dahlen with 10,000 men marched from Croatia along the right bank of the Drava to the Banat. Several border regiments, the garrison of Temesvar, the Serbian Landsturm and the Serbian auxiliary corps of Knjičanin, totalling 30,000 to 40,000 men commanded by Todorovich and Rukavina, fought in the Banat itself. Puchner with 20,000-25,000 men was in Transylvania as was also Malkowsky with 10,000-15,000 men, who had invaded it from the Bukovina. Finally Schlick with a corps of 20,000-25,000 men moved from Galicia towards the Upper Theiss.

The imperial army thus numbered at least 200,000 regular, mostly battle-hardened troops, not counting the Slav, Romance and Saxon Landsturm men and national guards who took part in the fighting in the south and in Transylvania.

Against this colossal fighting force Hungary could pit an army of perhaps 80,000-90,000 trained soldiers, including 24,000 men who had formerly served in the imperial army, and in addition 50,000 to 60,000 poorly organised Honvéd and Landsturm men. This army was commanded for the most part by traitors similar to the officers whom Kossuth had had arrested at the Leitha.
But whereas Austria, a country kept down by force, financially ruined and almost moneyless, could not yield another recruit for the time being, the Magyars still had great resources at their disposal. The Magyars’ enthusiasm for liberty, reinforced by their national pride, waxed stronger every day, providing Kossuth with eager fighters in numbers unheard-of for such a small nation of 5 million. The Hungarian printing-press placed inexhaustible financial resources in the form of banknotes at Kossuth’s disposal and every Magyar accepted these national assignats as if they were hard silver coin. Rifle and gun production was in full swing. All the army lacked was weapons, experience and good leaders, and all this could be procured in a few months. It was therefore only necessary to gain time, to entice the imperial troops into the heart of the country where they would be worn down by unceasing guerilla warfare and weakened by having to leave behind strong garrisons and other detachments.

Hence the plan of the Hungarians to withdraw slowly into the interior, to train the recruits in continuous skirmishes and as a last resort to place between themselves and their enemies the Theiss line with its impassable swamps, which form a natural moat around the heart of the Magyar lands.

According to all calculations, the Hungarians should have been able to hold the area between Pressburg and Pest for two to three months even against the superior strength of the Austrians. But severe frosts suddenly set in, and for several months all rivers and swamps were covered with a thick layer of ice capable of bearing the weight even of heavy guns. This deprived the terrain of all features favouring defence, and made all fortifications built by the Magyars useless and liable to be outflanked. And so it happened that before twenty days had passed the Hungarian army was thrown back from Oedenburg and Pressburg to Raab, from Raab to Mor, from Mor to Pest, and even had to leave Pest and withdraw beyond the Theiss at the very beginning of the campaign.

The other corps fared no better than the main army. In the south Nugent and Dahlen continued their advance towards Esseg, which was occupied by the Magyars, and the Serbs gradually approached the Maros line; in Transylvania Puchner joined Malkowsky at Maros-Vásárhely; in the north Schlick descended from the Carpathians to the Theiss and made junction with Windischgrätz at Miskolcz.

The Austrians seemed to have practically put an end to the Magyar revolution. They had two-thirds of Hungary and three-fourths of Transylvania in their rear, the Hungarians were attacked
in front, on both flanks and in the rear. A further advance of a few miles\(^a\) would have enabled all the corps of the Emperor to make junction and draw the ring tighter until Hungary was crushed in it as in the coils of a boa constrictor.

It was essential now—while on the front the Theiss still formed an insuperable barrier to the enemy—to gain some breathing space on one flank or another.

This was done at two points: in Transylvania by Bem, and in Slovakia by Görgey. Both carried out operations which show that they are the most gifted commanders of our time.

On December 29, Bem arrived at Klausenburg, the only town in Transylvania still held by the Magyars. Here he quickly concentrated the reinforcements he had brought and the remnants of the defeated Magyar and Szekler\(^{374}\) troops, and marched to Maros-Vásárhely, defeated the Austrians and drove Malkowsky first across the Carpathians into the Bukovina and from there into Galicia, where he pushed on towards Stanislav. Then, swiftly turning back into Transylvania he pursued Puchner to within a few miles of Hermannstadt. After several skirmishes and a few swift drives in various directions, the whole of Transylvania was in his hands apart from two towns, Hermannstadt and Kronstadt, and these too would have been taken if the Russians had not been called in. The 10,000-strong Russian auxiliary troops tipped the scales and forced Bem to fall back on Szeklerland. There he organised an uprising of the Szeklers, and having succeeded in this, he had the Szekler Landsturm engage Puchner, who had reached Schässburg, while he bypassed Puchner's positions, moved straight on Hermannstadt and drove the Russians out, then defeated Puchner who had followed him, marched on Kronstadt and entered it without firing a shot.

Transylvania was thus won and the rear of the Magyar army cleared. The natural defence line formed by the Theiss now found its continuation and complement in the Carpathian mountain range and the Transylvanian Alps, from the Zips down to the borders of the Banat.

Görgey at the same time made a similar triumphal march in North-Western Hungary. He set out with a corps from Pest to Slovakia, for two months kept in check the corps of generals Götz, Csorich and Simunich operating against him from three directions, and finally, when his position became untenable against their superior forces, fought his way through the Carpathians to Eperies and Kaschau. There he appeared in the rear of Schlick and forced

\(^a\) See footnote on p. 20.—*Ed.*
him hurriedly to abandon his position and his whole operational base and retreat to Windischgrätz's main army, while he himself was already marching down the Hernad to the Theiss to join the main body of the Magyar army.

This main army, which was now commanded by Dębiniński, had likewise crossed the Theiss and had repulsed the enemy all along the line. It had reached Hatván, six miles from Pest, when a stronger concentration of enemy forces compelled it to retreat again. After offering vigorous resistance at Kapolna, Maklar and Poroszló it recrossed the Theiss just at the moment when Görgey reached the Theiss at Tokaj. The union of the two corps was the signal for a new magnificent advance of the Hungarians. Newly trained recruits arriving from the interior strengthened the Hungarian army in the field. Polish and German legions were formed, capable leaders had been trained or enlisted, and in place of the leaderless, unorganised mass of December, the imperial troops were suddenly faced by a concentrated, brave, and numerous army which was well organised and excellently led.

The Magyars crossed the Theiss in three columns. The right wing (Görgey) moved northwards, outflanked the Ramberg division, which had been following it, at Eperies and quickly drove this division back through Rimaszombat towards the main imperial army. The latter was defeated by Dębiniński at Erlau, Gyöngyös, Gödöllő and Hatván, and hastily retreated to Pest. Finally the left wing (Vetter) dislodged Jellachich from Kecskemét, Szolnok and Szegléd, defeated him at Jász-Berény and compelled him, too, to retreat to the walls of Pest. There the imperial forces stood along the Danube from Pest to Waitzen, surrounded in a wide semi-circle by the Magyars.

To avoid exposing Pest to bombardment from Ofen, the Hungarians had recourse to their well-tried tactics of dislodging the Austrians from their positions by manoeuvres rather than by open frontal attacks. Görgey captured Waitzen and forced the Austrians to fall back beyond the Gran and Danube; he defeated Wohlgemuth between the Gran and Neutra, thereby relieving Komorn, which was besieged by imperial troops. Since its line of retreat was threatened, the imperial army had to decide on a hurried withdrawal. Welden, the new Commander-in-Chief, retreated in the direction of Raab and Pressburg, and Jellachich was obliged, in order to pacify his extremely refractory Croats, to hastily retreat with them down the Danube into Slavonia.

During their retreat, which rather resembled a stampede, Welden (and especially his rearguard commanded by Schlick) and Jellachich
suffered further considerable reverses. While the latter's hard-pressed corps was slowly fighting its way through the Tolna and Baranya comitats, Welden was able at Pressburg to concentrate the remnants of his army which were by no means capable of offering any serious resistance.

Simultaneously with these astonishing victories of the Magyars over the main Austrian army, Moritz Perczel pressed forward from Szegedin and Tolna towards Peterwardein, relieved it, occupied Bacska and moved into the Banat, in order to link up there with Bem who was advancing from Transylvania. Bem had already taken Arad and besieged Temesvar; Perczel stood at Werschetz close to the Turkish frontier; the Banat was thus conquered in a few days. The fortified Transylvanian mountain passes were at the same time held by the Szeklers, the passes in Upper Hungary by the Landsturm, and Görgey with a considerable army stood at the Jablunka Pass on the Moravian-Galician frontier.

In short, in a few more days the victorious Magyar army, driving the remnants of the mighty Austrian legions before it, would have entered Vienna in triumph and put an end to the Austrian monarchy for all time.

Hungary's separation from Austria had been decided in Debreczin on April 14375; the alliance with Poland, openly proclaimed since the middle of January, was turned into reality by the 20,000-30,000 Poles who joined the Hungarian army. The alliance with the German Austrians, which had existed since the Viennese revolution of October 6 and the battle at Schwechat, was similarly preserved and sustained by the German legions within the Hungarian army, as well as by the fact that the Magyars were faced with the strategic and political necessity of occupying Vienna and revolutionising Austria so as to secure recognition of their declaration of independence.

Thus, the Magyar war very soon lost the national character it had had in the beginning, and assumed a clearly European character, precisely as a result of what would seem to be a purely national act, as a result of the declaration of independence. Only when Hungary proclaimed her separation from Austria, and thereby the dissolution of the Austrian monarchy, did the alliance with the Poles for the liberation of both countries, and the alliance with the Germans for the revolutionisation of Eastern Germany acquire a definite character and a solid basis. If Hungary were independent, Poland restored, German Austria turned into the revolutionary focus of Germany, with Lombardy and Italy winning independence—these plans, if carried out, would destroy the entire East-European system.
of states: Austria would disappear, Prussia would disintegrate and Russia would be forced back to the borders of Asia.

The Holy Alliance, therefore, had to make every effort to stem the impending revolution in Eastern Europe—the Russian armies rolled towards the Transylvanian and Galician frontiers; Prussia occupied the Bohemian-Silesian frontier and allowed the Russians to pass through her territory towards Prerau, and within a few days the first Russian army corps stood on Moravian soil.

The Magyars, who clearly understood that in a few weeks they would have to deal with numerous fresh troops, did not advance on Vienna as quickly as was expected at the beginning. They could not take Vienna, just as they could not take Pest, by a frontal attack without shelling the city, and this they were not prepared to do. Again, as at Pest, they were compelled to resort to outflanking manoeuvres, and this required time and the assurance that their own flanks and rear were secure. But it was here that the Russians menaced their rear, while if Vienna were in direct danger strong detachments of Radetzky's army could be immediately expected from the other direction.

The Hungarians therefore acted very wisely when, instead of advancing swiftly on Vienna, they confined themselves to steadily forcing the imperial armies out of Hungary, enveloping them in a wide arc from the Little Carpathians to the foot-hills of the Styrian Alps, dispatching a strong corps towards the Jablunka, fortifying and covering the Galician mountain passes, attacking Ofen and rapidly proceeding with the recruitment of 250,000 men, especially from the reconquered western comitats. In this way they secured their flanks and rear and assembled an army which had no more need to fear the Russian contingents than the once colossal imperial army. 200,000 soldiers of this redoubtable black-and-yellow army had invaded Hungary and barely 50,000 of them had returned; the rest were either killed, wounded, sick, taken prisoner or had changed sides.

True, the Russians threaten to send even more gigantic armies. Some speak of 120,000 soldiers, others of 170,000. According to the Triester Freihafen, the mobile army in the field is expected considerably to surpass 500,000 men. But Russian exaggerations are well known: of the figures they give only half are on the nominal rolls, and of the numbers on the nominal roll again less than half are really there. If, after deducting the number of troops required for the occupation of Poland, the effective Russian aid amounts to from

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a The Austrian imperial colours.— Ed.
60,000 to 70,000 men, the Austrians can be glad. And the Magyars will be able to deal with that number.

The Magyar war of 1849 has strong points of resemblance with the Polish war of 1830-31.377 But the great difference is that the factors which were against the Poles at that time now act in favour of the Magyars. Lelewel, as we know, unsuccessfully urged, first, that the mass of the population be bound to the revolution by emancipating the peasants and the Jews, and secondly, that all three partitioning powers be involved in the war and this war turned into a European war, by raising an insurrection throughout the old Polish territories. *The Magyars started at the point* which the Poles only achieved when it was too late. The Hungarians' first measure was to carry out a social revolution in their country, to abolish feudalism; their second measure was to involve Poland and Germany in the war, thus turning it into a European war. It started with the entry of the first Russian corps into German territory, and will take a decisive turn when the first French battalion enters German territory.

By becoming a European war, the Hungarian war is brought into reciprocal interaction with all other factors of the European movement. Its course affects not only Germany, but also France and England. The English bourgeoisie cannot be expected to let Austria become a Russian province and it is certain that the French people will not calmly look on while the counter-revolution comes closer and closer to attacking them. Whatever the outcome of the French elections,378 the army at any rate has declared for the revolution. And the army today is the decisive force. If the army wants war—and it does want it—then war it will be.

War will come. Paris is on the threshold of revolution, whether as a result of the elections or of the army's fraternisation with the revolutionary party at the ballot-box. While in Southern Germany the core of a German revolutionary army is being formed, which prevents Prussia from taking an active part in the Hungarian campaign, France is on the point of playing an active role in the struggle. A few weeks, perhaps even a few days, will decide everything, and soon the French, the Magyar-Polish, and the German revolutionary armies will celebrate their fraternisation on the battlefield before the walls of Berlin.379

Written by Engels on May 18, 1849

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 301, May 19, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper
Cologne, May 18. "To my people!"\textsuperscript{a} Not—"To my glorious army!"\textsuperscript{380} Have the Russians perhaps been defeated? Has the wind shifted and once again, as in March of last year, knocked the military cap from the head of the "unweakened" servant of Russia? Are the "loyal subjects", living under a state of siege, once more in full rebellion?

When in 1813 the old "monarch of blessed memory"\textsuperscript{b} likewise derived from the advance of the Cossacks the necessary courage to shake off his abject cowardly role and the bloody punishments of the revolutionary empire, then—in spite of the Cossacks, Bashkirs and the "glorious army" made famous by battles at Jena and Magdeburg and by the surrender of Küstrin to 150 Frenchmen—it was only the lying promises of an "Appeal to My People"\textsuperscript{381} which made possible the crusade of the Holy Alliance against the successors to the French revolution. And now! Has not the reinvigorated Hohenzollern, as a result of the incursion of the Cossacks into German territory, obtained sufficient courage to renounce his cowardly role of the post-March period and to cancel the "scrap of paper interposed between him and his people" owing to the revolution?\textsuperscript{382} Has not "My glorious army" in Dresden, Breslau, Posen, Berlin, and on the Rhine, worthily wreaked vengeance on the revolution by the valiant slaughter of unarmed men, women and children with shrapnel and caustic?\textsuperscript{383}

Have not the last cowardly concessions made in March—abolition of censorship, freedom of association, arming of the people—once

\begin{itemize}
  \item[a] Appeal issued by Frederick William IV on May 15, 1849.—\textit{Ed.}
  \item[b] Frederick William III.—\textit{Ed.}
\end{itemize}
more been abolished by the recently imposed martial-law Constitution, "even apart from the state of siege"?

No, the son of the hero of Jena and Magdeburg still does not feel safe enough in spite of the alliance with the Cossacks, in spite of the privileges in regard to murder and courts martial afforded to the uncurbed "glorious" military horde. The unweakened Crown is afraid, it appeals "To my people", it "feels compelled" to address an appeal for help and support against "internal and external enemies" to the downtrodden besieged "people" which has been battered by grape-shot.

"In these difficult times, Prussia is called upon to protect Germany against internal and external enemies. Therefore, I call My people to arms already now. It is a matter of establishing law and order in our state and in the other German states where our help is required; it is a matter of creating Germany's unity, of protecting her freedom from the rule of terror of a party that is ready to sacrifice morality, honour and loyalty to its passions, a party which has succeeded in casting a net of delusion and folly over a section of the people."

"That is the gist of the royal address," exclaims the filthy police agent Dumont, and the venal police claqueurs of Dumont have indeed discovered the "gist".

"External enemies"! By that is meant the "party of terror", the party which terrifies the valiant Hohenzollern, the party which demands our interference in the "other German states". The people of the Rhine Province, Silesia and Saxony are called upon "in the name of German unity" to put an end to the revolutionary movements in the foreign German states of Baden, Bavaria, and Saxony! And to this end the bait with which the Hohenzollern gladdened the hearts of the people in 1813 is repeated, the well-tried "royal word" is pledged once again, promising the "people" a castrated recognition of the Frankfurt Constitution, promising them the "protection of law and liberty" against "godlessness". "I and My house wish to serve the lord." Is the well-tried pledge of a "Hohenzollern's royal word" not worth a crusade against the "party which terrifies the Crown that promises so much"?

The powerful subordinate kniaz of imperial Russia recalled the Prussian deputies from Frankfurt only in order now, in accordance with his March promises, to put himself "at the head of Germany". The Agreement Assembly and the imposed Chamber were dismissed, the "scrap of paper" was replaced by a martial-law Constitution and murderous military courts solely in order to guarantee the people the "protection of law and liberty!"

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a See this volume, pp. 440-46.— Ed.
b "Die Ansprache des Königs", Kölnische Zeitung No. 118, May 18, 1849.— Ed.
And freedom of the press has been suppressed, censorship has been imposed on the press in Erfurt, newspapers are directly banned throughout Posen, in Breslau, in the Silesian provincial towns, and even the National-Zeitung in Berlin. In Düsseldorf censorship has been re-introduced de jure, but the press has been totally abolished de facto (the Düsseldorf newspapers, the Neue Rheinische Zeitung etc.), and finally only the police cesspool of the Kölnische Zeitung and the rascally newspaper in Berlin\(^a\) were imposed on the “free” subjects. All this has been done so that there should not be the slightest doubt about the value of the “royal word”.

And the word of the Hohenzollern does indeed merit that the people don military uniforms to strengthen the royal courage so as to procure—under the army reserve law—a royal bounty of one taler monthly for the wives they leave behind as a “safeguard against begging”.

Written on May 18, 1849
First published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 301, May 19, 1849

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

\(^a\) Neue Preussische Zeitung (Kreuz-Zeitung).— Ed.
Finally we warn you against any revolt in Cologne. In the military situation obtaining in Cologne you would be irretrievably lost. You have seen in Elberfeld that the bourgeoisie sends the workers into the fire and betrays them afterwards in the most infamous way. A state of siege in Cologne would demoralise the entire Rhine Province, and a state of siege would be the inevitable consequence of any rising on your part at this moment. The Prussians will be frustrated by your calmness.

In bidding you farewell the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* thank you for the sympathy you have shown them. Their last word everywhere and always will be: **emancipation of the working class!**

**The Editorial Board of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung**

Written on May 18, 1849

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 301, May 19, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper
Abschiedswort der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung.


F. FREI G R A T H.
KARL MARX
and
FREDERICK ENGELS
ARTICLES AND STATEMENTS
May-July 1849
Karl Marx

LETTER
TO THE FRANKFURTER JOURNAL

The esteemed Editorial Board of the Frankfurter Journal is requested to print the following statement in its newspaper in large type and in a prominent position, and if this is only possible on payment for its insertion, please obtain the amount from Herr J. Weydemeyer, editor of the Neue Deutsche Zeitung.

Bingen, May 31

Dr. Karl Marx

STATEMENT

The Editorial Board of the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" owes its correspondents and the public the statement that it has nothing in common with the news-sheet published in Cologne under the title Westdeutsche Zeitung. The undersigned editorial board reserves to itself the right to communicate further when and where the Neue Rheinische Zeitung will again make its appearance.

The Editorial Board of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung
Karl Marx, Ernst Dronke, Friedrich Engels, F. Freiligrath, Georg Weerth, F. Wolff, W. Wolff

The Statement was published in the Neue Deutsche Zeitung Nos. 129 and 133, June 2 and 7, 1849; and in the Neue Kölnische Zeitung No. 126 (second edition), June 3, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper text checked against the manuscript; the covering letter is printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time
Frederick Engels

[THE REVOLUTIONARY UPRISING IN THE PALATINATE AND BADEN] 387

Kaiserslautern, June 2. The counter-revolutionary German newspapers try in every way to cast suspicion on the revolution in the Palatinate and Baden. They are not ashamed to assert that the trend of the entire uprising is tantamount "to betraying" the Palatinate, Baden and, indirectly, the whole of Germany "to the French". They thereby seek to conjure up afresh the counter-revolutionary hatred of the French stemming from the so-called good old times, believing that in this way they will be able to deprive us of the sympathy of our brothers in North and East Germany. The filthy, lying newspapers which accuse the Palatinate and Baden of having sold themselves to France happen, however, to be precisely those which are in favour of the Russian invasion of Hungary, the Russians' march through Prussia, and even the new Holy Alliance 388 between Russia, Austria and Prussia. As proof of this, we name only one of these newspapers: the Kölnische Zeitung.

Thus, the fact that the Russians march into German, into Prussian, territory in order to suppress Hungarian freedom is no betrayal of the country! If the King of Prussia 4 concludes an alliance with the Croats and the Russians in order that the last remnants of German freedom shall be trampled under the hooves of Cossack horses, that is no betrayal of the country! If all of us, if the whole of Germany from the Niemen to the Alps is sold by cowardly despots to the Russian Emperor, 4 that is no betrayal of the country! But if the Palatinate enjoys the sympathy of the French and especially of the

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a Frederick William IV.—Ed.
b Nicholas I.—Ed.
Alsatian people, if it does not out of foolish self-conceit reject the expression of this sympathy, if it sends persons to Paris to obtain information about the state of feeling in France and about the new turn which will take place in the policy of the French Republic—\(^{589}\)—that is indeed betrayal of the country, that is high treason, and means selling Germany to France, to the "hereditary enemy", to the "enemy of the Empire". That is how the counter-revolutionary newspapers argue.

It is true, gentlemen "by the grace of God", that the Palatinate and Baden did all this and neither of them will be ashamed of its actions. Of course, if that is betrayal of the country, then the entire people of the Palatinate and Baden consists of two-and-a-half million traitors to their country. The people of the Palatinate and Baden did certainly not make a revolution in order to support the despots in the imminent great struggle between the free West and the despotic East. The people of the Palatinate, and those of Baden, made their revolution because they do not want to share the guilt of the despicable acts in the destruction of freedom by which Austria, Prussia and Bavaria have so shamefully distinguished themselves in recent months, and because they have not allowed themselves to be misused for the enslavement of their brothers. The army of the Palatinate and Baden joined the movement without reservations; it disclaimed loyalty to the perfidious sovereigns and has to a man sided with the people. Neither the citizens nor the soldiers want to fight in the ranks of the Croats and Cossacks against freedom. If the despots of Olmütz, Berlin and Munich still find soldiers who have sunk so deep as to put themselves on a level with Bashkirs, Pandours,\(^{390}\) Croats and similar predatory rabble, and to fight under the same flag as such hordes of barbarians, so much the worse. It may occasion us sorrow, but we shall never treat such mercenaries as German brothers; we shall treat them as Cossacks and Bashkirs, and it will not worry us if a treacherous imperial ex-Minister of War stands at their head.\(^{391}\)

But at the present time when we are on the threshold of a European war, a *people's war*, it is altogether ludicrous to speak of "betrayal of the country" and similar accusations smacking of demagogue\(^{392}\) hunting. In a few weeks, perhaps even in a few days, the huge armies of the republican West and the enslaved East will advance against each other to fight out a great struggle on German soil. Germany—to such lengths has she been brought by her sovereigns and the bourgeois—Germany will not be asked at all for her permission. Germany does not want the war, the war will be brought into this country without its consent and it will be unable to
prevent it. Such is the glorious position of Germany in relation to the imminent European war, thanks to the March rulers, the March Chambers, and not least to the March National Assembly. There can be no talk of German interests, of German freedom, of German unity, of German welfare, when it is a question of the freedom or enslavement, of the weal or woe, of the whole of Europe. Here all questions of nationality cease, here there is only one question! Do you want to be free, or do you want to be Russian? And in this situation the counter-revolutionary newspapers still talk of “betrayal of the country”, as if there was still anything that could be betrayed in relation to the Germany that will soon enough be abandoned to the two contending armies as an inert arena! It is true that last year things were different. Last year the Germans could have undertaken the struggle against Russian oppression, could have liberated the Poles and so waged the war on Russian territory and at Russia's expense. Now, on the contrary, thanks to our sovereigns, the war will be waged on our soil, and at our expense; as matters stand now, the European war of liberation is for Germany at the same time a civil war in which Germans fight against Germans.

We owe that to the treachery of our sovereigns and the supineness of our people's representatives, and if anything is betrayal of the country, it is that! In short, in the great struggle for freedom which is spreading through the whole of Europe, the Palatinate and Baden will stand on the side of freedom against slavery, of revolution against counter-revolution, of the people against the sovereigns, of revolutionary France, Hungary and Germany against absolutist Russia, Austria, Prussia and Bavaria; and if the wailers\textsuperscript{393} call that betrayal of the country, in the whole of the Palatinate and the whole of Baden nobody cares two hoots about it.

Written on June 2, 1849
First published in Der Bote für Stadt und Land No. 110, June 3, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
You are sufficiently acquainted with the Paris population to realise 
\textit{a priori} the absurdity of the accusation of cowardice. Nevertheless, I 
can understand that in Germany especially the day of June 13 
remains completely enigmatic and is bound to give rise to all kinds of 
misinterpretations.

The chief actor in the drama of June 13 was not the \textit{people}, but the 
"Mountain". Behind the "Mountain", it is true, there was in turn a 
secret committee,\footnote{Changarnier, who had taken all 
necessary measures, was clever enough not to allow the alarm to be 
sounded. As if by magic, it was suddenly seen that all decisive points} 
which pushed matters forward and more or less compelled Ledru-Rollin to play that particular role.

The chief error of the "Mountain" was its \textit{certainty of being victorious}. It was so sure of this that it believed everything could be 
achieved by a peaceful demonstration. Thus it afforded the 
Government the opportunity of defeating it without having to strike 
a blow against it. The procession which made its way from Château 
d’eau through the boulevards was entirely unarmed. The Govern-
ment, for its part, being fully informed on all details by its spies, had 
quietly and unnoticed arranged for all important points to be 
occupied by the National Guard, sharpshooters from Vincennes and 
other troops. The procession was completely encircled and even if it 
had been armed could not have offered any resistance. How much 
less could it do so, being unarmed! Changarnier, who had taken all 

\begin{flushright}
Karl Marx
\end{flushright}

\textbf{THE 13th OF JUNE}\footnote{Changarnier, who had taken all necessary measures, was clever enough not to allow the alarm to be sounded. As if by magic, it was suddenly seen that all decisive points}
were occupied by troops. You can therefore understand that the
unarmed masses quickly dispersed in order to get weapons, but even
the arms depots which had been prepared in advance for the
eventuality of an uprising were found to have been seized by the
Government and put under military guard. The uprising was thus
outwitted.

That is the whole secret of this unprecedented day in the history of
the French revolution. You may perhaps have read in the German
newspapers of barricades which were said to have been easily
captured. These barricades consisted of nothing but a few chairs
which were thrown on to the street in order to halt for a moment the
cavalry which were attacking unarmed people with their sabres.

In addition, there were some other circumstances which made the
shameful outcome of June 13 inevitable.

At the very moment when Ledru-Rollin and his colleagues in the
Conservatoire des Arts were occupied with constituting them-
selves as the Provisional Government, the secret socialist committee
was engaged on the same task. It wanted to constitute itself as the
Commune. Hence, even before the existing power was overthrown,
the uprising had already split into two camps, and the important
thing is that the People’s Party was not the party of the “Mountain”.
This fact alone explains a great deal. The secret committee had
wanted to start the outbreak already some days previously and by
night. In that way the Government would have been taken by
surprise. But the “Mountain” and the “Friends of the Constitution”
(the party of the National) allied with it were opposed to this.
They wanted to have the initiative in their hands. Ledru-Rollin’s
speech in the Chamber was to be the pledge that the “Mountain”
had decided on serious action. Thus on the one hand, those
advocating immediate vigorous action were frustrated and prepara-
tions were made for a peaceful demonstration. On the other hand,
the people who saw that Ledru-Rollin had so strikingly committed
himself in the National Assembly, believed he possessed immense
connections within the army and a profoundly conceived and
far-reaching plan etc. How surprised, therefore, they must have
been when it became obvious that Ledru-Rollin’s power was a mere
illusion and that precautionary measures and preparations for an
attack had been taken only by the Government. Thus you see how
the two revolutionary parties paralysed and deluded each other. The
people’s recollections of the more than ambiguous behaviour of the
“Mountain” and of Ledru-Rollin in particular during May and
June, and finally the cholera, which raged especially in the
working-class districts, did the rest. Taken as a whole, June 13, 1849
is only the retaliation for June 1848. On that occasion the proletariat was deserted by the “Mountain”, this time the “Mountain” was deserted by the proletariat.

However grievous June 13 is bound to be for our party throughout Europe, the good thing about that day is that, with the exception of Lyons, the counter-revolutionary party in the National Assembly arrived at sole power without much bloodshed. That party will not only disintegrate, its extreme faction will soon reach a point when it will seek to discard even the irksome semblance of the Republic, and then you will see how it will be blown away with a single breath and there will be a repetition of the February, but on a higher level.

K. M.x.

Written on June 21, 1849

First published in the newspaper Der Volksfreund No. 26, June 29, 1849.

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time
Your item published in La Presse of July 26 concerning my stay in Paris, which has been reprinted word for word by other newspapers, contains such erroneous assertions that I am compelled to write a few lines in reply.

In the first place, the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, of which I was the owner and editor-in-chief, was never banned. Its publication was suspended only for five days because of the state of siege. When the state of siege was lifted, the newspaper reappeared, and continued to appear during the following seven months. Since the Prussian Government could not see any possibility of legally prohibiting the newspaper it had recourse to a strange measure: It got rid of the owner, that is to say, it forbade me to reside in Prussia. As regards the legality of this measure, this will be decided by the Prussian Chamber of Deputies which is shortly to meet.

After being forbidden to stay in Prussia, I went first of all to the Grand Duchy of Hesse, in which—as in other parts of Germany—I was not forbidden to reside. I did not go to Paris as a refugee, as your newspaper asserts, but of my own accord with a regular passport and with the sole aim of collecting additional material for my work on the history of political economy, which I had begun already five years earlier.

\[a\] Émile de Girardin.—\textit{Ed.}

\[b\] See this volume, p. 451.—\textit{Ed.}
Neither was I ordered to leave Paris immediately; on the contrary, I was given time to address a complaint to the Minister of the Interior. This complaint has been handed in and I now await the result.

Kindly accept etc.,

Dr. K. Marx

Written about July 27, 1849
First published in the newspaper La Presse, July 30, 1849
Printed according to the newspaper
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first time

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a J. A. S. Dufaure.—Ed.
Frederick Engels

REPUDIATION

It has come to the ears of the undersigned, who served in Willich's volunteer corps during the campaign in the Palatinate and Baden, that the following accusations are being made against that corps:

1) Willich's corps is said to have deserted Becker's in the Black Forest;

2) it is said not to have acknowledged Becker as commander-in-chief;

3) it is said to have crossed into Switzerland whilst Becker's corps was still eight German miles behind.

As regards the first accusation, let the following facts speak for themselves: Willich was positioned in Furtwangen with orders to hold the Simonswalder Thal and the defiles leading to the Höllenthal. He advanced the larger part of his troops over the mountains towards Simonswald and St. Märgen. Becker was positioned in Triberg and St. Georgen, on Willich's right. To our great astonishment Becker suddenly appeared in Furtwangen with his whole corps. He explained this strange manoeuvre to Willich by saying that the troops stationed in Triberg had left their posts in defiance of their officers and he himself had gone after them, from St. Georgen, to persuade them to re-occupy Triberg. And in fact Becker and his corps did march off again towards evening. Meanwhile Willich went to headquarters in Donaueschingen to see how matters stood. The enemy, who had broken through to Villingen by crossing Württemberg, had already reconnoitred the territory up the road. In Donaueschingen it was first of all intended to take up a position near Hüfingen, an hour's march further back;

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a In the manuscript the word "German" is written in pencil. For the "German mile" see footnote on p. 20.—Ed.
later, however, it was decided to retreat to the Swiss frontier and defend the Wutachthal. As soon as this decision was taken, Willich sent two dispatches to Furtwangen. From there the information was passed first to Becker and only then to Willich’s companies, which were in advanced positions, although along the difficult mountain tracks it would take longer to reach the latter. By the time Willich’s corps had assembled in Furtwangen, Becker could therefore also have arrived there. Willich himself went as far as Neustadt to meet his corps, and there he delayed departure until the arrival of two companies from Becker’s corps. From Bondorf he sent another dispatch to Becker notifying him that the enemy was already advancing well towards Lenzkirch and that the route through Bondorf was therefore to be preferred. And Becker did in fact take this route and reached Tiengen with his whole corps without being attacked, whilst Willich with one company and four cannon faced the enemy first forming the rearguard based on Stühlingen and later the right flank at Ofteringen and Wutöschingen. It is clear that there can be no question of any “desertion” here.

The second accusation refers to the fact that the captain of one of Willich’s companies stationed in Furtwangen refused to leave the post where Willich had stationed him and to march with Becker. He acted rightly. Willich’s corps had formed voluntarily and had put itself voluntarily under Willich’s command. It consisted exclusively of men who knew what they were fighting for. It is self-evident that such a corps ceases to exist if it is broken up and dispersed. Furthermore, Willich had been specifically ordered to hold this position with his corps, and the withdrawal of the company in question would have thwarted all his arrangements.

The third accusation has even less foundation. It is public knowledge that at the last council of war held in Jestetten Becker advocated crossing on to Swiss soil, whereas Willich was for continuing the struggle. It is public knowledge that from Tiengen Becker marched with the main part of the army to Baltersweil while Willich covered his retreat with 350 men and four cannon near Erzingen, and from Baltersweil to Jestetten whilst Willich occupied the position the army had vacated at Baltersweil. It is public knowledge that Willich remained for a further 24 hours with his corps in this position—the artillery had already left him—whilst Siegel crossed into Switzerland at Räfz and Becker a few hours later at Rheinau; that we only left the position after facing the enemy outposts for several hours without being attacked; that we spent that

\[\text{In the manuscript: “Lenzkirch”—evidently a slip of the pen.—Ed.}\]
night still bivouacking on German soil and only entered Swiss territory the following morning—a—the last to do so.

It is by no means our purpose to become involved in the unedifying disputes which have broken out between the various leaders of the Baden army. We merely ask that false reports should not be circulated about our corps and our leaders.

Canton Vaud, July 26, 1849

Koehler, Captain

Written by Engels on July 26, 1849
First published in the Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung No. 2, 1967
Printed according to the manuscript
Published in English for the first time

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a July 12, 1849.—Ed.

b The words "Koehler, Captain" are written in pencil and not in the same handwriting as the manuscript as a whole.—Ed.
APPENDICES
REPORT ON MARX'S EXPULSION
SENT BY THE COLOGNE GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES
TO THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR
VON MANTEUFFEL

Meanwhile Marx is still staying here, although furnished with neither residence permit nor card, and the newspaper of which he is editor continues with its destructive tendencies, deriding and ridiculing all that men normally respect and hold sacred, and urging the overthrow of the existing constitution and the establishment of a social republic, and its effects are all the more damaging since its impertinence and humour constantly attract new readers.

The earlier investigation into his affairs resulted in his acquittal, as did the one subsequently opened against him for direct incitement to rebellion.407

The commandant of the local fortress has now called on the police authorities to expel Marx from here as a dangerous person. We enclose the application in question, along with the report of the Police Superintendent, and we can only concur with the latter's view that his expulsion from this town without his simultaneous removal from the Prussian state would achieve nothing; nor do we see any objection to proceeding forthwith with Marx's expulsion if he gives any specific cause. Whether on the other hand it would be expedient to expel him at the present moment merely on the grounds of the dangerous tendencies of the newspaper which he has been editing in like manner for some considerable period, appears to be more doubtful. It is possible that taking such a step might provoke a demonstration by the democratic party in sympathy with Marx. For this reason and because the Royal Ministry of the Interior had

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a Geiger. See also this volume, pp. 496-97.— Ed.
previously seen fit in its directive of August 12\textsuperscript{a} last to take note of the measures we have taken regarding Marx,\textsuperscript{408} we consider it necessary to assure ourselves of Your Excellency's agreement as to the expulsion of Marx from the state before proceeding.

Written on March 10, 1849

First published in the \textit{Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt} No. 176, June 27, 1913

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

\textsuperscript{a} Presumably a slip of the pen; it should read September 12.—\textit{Ed}.
INVITATION
OF THE DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION IN SOLINGEN
TO MARX, FREILIGRATH, ENGELS, SCHAPPER
AND WOLFF

Solingen, March 11, 1849

To Herr Karl Marx, Editor-in-Chief
of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung,
Cologne

Dear Citizen,

In accordance with the decision of a general meeting of the Democratic Association here, a grand democratic banquet will be held here on the 18th inst. to celebrate the anniversary of the March revolution of last year.

Because of your devotion to this cause, we take the liberty of inviting you to participate in this festival, together with citizens Freiligrath, Engels, Schapper and Wolff, and ask you to be so good as to inform them, in the hope that you will respond to our invitation.

With our democratic fraternal greetings,

On behalf of the Festival Committee,

H. Schaeffer

P. S. In addition, we ask you to publish the accompanying announcement in the Wednesday issue of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung and to collect the payment for the insertion through the post-office from the undersigned.

On behalf of the above-named Committee,

H. Schaeffer


Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time
Cologne, March 20. Yesterday evening a banquet was held in Gürzenich to mark the anniversary of last year's barricade battles in Berlin. Whereas even at the bourgeois concert of March 18 "to celebrate the promise" of a Constitution etc. etc., the biggest hall of our city was fairly well filled; yesterday there was not room enough to hold half the public streaming towards it. While 5,000-6,000 persons stood crowded in the hall side by side, several thousand more tried in vain to get in. The hall had filled so rapidly that even a number of speakers succeeded only after 9 o'clock in forcing their way through.

Karl Schapper was in the chair and opened the meeting with a toast to the sovereign people, the sole source of all legal power. Further toasts were drunk as follows: H. Becker: to the memory of those who died on March 18 and 19; Citizen Wachter: to the improvement of the German Michel; Citizen Weyl: to the complete revolution, not an incomplete one; Citizen Rittinghausen: to the downfall of the German Emperor; C. Cramer: to the democratic women present at our banquet; W. Wolff, editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung: to the Italian republics; F. Drouke, editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung: to the proletarian revolution; P. Nothjung: to the victory of the Magyars and Kossuth; H. Bürgers, editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung: to the overthrow of Austria; F. Wolff, editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung: to the accused on trial in Bourges; F. Engels, editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung: to the June insurgents in Paris; K. Schapper: to the English Chartists and their revolutionary leaders, Ernest Jones and G. J. Harney; Carl Cramer: to the Poles; Chr. Esser, editor of the Arbeiter-Zeitung: to the Red Republic.

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* i.e. the newspaper Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit.—Ed.
The banquet, which went off entirely peacefully and orderly, concluded at about 11 p.m. with unanimous cheers for the Red Republic. In contrast to the concert held by the wailers, in Gürzenich on March 18, we are glad to note that never before has there been a festival in Cologne which has brought together such a numerous and at the same time so judicious a public as that at the banquet held yesterday evening under the auspices of the red flag.

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

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time
LETTER
FROM THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR
VON MANTEUFFEL TO THE OBERPRÄSIDENT
OF THE RHINE PROVINCE, HERR EICHMANN,
TOGETHER WITH A COPY OF THE INSTRUCTIONS
REGARDING THE EXPULSION OF MARX
SENT TO THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES
IN COLOGNE

To the Royal Oberpräsident,
His Honour Herr Eichmann,
at Coblenz

In response to the courteous communication of 29th ult. from
Your Honour regarding the expulsion of Dr. Carl Marx, I have today
dispatched the instructions to the Royal Government Authorities in
Cologne, a copy of which I enclosed herewith for your information.

At the same time I grant Your Honour full discretion to issue the
appropriate instructions to the said Government Authorities con-
cerning those points which you most particularly wish to see
observed in case of the expulsion of the aforesaid Marx.

Berlin, April 7, 1849
The Minister of the Interior

v. Manteuffel

Copy

To the Royal Government Authorities at Cologne

Consequent upon the report of 10th ult., a for which the
supporting documents are returned enclosed, I would reply to the
Royal Government Authorities that I for my part see no objection to
the proposed expulsion of Dr. Carl Marx, who is no longer a subject
of this polity. The Royal Government Authorities however need no

a See this volume, pp. 487-88.—Ed.
special authorisation to this end; indeed it must be left to the latter to judge whether there is sufficient cause for such a step. It would seem desirable, it is true, to proceed with the expulsion of the aforesaid Marx on the direct occasion of a specific, unequivocal offence on his part; however, such an occasion is unlikely to be wanting, since, as I am informed, he has very recently once again evoked grave suspicion of treasonable activities endangering the state.\textsuperscript{412}

Accordingly I simply leave the decision as to further action to the discretion of the Royal Government Authorities, and look forward to receiving a fuller account of the issue of the affair in due course.

Berlin, April 7, 1849

The Minister of the Interior

signed v. Manteuffel

First published in the \textit{Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft}, Berlin, 1969, No. 5

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time
DECISIONS OF THE GENERAL MEETING
OF THE COLOGNE WORKERS' ASSOCIATION
HELD ON APRIL 16, 1849

The meeting unanimously resolves:

1. To withdraw from the Union of Democratic Associations of Germany and to join instead the Union of German Workers' Associations, the Central Committee of which is in Leipzig.\textsuperscript{414}

2. With the aim of a closer union of the purely social party, to authorise the Committee of the Workers' Association to convene in Cologne a provincial congress of all Workers' Associations of the Rhineland and Westphalia, prior to the holding of the general Workers' Congress in Leipzig.\textsuperscript{4}

3. To send delegates to the Congress of Workers' Associations of Germany which will take place shortly in Leipzig.

First published in the newspaper \textit{Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit} No. 22, April 22, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

\textsuperscript{a} See this volume, p. 495.---\textit{Ed.}
FROM THE MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE COLOGNE WORKERS' ASSOCIATION HELD ON APRIL 17, 1849

...5. In accordance with the decision of yesterday's general meeting: To convene here on the first Sunday in May a congress of representatives of all the Workers' Associations of the Rhineland and Westphalia.

For the implementation of this decision, the Committee appoints a provisional provincial committee of six members, consisting of citizens K. Marx, W. Wolff, K. Schapper, Anneke, Esser and Otto, and calls upon it to send invitations, with a statement of reasons, to the Associations concerned....

First published in the newspaper *Freiheit, Brüderschaft, Arbeit*. No. 22, April 22, 1849.

Printed according to the newspaper. 

Published in English for the first time.
LETTER
FROM THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES
IN COLOGNE TO THE OBERPRÄSIDENT
OF THE RHINE PROVINCE, HERR EICHMANN,
REGARDING THE EXPULSION OF MARX

Cologne, April 19, 1849
re. No. 2474

To the Royal Oberpräsident of the Rhine Province
His Honour Herr Eichmann,
at Coblenz

We have the honour to communicate to Your Honour a copy, enclosed, of the order issued to the local Police Superintendent relating to the expulsion of the writer Carl Marx, in execution of the directive of 13th inst.

Royal Government
Department of the Interior
Birck Wenzel

To the Royal Police Superintendent
Herr Geiger, in Cologne

Following your report of 1st ult., for which the supporting documents are returned enclosed, we decided to ask the Minister of the Interior concerning the expulsion of Dr. C. Marx, informing him at the same time that although we were in no doubt that his
expulsion from the state should be carried out forthwith if he gives any specific cause, but that on the other hand it was more doubtful whether his expulsion should take place merely on the grounds of the dangerous tendencies of the newspaper which he has been editing in like manner for some considerable period.\textsuperscript{a} We hereby send you for your information a copy of the Minister's instructions of 7th inst.,\textsuperscript{b} as communicated to us, and instruct you to arrange and carry out the expulsion of the aforesaid Marx from the state when direct cause is next given for such action by an unequivocal offence on the part of the aforesaid Marx. We would furthermore observe that we have no knowledge of the allegations which, as we are informed by the Minister, have quite recently brought upon the aforesaid Marx the grave suspicion of treasonable activities endangering the state,\textsuperscript{415} and request you to apprise us forthwith of whatever knowledge you may have of them, so that we may determine whether to proceed with the expulsion on those grounds.

Cologne, April 19, 1849

Royal Government  
Department of the Interior  
(signed) Birck  
Copy signed Perker

First published in the Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft, Berlin, 1969, No. 5  
Printed according to the manuscript  
Published in English for the first time

\textsuperscript{a} See this volume, p. 451.— \textit{Ed.}  
\textsuperscript{b} See this volume, pp. 492-93.— \textit{Ed.}
1. Considering that in the newspaper Freiheit, Arbeit Dr. Gottschalk describes Citizen Karl Marx as a friend and co-thinker of Franz Raveaux, deputy of the Assembly in Frankfurt, whereas Citizen Marx stated at the committee meeting of February 8 that, although at present he supported the candidature of Raveaux and Schneider II, he was a long way from agreeing with these persons in principle; that, on the contrary, the first named precisely during the period when he was most prominent was mercilessly attacked in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung; but that at the present moment there could be no question of red democrats and colourless democrats, since for the time being the main thing was to oppose the absolute monarchy, and to achieve this aim both red and colourless democrats would have to unite against the wailers;

2. furthermore, that Dr. Gottschalk took the opportunity of the Democratic Congress in Frankfurt to state that he was able to utilise the Cologne workers just as much for a red monarchy as for a red republic, thus alleging that the workers themselves were merely a machine blindly obedient to him;

3. that the attacks against Raveaux in the above-mentioned newspaper are of a very base, malicious nature because they make his bodily infirmity a subject of reproach and call it a sham;

4. that the other attacks in the newspaper are for the most part wholly without foundation, and owing to their silliness are not even worth refuting, but nevertheless betray petty hatred and spite and the base, malicious character of their author;

5. that Dr. Gottschalk after his acquittal had a plan, about which he spoke to a number of members of the Workers' Association, to re-organise the Workers' Association and for this purpose to place
himself (as president), together with five others chosen by him as committee members, at the head of the Association, this betrays a despotic frame of mind and conflicts with the most elementary democratic principles;

6. that in attempting to set up such a new organisation he has deserted the party of the real proletarians, and has thrown himself into the arms of the petty bourgeois by desiring to raise the monthly subscriptions of members to five silver groschen;

7. that Dr. Gottschalk made changes in the newspaper of the Association, as a result of which its publication was interrupted for fourteen days, without having been authorised to do so by the Association, in fact without even giving any direct notice of this to the Association or its Executive Committee; this is a violation of the rights of the Association that is totally unjustifiable and because of Dr. Gottschalk’s departure shortly afterwards, it even cannot be defended on the grounds of necessity or urgent reasons;

8. that Dr. Gottschalk, after his acquittal, instead of fulfilling the expectations of the Cologne workers and resuming his previous progressive activity among them, to the astonishment of all went away without saying a single word of farewell to them or thanking them for their loyal support;

9. that Dr. Gottschalk, owing to excessive sensitivity, went into exile of his own accord, and from Brussels he issued a declaration which certainly could not serve in the least to explain or justify his behaviour, since in it he, a republican, speaks of his being called back either by “the hitherto supreme arbiter in the country” or by “the voice of the people”, therefore considering the supreme arbiter to be something other than the voice of the people as a whole; that by the supreme arbiter in this passage he could only have meant the King, thereby putting himself directly on the side of the legitimists and monarchists; that, on the other hand, in this declaration he once again mocks the people by expecting that it would call back someone who acknowledges and appeals to a supreme arbiter other than the voice of the people itself; that he plays the part here of the most ignoble type of time-server, seeking to keep a path open for himself to both the King and the people;

10. that Dr. Gottschalk has not deigned to give any reply to the request of the Workers’ Association that he should explain his so-called declaration, a declaration which is incomprehensible, and especially that he should state what he understands by “the hitherto supreme arbiter”;

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a Frederick William IV.—Ed.
11. that Dr. Gottschalk, without being called back by anyone, nevertheless returned to Germany, whereby the whole story of his voluntary banishment is dissipated into thin air and is bound to seem a badly calculated electoral manoeuvre, bearing in mind that in the meantime his brothers and friends have been working very actively for his election to the Berlin Assembly;

Considering all this, branch No. 1 of the Cologne Workers' Association declares:

that it in no way approves of Dr. Gottschalk's behaviour after his acquittal by the jury at the trial here, and that it emphatically and indignantly repudiates the imputation that the Workers' Association would allow itself to be misused in the interests of a red monarchy or misled by spiteful personal attacks on individuals, or permit a president with a subservient committee to be foisted on it, or call back a voluntary exile who, in order to be redeemed, appeals for clemency simultaneously to the King and to the people, or in general to allow any individual whoever he may be, to treat the Workers' Association as if it consisted of stupid boys.

First published in the newspaper Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit No. 24, April 29, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit No. 24, April 29, 1849

Published in English for the first time
DECISIONS OF THE GENERAL MEETING
OF THE COLOGNE WORKERS' ASSOCIATION
HELD ON APRIL 23, 1849

1. The general meeting will be held in future every Wednesday.
2. The provisional committee, consisting of Karl Marx, Karl Schapper, Wilhelm Wolff, Friedrich Anneke, Esser and Otto, elected by the Committee for the purpose of convening here in Cologne a congress of the Workers' Associations of the Rhineland and Westphalia, is confirmed.

First published in the newspaper Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit No. 24, April 29, 1849
Printed according to the newspaper Published in English for the first time
 REPORT ON THE CONVOCATION OF THE CONGRESS
OF WORKERS' ASSOCIATIONS

Recently, a number of its members has resigned from the district committee of the Democratic Associations of the Rhine Province, and simultaneously the Workers' Association here has announced its withdrawal from the Union of Rhenish Democratic Associations.\(^{a}\) This step is due to the conviction that, in view of the heterogeneous elements in the Associations in question, there is little to be expected from them that would be advantageous for the interests of the working class or the great mass of the people.

The more urgent, therefore, is it firmly to unite the homogeneous elements, and to bring about vigorous cooperation of all the Workers' Associations.

As the first measure for this purpose, the Workers' Association here considers it necessary to set up a provisional committee of all the Workers' Associations of the Rhine Province and Westphalia, and it appoints the undersigned as members of this committee with the task of undertaking the necessary steps to achieve the above-mentioned aim.

The provisional committee herewith invites all Workers' Associations and all other associations which, although hitherto not bearing this name, nevertheless \textit{resolutely support the principles of social democracy}, to send delegates to a provincial congress to be held on the first Sunday of next month (\textbf{May 6}).\(^{b}\)

The subjects on the agenda will be:

1. Organisation of the Rhenish-Westphalian Workers' Associations;

\(^{a}\) See this volume, pp. 282 and 494.—\textit{Ed.}  
\(^{b}\) See this volume, p. 495.—\textit{Ed.}
2. Election of delegates to the General Congress of All German Workers' Associations to be held in the month of June in Leipzig;

3. Discussion and formulation of the proposals to be sent with the delegates to the Congress in Leipzig.

Delegates elected to the preliminary Congress to be held here are requested to report their arrival, furnished with their mandates, not later than 10 a.m. on May 6 here at Simon's hotel Kranz in the Altenmarkt.

Cologne, April 24, 1849

   K. Marx (absent), W. Wolff, K. Schapper, F. Anneke, C. J. Esser, Otto

N. B. It is requested that communications by letter should be addressed to Karl Schapper, President of the Workers' Association, Unter Hutmacher No. 17.

First published in the supplement to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 282, April 26, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
The representatives of the various branches of the Association reported on their situation and activities.

The former Democratic Association in Deutz too has joined the Workers' Association in Cologne, as branch club No. 10. At the present time it consists of 230 members. [...] 

The president announced the receipt of assenting communications from Bingen, Leipzig and Mannheim. The first two of these concern the separation of the Workers' (Social) Party from the democrats; the last one thanks us for sending the article "Wage Labour and Capital" published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and promises that it will be discussed. [...] 

First published in the newspaper *Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit* No. 28, May 13, 1849
Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time  

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" Karl Schapper.— *Ed.*
MARX'S RECEIPT FOR A FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS THE PUBLISHING EXPENSES OF THE NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG

I acknowledge that I have received an advance of 50 talers from Herr von Frisch.

Dr. K. Marx,
Harburg, May 6

First published in the Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft, Berlin, 1974, No. 4
Printed according to the manuscript
Published in English for the first time
Cologne, May 6. The Congress of the Democratic Associations of the Rhine Province began early today under the chairmanship of Dr. Becker. Represented were: the Democratic Club in Aachen, the Democratic Association in Bonn, the Democratic Association in Coblenz, the Democratic-Constitutional Association in Neuwied, the Political Association in Opladen, the Democratic Association in Lamersdorf, the Democratic Association in Uckerath, the Democratic Workers' Association in Honnef, the Citizens' Association in Eupen, the Democratic Association in Plettersdorf, the Democratic Association in Lohmar, the Democratic Socialist Association in Hersel, the Democratic Readers' Association in Xanten, the Democratic Association in Kessenich, the Democratic Association in Saarburg, the Democratic Association in Burscheid, the Citizens' Association in Neuss, the Democratic Association in Siegburg, the Democratic Association in Eitorf, the Democratic Association in Winterscheidt, the Workers' Association in Lennep, the People's Association in Eschweiler, the Democratic Association in Mülheim an der Ruhr, the Democratic Association in Sieglar. (46 persons.)

The Workers' Congress, presided over by Schapper, had delegates from the Associations in Solingen, Eschweiler, Aachen (Workers' Association and Army Reserve Association), Heinsberg, Coblenz, Barmen, Ratingen, Stolberg, Eilendorf, Hamm, Münster, Kreuznach, Hersel, Honnef, Overath, Mülheim an der Ruhr, Scheiderhöhe, Königswinter, Merzenich, Bork, Wiesedorf, Bielefeld, Ems, Bonn, Cologne (Workers' Association and Cigar-makers' Association). (120 persons.)
In the afternoon the two meetings united for a joint consultation. A number of private discussions took place with the Democratic-Constitutional Associations that were in session in Deutz. Many representatives of these Associations declared that in all probability their Associations would be wholly merged in the District Federation of Democrats.

First published in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*, May 8, 1849, reprinted in the journal *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, Berlin, 1968, No. 2

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time
ENGELS' EXPULSION FROM ELBERFELD

Elberfeld, May 15. The state of affairs remains the same, calm and order was not disturbed yesterday; the appearance of the city was unaltered. Today a poster was pasted up at street corners announcing that the Committee of Public Safety has appointed a Herr von Mirbach as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces*; another announcement of the Committee declares that Herr Engels, one of the editors of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, has been expelled.3

In another poster the Committee of Public Safety decrees that everywhere only the black-red-and-gold flag is allowed to be flown, and it calls on towns and villages in the neighbourhood of Elberfeld for assistance. We learn from Essen that the army reserve men there who have returned from leave have gone to Wesel. The private letter which gave us this information adds that a state of siege has been proclaimed in Essen. According to the announcement of the colonel responsible for this action, the reason for it was that he believed he could not mobilise the army reserve in any other way.

First published in the Neue Kölnische Zeitung No. 113, May 17, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

* In this connection, we are in a position to report that Herr von Mirbach, for reasons which will later become evident, did not accept the position of Commander-in-Chief, and also that for the same reasons Herr Anneke left Elberfeld voluntarily and was not expelled, as has been reported. Dr. Gottschalk, who is supposed to have shared the fate of expulsion with Anneke, has not been in Elberfeld at all, but is living quite peacefully at Bad Ems. [Editorial note in the Neue Kölnische Zeitung.]

See this volume, p. 449.—Ed.  

Colours symbolising Germany's unity, here symbolising adherence to the imperial Constitution worked out by the Frankfurt National Assembly.—Ed.
THE DEMOCRATIC AND WORKERS' PRESS
ON MARX'S EXPULSION AND THE SUPPRESSION
OF THE NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG

TRIERSCHE ZEITUNG

Cologne, May 18.... It is rumoured that all democrats who are not domiciled in Cologne will be deported by police action; this measure is said to be primarily aimed at the editorial personnel of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. It is a fact that Karl Marx was already yesterday served with such an order. At midday yesterday, Fr. Engels left for the Rhine Palatinate.423

First published in the supplement to the Trier'sche Zeitung No. 120, May 20, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

NEUE KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG

Cologne, May 19

From out of the dark did the fatal shaft fly,
From ambush blows fell thick and fast—
So now in the flower of my manhood I lie,
A proud rebel that's breathed his last!

F. Freiligrath

"Abschiedswort der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung"

The Neue Rheinische Zeitung has ceased to exist.
Our issue therefore has a black mourning border.
The most interesting news items from south and east pale against

\footnote{“Farewell Word of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung”, first published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 301, May 19, 1849.—Ed.}
the sudden mournful tidings that the Neue Rheinische Zeitung has appeared today for the last time.

And what an appearance it has!!

Red, red, red was ever its battle-cry, but today the whole garb is red. The red print of the newspaper has greatly surprised its readers,—the spirit which once more blazes out from these breath-taking lines of print has made us profoundly lament that the newspaper has now ceased to exist!

No other newspaper can henceforth serve us as a substitute for this loss.—We shall seek in vain in the most brilliant periodicals of all countries for articles like those of the blood-stained June of 1848, nowhere shall we find again such conclusive documentation regarding the “good financial administration of Prussia”, a or the “Silesian milliard”, b or “Wage Labour and Capital”. c It must be admitted that by the glorious downfall of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung democracy in the Rhineland has suffered a reverse. We mourn—but Freiligrath’s poetry, which has attained its everlasting pinnacle in his “farewell word” today, does not leave us without consolation:

Farewell, brothers, but not forever farewell,
For the spirit they never can slay!
I’ll rise up again soon with a rattling of mail,
I’ll return better armed for the fray!

First published in the Neue Kölnische Zeitung No. 115, May 20, 1849
Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time

NEUE DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG

Cologne, May 19. The last number of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung printed in red ink has just been published here. At last it, too, has succumbed to the blows of divinely-graced Prussianism. Since the Government was unable to get at it by judicial proceedings, and in spite of all provocations it could not find a reason for imposing a state of siege, it finally had to have recourse to deporting its editor-in-chief, d and it prepared orders for the deportation or arrest

c See this volume, pp. 197-228.—Ed.
d Marx.—Ed.
of the other editors in case even that measure should not have the desired effect.—Day by day the German people will increasingly learn to appreciate the blessing which their representatives in Frankfurt intended to bestow on them by establishing a Prussian hereditary emperor.

First published in the Neue Deutsche Zeitung No. 119, May 22, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

DEUTSCHE LONDONER ZEITUNG

Cologne, May 19. The Neue Rheinische Zeitung has for the time being ceased publication; its last number today is printed entirely in red. The following order has been issued against its editor-in-chief:

“The tendency of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung to provoke in its readers contempt for the present government, and incite them to violent revolutions and the setting up of a social republic has become stronger in its latest pieces. The right of hospitality which he so disgracefully abused is therefore to be withdrawn from its editor-in-chief, Dr. Karl Marx, and since he has not obtained permission to prolong his stay in these states, he is ordered to leave them within 24 hours. If he should not comply voluntarily with this demand, he is to be forcibly conveyed across the frontier”.

“Cologne, May 11, 1849

Royal Government. Moeller

To Herr Geiger, Royal Police Superintendent, here.”

Today a poster has been pasted up in the streets of Cologne, inviting attendance at a meeting to discuss the speedy establishment of a new democratic organ.

Such, you constitutional Germans, are your new achievements!—A German, a Prussian, is expelled from Germany “because he abuses hospitality”—a newspaper is suppressed because it spoke the truth, because Prussia’s reactionary martial-law newspapers were unable to cope with the wit and stylistic acumen of the noble-minded Marx. Yes, Herr von Hohenzollern, the truth told you by the Neue Rheinische Zeitung is painful, very painful—(we shall reproduce in our next issue an article from the newspaper, “The

a See this volume, pp. 496-97.—Ed.
Deeds of the Hohenzollern Dynasty")—and when press trials, and all other acts of trickery, proved of no avail, for eight to ten times the tortures of the Prussian Inquisition came to naught in the face of the sound common sense of a Rhenish jury, recourse was had to the ultimate means—suppression of the newspaper. In vain did the bankrupt brains of Prussian reaction assail the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, they could not get at it by judicial measures. The martial-law newspapers of drunken Frederick William could not refute the exposition which Marx gave of the edicts of the hypocrite in Potsdam,\(^424\)—and worst of all was the fact that the circulation of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung increased so quickly and was so extensive, and that the paper met with universal approval.

The Hohenzollern on his throne, surrounded by “My glorious army” and with a legion of quill-drivers at his service, trembles before a single democratic newspaper; he cannot sleep in peace because it tells the naked truth —so it must be suppressed.

Things have come to such a pass with the monarchy that it has to proceed to use brute force to suppress a newspaper which, by the irrefutable pungency of its truth, threatened to give the miserable, ailing existence of the monarchy a still more wretched ending!

This is the Prussian guaranteed freedom of the press. Such is the interpretation of the Prussian Constitution—of the German Imperial Constitution!

First published in the Deutsche Londoner Zeitung No. 217, May 25, 1849
Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time

DEMOCRATIC REVIEW\(^425\)

...The German kings and princes—gore-dyed with the blood of their “subjects”,—are labouring hard for the establishment of the Red Republic. The thrice-perjured King of Prussia\(^b\) is determined to earn for himself the title of “Most Infamous”. On the 27th of April, the Prussian Chamber of Representatives was dissolved and the same evening, crowds having collected in the streets, the people were fired on and mercilessly butchered. From that time martial law has been the only law throughout Prussia, arrests are continually taking place, and the prisons are crowded. Early in May, insurrections broke out

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\(^a\) The article was reproduced in the Deutsche Londoner Zeitung No. 218, June 1, 1849.—*Ed.*

\(^b\) Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*
in the Rhine provinces. In some of the insurgent towns, the patriots have been put down, in others they have been sold by the bourgeoisie, and in others they yet maintain their stand.

That admirable journal, the *New Rhenish Gazette*, has been forcibly suppressed, and its chief editor, Dr. Marx, expelled from Cologne. The last number of the *Gazette* appeared on the 19th May, printed in red ink; it proclaimed in every line “war to the knife” against his Prussian kingship, and all the oppressors and betrayers of the German people....

First published in the journal *Democratic Review*, Vol. 1, June 1849, p. 25
Cologne, May 19. ... What has happened to the individual editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* is as follows: for his actions in Elberfeld Fr. Engels is being prosecuted like a criminal; Marx, Dronke and Weerth, since they are not Prussian subjects, have to leave Prussia; F. Wolff and W. Wolff are being threatened with judicial proceedings, the former because he has not done military service, the latter because of political offences alleged to have been committed by him earlier in the old provinces. The Court has today refused to free Korff on bail.\(^b\)

*(Düsseldorfer Zeitung)*

Reprinted in the *Deutsche Zeitung* No. 140, May 22, 1849 and the *Trier'sche Zeitung* No. 122, May 23, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper text

Published in English for the first time

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\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 447-49.—*Ed.*

\(^b\) See this volume, pp. 521-22.—*Ed.*
DEPARTURE OF EDITOR KARL MARX FROM COLOGNE

Cologne. Yesterday morning Herr Karl Marx, the former editor-in-chief of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, accompanied by some of the other editors, left Cologne and went to the region of the Upper Rhine; his activity there will be as successful as it has been here.426

First published in the Neue Kölnische Zeitung No. 116, May 22, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
Cologne, May 29. Today the police court passed sentence in a case which has been pending since September of last year concerning a charge of libelling deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly. Summoned before the court were: K. Marx, E. Dronke, G. Weerth, H. Becker, H. Korff, and the printers Dietz and Bechtold. The first three did not attend. With the exception of Korff, all were acquitted. Korff (as former responsible manager of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung) was sentenced to one month’s imprisonment and payment of one-seventh of the costs, on the charge of insulting the “comical Stedtmann”. The court very incisively rejected the accusation against Weerth in regard to Schnappahnski-Lichnowski.

First published in the Neue Deutsche Zeitung No. 128, June 1, 1849
Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
TRIAL FOR LIBELLING DEPUTIES
OF THE GERMAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Proceedings of the session of the Police Court of the Royal Provincial Court in Cologne on May 29, 1849.

The persons here listed:
Georg Weerth, writer,
Dr. Carl Marx, formerly editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung,
Joh. Wilh. Dietz, proprietor of a printing-press,
Hermann Korff, formerly responsible manager of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung,
Arnold Bechtold, foreman at the Langen printing works,
Dr. Herm. Becker, lawyer,
Dr. Ernst Dronke, writer,

were summoned as of today to answer charges of libelling deputies of the German National Assembly. Of the accused, only Dietz, Korff, Bechtold and Becker appeared; the court will therefore find against those absent in contumaciam.\(^a\)

The representative of the Public Prosecutor’s office, State Public Prosecutor Bölling, set out the substance of the indictment. G. Weerth, he said, is accused: of having libelled Prince Lichnowski in the short novel entitled Leben und Taten des berühmten Ritters Schnappahnski [Life and Deeds of the Famous Knight Schnappahnski], printed in the literary section of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung in the months of August and September last year, by imputing to him actions which, if they were true, would bring him into disrepute or render him liable for prosecution. Dr. Carl Marx is similarly accused of libelling Prince

\(^a\) In their absence.—Ed.
Lichnowski. In No. 95 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of September 6, 1848, in an article dated Breslau, August 29, Prince Lichnowski was charged with having called upon the electors of his district not to elect any town-dweller as deputy, since such a man would only work for the alleviation of municipal taxes and the increase of rural taxes. The State Public Prosecutor read out some passages from this article and sought to show that it contained insults directed at Prince Lichnowski. Dr. Marx, as editor-in-chief, was necessarily liable for the content of this article, whose author he refused to name. Korff is accused of: 1) having libelled the German National Assembly deputy, Stedtmann, in the article dated Frankfurt, September 12 contained in No. 102, p. 4, col. 4 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of September 14, 1848, by imputing to him an action which, if it were true, would bring him into disrepute; and 2) having libelled the deputies in the German National Assembly in Frankfurt who voted approval of the armistice with Denmark, by accusing them of having betrayed the nation, in the proclamation which was printed in No. 110, p. 4, col. 2 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of September 23, 1848. The two articles on which the charge is based were read out. In the first the deputy Stedtmann is specifically accused of incorporating false information in a report on a committee meeting, in the hope of being made a Minister. The indictment brought against Marx and Korff was also extended to include *Joh. Wilhelm Dietz* as printer of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The State Public Prosecutor attempted to derive his responsibility for the contentious article from Articles 25 and 26 of the imposed Constitution and from Article 60 of the Rhenish Penal Code. The indictment against Becker, Bechtold and Dronke similarly concerns libel of the deputies who voted for the armistice with Denmark. On September 20, 1848, here in the Eiser Hall a public meeting was held, at which the Malmö armistice was discussed. Dronke was a speaker at this meeting and declared that the deputies who had voted approval of that armistice had betrayed the nation. The meeting adopted this declaration and resolved to publicise it by having it printed and posted at street corners. Dr. Becker had passed the resolution in question to Bechtold for printing, and the latter had printed it.

The accused, questioned more closely by the presiding magistrate, made the following statements:

*Dietz* admitted having printed the contentious articles. He did not know who the authors were. He maintained, however, that he was not responsible for the content of those articles, since the editor and responsible manager of the newspaper were known and living in Prussia. If Dr. Marx had recently been expelled from the country,
that was not his fault; the former had in any case been resident in Cologne throughout the investigation.

*Korff* conceded he was manager of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The contentious articles were accepted with his approval. His defence counsel, barrister *Rath*, sought to demonstrate that there was no libel in the articles concerned. He named their author and maintained that as a result his client was absolved of all responsibility.

Dr. *Becker* admitted having passed to Bechtold for printing the proclamation from the Eiser Hall, which had been sent to him by a messenger-boy from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The content of the proclamation in question had however been unknown to him as he had not been present at the proceedings in the Eiser Hall on September 20. As secretary of the Democratic Association he was charged with attending to all material for printing, and that was why the manuscript had been sent to him. Moreover the proclamation had already been published by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* before he had passed the manuscript to Bechtold. The defendant declared that in certain circumstances he would be ready to assume responsibility for the contents of the proclamation. In his statement he also drew attention to the fact that the indictment had been brought at the request of the Imperial Minister of Justice. The indictment, he submitted, was not directed at specific persons but at a specific party. When he attempted to elaborate on this, the speaker was asked by the presiding magistrate, at the twice repeated instance of the State Public Prosecutor, to keep to the point at issue.

*Bechtold* admitted that he had read the manuscript received from Dr. Becker and had forwarded it for printing. His defence counsel, barrister *Pheiffer*, thereupon argued that as the author of the proclamation was known, the printer could not be punished. If the prosecution intended to adduce Article 60 of the Penal Code, it would have to demonstrate that the accused intended to libel the deputies, and the Public Prosecutor's office had not even attempted to prove this. Moreover, the proclamation did not contain a libel in the legal sense, it did not contain any specific assertion which exposed the deputies to prosecution at law, nor to hatred and contempt; it only expressed a criticism of the resolution concerning the armistice.

Hereupon the State Public Prosecutor *Bölling*, in a lengthy speech, sought to justify the indictment and to refute the arguments used by the accused in their defence. In conclusion, he asked that the accused Weerth, Marx, Dronke, and Korff should each be sentenced to a three-month term of imprisonment and to a fine of 1,000 francs, and
the remaining accused to a one-month term of imprisonment, and one-seventh of the costs to be imposed on each one of them.

Hereupon the court adjourned and after deliberations lasting about two hours pronounced judgment to the effect that Korff was sentenced to a one-month imprisonment for libelling the deputy Stedtmann, the charge against Weerth was dismissed because the accusations made in it were not specified, and the remaining accused were acquitted.

First published in the supplement to the Kölnische Zeitung No. 129, May 31, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
On May 30 the former responsible manager of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Hermann Korff, stood again before the police court, accused of having interfered in official functions and having committed an act encroaching on these functions. In an item in the supplement to No. 297 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of May 13 of this year, Korff had invited people to come to a meeting of the 14th Company of the civic militia and to enter their name on a list. Judicial proceedings were started against Korff for making this call, and he was arrested.

In the public trial the State Public Prosecutor, Bölling, sought to justify the indictment and asked for the defendant to be sentenced to a two-year term of imprisonment.

The counsel for the defence, barrister Rath, drew attention to the fact that for some time past similar items concerning the civic militia had been appearing in the local newspapers without there having been any prosecution hitherto. The accusation against Korff, he said, is utterly and completely unfounded. The convoking of the 14th Company in a tavern is not an official function, at most it is an attempt to form a company, that is to say, an attempt at exercising an official function. But assuming that the convocation in question were an official function in the legal sense, only two possibilities were then conceivable: 1) the civic militia is still in existence—and this I maintain is the position in principle; in that case Korff was entitled to convene it. The civic militia had merely been suspended in Cologne during the state of siege\(^4\); with the lifting of the state of siege, all former laws and institutions came back into force; even if not in practice, but legally the civic militia was once more in existence. Or 2) the civic militia was no longer in existence, and this is the view of the
authorities and the Public Prosecutor's office; in that case there was no official function either, and in that case the accusation is complete and utter nonsense.

After the prosecution had replied briefly to the counsel for the defence, barrister Hagen opened his address for the defendant, seeking to demonstrate that the most that could be imputed to him was a remote intention to interfere in official functions, but not in any sense an actual act, actual interference, as is required by Art. 258 of the Penal Code. The court thereupon adjourned for about a quarter of an hour to its committee room and then acquitted the defendant with neither sentence nor costs.

Despite this acquittal, Korff was taken back into custody by order of the State Public Prosecutor, since he intends to appeal against the verdict of acquittal.

First published in the supplement to the Kölnische Zeitung No. 129, May 31, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper Published in English for the first time
From the Editors
Of The Neue Kölnische Zeitung

On his departure from here, the editor-in-chief of the former Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Herr Karl Marx, has arranged that reports for the Neue Rheinische Zeitung which still continually arrive are to be handed over to the Neue Kölnische Zeitung for its use. We wish to bring this to the notice of the correspondents and we request them, in order to save time, to send their reports directly to our address.

The Editors of the Neue Kölnische Zeitung

First published in the Neue Kölnische Zeitung No. 124, June 1, 1849
Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
A WARRANT OF ARREST

On the basis of the order for their appearance in Court issued by the royal examining magistrate, I request the civil and military authorities concerned to look out for and, if found, to arrest and bring before me, the following persons:

1. Friedrich Engels, editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, born in Barmen and last residing in Cologne ...a who have taken refuge in flight from the investigation instituted against them on account of crimes envisaged in Article 96 of the Penal Code, and whose description I give below.

Elberfeld, June 6, 1849
For the Chief Public Prosecutor
State Public Prosecutor Eichhorn

Description: 1. Engels. Age 26 to 28; height 5 feet 6 inches; hair blond; forehead smooth; eyebrows blond; eyes blue; nose and mouth well proportioned; beard reddish; chin oval; face oval; complexion healthy; figure slender. Special characteristics: speaks very rapidly and is short-sighted....b

First published in the Kölnische Zeitung No. 137, June 9, 1849
Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time

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a There follow the names of two other wanted men, their occupation and last residence.—Ed.
b There follow the descriptions of the two other wanted men.—Ed.
Cologne, June 9. The editor-in-chief, Karl Marx, has arrived in Paris.\textsuperscript{482}

First published in the \textit{Neue Kölnische Zeitung} No. 132, June 10, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time
NOTIFICATION OF MARX'S EXPULSION FROM PARIS ISSUED BY THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE

City of Paris
Quartier du Faubourg
St. Germain

Office of the
Prefect of Police

NOTIFICATION TO MR. MARX TO RESIDE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF MORBIHAN

We the undersigned Commissioner of Police of the Faubourg St. Germain,—

notify Mr. Marx (Charles), 29 years of age, born at Trèves (Prussia), writer, living at rue de Lille No. 55, of the decision of the Minister of the Interior, by which he is required to go to the department of Morbihan in order to reside there, and is obliged to comply with the measure adopted in respect of him.

Dourlens


Printed according to the manuscript
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first time

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*a* Carlier.—*Ed.*

*b* Marx was 31 at the time.—*Ed.*

*c* Dufaure.—*Ed.*
Monsieur Marx, Prussian refugee, rue de Lille

Quartier du Faubourg St. Germain  

Sir,

In fulfilment of the orders of the Prefect of Police\textsuperscript{a} I have the honour to inform you that the Minister of the Interior\textsuperscript{b} has not thought it possible to accede to the petition you have addressed to him requesting him to revoke his decision. Consequently, I require you to leave Paris \textit{without delay} in order to proceed to the department of Morbihan, where you must reside.

I have the honour to greet you,

Commissioner of Police of the Quartier du Faubourg Saint-Germain

\textit{Dourlens}

---

\textsuperscript{a} Carlier.—\textit{Ed.}

\textsuperscript{b} Dufaure.—\textit{Ed.}
REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE.

Passe-port Gratuit,
valable pour un an

Nous Présent à la Police

Nous avons receu les lettres royales à notre ordre a

Conformément aux instructions royales à l'endroit de

Demander un Congé d'Exemption

Francois Marie

Demander un Congé

Signé et T témoin

Ch. Clary

Chef de Police

Gd Mode
Passport issued to Marx by the French police on August 24, 1849 because having been expelled from Paris he intended to go to England. It bears the stamp of Boulogne, the port from which Marx embarked for England, and the date August 26, 1849. Marx's description is given on the left-hand side of the passport.

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NOTES
AND
INDEXES
In this article, the editors of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung raised the important question of the relation between economic development and the course of the European revolution and of the influence of the economic factor on the revolutionary process. Subsequently, Marx and Engels dealt with this problem on several occasions, particularly in the period when, in the pages of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Politisch-Ökonomische Revue—the journal that continued the traditions of the periodical they had published during the revolution—they summed up the results of the revolutionary battles that had just ended. In the autumn of 1850, they elaborated the ideas expressed in this article when they wrote the following in the “Review [May to October 1850]”: “However, this much at least is certain, that the commercial crisis contributed infinitely more to the revolutions of 1848 than the revolution to commercial crisis” (present edition, Vol. 10).

The Neue Rheinische Zeitung was founded by Marx as a militant periodical intended to exert an effective influence upon the masses, to educate and unite them politically and ideologically and pave the way for the creation of the mass party of the German proletariat. The newspaper provided Marx and Engels with an opportunity to guide the activities of the Communist League founded by them in 1847, which they regarded as the nucleus of the future proletarian party. However, since the League was too weak and numerically small, it could not be directly transformed into the rallying centre of the proletarian forces at the time when the 1848 revolution was at its peak. As the underground activities of the League lost all sense under the conditions of revolution, Marx and Engels instructed its members, who were scattered throughout Germany, to avail themselves of every legal opportunity to join the emerging workers’ associations and democratic societies. In this context, a revolutionary proletarian newspaper became the main instrument for directing and co-ordinating the activities of the Communist League members, of mobilising the masses to resolve the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

It was decided to publish the Neue Rheinische Zeitung in Cologne, the capital of the Rhine Province, which was more advanced economically and politically than the other regions of Germany (here the working class was fairly strong and the Code Napoléon was in operation, which provided for somewhat greater freedom of the press than did the Prussian Law). The name, Neue Rheinische Zeitung, was
chosen in order to stress the intention to continue the revolutionary-democratic traditions of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, which was edited by Marx in 1842 and 1843. In view of the specific conditions and the absence of the mass workers' party in Germany, Marx, Engels and their followers entered the political scene as the Left, in fact the proletarian, wing of the democratic movement. This predetermined the stand adopted by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, which was put out under the subtitle *Organ der Demokratie* (Organ of Democracy). Only after mid-April 1849, when the German workers' class consciousness underwent certain changes, did the newspaper's editors take steps to set up an independent mass political party of the German proletariat, organisationally separate from petty-bourgeois democracy.

The first issue came out in the evening of May 31, but was dated June 1, 1848. The editorial board consisted of Karl Marx (editor-in-chief), Heinrich Bürgers, Ernst Dronke, Georg Weerth, Wilhelm Wolff, Ferdinand Wolff and Frederick Engels. In October 1848, the poet Ferdinand Freiligrath became one of its editors. All the editors were members of the Communist League. Common views, a strict division of functions and good co-ordination were characteristic of the work of the editorial board. Besides reading and answering letters and assisting the editor-in-chief, every editor dealt with a specific range of problems. The editorial board had correspondents in various parts of Germany and abroad. It established contacts with a number of democratic periodicals in other countries.

As a rule, Marx and Engels wrote the editorials, formulating the paper's stand on the most important questions of the revolution. These articles were marked "*Köln*" and "**Köln**". Sometimes editorials marked with one asterisk were printed in other sections of the paper under the heading of News from Italy, France, Hungary, Switzerland and other countries. In addition to editorials, Engels wrote articles on other subjects, such as the progress of the revolutionary and liberation movement in Italy, the revolutionary war in Hungary, the political situation in Switzerland and so on. 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, and Ernst Dronke contributed various reports (including reports from Paris). Heinrich Bürgers' contribution to the paper was limited to a single article, which was practically rewritten by Marx; he had more success speaking at various meetings as the paper's representative. Freiligrath published his revolutionary verses in the paper.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was a daily (from September 1848 it appeared every day except Monday); it aimed to give its readers prompt information on all the most significant revolutionary developments in Germany and Europe. Often a second edition was put out on the same day; supplements were printed when there was too much material to be squeezed into the four pages of the issue, while special supplements and special editions 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 articles that appeared in its columns containing political accusations against the Government, aroused the displeasure of its bourgeois shareholders in the first months of the paper's existence and led to the persecution of its editors by the Government and attacks in the feudal monarchist and liberal bourgeois press. It was particularly the paper's articles in defence of the June 1848 uprising of the Paris proletariat that frightened away the shareholders.

To make Marx's stay in the Rhine Province more difficult, the Cologne authorities, on instructions from Berlin, refused to restore his Prussian citizenship (which Marx had renounced in 1845), and on several occasions instituted legal proceedings against him and other editors of the paper. On
September 26, 1848, when a state of siege was declared 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 he lived in hiding. When the state of siege was lifted, the paper resumed publication on October 12, thanks to the great efforts of Marx who invested all his ready money in the paper. Until January 1849, the brunt of the work, including writing leading articles, fell to Marx, since Engels had to stay in France and later in Switzerland.

Persecution of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* editors by the judicial authorities and the police became particularly intense after the counter-revolutionary coup in Prussia in November-December 1848. On February 7, 1849, Marx, Engels and Hermann Korff, the responsible manager, had to appear before a jury in Cologne and, the next day, Marx was summoned to court as the leader of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats, together with Schapper and the lawyer Schneider. In both cases, Marx and his associates were acquitted thanks to skilful defence.

The paper's highly unstable financial position led to Marx continually taking steps to raise the necessary funds for its publication. Towards the end of March 1849, he insisted that Korff, who had considerably entangled the paper's financial affairs, be replaced by Stephan Adolf Naut who was closely associated with the Cologne Communists. In mid-April Marx had to undertake a trip to North-West Germany and Westphalia to raise funds among Communist League members and German democrats. In his absence (he returned to Cologne about May 8), the newspaper was managed by Engels. At the time, in the context of a new rise of revolutionary developments caused by the conflict between the Frankfurt National Assembly and the German governments, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* intensified its campaign for the consolidation of the revolutionary forces by publishing reports on the course of the uprising in Rhenish Prussia, Saxony and South-West Germany in defence of the imperial Constitution drafted by the Assembly. The authorities used this as a fresh pretext to persecute the paper. The number of legal proceedings against its editors rose to 23. However, the authorities' failure to win previous cases induced them to resort to another means of suppressing the revolutionary periodical. In May 1849, under the conditions of the general counter-revolutionary offensive, the Prussian Government issued an order to expel Marx from Prussia on the grounds that he had not been granted Prussian citizenship. Marx's expulsion and new repressions against other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* resulted in the paper ceasing publication. The last issue, No. 301, printed in red ink, appeared on May 19, 1849. In their farewell address "To the Workers of Cologne", the editors wrote that "their last word everywhere and always will be: *emancipation of the working class*" (see this volume, p. 467).

2 An allusion to the Nanking Treaty concluded by Britain as a result of the 1840-42 war with China (the so-called First Opium War). It was the first of a series of unequal treaties China was forced to conclude with European powers, reducing it to the state of a semi-colony. Under this treaty, Hong Kong was placed under British rule and five Chinese sea ports, including Canton and Shanghai, were declared open sea ports for British commerce. The Treaty was signed by Sir Henry Pottinger, Commander of the British Expeditionary Corps in China.

3 The *Corn Laws*—a series of laws in England (the first dating back to the 15th century) that imposed high duties on imported corn with the aim of maintaining high prices for corn on the home market in the interests of the landowners. The
struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy over the
Corn Laws ended in the adoption of a Bill repealing them in June 1846. p. 3

4 The struggle between Britain and the USA for the Oregon region on the Pacific
coast of North America ended in 1846 with its partition between the two powers.
In 1845-49 Britain waged wars of conquest in Northern India against the State
of Sikhs, which resulted in the entire Punjab being annexed by the East India
Company.

5 In 1847, along with other European countries, Italy went through an economic
crisis. In an attempt to overcome it, Pope Pius IX proposed a programme of
economic and political reforms including a project to set up a customs union of the
Italian states. However, the Pope's proposals and measures, supported by the
liberals, failed to prevent a revolutionary upheaval in Italy. The revolution started
with a popular uprising in Palermo on January 12, 1848 against the absolutist
regime of the Neapolitan Bourbons. The movement for a Constitution and
liberation from foreign rule spread all over the country. As a result of the popular
uprising in Milan in March 1848, the Austrian troops were driven out of the
capital of Lombardy which, however, was recaptured by Austrians after the defeat
of the Piedmontese troops. From November 1848, the centre of the revolutionary
movement shifted to Central Italy, particularly to the Papal states where
developments forced Pope Pius IX to flee from Rome. The Roman Republic
was proclaimed on February 9, 1849. p. 7

6 The present and following articles on the course of the revolutionary war in
Hungary against the Austrian monarchy are the continuation of a series of reports
by Engels on the subject which he began in February 1848 (see present edition,
Vol. 8). He drew his information mainly from Austrian Command communiqués,
i.e. army bulletins published in the official Wiener Zeitung and other Austrian
newspapers. At the time Hungarian sources were almost unavailable in Germany.
In spite of the biased and incomplete data contained in the Austrian bulletins,
Engels managed to present a fairly exact overall picture of the hostilities.
Subsequently, in his work Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany, Engels
pointed out that, by reporting the true development of the revolutionary war in
Hungary, the Neue Rheinische Zeitung had contributed more than any other paper
to making the Hungarians' cause popular in Germany. The paper had explained
the character of the struggle between the Magyars and the Slavs and printed a
series of articles on the Hungarian war which had the honour of being plagiarised
in nearly every subsequent book on the subject, not excluding those by
Hungarians themselves and by "eyewitnesses" (see present edition, Vol. 11).

Engels also mentions his reports about Hungary in his letters to Marx dated
April 3, 1851 and July 6, 1852 and also in his letter to H. J. Lincoln, editor of the
Daily News, dated March 30, 1854. At that time he took up a systematic study of
military science and the art of war and began to collect additional material on the
Hungarian campaign (Memoirs by the Hungarian Commander-in-Chief Görgey,
biographies of Hungarian generals, periodicals put out by the Kossuth
Government). He also planned to write a book on the history of the revolutionary
war in Hungary and Italy—but these plans did not materialise.

Engels started his military reports at a grievous moment for revolutionary
Hungary. On December 16, 1848, the Austrian imperial army, under the
command of Windischgrätz, started an offensive and at the beginning of January
captured Buda and Pest (two neighbouring cities at the time). The Hungarian
revolutionary Government (the Defence Council) headed by Kossuth and
Parliament (National Assembly) moved to Debreczin. Simultaneously, counter-
revolutionary forces launched an offensive in Galicia (the corps under General Schlick), Silesia, the Banat and other districts. Right-wing circles in Austria and Germany predicted a speedy and final defeat of revolutionary Hungary. However, from the very beginning Engels pointed to her reserves for building up her defences and possibilities for securing a turn in the war. In fact the Defence Council did take a number of energetic steps to strengthen the revolutionary army. Guerilla warfare spread in the enemy's rear. Volunteer detachments arrived from Austria to defend the Hungarian revolution and units consisting of national minorities were formed for the purpose. The Hungarian army was joined by many Polish revolutionary commanders (among them Bem, Dembiński). In February 1849, the Hungarians not only succeeded in stabilising the situation in the central area of hostilities (on the Theiss) and even in forcing the enemy to retreat along some other sectors of the front, but also in starting to concentrate forces for a counter-blows that was delivered early in April 1849. p. 9

On February 26 and 27, 1849, a battle between the Hungarian revolutionary army and Austrian troops took place at Kapolna (in Central Hungary between Pest and Debreczin) which, despite the retreat of the Hungarian troops beyond the Theiss, was not a victory for either side. Having received Windischgrätz's report on the victory at Kapolna, Francis Joseph abrogated Hungary's autonomy, which had up to that point been recognised by the Austrian ruling circles, and incorporated her into "the lands of the Austrian Empire" by the Olmütz Manifesto of March 4, 1849 (Olmütz was the seat of the Austrian Court since the people's uprising in Vienna in October 1848). p. 9

The 1848-49 struggle between revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces was accompanied by an exacerbation of national contradictions in Transylvania and in other districts belonging administratively to Hungary but inhabited by other nationalities. The predominant part of the motley population of the region (Romanians, Hungarians and Szeklers, who are their off-shoot, and Germans, mainly settlers from Saxony) consisted of Romanian peasants, who were exploited by Hungarian landowners and Austrian officials. Although the advanced sections of the Romanian bourgeoisie and intelligentsia welcomed the Hungarian 1848 revolution, the erroneous policy of the Hungarian Government in the national question allowed the feudal clerical circles to use social and national antagonisms and stir up Romanians to revolt against Hungary in September 1848. The Romanian legions under the command of Colonel Urban, aided by Austrian troops under Baron Puchner, fought against the Hungarians. However, the Polish emigrant Bem, who was appointed Commander of the Hungarian army in Transylvania in December 1848, succeeded in preventing Puchner from invading Hungary from Transylvania and dealt crushing blows to the counter-revolutionary forces in Transylvania proper during January-March 1849.

A small detachment of Russian troops sent to Puchner's aid by Lüders, commander of the Tsarist expeditionary corps in Wallachia, failed to stop Bem's advance and by the end of March the latter had cleared nearly all enemy troops out of Transylvania. Bem owed his success to his policy of reconciliation of national contradictions between the Hungarians and the Romanians, in spite of the resistance of Hungarian government representatives, who were spokesmen of the Hungarian nobility (later Marx and Engels stressed this in the article "Bem" written for the New American Cyclopaedia). Calls for joint actions of the Romanians and Hungarians against the Habsburgs were also issued by Balăscu, a Romanian democrat; Janku, the leader of the Romanian poor peasants' guerilla movement, supported this idea.
The Hungarian revolutionaries from among the bourgeoisie and nobility were, however, too late in realising the necessity of co-operation with the oppressed nationalities and this enabled the Austrian ruling circles in general to use the Romanian national movement in Transylvania, led by the clerical-aristocratic upper sections, as a tool in the struggle against revolutionary Hungary. After the defeat of the Hungarian revolution, the Austrians established a rule of brutal national oppression in Transylvania, despite their demagogic promises to the contrary.

9 Szeklers (from szek—settlements)—an ethnic group of Hungarians, mostly free peasants. In the 13th century their forefathers were settled by Hungarian kings in the mountain regions of Transylvania to protect the frontiers. The majority of Szeklers sided with the Hungarian revolution.

10 The reference is to the paper money issued in 1848-49 by the Hungarian revolutionary Government. The notes were first issued in May 1848. Despite the Austrian authorities' repeated ban on the "Kossuth notes", the Hungarian paper money was a serious competitor to Austrian money, not only within Hungary but also in Austria proper. The "Kossuth notes" were in circulation until almost the end of 1849.

11 The reference is to the Chief Administrative Committee of the Serbian Voivodeship or the Chief Odbor in Karlowitz—an executive body elected by the Assembly (Skupština) of representatives of the Serbian communities in the South-Slav border regions of the Austrian Empire in May 1848. The Skupština proclaimed the Voivodina an autonomous region within the Empire. In the autumn of 1848, a number of Serbian cities formed local Odbors which were patterned on the Chief Odbor and concentrated all civil and military authority in their hands.

The Chief Odbor became the scene of struggle between the liberals headed by Stratimirovich (who was elected President) and clerical and feudal group, who professed loyalty to the Habsburgs and opposed liberal reforms. At the beginning of 1849, this group led by Patriarch Rajachich took the upper hand. They directed the Serbian national movement in the Voivodina towards still closer collaboration with the Austrian counter-revolutionary Government which, having made use of the Serbs in the struggle against revolutionary Hungary, broke its promise and, in March 1849, refused to grant them autonomy.

12 This refers to the southern part of the Austrian-Turkish border (the Military Border area—see notes 22 and 68).

13 An allusion to the new Constitution of the Austrian united monarchy (Gesamtkronarchie) introduced by Francis Joseph on March 4, 1849. According to the Constitution, the Emperor and his Ministers were vested with full executive authority and the bureaucratic centralisation principle was strictly implemented in the administration of the Empire. Lombardy, Venice, Hungary and Bohemia were proclaimed Austrian crown lands and the autonomous estate institutions that existed in some national regions even before the 1848 revolution were abolished. Croatia, Serbian Voivodina and Transylvania likewise did not receive autonomy, repeated promises notwithstanding; they separated from Hungary administrative-ly and a system of administration similar to that in other crown lands was established there. The Constitution of March 4, 1849, was a step towards the restoration of absolutism (it was finally restored by the imperial patent of December 31, 1851, which repealed constitutional rule) and was unpopular even
among the Right-wing elements in the Slav national movement in Austria, who cherished the hope that the Habsburgs would satisfy their national demands.

14 The reference is to the Hungarian National Assembly which moved to Debreczin early in January 1849 because of the advance of the Austrian troops on Pest. Some of the Right-wing deputies refused to leave for Debreczin and went over to the side of Windischgrätz who captured the capital of Hungary.

15 The fortified camp and fortress of Komorn in North-Western Hungary remained in the hands of the Hungarians in the rear of the Austrian army during its offensive in late 1848 and early 1849. Later on the fortress, which withstood several sieges by Austrian troops, played an important role in the operations of the Hungarian revolutionary army.

16 The reference is to the final stage in the suppression of the 1830-31 Polish national liberation uprising by Tsarist troops supported by Prussia and Austria. After Warsaw was outflanked from the west and on September 6 its western suburb seized, the Tsarist command succeeded in forcing the city to capitulate on the night of September 7, 1831. Early in October, the remnants of the Polish insurgent army crossed the border for Prussia and Austria, where they were interned.

17 By the autumn of 1848, a democratic movement had spread among the Polish population of Galicia that aimed at preparing a national uprising and uniting with revolutionary Hungary. However, the Polish revolutionaries failed to rally adequate forces for an uprising.

In connection with the victories of the Hungarian troops under Bem in Transylvania in the first months of 1849, in particular with his march on January 5 to South Bukovina, rumours spread in Galicia of an impending advance over the Carpathians by the revolutionary Hungarian army and the Polish legion, and this intensified the revolutionary ferment among the Poles. Many young Polish democrats went secretly to Hungary to serve in the Polish legion.

18 Petty sessions—a court of the Justices of the Peace in England, tries minor offences according to a simplified legal procedure.

Quarter sessions—a court held quarterly by Justices of the Peace.

The expressions “petty sessions” and “quarter sessions” are given in English in the original.

19 An allusion to the New Year’s message of greetings from King Frederick William IV “To My Army” (“An mein Heer”) which he signed in Potsdam on January 1, 1849; it was published in the Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger on January 3, 1849. The Neue Rheinische Zeitung used this to expose the counter-revolutionary actions of the Prussian military (see Marx’s article “A New Year Greeting”, present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 222-26).

20 See Note 9.

21 A considerable section of the population of Transylvania (over 200,000) were German colonists who had come from Saxony, Flanders and the Rhine lands (known as Teutons, Flemings, Saxons, later all German colonists came to be known as Saxons); they had been settled there by the Hungarian kings and Austrian emperors.
The majority of the Saxons, who were well-to-do townspeople, came out against the Hungarian revolution and sided with the imperial troops in the armed struggle.

22 Peterwardein borderers as well as Sereshans and other South-Slav army formations mentioned below performed compulsory military service on the Austro-Turkish border (in the so-called Military Border area). They were named after their regimental or company districts or communities from which the soldiers came. In 1848-49 the Austrian authorities and the Right-wing bourgeois-landowning nationalist elements drew them into the war against revolutionary Hungary.

23 This refers to the Transylvanian Saxons (see Note 21).

24 The war between the Serbs and the Hungarians broke out as far back as May 1848, as a result of the conflict between the Hungarian Government and the Serbian national movement which demanded autonomy for the Voivodina. The movement was socially and politically heterogeneous. Liberal bourgeois elements (Stratimirovich and others) and Right-wing conservative landowning elements prevailed in the movement and thus allowed the Austrian ruling circles to make use of it in the struggle against the Hungarian revolution. On the other hand, the Hungarian revolutionaries, who refused to recognise the national demands of the Serbs and other Slav peoples incorporated in the Hungarian state prompted them to side with the Habsburgs. It was only on July 28, 1849, i.e. on the eve of its downfall, that revolutionary Hungary officially declared equality for all nationalities in the country. Having consolidated their domination largely with the help of the Croats, the Serbs of the Voivodina and so on, the ruling circles of the Austrian Empire went back on their promises and not only refused to grant autonomy to the Slav and other peoples of the multinational state, but abolished even the remnants of self-government in the national regions.

25 See Note 15.

26 The Central Committee of German Democrats (d'Ester, Reichenbach, Hexamer) was elected at the Second Democratic Congress held in Berlin from October 26 to 30, 1848.

The Central Committee of Democrats mentioned below was elected at the First Democratic Congress held in Frankfurt am Main from June 14 to 17, 1848. Fröbel, Rau and Kriege were elected to the first Central Committee and Bairhoffer, Schütte and Anneke were their deputies. The Committee had its headquarters in Berlin. However, despite the decision of the Frankfurt am Main Congress to unite all democratic associations and set up the Central and district committees of German Democrats, the democratic movement in Germany still lacked unity and organisation owing to the weakness and vacillation of its petty-bourgeois leaders.

27 This refers to the Prussian National Assembly convened in Berlin on May 22, 1848, to work out a Constitution and introduce a constitutional system on the basis of an “agreement with the Crown”. It was dissolved on December 5 as a result of the coup d'état in Prussia. The causes behind the coup d'état were the formation of the Brandenburg-Manteuffel counter-revolutionary Government and the publication on November 9 of a decree transferring the Assembly to the provincial town of Brandenburg. Liberal and democratic (Left) deputies failed to offer any real resistance to the instigators of the coup d'état and confined themselves to
passive resistance. The introduction of a Constitution "granted" by the King was announced simultaneously with the dissolution of the Assembly. p. 34

An allusion to the Wahl-Manifest der radicalen Reformpartei für Deutschland (Election Manifesto of the Radical Reform Party of Germany) written by Ruge not long before the elections to the Frankfurt National Assembly. It proclaimed "editing of the rationale of events" to be the chief task of the Assembly. The Election Manifesto was published by Ruge in Leipzig in his newspaper Die Reform on April 16, 1848. p. 34

The Central March Association which had branches in different cities of Germany was set up at the end of November 1848 in Frankfurt am Main by the Left-wing deputies to the Frankfurt National Assembly. The leaders of the March associations, which derived their name from the March 1848 revolution in Germany, were petty-bourgeois democrats including Fröbel, Simon and Vogt. These confined themselves to revolutionary phrase-mongering, were both indecisive and inconsistent in the struggle against the counter-revolution and were sharply criticised by Marx and Engels on this account. p. 36

The phrase "Imperial Assembly" refers to the German National Assembly which opened on May 18, 1848 in St. Paul's Church, in the free town of Frankfurt am Main. It was convened to effect the unification of the country and to draw up its Constitution. Among the deputies elected in various German states late in April and early in May were 122 government officials, 95 judges, 81 lawyers, 103 professors, 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. At the decisive moments of the revolution, the liberal majority in fact condoned the counter-revolution.

When writing this and other articles on the Frankfurt National Assembly, Marx and Engels made use of the shorthand reports of its sittings which later appeared as a separate publication, Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen der deutschen constituirenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main, Frankfurt am Main, 1848-49. p. 36

An allusion to the Left wing of the Frankfurt National Assembly which consisted of two factions: the Left (Fröbel, Vogt, Venedey and others) and the extreme Left known as the Radical-Democratic Party (Ruge, Schlöffel, Zitz, Trüzschler, Simon and others). Though the Neue Rheinische Zeitung supported the extreme Left rather than the 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. p. 36

The toleration tax was levied on the Jewish population of the Kingdom of Hungary in 1749. The arrears grew from year to year, and the 1840s witnessed the intensified struggle for the abolition of this humiliating tax. In June 1846 it was repealed on condition that all the arrears, which amounted to 1,200,000 florins, were paid off during the next five years.

This measure was a certain step towards the emancipation of the country's Jews. p. 39

On September 7, 1848 the Emperor sanctioned the law drawn up by the Austrian Imperial Diet (Reichstag) repealing the personal bondage of the peasants and making labour and other services connected with land tenure subject to redemption. The redemption sum was fixed at twenty times the amount of the peasants' annual duties. Two-thirds of this was to be paid by the peasants and one-third by the state (from taxes). Despite the halfway nature of this agrarian
reform, which did not satisfy the peasants who continued to fight for the abolition of feudal obligations without redemption, it nevertheless opened the way for the development of capitalist relations in agriculture.  

This article is complementary to the series of articles and reports on Switzerland written by Engels during his forced stay there (because of the order for his arrest issued by the Cologne authorities) from November 1848 to January 1849. The series started with the article "The Ex-Principalities" and ended with two reports on the foreign policy of the Swiss ruling circles (see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 7-8, 251-53). Engels ceased his writings on Swiss affairs in mid-January 1849, when he returned to Germany. Later on, however, he occasionally wrote on the subject, as this article shows. It is based on data from Swiss and German papers, but the editors of the volume are not in possession of the actual material used by Engels.

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 the other cantons early in November. On November 23, 1847, the Sonderbund army was defeated by federal forces.

The reference is to the Constitution of the Swiss Republic adopted on September 12, 1848. The Constitution legalised the results of the victory won by the progressive forces over the Sonderbund and turned Switzerland from a union of individual cantons into a united federative state. In place of the former Swiss Diet, the members of which functioned as representatives of cantons, an all-Swiss Federal Assembly was set up consisting of two chambers—the National Council and the Council of States. The executive power was vested in the Federal Council (the Government of Switzerland) and the chairman of the Federal Council acted as President of the Republic. The Constitution provided for the organisation of a single post and customs department, the introduction of a unified monetary system, and a system of weights and measures. At the same time, cantons retained broad autonomous rights.

In the period from the fifteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries agreements were concluded between Swiss cantons and European states for the supply of Swiss mercenaries. In many countries they were used by counter-revolutionary monarchist forces.

In this case, the reference is to the agreements concluded in 1848 by the canton of Berne and some other cantons with the counter-revolutionary Government of Ferdinand II, King of Naples. The use of Swiss troops against the revolutionary movement in Italy aroused profound indignation among the Swiss progressive public, and this eventually led to the annulment of these agreements.

An allusion to the invitation to Berne extended by the Federal Council to Professor of Military Sciences Rudolf Lohbauer, formerly a radical journalist who contributed to Prussian government periodicals. See Engels' article "Herr Müller.—Radetzky's Chicanery towards Tessin.—The Federal Council—Lohbauer" (present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 239-41).

The reference is to the dissolution of the Austrian Constituent Imperial Diet (Reichstag) by Emperor Francis Joseph on March 7, 1849. He was prompted to do this by his mother Archduchess Sophia and the Court camarilla. The Imperial Diet opened in Vienna on July 22, 1848. Prior to this, on May 15, as a result of the
mass revolutionary actions, the Government was forced to recognise the constituent rights of the Imperial Diet to be convened. The majority of its deputies, however, representing the liberal bourgeoisie and landowners (including deputies from the Slav national districts), opposed any extension of the revolution. During the Vienna popular uprising in October 1848, the Imperial Diet transferred its seat to the Moravian town of Kremsier. There, on March 4, 1849 the consultative commission it had set up completed a Draft of Fundamental Rights providing for people’s sovereignty, freedom of assembly and the press, equality of estates and nationalities, while retaining the monarchy. The draft, however, was not approved because the coup d’état took place the same day and the new, anti-democratic Constitution (see Note 13) was introduced by royal decree. Three days later the Diet itself was dissolved.

The reference is to the October-November 1848 counter-revolutionary coup d’état in Prussia which resulted in the dissolution of the Prussian National Assembly and the introduction of the Constitution imposed by King Frederick William IV (see Note 29).

The Holy Alliance—an association of European monarchs founded on September 26, 1815, on the initiative of the Russian Tsar Alexander I and the Austrian Chancellor Metternich, to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in European countries. During the 1848-49 revolution and subsequent years, counter-revolutionary circles in Austria, Prussia and Tsarist Russia attempted to revive the Holy Alliance’s activities in a modified form.

During the popular uprising in Vienna in October 1848, Welcker and Mosle, liberal deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly (see Note 30), were sent to Vienna to negotiate with the insurgents and the Austrian Court and Government, which moved from the capital to Olmütz. Both of them acted as commissioners of the so-called Central Authority (Zentralgewalt) set up by the Frankfurt Assembly on June 28, 1848 and consisting of the Imperial Regent (Archduke Johann of Austria) and an Imperial Ministry. This provisional Central Authority had neither a budget nor an army of its own, possessed no real power, and was in fact an instrument of the counter-revolutionary German princes. However, Welcker and Mosle never turned up in revolutionary Vienna and confined themselves to fruitless talks with the Austrian Ministers and audiences granted by Emperor Ferdinand and Commander-in-Chief of the counter-revolutionary army Windischgrätz. The mediatory mission of the imperial commissioners was in fact a cover for the treacherous refusal by the liberal majority of the Frankfurt Assembly to support the Viennese insurgents.

Robert Blum, who represented the Left wing of the Frankfurt Assembly, sided with the insurgents and, despite his parliamentary immunity, was shot on November 9 by an Austrian firing-squad after the uprising was suppressed.

The correspondence between Welcker and Mosle and the Austrian Ministers was published in the Appendices to the Report of the Committee of the Frankfurt Assembly for investigating Austrian affairs (see Verhandlungen der deutschen verfassunggebenden Reichsversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main, Bd. 2, Frankfurt am Main, 1849, S. 602-19).


At the time when the coup d’état was being hatched and implemented in Prussia, the Frankfurt National Assembly undertook to settle the conflict between the
Prussian National Assembly and the Crown. To fulfill this mission, first Bassermann (a liberal leader) and later Simson and Hergenhahn arrived in Berlin as imperial commissioners. Gagern, Chairman of the Frankfurt Assembly, also went to the capital of Prussia to render assistance. The mediation of the imperial commissioners and Gagern proved to be helpful to the counter-revolutionaries, because it diverted the democratic forces in the German state from offering real support to the Prussian National Assembly in its struggle against the Brandenburg-Manteuffel Ministry.

43 Serezhans—see Note 22.

        Huzuls—Ukrainians living in the Carpathian mountains which formed part of Austrian Hungary. In the first half of the 19th century, up to 1918, they were subjects of the Habsburg Empire.

44 The reference is to the Grundrechte des deutschen Volkes, a document passed by the Frankfurt National Assembly in December 1848 in the course of drawing up an all-German imperial Constitution ("Verfassung des deutschen Reiches vom 28. März 1849"). It was regarded by the Assembly as a component part of the Constitution and was included in it as Chapter VI.

45 An allusion to the Austrian special border troops who wore red-coats and caps and were recruited mainly from among the inhabitants of the Empire's Slav provinces (Croats, Serbs of the Voivodin a etc.). In 1848 and 1849, they were used by the counter-revolution against the revolutionary movement.

46 An allusion to Frederick William IV's statement in his speech at the opening of the United Diet on April 11, 1847, that he was "heir to the unweakened crown and must hand it over to his successors in an unweakened state" (see Der Erste Vereinigte Landtag in Berlin 1847, erster Teil).

47 In the first half of the 19th century the word poster was used to denote any appeal, announcement or notice posted in the streets for the public to see.

        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 for periodical publications and introduced imprisonment and large fines for publishing attacks on private property and the existing political system.

48 The Prussian National Assembly dissolved by King Frederick William IV on December 5, 1848 (see Note 27), was ironically referred to by Marx and Engels as the "Agreement Assembly" ("Vereinbarungsversammlung"), because it was guided by the "theory of agreement". According to this, the Assembly was to draw up a Constitution not on the basis of sovereign and constituent rights, but by "agreement with the Crown" (the principle formulated by the Camphausen-Hansemann Government and adopted by the majority of the Assembly). The Crown used this theory of agreement as a screen to cover up preparations for a counter-revolutionary coup d'état.

49 The so-called law on crieurs publics (street newspaper-sellers) adopted by the Louis Philippe Government in 1834 was intended to restrict the distribution of opposition periodicals.

50 Code Napoléon (Code civil)—French code of civil law promulgated in 1804. It was introduced by Napoleon in the conquered regions of West and South-West
Germany and remained in operation in the Rhine Province even after its incorporation into Prussia in 1815.

The expression Prussian Law refers to the Allgemeines Landrecht für die Preussischen Staaten approved and published in 1794. It included the criminal, state, civil, administrative and ecclesiastical law and was strongly influenced by backward feudal juridical standards.

After the Rhineland's union with Prussia in 1815, the Prussian Government strove to introduce Prussian Law standards into various spheres of jurisdiction, in place of the existing French civil code. This was being done through a series of laws, edicts and instructions aimed at restoring the feudal privileges of the nobility (the right of primogeniture), introduction of the Prussian penal code, marriage laws etc. These measures, which met with great opposition in the Rhineland, were repealed after the March revolution by the decree of April 15, 1848.

The Constitution imposed ("granted") by King Frederick William IV on December 5, 1848, dissolved the Prussian National Assembly and introduced a two-chamber system; the First Chamber was transformed by age and property qualifications into a privileged chamber of the nobility. According to the electoral law of December 6, 1848, the right to vote in the two-stage elections to the Second Chamber was granted only to so-called independent Prussians. The Constitution provided for the suspension, in case of war or disorder, of freedom of the individual, inviolability of the dwelling, freedom of the press, assembly, association and so forth. The royal authority was vested with very wide powers—the King was authorised to convene or dissolve the Chambers, to appoint Ministers, declare war or conclude a peace treaty. He was vested with full executive power, while he exercised legislative power together with the Chambers. Later on, anti-democratic revisions of the Constitution were repeatedly made on the initiative of Prussian ruling circles.

Raizen (Rascians, Rascier) is the name for Serbs of the Orthodox denomination, often used to denote Serbs in general; it probably derives from the ancient town of Rassa, the centre of the Raschka district where the first Serbian tribes settled.

Honved—literally: defender of the homeland; the name given to the Hungarian revolutionary army of 1848-49, which was set up by the decision of the Hungarian revolutionary Government on May 16, 1848, to form ten battalions of Honveds.

The reference is to the Bills on associations and assemblies, and on posters and the press prepared by the Prussian Government.

See Note 19.

See Note 9.

The Slovanská Lípa—a Czech national society founded in Prague at the end of April 1848. The society was under the leadership of moderate liberals (Šafařík, Gauč), who joined the counter-revolution after the Prague uprising was suppressed in June 1848, whereas the provincial branches were mostly led by representatives of the radical Czech bourgeoisie.

The September Laws—see Note 47. The Prussian Law—see Note 50.

See Note 46.
After Napoleon was proclaimed "Emperor of the French" in 1804, he assumed the title of king of the vassal Italian state formed from the Cisalpine Republic (Northern Italy), a dependency of France. After being crowned in Milan Cathedral on May 26, 1805 with the traditional iron crown of the Lombard kings who conquered Northern Italy in the sixth century, he uttered the following phrase, "God has given it to me, woe to him who will touch it" ("Dio mi la diede, guai a chi la tocca").

In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* this ironical expression was used of the commander of a division billeted in Düsseldorf, the reactionary Prussian general Drigalski (see Marx's article "Drigalski—Legislator, Citizen and Communist", present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 75-80) who in November 1848 proclaimed a state of siege in the town and appealed to the citizens to be "communists in the noble sense of the word" and make donations to the poor. The appeal signed "Citizen Drigalski" was published in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* No. 311, November 24, 1848.

The reference is to the eastern provinces of the Kingdom of Prussia (with the exception of Posen) which historically formed its basis. They were known as the old provinces as distinct from the western ("new") provinces—Rhineland and Westphalia, which were incorporated into Prussia in 1815 by decision of the Vienna Congress.

The reference is to the so-called party of Magyarisers, or the Croatian-Hungarian party, formed as far back as 1841 and consisting mainly of Croatian-Slavonian nobles and big landowners. The party aimed for a complete merger of Croatia and Slavonia (which administratively formed part of the Hungarian Kingdom within the Austrian Empire) with Hungary as a means to counteract bourgeois reforms and to retain political and social privileges. Its members waged a bitter struggle against the representatives of "Illyrism", a national trend dominated mainly by liberal landowners and commercial bourgeoisie. The Illyrians aimed at uniting the South-Slav peoples and at securing broad autonomous rights for them within the framework of the Austrian Empire, on a federative basis.

During the 1848 revolution and the increasingly acute national conflict, many Magyarisers fled to Hungary. On June 5, 1848, the sittings of the *Sabor* of the Southern Slavs opened in Agram (Zagreb). Representatives of the liberal landowners and the top sections of the commercial bourgeoisie in Croatia and Slavonia who predominated at the *Sabor* (the *Sabor* was also attended by delegates from the Serbs of the Voivodina and the Czechs), professed their loyalty to the Habsburgs and restricted the national programme to the demand for autonomy for the united Slav territories within the Austrian Empire. General Jellachich, who was close to the Right-wing Illyrians, was appointed Ban of Croatia in March 1848. After a brief conflict with the Austrian Government, which led to his dismissal, he was reinstated in September 1848. Placing Croatian and Slavonian military units at the service of Austrian reaction, Jellachich took part in the counter-revolutionary campaign against Hungary and in the suppression of the popular uprising in Vienna.

The *Banal Council*—an administrative body, headed by the Ban, exercised the functions of the Government of Croatia.
68 The reference is to the inhabitants of the so-called Military Border area, i.e. the southern border region of the Austrian Empire under a military administration. The area included part of Croatia and southern Hungary. Its population was made up of Serbs and Croats who were allotted land in return for military service, the fulfilment of state obligations and payment of duties. Borderers often rose in revolt against this system of military-feudal oppression (see also notes 22 and 45).

69 In this item, Engels apparently made use of the material published in the *Breslauer Zeitung* and reprinted in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 63 (second edition), March 15, 1849.

70 The reference is to the Defence Council set up on September 22, 1848 under the conditions of the intervention launched against revolutionary Hungary by the army of the Croatian Ban Jellachich. The Council, headed by Kossuth, exercised control over the Count Batthyány liberal Government. After the victory over Jellachich and the resignation of the Batthyány Cabinet the Defence Council was entrusted with governmental functions on October 8. Kossuth, its chairman, was vested with full powers in accordance with war-time conditions. In January 1849, when Austrian troops seized Pest, the Defence Council and the National Assembly transferred their seat to Debreczin.

71 The reference is to the French Provisional Government formed on February 24, 1848, as a result of the overthrow of the July monarchy. The posts in this Government were mainly held by moderate republicans (Lamartine, Dupont de l'Eure, Crémieux, Arago, Marie and two men from the National—the opposition republican party—Marrast and Garnier-Pagès). In addition, the Government included three representatives of the petty-bourgeois party of democrat-socialists who grouped round the Réforme—Ledru-Rollin, Flocon and Louis Blanc, and a mechanic Albert (real name Martin). The Provisional Government stayed in power till May 10, 1848 when it was superseded by the Executive Commission formed by the National (Constituent) Assembly.

72 The reference is to the uprising of the Paris proletariat against the bourgeois regime of the Second Republic (June 23-26, 1848). It was the climax of the 1848 revolution in France and had an impact on revolutionary events in other European countries. Marx and Engels appraised the uprising and its historic significance in a series of articles published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 130-49).

73 The additional 45-centime tax for every franc of all direct taxes that was introduced by the French Provisional Government on March 16, 1848, became a heavy burden, above all for the peasants who made up the majority of France's population. This measure caused the peasant masses to turn away from the revolution and to vote for Louis Napoleon Bonaparte at the presidential elections on December 10, 1848.

74 The legitimists—advocates of the Bourbon dynasty overthrown in 1830, who upheld the interests of the big hereditary landowners, and the claim to the throne by the grandson of King Charles X, Comte de Chambord, who took the name of Henry V.

75 The reference is to the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty in France, first in May 1814 and later in July 1815. After the defeat of Napoleonic France in the war against the sixth coalition, Napoleon had to abdicate in April 1814 and the Bour-
Bons were restored to power. Louis XVIII became King of France. In March 1815, Napoleon regained power but his rule did not last long (the Hundred Days). After his defeat at Waterloo by British and Prussian troops he again abdicated on June 22, 1815 and Louis XVIII was again restored to the throne (July 8) with the help of the foreign armies. p. 80

Orleanists—supporters of the Orléans dynasty which held power in France during the July monarchy (1830-48). The Orleanists upheld the interests of the financial aristocracy and the big industrial bourgeoisie. p. 80

On May 15, 1848, there was a revolutionary uprising of Paris workers led by Blanqui, Barbès and others against the anti-labour and anti-democratic policy pursued by the Constituent Assembly which opened on May 4. The participants in the mass demonstration forced their way into the Assembly's premises, demanded the formation of a Ministry of Labour and presented a number of other demands. An attempt was made to form a revolutionary government. However, with the help of national guards from the bourgeois quarters and regular troops, the power of the Constituent Assembly was restored. The leaders of the movement were arrested and put on trial. p. 81

The trial of the leaders of the Paris workers' revolutionary uprising of May 15, 1848 was held in Bourges from March 7 to April 3, 1849. They were accused of conspiring against the Government. The court sentenced Barbès and Albert to exile and Blanqui to ten-year solitary confinement. The other defendants (among them Sobrier, Raspail) were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment or exile. p. 81

The reference is to the article "Ein Aktenstück des Märzvereins" published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 181 of December 29, 1848, which exposed the half-hearted and inconsistent policy of a number of the Frankfurt Left leaders whose actions only helped the counter-revolution. The Neue Rheinische Zeitung called these leaders the "Girondists of our revolution". p. 84

This refers to the counter-revolutionary Catholic Union attached to the Frankfurt National Assembly and headed by von Radowitz, an extreme Right-wing leader. p. 84

"Thinking friends of history" is a phrase which Marx and Engels ironically used of Camphausen and other liberals, alluding to the subtitle of the then well-known book by the liberal historian Karl von Rotteck, Allgemeine Geschichte vom Anfang der historischen Kenntniss bis auf unsere Zeiten. Für denkende Geschichtsfreunde bearb. von Karl von Rotteck, Bd. 1-9, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1834. p. 85

The Feuillants—moderate liberal constitutionalists who, during the French Revolution, withdrew from the Jacobin Club on July 16, 1791, after it had adopted a petition to dethrone the King. They formed their own political club which held meetings in the premises of the monastic order of the same name which was dissolved in 1789. The Feuillants upheld the interests of the big bourgeoisie and liberal nobility and did their utmost to prevent the revolution from developing further. p. 85

An allusion to the stand adopted by Karl Vogt and other leaders of the March Association over the future state structure of Germany. At the concluding stage of the debates in the Frankfurt National Assembly on the imperial Constitution, Vogt and other moderate democrats began to be inclined to agree with the pro-Prussian
The Second Chamber of the Prussian Diet (Landtag) was convened on February 26, 1849, on the basis of the Constitution "granted" by Frederick William IV on December 5, 1848. Despite the fact that elections to it were held under conditions of virtual martial law, introduced in many provinces of Prussia and under the anti-democratic electoral law of December 6, 1848, a strong opposition was formed in the Chamber. It was made up of the majority of Left-Centre and Right-Centre deputies of the dissolved National Assembly. Though the opposition speeches of the Left were rather moderate, the Second Chamber was dissolved by the Government on April 27, 1849.

The text of the draft Address, as well as the minutes of the debates in the Chamber, were published in Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen der durch das Allerhöchste Patent vom 5. Dezember 1848 einberufenen Kammern. Zweite Kammer. Beilage zum "Preußischen Staats-Anzeiger", Bd. 1-2, Berlin, 1849.

Marx apparently used newspaper reports.

The reference is to "Verordnung über einige Grundlagen der künftigen Preußischen Verfassung" and to "Wahlgesetz für die zur Vereinbarung der Preußischen Staats-Verfassung zu berufende Versammlung", adopted by the Second United Diet (the first document on April 6, the second on April 8, 1848). The dissolution of the National Assembly by the Prussian Government on December 5, 1848, was in blatant violation of the laws passed by the United Diet.

An allusion to the suppression of the Polish national liberation insurrection of 1830-31 by Tsarist troops.

The Danish campaign refers to the war between Prussia and Denmark over Schleswig-Holstein which broke out in April 1848. The national liberation movement against Danish rule arose in the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein inhabited mainly by Germans under the influence of the March 1848 revolution in the German states. Fearful of a national uprising and an extension of the revolution, Prussian ruling circles strove to come to terms with the King of Denmark in the course of the war, at the expense of all-German interests, and this also affected the war manoeuvres of the Prussian army. Engels ironically compared them with the proceedings in the Imperial Court of Law which were marked by unprecedented red tape and confusion (the Imperial Court of Law was
the supreme judicial institution in Germany in the 15th-18th centuries). The Imperial Court of Law ceased to exist in 1806 when the so-called Holy Roman Empire of the German nation was abolished. p. 88

During the suppression of the national liberation uprising in Posen at the end of April and the beginning of May 1848, Prussian troops suffered a defeat at Miloslavl and shot the Polish insurgents at Wreschen (Września) (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 104-05).

When speaking of the “victories” of the Prussian army, Engels is ironically referring to its savage reprisals against the popular movements in Anhalt-Bernburg in March 1848, in Mainz in May 1848 and its participation in suppressing the revolt in Frankfurt am Main in September 1848.

“My glorious army”—see Note 19. p. 88

The reference is to the armistice concluded on August 26, 1848, in the Swedish town of Malmö between Denmark and Prussia for a term of seven months. The armistice actually preserved the Danish rule in the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, provided for the replacement of provisional authorities in Schleswig by a new government (in which the puppets of the Danish monarchy prevailed), the separation of the Schleswig and Holstein troops and other terms unfavourable to the national liberation movement in the duchies. The revolutionary-democratic changes that had been introduced there came virtually to nothing.

Later on, the ruling circles of Prussia, hoping to raise the prestige of the Prussian monarchy by taking part in this popular war and to realise their aggressive plans, resumed hostilities in March 1849 which went on with changing success. However, under pressure from Denmark’s allies (England and Russia), Prussia signed a peace treaty with Denmark on July 2, 1850, temporarily abandoned its claims to Schleswig and Holstein and withdrew its military support in the war waged by the duchies. The Schleswig-Holstein troops sustained a defeat and had to give up resistance. As a result, the two duchies remained within the Kingdom of Denmark. p. 88

This apparently refers to the Chief Odbor (see Note 11). p. 98

See Note 54. p. 98

See Note 68. p. 99

The reference is to the Hungarian National Assembly (Diet) convened in Pressburg before the 1848 revolution in the Austrian Empire. The Assembly, in which the liberal nobility predominated, put forward a demand for a Constitution. After the revolutionary demonstrations in Pest on March 15, 1848, the Assembly introduced a parliamentary system. Executive power was vested in the Hungarian Government, but the two states—Hungary and Austria—continued as monarchies under one crown.

The imperial government at first had to recognise this status of Hungary, but subsequently, as a result of the deepening conflict, tried to demolish it through armed intervention. At the same time, in the Hungarian National Assembly which held its sessions in Debreczin there was the “Party of Pacification” which consisted mainly of aristocratic elements and was striving to find a compromise with the Habsburgs and to secure recognition of the new Emperor Francis Joseph as the King of Hungary. The "Party of Pacification" was opposed by the radicals headed by Kossuth who came out for more resolute action against the Austrian monarchy.

The Pragmatic Sanction was a royal decree having the force of fundamental law
on succession to the throne. Adopted in the Austrian Empire in 1713, it established the principle of the indivisibility of the Habsburg crown lands and the possibility of distaff succession if the Emperor had no sons. p. 100

98 This article was written by Engels for the Neue Rheinische Zeitung but was not published. It is extant in the manuscript form with slight corrections and deletions in the text made by the author. The most important versions that were crossed out are given in footnotes. p. 102

99 The reference is to the suppression of the popular uprising in Vienna by the counter-revolutionary army of Windischgrätz at the end of October and the beginning of November 1848, and also to the capture of Pest on January 5, 1849 by Austrian troops under his command in an attack on revolutionary Hungary. p. 102

100 Apparently Engels is here referring to the Slav group in the Imperial Diet and, in general, to the representatives of the Slav peoples' national movement who were demanding the unification of the Slav lands and autonomy within the framework of the Austrian Empire. After the publication of the imposed ("granted") Constitution on March 4, 1849, which destroyed all hopes that the national demands might be satisfied, opposition sentiments grew stronger among the Slavs. p. 105

101 The reference is to the conflict of the Austrian Government with the Constituent Imperial Diet and to the Constitution imposed by Emperor Francis Joseph on March 4, 1849 (see Note 39). p. 105

102 See Note 35. p. 105

103 The sittings of the Frankfurt National Assembly were held in St. Paul's Church. Austrian ruling circles were hostile to the elaboration of an all-German Constitution by the Assembly and strove to restore the old German Confederation of 1815, in which Austria played the leading role. Schwarzenberg, head of the Austrian Government, issued a Note imbued with this idea on March 9, 1849, after the dissolution of the Austrian Diet. On April 15, 1849, the Austrian Government officially rejected the imperial Constitution adopted by the Assembly as incompatible with the unity and nature of the Austrian Empire and recalled the Austrian deputies from Frankfurt. p. 106

104 The revolution in Austria began with the uprising of March 13, 1848 in Vienna. It was followed by the March 18-19 revolutionary events in Berlin which started the revolution in Prussia. p. 108

105 On June 25, 1849, the anniversary of the June 1848 uprising of the Paris workers was to be celebrated. p. 108

106 Camphausen was one of the shareholders of the oppositional Rheinische Zeitung which was published in Cologne in 1842 and 1843 and edited by Marx from October 1842 to March 1843. p. 108

107 The reference is to the appeal by Frederick William IV published on March 21, 1848 under the title "To My People and the German Nation" ("An mein Volk und an die deutsche Nation"). Under the impact of the revolutionary events, the King had to give a pledge to be loyal to the tricolour banner of the revolution and to contribute to the unification of Germany. p. 109
108 Friedrichshain—a park in Berlin where those killed in the barricade fighting during the March 18, 1848 uprising were buried.  

109 The reference is to the cities of Buda (Ofen) and Pest which at the time were virtually twin capital cities of Hungary. After a successful counter-attack by the Hungarian revolutionary army and the liberation of the two capital cities from the Austrian invaders on June 24, 1849 the Hungarian authorities announced the unification of Buda and Pest into one city. However, subsequent events prevented this decree from being implemented.  

The official unification of Pest and Buda and the formation of a single city of Budapest took place on January 1, 1873.  

110 See Note 10.  

111 See Note 21.  

112 Cavalry units of the Austrian army included not only squadrons but also larger tactical formations—divisions, which usually consisted of two squadrons. p. 113  

113 The reference is to the armistice concluded between Austria and the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont) on August 9, 1848 after the defeat of the Piedmontese troops at Custozza. The Kingdom of Sardinia was to withdraw its troops from Lombardy, Parma and Venice and cede them to the Austrians.  

On March 20, 1849, under pressure from the masses, King Charles Albert had to declare the armistice cancelled and to resume hostilities against Austria. p. 114  

114 C.M. (conventional money, or 20-gulden coins) had existed in Austria since the eighteenth century and, under the respective convention, was also introduced in Bavaria. Its standard was silver (20 guldens were to contain 234 grams of silver). In the eighteenth century, paper money was issued which, from the early nineteenth century, was called “Vienna currency”. Transactions were quoted in conventional monetary units. p. 114  

115 See Note 39.  

116 The German term used here and elsewhere is Feldzeugmeister which is a higher rank in the Austrian army directly subordinate to Field Marshal. In some other armies it retained its original meaning of artillery commander. p. 115  

117 See Note 67.  

118 See Note 54.  

119 The reference is to provincial diets (Landtags) introduced in Prussia in 1823. They consisted of representatives of four estates (princes, nobility, representatives of towns and rural communities). Property and other electoral qualifications secured the majority in the provincial diets for the nobility. The provincial diets were convened by the King and they were competent only to deal with questions of local economy and administration. As consultative bodies they could make proposals on Bills submitted by the Government for discussion. In 1843, under the pretext of introducing unified legislation for Prussia, King Frederick William IV submitted for discussion in the Rhenish Diet a new draft of the penal code which was to replace the more liberal French Code pénal. The seventh Rhenish Diet (1843) rejected the Bill, stating that the existing laws fully conformed to the moral standards, traditions and legal practices of the Rhine Province. p. 121
The Rhenish legislation refers to the *Code civil* (see Note 50) and *Code pénal*—the penal code adopted in France in 1810 and introduced in the conquered regions of West and South-West Germany. It remained in operation in the Rhine Province even after its incorporation into Prussia in 1815.  

An allusion to the rescripts (patents) of Frederick William IV of February 3, 1847, on the convocation of the United Diet (on which see Note 88).  

At the June 2, 1847 sitting of the United Diet, Thadden-Triglaff, a Right-wing deputy, stated: “My proposal reads as follows: freedom of the press—*really* public proceedings for the gentlemen of the press and along with them the *gallows*! I would ask Messrs the stenographers to underline thoroughly both the words ‘really’ and ‘gallows’.” (*Der Erste Vereinigte Landtag in Berlin 1847*, vierter Theil, S. 2241.)

*Uckermark*—a northern part of the Brandenburg Province (Prussia), the mainstay of the reactionary Prussian Junkers.

*Holy Hermandad*—a league of Spanish towns set up at the end of the fifteenth century with the approbation of the King, who sought to make use of the 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 detachments of the Holy Hermandad performed police duties. Thus the police in general has often been ironically labelled the “Holy Hermandad”.

The reference is to the Vienna Congress of European monarchs and their Ministers (September 1814 to June 1815) which set up a system of all-European treaties after the wars of the European powers against Napoleonic France. The decisions of the Congress helped to restore the feudal system and a number of former dynasties in the states that had been conquered by Napoleon, sanctioned the political disunity of Germany and Italy, the incorporation of Belgium into Holland and the partition of Poland and mapped out measures to combat the revolutionary movement.

See Note 47.

The reference is to the so-called *United Commissions* of the representatives of the Provincial Diets which met on January 17, 1848 to discuss the Bill concerning penal law (“Entwurf des Strafgesetzbuchs für die preußischen Staaten...”). Convening these commissions, the Prussian Government hoped that the apparent preparations for reform would lessen the growing public unrest. The work of the commissions was interrupted by the revolutionary outbursts that swept through Germany at the beginning of March.

The reference is to the edict issued by the King of Prussia on March 6, 1821 under the title “Allerhöchste Kabinetsorder vom 6ten März 1821, betreffend die Strafgesetze und das Verfahren in den Rheinprovinzen bei Verbrechen und Vergehungen gegen den Staat und dessen Oberhaupt...”. It introduced the Prussian penal code into the Rhine Province with respect to high treason. This was one of the first attempts made by the Prussian Government to limit the jurisdiction of the *Code pénal* operating in the Rhine Province and introduce the old-Prussian feudal-type penal code.

See Note 55.
The debates in the Second Chamber of the Prussian Provincial Diet (see Note 84) were published in Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen der durch das Allerhöchste Patent vom 5. Dezember 1848 einberufenen Kammern. Zweite Kammer. Beilage zum "Preußischen Staats-Anzeiger", Bd. 1-2, Berlin, 1849. The discussion of the draft Address in reply to the speech from the throne was held on March 13, 1849. p. 135

The minutes of the Prussian National Assembly (ironically referred to here as the "Agreement Assembly"—see Note 48) were published in the Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen der zur Vereinbarung der preußischen Staats-Verfassung berufenen Versammlung. Beilage zum "Preußischen Staats-Anzeiger", Bd. 1-3, Berlin, 1848. Later they were published as a separate edition under the title Verhandlungen der constituirenden Versammlung für Preußen. 1848, Bd. 1-8, Berlin, 1848; Bd. 9 (Suppl.-Bd.), Leipzig, 1849. p. 135

The reference is to the period between the dissolution of the Prussian National Assembly (December 5, 1848) and the convocation of the Chambers of the Prussian Provincial Diet (February 26, 1849). p. 135

See Note 52. p. 135

During the coup d'état in Prussia, after a series of delays, the National Assembly adopted on November 15, 1848 a decision to refuse to pay taxes from November 17 onwards in protest against government policy. However, the decision taken under the pressure of the Left deputies and democratic circles was interpreted by the majority of deputies in the spirit of passive resistance, which could hardly be effective measure in the struggle against the counter-revolutionary offensive.

Wailers (Heuler)—the name the republican democrats in Germany in 1848-49 applied to the moderate constitutionalists who, in turn, called their opponents "agitators" (Wühler). See also Note 245). p. 138

In January and February 1814, during the war against Napoleonic France, the Prussian and other coalition armies suffered a number of defeats in Champagne (including the battles at Bar-Sur-Aube, Saint Dizier, and Montmirail).

In the battle at Jena on October 14, 1806, the Prussian army was defeated by the French; the defeat was followed by the surrender of feudal Prussia to Napoleonic France.

On March 18 and 19, 1848, the imperial troops had to withdraw from Berlin as a result of the victorious uprising of the masses. p. 139

The question of electing the King of Prussia to the throne of the German Empire was discussed in the Frankfurt National Assembly on its completion of the draft for an imperial Constitution which, though it proclaimed some civil liberties and introduced all-German central institutions, nevertheless attributed to the united German state the form of a monarchy. The liberal deputies of the Assembly who held pro-Prussian views were particularly insistent on handing over the imperial crown to the Hohenzollerns. They were opposed by the democratic wing, but pro-Prussian tendencies took the upper hand as a result of a compromise between the moderate democrats and the liberals. On March 27, 1849, the imperial Constitution was passed on second reading. On March 28, the Frankfurt Assembly elected the Prussian King Frederick William IV "Emperor of the Germans". Frederick William IV, however, rejected the imperial crown. On the causes of his
refusal to accept the crown from the Frankfurt Assembly see Engels' article "The Comedy with the Imperial Crown" (this volume, pp. 193-94).

139 According to the electoral law of December 6, 1848 (see Note 52) only "independent Prussians" had the right to elect to the Second Chamber. This qualification in fact deprived the poor and the dispossessed sections of the population of all electoral rights.

140 The imposed Constitution of December 5, 1848, contained reservations which contravened the principle of the immunity of deputies. Article 83 in particular stated that members of both Chambers "may be called to account both for their voting in the Chamber and for the statement of their views there".

141 St. Stephen's Chapel—part of Westminster Palace, where the House of Commons sat since 1547.

Chambre introuvable, the name given by King Louis XVIII to the Chamber of Deputies in France which in 1815-16 consisted of extreme conservatives.

The Chamber of February 24, 1848—the Chamber of Deputies in France which tried in vain to restrain the growing revolution and preserve the monarchy by replacing Louis Philippe by his grandson—the Count of Paris—in whose favour Louis Philippe abdicated on February 24, 1848.

142 See Note 88.

143 See Note 26.

144 An allusion to the Catholic Easter rites practised at the Viennese, Munich, Madrid and other courts. On the Thursday of Passion Week a religious ceremony of the ablution of the sovereign's feet used to be held in the cathedrals before the liturgy.

145 On March 12, 1849, the King of Sardinia cancelled the armistice with Austria that had been concluded on August 9, 1848, and hostilities were resumed on March 20. However, the seven-month armistice had not been used by the ruling circles of Piedmont to reorganise and strengthen the army; the key posts were left in the hands of mediocre and counter-revolutionary-minded generals. Despite the national enthusiasm with which the resumption of hostilities was met in Piedmont, in Austrian-ridden Lombardy and all over Italy, the Piedmontese army was defeated by March 23. Charles Albert abdicated. Victor-Emmanuel II, the new king, concluded an armistice with the Austrians on March 26, and on August 6, 1849, a peace treaty was signed on very onerous terms for Piedmont. It sanctioned the restoration of Austrian rule in Northern Italy and the Austrian protectorate over a number of states of Central Italy (Tuscany, Parma).

146 The reference is to the main battle during the first stage of the Austro-Italian war (which broke out on March 25, 1848, as a result of the national liberation uprising in Lombardy and Venice against Austrian rule)—the battle at Custozza (on the River Mincio) on July 25 and 26, 1848, in which the Austrian army under the command of Radetzky defeated the Piedmontese troops. Then, on August 6, the Austrians captured Milan and on August 9, 1848, an armistice was concluded between Austria and the Kingdom of Sardinia, under which the latter undertook to withdraw its troops from the cities and fortresses of Lombardy and Venice and
cede them to the Austrians. At the beginning, some of the states of Southern and Central Italy (including the Kingdom of Naples, Rome and Tuscany) were forced by the patriots to take part in the war against Austria, but right from the start the counter-revolutionary ruling circles of these states sabotaged the dispatch of army detachments to the front and soon managed either to recall their troops or make them surrender to the Austrians.

147 See Note 13. p. 149

148 Apparently an allusion to the actions of General Bonaparte (the future Emperor Napoleon) during his Italian campaign of 1796-97. At the beginning of the war, as a result of his bold manoeuvring of large military contingents, Bonaparte succeeded in defeating first the Austrian troops and then their allies, the Piedmontese, in the area of the Gulf of Genoa and, by threatening to march against Turin, in forcing the Kingdom of Sardinia to dissociate itself from the anti-French coalition and sign an armistice on April 28 and a peace treaty with France on May 5, 1796. p. 150

149 In the summer of 1848, during the initial period of the Austro-Italian war, Garibaldi offered help to Charles Albert who, however, rejected it. The command of the Piedmontese army and the provisional government of Lombardy controlled by Charles Albert in no way assisted the volunteer corps formed by Garibaldi, who was left to fight the Austrian troops alone. Though Garibaldi and his corps continued to offer heroic resistance to the Austrians, even after the Austrian-Piedmontese armistice was signed on August 9, 1848, they were compelled by superior enemy forces to retreat to Switzerland. p. 151

150 See Note 9. p. 154

151 Puszás—the Hungarian plains between the Danube and Theiss. p. 154

152 Engels refers to the liberation war of the Algerians under the command of Emir Abd-el-Kader against the French colonialists who had occupied Algeria in 1830. The war continued from 1832 to 1847 with short intervals. p. 155

153 Several items written by Engels on the war in Northern Italy were published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung under the title “From the Theatre of War” which headed the majority of his reports on the revolutionary war in Hungary. However, the former were printed in the section entitled “Italy” and the latter in the “Hungary” section. To distinguish the Italian items from his Hungarian reports, the former are published in this edition with the subtitle “Italy” supplied by the editors. p. 156

154 During the national liberation insurrection of 1830-31 in Poland, Ramorino, who had emigrated from Italy, was appointed commander of one of the insurgents’ corps. After Warsaw was stormed by Tsarist troops early in September 1831, Ramorino withdrew his corps to Austria, where it was interned.

In 1833, Italian revolutionary emigrants, members of the “Young Italy” association headed by Mazzini, proposed to Ramorino that he should lead the military expedition to Savoy intended to instigate a republican uprising in Piedmont. However, Ramorino embezzled part of the money given him by Mazzini to enlist volunteers and in fact helped to frustrate the insurgents’ plan. Instead of a simultaneous entry into Savoy from Switzerland and France, only one group of patriots penetrated Savoy from Grenoble in February 1834, and was dispersed by the Piedmontese carabiniieri.

At the second stage of the Austro-Italian war, Ramorino commanded one of the Piedmontese divisions made up of Lombards. On March 20, 1849, he ordered his troops to retreat from the Ticino lowlands and thus enabled the Austrians not
only to enter Piedmont, but even to cut off part of the army from the main forces. After the war, Ramorino was court-martialled and executed.  

p. 156

155 The reference is to the German section of the population of Transylvania (see Note 21).  

p. 159

156 On March 20, 1849, the Slovak deputation consisting mainly of Right-wing leaders of the Slovak national movement was received by Emperor Francis Joseph. The visit to Olmütz was prompted by the fact that Slovakia was still deprived of language equality and of other national rights, even after the imposed Constitution was proclaimed on March 4, 1849. The Slovak deputation again demanded the separation of Slovakia from Hungary and autonomy within the framework of the Austrian Empire. The Austrian Court deliberately adopted a delaying policy with the aim of using the Slovaks to fight the Hungarian revolution. However, all their national demands were subsequently rejected.  

p. 162

157 Venice, where the masses had proclaimed independence and restored the “Republic of St. Mark” as early as March 1848, took an active part in the national liberation struggle against Austrian rule. The Venetians continued to offer resistance to the Austrians even after the armistice was concluded on August 9, 1848, between Austria and Piedmont, and withstood for many months a severe blockade by sea and land. After scoring a new victory over the Piedmontese army in March 1849, the Austrians reinforced their troops besieging Venice, which was finally forced to surrender. On August 22, 1849, the Republic of Venice, the last bulwark of the revolution in Italy, collapsed.  

p. 166

158 See Note 55.  

p. 168

159 The battle at Novara between Piedmontese and Austrian troops lasted the whole day of March 22 and ended at dawn on March 23, 1849, in the defeat and retreat of the Piedmontese army.  

p. 169

160 On Ramorino’s part in the Polish national liberation movement and the Savoy campaign of the Italian republicans in 1834, see Note 154.  

p. 169

161 As Engels expected, the defeat at Novara and the conclusion of a new armistice between Austria and Piedmont cardinally changed the balance of forces in Italy in favour of the home and foreign counter-revolution. In Florence, the revolutionary events in January and February 1849 led to the overthrow of Grand Duke Leopold II and the proclamation of a republic in Tuscany (the official inauguration of a republic did not take place owing to sabotage by moderate liberals). On April 11, a counter-revolutionary coup d’état took place, the democratic provisional government of Guerazzi was overthrown, and the Grand Duke returned to power. He entered the city on May 25, 1849, together with Austrian troops.  

The Roman Republic, proclaimed on February 9, 1849, had to wage a grim struggle against counter-revolutionary insurgents instigated by the Catholic clergy, against Neapolitan troops, Austrians and the French expeditionary corps sent to Italy on April 6, 1849 to restore the power of Pope Pius IX over Rome. On July 3, 1849 the Republic fell under the blows of the foreign interventionists.  

p. 170

162 On January 26, 1849, Faucher, Minister of Public Works in the Government of the liberal monarchist Odilon Barrot, submitted a Bill on the right of association to the Constituent Assembly. Its first clause ran as follows: “Clubs are prohibited”. The
Bill on the right of association (better known as the Bill on clubs) was adopted on March 21, 1849, by the votes of the monarchists and moderate republicans, despite opposition from Left deputies who accused the Government of a breach of the Constitution and demanded its resignation. This decision dealt a heavy blow to freedom of assembly and association, and primarily to the workers' associations.

165 See Note 19.

164 The reference is to the liberation war waged by the Spanish people against Napoleonic rule; a prominent part in this war was played by guerilla fighters.

166 During the 1815 campaign in Belgium, Napoleon, after defeating the Prussian army under Blücher at Ligny, ordered Marshal Grouchy to pursue the routed Prussians and prevent them from joining the Anglo-Dutch troops under Wellington. Grouchy, however, could not prevent Blücher's army from appearing, on June 18, on the battlefield of Waterloo at the most crucial moment of the battle. Grouchy with his troops failed to provide support for the French Emperor in time, and this lost them the entire campaign.

167 The reference is to the march of the Austrian auxiliary army under General Nugent from Triest to help the troops under Field Marshal Radetzky who were in a difficult position as a result of a popular uprising in Lombardy and Venice against Austrian rule in March 1848. Nugent's army left Triest in the second half of April 1848. Moving through the Venetian region, particularly the mountainous district of Friuli, and only meeting resistance from weak volunteer detachments, it plundered everything on its way. On April 21 Nugent barbarously shelled Udine, the main city of Friuli. At the end of May his army joined Radetzky's troops in Verona.

Master of Ordnance—see Note 116.

168 Direct-fire batteries (Demontir-Batterien) were intended for demolishing gun emplacements and guns in besieged fortresses.

Palatine line (Palatine—Hungarian title for a representative of the Emperor)—outer earthwork north-west of the Komorn fortress, between the Waag and the Danube; its construction was started in 1809 by order of the Hungarian Palatine, Archduke Joseph, and continued up to 1848.

169 The German term used here is Feuerwerker—a rank in the artillery corresponding to that of non-commissioned officer in other arms.

170 On the recognition of Francis Joseph as King of Hungary on the basis of the Pragmatic Sanction, see Note 97.

On the Debreczin National Assembly, see Note 14.

171 See Note 54.

172 Chaikists—Austro-Hungarian infantrymen who served on small sailing vessels and rowing boats (chaikas) in the Military Border area. They built pontoon bridges and transported troops along the Danube, Theiss and Sava. Recruited mainly from among the Serbs, inhabiting the Chaikist Area in Slavonia, from 1764 onwards they formed a special battalion.

178 See Note 11.
The reference is to Pest and Buda (see Note 109).  

An allusion to the important part Saragossa played in the Spanish national liberation war against Napoleon's rule, when the city was twice besieged by the French (in June-August 1808 and December 1808-February 1809) and won fame for its heroic defence.  

The reference is to the decisions of the Vienna Congress of 1814-15 (see Note 126).  

See Note 71.  

An allusion to the predominance of monarchists in the Government of Odilon Barrot, set up after the election of Louis Bonaparte as President of the Republic on December 10, 1848. Republican officials in the state apparatus were replaced by monarchists. Monarchist factions of legitimists (supporters of the Bourbon dynasty), Orleanists (followers of Louis Philippe) and Bonapartists formed a coalition in the Constituent Assembly, launched a struggle against the moderate republicans for political influence and strove to strengthen counter-revolutionary policy. In the Legislative Assembly convoked on May 28, 1849, this joint "party of order" was in the majority.

The Holy Alliance—see Note 40.  

An allusion to the composition of the Frankfurt National Assembly which on March 28, 1849 resolved to elect the King of Prussia, Frederick William IV, "Emperor of the Germans". The overwhelming majority of the Assembly's deputies were government and state officials, professors and lawyers (see Note 30)

At first Frederick William IV agreed to accept the imperial crown proffered by the National Assembly on the condition that the other German states agreed, but on April 25, 1849, he finally rejected the proposal of the Frankfurt National Assembly and the imperial Constitution it had drawn up.

The phrase "By the grace of God do I have this crown" was pronounced by Frederick William IV on October 15, 1840 when he was crowned King of Prussia.  

This article written by Engels for the Neue Rheinische Zeitung was not published and has survived as an unfinished manuscript.

The article was occasioned by the Prussian Government's measures to call up the army reserve. Among the pretexts for this was the war with Denmark resumed in Schleswig-Holstein. The Prussian ruling circles were obviously preparing the armed suppression of the revolutionary-democratic movement in Prussia and the rest of Germany.

The army reserve (Landwehr) appeared in Prussia during the struggle against Napoleon. "Landwehr-Ordnung" defining the rules of enrolment, recruitment and service was adopted on November 21, 1815. In the 1840s, those to be enrolled in the army reserve had to be under 40 and go through three-years active service and be not less than two years in reserve. In contrast to the regular army, enlistment to the army reserve took place only in case of extreme necessity (war, or threat of war).  

On the resumption of war between Prussia and Denmark over Schleswig-Holstein, after the expiry of the truce between them at the end of March 1849, see Note 92.  

The reference is to the brutal suppression by Prussian soldiers of the national liberation insurrection in Posen in March-May 1848.
In the second half of December 1847, Marx delivered several lectures on political economy in the German Workers' Society in Brussels and intended to prepare them for publication. A manuscript of the pamphlet prepared at the time and entitled *Wages* has survived. It is written in Joseph Weydemeyer's hand and its text is almost identical to that published later in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. A draft outline of Marx's concluding lectures, which he had no time to prepare for publication, is extant as a manuscript written in his own hand and also bearing the heading *Wages* (see present edition, Vol. 6). As regards its contents, it supplements the work *Wage Labour and Capital*. Later, in the preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859) (see present edition, Vol. 30), Marx pointed out that he did not manage to publish the work on "Wage Labour" based on his lectures because of the February revolution of 1848 in France and his expulsion from Belgium.

This work first appeared as a series of leading articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of April 5-8 and 11, 1849 under the title of *Wage Labour and Capital*. When undertaking this publication, Marx edited the former text once more and wrote an introduction giving the reasons why it was necessary to discuss economic problems in a newspaper, and primarily to reveal the economic relations on which bourgeois rule and the actual slavery of wage workers were founded.

By publishing this work, Marx wished to prepare the proletarian readers of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* for the solution of the tasks that had become urgent by that time—the creation of the mass workers' party, and also to define the social aims set by the revolutionary organ which he edited. Marx's work helped to spread the ideas of scientific communism among the advanced section of the German proletariat. On April 11, 1849 the Committee of the Cologne Workers' Association recommended that all its branches should start discussing social problems on the basis of the articles on wage labour and capital published in the newspaper, and called upon other workers' associations in Germany to discuss these articles.

The work was not published in the newspaper in full. Issue No. 269 announced that there was to be a sequel, but this never appeared because Marx had to leave Cologne for a time on financial and other business connected with the newspaper. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 277 of April 20 carried the following note: "Cologne, April 19. Owing to the temporary absence of the author, the exposition of the relationship between wage labour and capital has had to be interrupted. It will, however, be resumed shortly and then continued to the end without interruption." This was never done, however, because the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* ceased publication. Marx's subsequent intention to put out the work as a separate pamphlet did not materialise either.

The first separate edition in the language of the original appeared in Breslau in 1880 without Marx's knowledge. In 1881 the pamphlet was republished there. A Russian translation (the first translation into a foreign language) appeared in Geneva in 1883. It was made from the Breslau edition and repeatedly republished illegally.

After Marx's death, *Wage Labour and Capital* was published in 1884 in Hottingen-Zurich as a pamphlet with a short introductory note by Engels, dated June of that year. From December 1884 to February 1885, the London newspaper *Justice*, the organ of the Social-Democratic Federation, published the first English translation made by J. L. Joynes. In March 1885 it appeared as a separate pamphlet and later was repeatedly republished. J. L. Joynes' translation was used in the workers' press of the USA, in particular by the *Workmen's Advocate*, New Haven (Connecticut), in November 1886-January 1887.

In 1891 a new edition of the pamphlet appeared in Berlin: *Lohnarbeit und
Kapital. Von Karl Marx, Separat-Abdruck aus der Neuen Rheinische Zeitung vom Jahre 1849. Berlin, Verlag der Expedition des Vorwärts Berliner Volksblatt, 1891. It was edited by Engels who wrote the introduction and made certain changes and amendments in order to bring the presentation and terminology into harmony with the further development of Marx's economic teaching after 1849. Engels wrote about this in his introduction:

"In the forties, Marx had not yet finished his critique of political economy. This took place only towards the end of the fifties. Consequently, his works that appeared before the first part of A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (1859) differ in some points from those written after 1859, and contain expressions and whole sentences which, from the point of view of the later works, appear unfortunate and even incorrect. Now, it is self-evident that in ordinary editions intended for the general public this earlier point of view also has its place, as a part of the intellectual development of the author, and that both author and public have an indisputable right to the unaltered reproduction of these older works. And I should not have dreamed of altering a word of them.

"It is another thing when the new edition is intended practically exclusively for propaganda among workers.

"In such a case Marx would certainly have brought the old presentation dating from 1849 into harmony with his new point of view....

"My alterations all turn on one point. According to the original, the worker sells his labour to the capitalist for wages; according to the present text he sells his labour power."

The 1891 edition, intended by Engels for popular propaganda, was used as the basis for many publications of this work in different languages, in particular for the English translation of 1891 printed in Glasgow by the Socialist Labour Party publishers.

In this volume, the work is reproduced in a form which was in keeping with the level of Marx's economic teaching in 1849 and in accordance with the text in the Neuen Rheinische Zeitung. At the same time, all the major amendments made by Engels in the 1891 edition are given in footnotes. The division of the work into sections follows the sequence in which it was published in separate issues of the newspaper. The sections are numbered by the editors of the present edition. The list of misprints given in the Neuen Rheinische Zeitung No. 270, April 12, 1849, is also taken into account.

184 The reference is to the major events of 1848 and 1849: the insurrection of the Paris proletariat on June 25-26; the suppression of the Vienna October popular revolt by Austrian soldiers and the capture of the capital on November 1 by troops under Windischgrätz; the counter-revolutionary coup in Prussia in November, which brought about the dissolution of the Prussian National Assembly on December 5; and the rise of the revolutionary national liberation movement in Poland, Italy and Hungary.

In 1845-47, Ireland experienced a terrible famine, after continual failure of the potato crop. The real reason for this social calamity was the cruel exploitation of the Irish people under English rule, reduced to destitution by the ruling classes through the enslaving lease system imposed on the Irish peasants by the landlords. About a million died of hunger, and as many were compelled to emigrate. The effects of the famine were felt to the full in subsequent years.

185 Engels points out in the introduction to the 1891 edition that Marx failed to prepare his lectures on wage labour and capital for the press mainly because of the rapid pace of political events at the time: popular uprisings in response to the
refusal by the ruling circles of Prussia and other states to recognise the imperial Constitution (Dresden, Iserlohn, Elberfeld, the Palatinate, Baden) and a new counter-revolutionary advance which led to the suppression of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung.

p. 228

186 The reference is to the draft Constitution drawn up in Kremsier by the Austrian Constituent Imperial Diet. In early March 1849 it was dissolved by the Austrian Government which countered this draft with the Constitution imposed by the Emperor (see notes 13 and 39). The Kremsier draft, though it contained some concessions to the great-power and centralising tendencies of the German aristocratic ruling circles, envisaged a certain administrative independence for a number of national regions of the Empire and introduced provincial diets as representative institutions there.

p. 230

See Note 55.

See Note 10.

See Note 9.

On March 15, 1848, a popular uprising broke out in Pest. In the middle of the day, the insurgents—craftsmen, workers, students, and peasants who had come to the fair—captured the town, crossed the Danube by the bridge and broke into Buda, where they set political prisoners free. The Austrian garrison was paralysed. The insurgents elected a Committee of Public Safety which provisionally concentrated power in its own hands. A popular meeting adopted the “12 points” drawn up by the radical opposition and demanding administration by parliament and civil liberties. The events of March 15 started the revolution in Hungary against the feudal serf-owning system and for national independence.

p. 237

191 The Austrian Archduke Stephan was appointed Palatine of Hungary in 1847. From the very first days of the Hungarian revolution he strove to restore the Habsburgs' rule, disguising his counter-revolutionary designs by concessions to the Hungarian national liberation movement, and aiming at collusion with Hungarian magnates. In September 1848, when the Ban Jellachich, inspired by Austrian court circles, entered Hungary causing a government crisis there, Stephan made an unsuccessful attempt to seize power. On the proposal of Hungarian Right-wing leaders, the National Assembly appointed him Commander-in-Chief of the Hungarian troops. However, Archduke Stephan delayed military action and tried to come to an agreement with the Croatian Ban. Shortly afterwards, feeling himself insecure, he fled from Hungary. On September 29, 1848, Hungarian revolutionary troops defeated Jallachich’s army.

p. 239

192 The reference is to the “independent and responsible government” of Hungary formed as a result of the March uprising of 1848 and headed by Count Batthyány. The Government was dominated by representatives of the landed aristocracy and nobility, who were afraid that the revolution would be carried further and strove to compromise with the Austrian ruling circles. The radicals were represented in the Government by Lajos Kossuth (Finance Minister) and Bertalan Szemere (Minister of the Interior). The Batthyány Government (its composition was made public on March 25) held power up to October 1, 1848. Early in October, the National Assembly transferred governmental functions to the Defence Council (see Note 70) headed by Kossuth.

p. 239

193 An allusion to the debate on a number of Bills in the National Assembly (Diet) then in session in Pressburg: on the abolition of labour services and tithe. On
March 18, 1848, the Assembly promulgated an agrarian law annulling some of the peasants' feudal services, and passed laws on representation of the people, national independence, the press etc. These Bills were proposed under the impact of the growing revolutionary movement in the country. p. 240

194 The march of Bem's army to the Banat (a district in the Serbian Voivodina, then administratively included in Hungary) took place in April 1849 after his troops had routed the Austrian army and Russian auxiliary detachments and occupied almost the whole of Transylvania. In the Banat, the troops under Bem and the Hungarian General Perčzel inflicted a number of defeats on the Austrians and the Serbs of the Voivodina, whom the Austrian Government and pro-Austrian circles of the Serbian nobility and clergy had involved in the war with revolutionary Hungary (see Note 24); but they were unable to achieve any decisive successes. At the end of June 1849, large army contingents from Tsarist Russia entered Transylvania to assist the Austrian counter-revolution and this again made the presence of Bem's troops necessary in the Transylvanian theatre of war. This time he was defeated by the superior Russian troops.

Later Marx and Engels drew attention to Bem's expedition in the Banat in the article "Bem" written for the New American Cyclopaedia in September 1857. p. 243

195 Up to 1868, regiments and other independent military units in the Austrian imperial army were named after their "patrons" or chiefs (Inhaber). This custom dated back to the mercenary armies when commanders maintained regiments at their own expense and therefore had the right to appoint officers. Later the commanders retained the right to give their names to the regiments, but the state assumed the responsibility of maintaining them. p. 245

196 The Palatine redoubts, direct-fire batteries—see Note 168. Breach batteries were installed at the concluding stages of a siege to destroy the bastions and other fortifications of a besieged fortress. p. 246

197 The Debreczin National Assembly—see Note 14. This session of the National Assembly was held in Debreczin because only on April 24, 1849 did the Hungarian troops liberate Pest. p. 246

198 See Note 68. p. 246

199 "World-historic Diet"—the reference is to the Sabor of the Southern Slavs in Agram (Zagreb) on June 5, 1848 (see Note 67). Though the Sabor came out in favour of uniting Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia and of certain reforms there, on the whole, it sought compromise with the Austrian monarchy and did little to modify the former military feudal order in these regions and the enslaved position of their population. Only a small group of democratic delegates connected the struggle for the national cause with the revolutionary struggle against feudal monarchist regimes. p. 246

200 Observation corps were assigned to watch the enemy on the flanks of the main theatre of military operations. p. 248

201 See Note 190. p. 248

202 The reference is evidently to the Odbor then in session in the town of Karlowitz (see Note 11). p. 251

203 In the summer of 1848, the anti-feudal movement and the struggle for complete liberation from the Turkish Sultan's yoke gained strength in the Danube
principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia), which were formally still autonomous possessions of Turkey. The movement in Wallachia grew into a bourgeois revolution. In June 1848, a Constitution was proclaimed, a liberal Provisional Government was formed and George Bibesco, the ruler of Wallachia, abdicated and fled the country.

On June 28, 1848, a 12,000-strong Russian army corps entered Moldavia and, in July, Turkish troops also invaded the country. In September 1848 the Turkish army, supported by the Tsarist Government, occupied Wallachia and perpetrated a massacre in Bucharest. A proclamation of the Turkish government commissioner Fuad-Effendi declared the need to establish "law and order" and "eliminate all traces of the revolution". Intervention by Russia and Turkey led to the restoration of the feudal system in the Danube principalities and the defeat of the bourgeois revolution in Wallachia. The desire to completely suppress the revolutionary movement made the two governments, despite acute Russo-Turkish contradictions, conclude a convention in Balta-Liman on May 1, 1849. This cancelled the system of the election of rulers and other progressive reforms introduced in the Danube principalities in 1848, and sanctioned the occupation of their territories by Turkish and Russian troops. The military occupation of the principalities lasted until 1851.

The bombardment of Hatvan on April 2, 1849 opened a new stage in the Hungarian offensive against the Austrian troops. It was prepared for by successful movements in the centre of military operations at the Theiss, Bem's victories in Transylvania, guerilla warfare in areas occupied by the Austrians, and vigorous measures taken by the Kossuth Government (the Defence Council) to strengthen the army and mobilise all its resources for the struggle against the enemy. When Engels wrote this report he had not yet received the news of the battle at Hatvan. Meanwhile, the victory scored by the Hungarian army there and the subsequent blows inflicted by it on the Austrians at Tapio-Bicske (April 4), Isaczeg and Gödöllő (April 5-7), Waitzen (April 10), etc. brought about a radical change in the war in favour of revolutionary Hungary. On April 19, 1849 the Hungarians routed the Austrians in a decisive battle at Nagy-Sallo, advanced further, relieved Komorn on April 22, and liberated Pest on April 24. The defeated Austrian army retreated to the western border.

The Hungarian command faced the prospect of spreading the revolutionary war into Austrian and German territory. However, because of anti-revolutionary sentiments among a number of high commanders, Görgey in particular, and the fear of diplomatic complications, it was decided to cease the pursuit of the Austrians and to turn the main forces towards the fortress of Buda, which was still held by an Austrian garrison. The siege of Buda was time-consuming (it was captured only on May 21) and this gave the Austrians the respite they needed to bring up new reserves and complete their talks with Tsarist Russia about help in suppressing revolutionary Hungary (the final agreement was reached at the meeting of Francis Joseph and Nicholas I in Warsaw on May 21). All this had fatal consequences for the Hungarian revolution.

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See Note 10.
An allusion to the shooting of Robert Blum, a German democrat and deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly, by sentence of an Austrian court martial (see Note 41). This crudely arbitrary act on the part of the Austrian military clique was approved by reactionary circles in Prussia. p. 257

The reference is to the conventions concerning extradition of criminals, deserters, vagabonds etc. concluded by Prussia with a number of German states (Austria, Bavaria, Württemberg, Saxony, Grand Duchy of Baden etc.) and also with Russia in 1816-20. In practice, these conventions applied to persons accused of political crimes in accordance with the policy of the Holy Alliance powers (see Note 40) which strove for an international union of counter-revolutionary forces in the struggle against the revolutionary movement. p. 258

In the initial period of the European revolution of 1848, various reactionary sovereigns and public figures, deprived of throne and power and seeking safety from the people’s wrath, found refuge in England. Among them were: ex-King of the French, Louis Philippe (February); ex-Chancellor of the Austrian Empire, Metternich; the Prince of Prussia, Wilhelm (March); and later Lola Montez, an influential favourite of Ludwig I, King of Bavaria who was compelled to abdicate, and others. p. 258

The war with Denmark over the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein renewed by Prussia at the end of March 1849 (see notes 90 and 92) was waged in the name of all the states of the German Confederation. Owing to this, military and naval contingents from Schleswig-Holstein were regarded as the nucleus of an all-German imperial army and navy, their formation being stipulated by the imperial Constitution drawn up by the Frankfurt National Assembly. p. 259

On April 5, 1849 a German coastal battery fired on the Danish squadron at the harbour of Eckernförde (Schleswig); two damaged Danish ships were captured. This event, which made no essential difference to the course of war with Denmark, was claimed by the official Prussian press as a major victory. p. 259

Black-red-and-gold—a symbolic combination of colours signifying the unity of Germany. The Belgian state flag, introduced during the revolution of 1830-31, after the separation of Belgium from Holland, included the same colours but arranged differently (vertical black, gold and red stripes). p. 260

An ironical allusion to the strivings of the liberal majority of the Frankfurt National Assembly to place the Prussian King (black-and-white—state colours of the Prussian monarchy) at the head of united Germany (black-red-and-gold—symbol of its unity) as the “Emperor of the Germans” (see Note 138). p. 260

See Note 151. p. 261

In the battle of Leipzig on October 16-19, 1813 troops from Russia, Prussia, Austria and Sweden won a victory over the army of Napoleon and the states dependent on him. This victory decided the outcome of the 1813 campaign in favour of the sixth anti-Napoleon coalition (England, Spain and some other states also participated in it). As a result, Napoleon’s troops were driven out of Germany and military operations moved over into France. p. 261

The reference is to the Constitution imposed by Francis Joseph on March 4, 1849 (see Note 19). p. 263

See Note 97. p. 263
On the battle at Novara between the Austrian and Piedmontese armies, see Note 159.

Here and in the two reports given below, "A Magyar Victory" and "An Austrian Defeat", Engels writes about the military events in Hungary early in April: the victory won by the Hungarian troops at Hatvan on April 2 and the subsequent blows they inflicted on the Austrian army (see Note 204).

Banderial hussars (from the Latin banderium—banner)—the name given in medieval Hungary to cavalry detachments of nobles that under their own banners formed part of the royal army or of the armies of the big feudal lords. In this instance, the reference is to the regiment of Banderial hussars formed in July 1848 in Croatia. It took part in the marches of Jellachich's army against revolutionary Hungary.

The battles for Pest were fought from April 6 to 25, 1849. They also continued after the main Austrian forces, beaten by Hungarian revolutionary troops, had been compelled to retreat north-west to the borders of Austria. After Pest was liberated, the Austrian garrison still held out in the fortress of Buda which was besieged by the Hungarians from May 4 to 21, 1849.

In March 1849, the war between Piedmont and Austria was renewed and this served as a new impetus to the national liberation movement in Lombardy, in the rear of the Austrian army. A large popular uprising against Austrian rule took place on March 20 in Brescia. The Austrian garrison was trapped in the fortress. The Austrian troops sent against Brescia consisted partly of those which had taken part in the operations against the Republic of Venice. They were under the command of General Nugent, who was later replaced by a Master of Ordnance, Haynau. The insurgent city was severely bombarded, but continued to resist even after the truce was signed between the King of Piedmont and Austria. Brescia was taken only by a fierce assault on March 31 and April 1. Haynau inflicted brutal reprisals on the insurgents.

The reference is to the response of the ruling circles in one of the small German states, the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg, to the proposal by the Frankfurt National Assembly that the crown of the "Emperor of the Germans" be given to the Prussian King, Frederick William IV (see Note 138).

The Rhenish District Committee of Democrats was set up at the First Rhenish Congress of Democrats held in Cologne on August 13 and 14, 1848, by a decision of the First All-German Democratic Congress in Frankfurt am Main, on the basis of the Central Commission of representatives from the three democratic organisations in Cologne—the Democratic Society, the Workers' Association and the Association for Workers and Employers—formed late in June 1848. Marx, who was on the Central Commission, also became a member of the Rhenish District Committee, together with Schapper, Moll and other prominent figures of the Communist League.

The President of the Committee was a German democrat, lawyer Schneider II. When he was elected to the Second Chamber of the Prussian Provincial Diet early in 1848, Marx acted as President. Thanks to Marx and his associates, the Committee exerted a considerable influence on the popular movement in the Rhine Province. It successfully organised resistance to the growing counter-revolutionary forces and, in particular, initiated the tax-refusal campaign during
the coup d'état in Prussia (November-December 1848). It did not confine its activities to the Rhine Province, but extended them to Westphalia as well.

Marx and other members of the Communist League decided to withdraw from the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats because of the changes that had taken place in Germany and in the working-class movement there by the spring of 1849. The rising activity of workers' associations and the markedly growing class consciousness of the German proletariat provided the opportunity to create a mass proletarian party. On the other hand, the wavering position of the petty-bourgeois democrats made necessary an ideological and organisational separation from them. Under these conditions, taking the first steps to found a proletarian party, Marx and Engels proposed the task of strengthening the independence of the workers' associations, primarily the Cologne Workers' Association, of freeing them from petty-bourgeois influence, of marshalling their activities in a single direction and achieving a unified revolutionary platform. Their withdrawal from the Committee in no way meant a break with the non-proletarian democratic trends. Marx and Engels continued to call for unity of action with democrats in the struggle against counter-revolution, believing, however, that at that stage it should not be carried out within a single organisation. At the same time, Marx established closer contacts with the representatives of the workers' associations.

These tasks and the financial problems of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung were the main purpose of Marx's trip to North-West Germany and Westphalia in the second half of April 1849, during which he visited Bremen, Hamburg, Bielefeld, Hamm and other towns.

226 The Rakos plain—a district on the left bank of the Danube where, until the sixteenth century, Hungarian assemblies of estates were held and Hungarian kings crowned. It is now within the city bounds of Budapest.

227 See Note 55.

228 See Note 16.

229 The reference is to the men of the Vienna mobile guard and the Academic Legion who survived after the capture of Vienna by counter-revolutionary troops (November 1, 1848) and, as part of Bem's army, participated in the revolutionary war in Hungary.

The Vienna mobile guard was formed by Bem during the October uprising in Vienna. It consisted mainly of artisans and workers and proved itself to be the most disciplined, efficient and audacious section of the insurgents' military forces.

The Academic Legion was a student militarised organisation set up in March 1848 in Vienna. It also included university lecturers and other intellectuals, mostly radical democrats. The Legion played a significant part in the Austrian revolutionary movement in 1848. When the October uprising in Vienna was suppressed, it was dissolved.

230 See Note 43.

231 Under the impact of the March revolution of 1848, the peasants' anti-feudal struggle assumed wide proportions within the Austrian Empire and became combined with the national liberation movement in the national border regions. Disturbances among the Ukrainian peasants of the Bukovina started in the spring of 1848 and became especially intensive when, on April 17, 1848, a law was promulgated in neighbouring Galicia abolishing feudal services. This law did not apply to the Bukovina, though it was administratively part of Galicia. The
Ukrainian peasant, Huzul Lucian Kobylica, was especially prominent among the peasants' leaders. He belonged to the radical democratic wing of the Austrian Constituent Imperial Diet to which he was elected in 1848. He helped the peasants lodge their petitions and complaints and did his best to get the lands seized by the landowners returned to the peasants. For this, Kobylica was deprived of his rights as a deputy.

In the spring of 1849, the peasants' movement in the Bukovina was rekindled. Peasants' detachments were formed, landowners' estates were seized and their woods felled more often. The peasant leaders, Lucian Kobylica (who may have been in direct contact with the Hungarian emissaries) and Birla Mironiuk, called upon the peasants to store up provisions and fodder for the Hungarian troops and to join them, if the latter entered the Bukovina. The peasants' disturbances in the Bukovina were suppressed by imperial forces.

The imposed redemption law referred to by Engels was adopted by the Austrian Imperial Diet on September 7, 1848 (see Note 33). p. 289

*Ruthenian*—the name given in nineteenth-century West-European ethnographical and historical works to the Ukrainian population of Galicia and the Bukovina, which was separated at the time from the bulk of the Ukrainian people. p. 289

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Nos. 265, 266, 267, 269 and 271 of April 6, 7, 8, 11 and 13, 1849, carried a series of feature articles by Georg Weert ridiculing the servility of the liberal majority of the Frankfurt National Assembly who wished to unite Germany under the aegis of Prussia and resolved on March 28, 1849 to elect the Prussian King, Frederick William IV, “Emperor of the Germans” (see Note 138). p. 295

The battle at Novara—see Note 159.

The battle for Pest—see Note 222.

The battle at Eckernförde—see Note 211.

On April 13, 1849, the so-called German federal troops stormed the Danish fortifications near Düppel (a village in Schleswig). p. 295

“Gagging laws”—the name given to the six exceptional laws passed in England in 1819 after “Peterloo”—when participants in a mass meeting for electoral reforms in St. Peter’s Field near Manchester were shot by police and troops; the laws limited the freedom of assembly and the press. p. 295

See Note 180. p. 295

After the March revolution, an insurrection of the Poles broke out in the Duchy of Posen for liberation from the Prussian yoke. Polish peasants and artisans took an active part in this, along with members of the lesser nobility. The Prussian Government was forced to promise that a reorganising committee would be set up in Posen and that the “reorganisation” would include: formation 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 representatives of the Prussian Government in Jarośliwice. 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” and was to remain formally part of the German Confederation. During the months following the suppression of the uprising by Prussian troops, the demarcation line was pushed further east and the promised “reorganisation” was never carried out.

The *German Confederation*—the ephemeral union of German states founded in 1815 by decision of the Vienna Congress. p. 296
Potato war—the name given ironically to the so-called war for the Bavarian succession between Prussia and Saxony, on the one hand, and Austria, on the other, in 1778 and 1779. The military actions consisted mainly of troop movements and of soldiers' quarrels over potatoes. The war ended with the Peace of Teschen, compelling the Austrian Habsburgs to abandon their claims to Bavarian possessions.

The reference is to the deputation of the Right-wing representatives of the Slovak national movement to the negotiations with Austrian ruling circles in Olmütz in March 1849 (see Note 156).

The foundation of a Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian triune kingdom was discussed in the Croatian Sabor (see Note 67) as early as the summer of 1848. The scheme under consideration reflected the desire of the top bourgeoisie and landowners in the South-Slav lands for autonomy within the Austrian monarchy and a moderate Constitution. The scheme was regarded as part of a broader programme for integrating all the South-Slav lands of the Austrian Empire. The centralising Constitution imposed in March 1849 dealt a heavy blow to the Right wing of the South-Slav national movement, which cherished hopes of obtaining autonomy in collaboration with the Austrian ruling circles. The latter, however, needed the Southern Slavs for the struggle against revolutionary Hungary and Italy, and therefore supported the illusion that this scheme for autonomy could be put into effect. The Croatian Sabor, in particular, was allowed to negotiate unity with the representatives of Dalmatia. When the uprisings in Hungary and Italy were suppressed, the Austrian authorities curbed all attempts on the part of the South-Slav adherents of autonomy to implement their plans. Engels calls the newly conceived state Raubstaat meaning either a robber state or a dwarfish, dependent state.

Pandours—irregular infantry units of the Austrian army recruited mainly in the South-Slav provinces of the Austrian Empire.

Serezhans—see Note 22.

Haidaks—South-Slav guerillas fighting against Turkish conquerors in the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries. In the Austrian Empire, this name was given to people inhabiting an autonomous district in Hungary who provided special military contingents for the army.

Red-coats—see Note 45.

An allusion to German moderate constitutionalists (contemptuously called waiters by democratic circles), including members of the Frankfurt parliament, advocates of uniting Germany in the form of the German Empire. Engels ironically compares the state they planned to form with the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation (962-1806) which included, at different times, the German, Italian, Austrian, Hungarian and Bohemian lands, Switzerland and the Netherlands and which was a motley confederation of feudal kingdoms, church lands and free towns with different political structures, legal standards and customs.

An ironical comparison with the Swiss separatist union — Sonderbund (see Note 35).
The reference is to the Congress of representatives of the Slav regions forming part of the Austrian Empire. It met in Prague on June 2, 1848. The Right, moderately liberal wing to which Palacký and Šafařík, the leaders of the Congress, belonged, tried to solve the national problem through autonomy of the Slav regions within the framework of the Habsburg monarchy. The Left, radical wing (Šabína, Fríč, Libelt, Štúr and others) wanted joint action with the revolutionary and democratic movement in Germany and Hungary. The radical delegates took an active part in the popular uprising in Prague (June 12-17, 1848) 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 indefinitely.

Otočac gentlemen (Otočaner)—soldiers of the Austrian border regiment formed in 1746 and stationed in Otočac (Western Croatia). They were recruited mainly from the South-Slav subjects of the Austrian Emperor.

When the Austrians heavily bombarded Cracow during the national liberation uprising in April 1848, Castiglioni was military commandant of the Cracow fortress.

The Gustavus Adolphus Union—a religious organisation formed in 1832 to help Protestant communities in Catholic regions of Germany; Rupp, formerly pastor in Königsberg (he was removed from his post for criticism of church dogmas), was expelled from this Union in 1846.

“Friends of Light”—a religious trend which arose in 1841 and was directed against Pietism; the latter, being supported by Junker circles, was predominant in the official Protestant church and was outstanding for its extreme reactionary nature and hypocrisy. The “Friends of Light” movement was an expression of bourgeois discontent with the reactionary order in Germany in the 1840s; in 1846-47 it led to the formation of the so-called free communities, which separated from the official Protestant church.

Here the Neue Rheinische Zeitung continues its exposure of the legal and police persecution of Ferdinand Lassalle. Lassalle was arrested in Düsseldorf on November 22, 1848 on a charge of incitement to arm against the government during the tax-refusal campaign. The proceedings against him were delayed by the legal authorities of the Rhine Province in every possible way. During the
The reference is to the resolutions on abolition of serfdom, labour services and tithes and landowners' courts by the Hungarian National Assembly on March 18, 1848 in the atmosphere of general revolutionary upsurge. The agrarian reform carried out by the Assembly (it was elected before the March revolution according to the principle of estate representation and on the whole expressed the interests of the nobility) was half-hearted, however. The peasants had to pay redemption for the abolition of certain feudal obligations, and the terms of redemption were such that whole categories of landless and land-starved peasants were virtually unable to free themselves of labour services. During the revolution, the radical wing made repeated demands for further measures in favour of the peasants, but met with resistance from the moderate elements among the nobility. Incomplete agrarian reforms were one of the inner causes of the defeat of the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49.

This item, occasioned by the news reaching Cologne that the Hungarian revolutionary army had taken Pest and Buda (here as well as in other military reports, Engels uses its German name—Ofen), was printed in the special supplement to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 283 dated April 27; however, the supplement came out on the morning of April 28, 1849, as is pointed out in Engels' next war review (see this volume, pp. 350-51).

Hungarian troops occupied the city of Buda; but its fortress still remained in the hands of the Austrian garrison and was captured only on May 21, 1849, after a prolonged siege.

Evidently the editors of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung did not have Kossuth's exact biographical data at that time and so availed themselves of the current newspaper information. In fact, Kossuth was born on September 19, 1802.

When Engels expressed his hope for a new revolution in Vienna if the Hungarian army moved further, and called this probable revolt the "fifth revolution", he obviously had in mind the four revolutionary events in the Austrian capital in 1848, namely: the popular uprising of March 13 that started the revolution in
Austria armed risings of workers, artisans and students on May 15 and 26 that compelled the Government to make new concessions to the democratic movement (it extended the suffrage, consented to have a one-chamber Constituent Imperial Diet, annulled orders to dissolve the Central Committee of the National Guard and the Academic Legion, etc.); workers' disturbances on August 23 that led to the collision between workers and bourgeois detachments of the national guards; and the popular revolt on October 6-31, the culminating point of the revolution in Austria and Germany.

268 See Note 172.

269 The reference is to the former soldiers of the Academic Legion (see Note 229).

270 On April 27, 1849 the Prussian Government dissolved the Second Chamber because, at its sitting on April 21, it had approved the imperial Constitution drawn up by the Frankfurt National Assembly. The Chamber took this resolution on the initiative of the opposition deputies, in spite of the head of the Government's statement that the King had definitely decided to reject the imperial Constitution.

271 See Note 52.

272 The reference is to the Prussian National Assembly dissolved by the Government on December 5, 1848. For its principle of "agreement with the Crown", see Note 48.

273 See Note 88.

274 The reference is to the suppression of the national liberation uprising in the Grand Duchy of Posen in 1848 by Prussian soldiers and to the gross violation of the promise originally given to the insurgents by the Government, namely to introduce national autonomy in the eastern part of the Duchy, i.e. behind the demarcation line (see Note 237). General Pfuel, in command of the Prussian troops in Posen, ordered that all the insurgents who had been taken prisoner be shaved and their hands and ears branded with caustic (in German Höllenstein). This was how he got his nickname Pfuel von Höllenstein in democratic circles.

275 See Note 19.

276 In 1793 the second partition of Poland (the first in 1772, the third in 1795) took place. As a result, the Polish feudal state ceased to exist. The Polish lands were incorporated into Prussia, Austria and Russia. The second partition was carried out by the Russian Empress Catherine and the Prussian King Frederick William II. The Austrian Emperor Francis I did not participate in it directly, but his policy facilitated the partition and thus prepared for Austria's participation in the third partition of Poland.

By the second partition, the Prussian kingdom obtained Torun (Thorn) and Gdansk (Danzig) with adjoining lands, the greater part of Great Poland (provinces of Posen, Gniesen, Kalisch, Plotsk, etc.) and other Polish territories. The annexed part of Great Poland was turned into a new province—South Prussia (mentioned by Engels below), to which Warsaw was joined in 1795 after the third partition.

By the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807, however, these lands were taken from Prussia by Napoleon who formed them into a vassal Duchy of Warsaw but, in 1815, by decision of the Vienna Congress, part of them—the Great Duchy of Posen—was returned to the Prussian monarchy.
The reference here is to Prussian participation in the suppression of the Polish national liberation uprising of 1794 led by Tadeusz Kosciuszko. The insurgents wanted to restore the independence of Poland, to return the lands taken from it in 1772 and 1793, and to continue the progressive reforms interrupted by the second partition. The uprising was suppressed by troops from Tsarist Russia, Prussia and Austria which, in 1795, partitioned Poland for the third time.

p. 361

The article mentioned was not published in the next issues of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, evidently, the newspaper was suppressed before Engels managed to write it.

p. 362

The *Deutschmeister* regiment of the Austrian imperial army was formed in 1695 and originated with the military religious "Hoch und Deutschmeister" Order. The master of the Order was the regiment's chief.

p. 365

See Note 195.

p. 365

See Note 136.

p. 365

See Note 68.

p. 369

The reference is to the decisions taken by the National Assemblies (Diets) of Hungary and Transylvania after the March revolution of 1848 to establish union between the two countries and to introduce a single administrative system. In Transylvania, the decision on the union was adopted on May 30 by the Assembly in Cluj that was elected according to the principle of estate representation which secured the predominance in it of Hungarian landowners. This decision attached a one-sided character to the union, it retained the privilege of the Hungarian minority in local administration and school matters and proclaimed Hungarian as the only official language. The ideas of the Romanian and Hungarian democrats, who regarded this union as the formation of a Hungarian-Transylvanian state based on the equality of nations, were actually rejected. This fact was used by the Right wing of the Romanian national movement in Transylvania who aimed at a union with the Habsburgs and helped the latter make use of the Transylvanian Romanians in the struggle against revolutionary Hungary.

p. 369

The *Hungarian Constitution of 1848*—a number of laws promulgated in the second half of March 1848 by the Hungarian National Assembly in the atmosphere of revolutionary upsurge (see Note 193) concerned political organisation in the country. These laws proclaimed Hungary independent of the Austrian Empire in financial and military matters; legislative power was concentrated in the elected National Assembly, and the executive body—the Cabinet Council—was proclaimed responsible to the latter. However, Hungary remained bound to the empire by the common emperor of the Habsburg dynasty and suffrage was limited by a property qualification. Though the new Constitution preserved many of the nobility's privileges, it was an important step towards a bourgeois transformation of the political order in Hungary.

p. 369

See Note 136.

p. 370

On the *Prussian electoral law and the imposed Constitution* (called above the "martial-law Charter of December 5"), see Note 52.

p. 370

The *Konversationshalle* at Dönhoff square—a hall in Berlin where, on April 27, 1849, Left-wing deputies assembled after the dissolution of the Second Chamber of the Prussian Provincial Diet. They were turned out by soldiers and constables
and the people who gathered near the Konversationshalle came under fire from the troops.

**Constables in Berlin**—a special detachment of plain-clothes men formed in summer 1848 for use against street gatherings and popular disturbances and for spying purposes. The name was given by analogy with special constables in England, who were used to break up the Chartist demonstration on April 10, 1848.

288 See Note 120.

289 The trial of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats (see Note 225) was held on February 8, 1849. Marx, Karl Schapper and the lawyer Schneider II were brought before the jury and accused of instigation to revolt on the basis of that committee's appeal issued on November 18, 1848 concerning the refusal to pay taxes as a measure of struggle against the counter-revolutionary coup in Prussia. The jury returned a verdict of not guilty. For Marx's speech at this trial see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 323-39.

290 **Code d'instruction criminelle**—French Criminal Code which was in force in the Rhine Province of Prussia. In this particular case, reference is to Article 300.

291 The first time Lassalle was imprisoned from February to August 1848. Legal proceedings were instituted against him on the charge that he had instigated the theft of a box containing documents to be used in the divorce case of Countess Hatzfeld. As a lawyer, he was employed on this case from 1846 to 1854. About Lassalle's second arrest and trial see Note 262.

292 On November 22, 1848 Lassalle made a speech at the popular meeting in Neuss (near Düsseldorf) in which he called upon the people to give armed support when needed to the Prussian National Assembly in its conflict with the Prussian Government. On the same day he was arrested.

293 After the dissolution of the Second Chamber, the Prussian Government published a Note of April 28, 1849 signed by Prime Minister Brandenburg and addressed to the Frankfurt National Assembly and the German governments. The Note contained Frederick William IV's final refusal to accept the imperial crown proffered by the Assembly, motivated by the fact that the revolutionary origin and contents of the imperial Constitution made it unacceptable to the King. At the same time, the Note stressed that the Prussian King certainly did not refuse to fulfil the mission of uniting the German lands, in collaboration with other German monarchs. It was suggested that the Frankfurt Assembly should give up the imperial Constitution and promote these dynastic plans. Simultaneously with this Note, the Prussian Government stepped up military preparations in order to put down the growing popular movement in Germany for the introduction of the imperial Constitution.

294 In September, the Frankfurt National Assembly discussed the Law on the Protection of the Constituent Imperial Assembly and the Officials of the Central Authority ("Gesetz, betreffend den Schutz der constituiirenden Nationalversammlung und der Beamten der Centralgewalt") and adopted it on October 10, 1848. Article V read: "Public insult to the Imperial Assembly, including that made outside its sittings, is to be punished by imprisonment of up to two years." This law was also published in Prussia in **Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen der deutschen constituirenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main.**
295  *St. Paul's Church*—see Note 30.

*Carbonari*—members of secret political societies in Italy and France in the first half of the nineteenth century. In Italy they fought for national independence, unification of the country and liberal constitutional reforms. In France their movement was primarily directed against the rule of the restored Bourbon dynasty (1815-30).  

296  In connection with the coup d’État that began in Prussia in November 1848, the Frankfurt National Assembly sent a delegation to Berlin to mediate in the conflict between the Prussian Assembly and the Government (see Note 42). On his return to Frankfurt, Bassermann, a moderate liberal member of the delegation, announced to the Assembly that the Prussian Government had a good reason for taking decisive measures, because savage-looking characters were loafing about in the streets of Berlin as they usually did on the eve of anarchist demonstrations. Hence the ironical expression “Bassermann’s characters”.  

297  Engels had in mind revolutionary disturbances among the broad masses in the Bavarian Palatinate caused by the declaration made by the Bavarian King Maximilian II and his Cabinet on April 23, 1849. In it they rejected the imperial Constitution and proclaimed loyalty to the former particularism of small states. The movement in the Palatinate soon led to a revolutionary upheaval there, the Palatinate’s separation from Bavaria and the formation of a local provisional government.  

298  This refers to the central body of the German Confederation (see Note 237) which consisted of representatives from the German states. Though it had no real power, it was nevertheless a vehicle for feudal and monarchist reaction. After the March 1848 revolution in Germany, Right-wing circles tried in vain to revive the Federal Diet and use it to undermine the principle of popular sovereignty and prevent the democratic unification of Germany.  

299  On September 18, 1848 a popular uprising broke out in Frankfurt am Main against the Frankfurt National Assembly’s ratification of the armistice with Denmark concluded in Malmö (see Note 92). The wavering and indecision of the Assembly’s Left wing helped defeat the uprising.  

300  The dissolution of the Second Chamber in Prussia on April 27, 1849 was followed by the dissolution of the corresponding chambers in Hanover and Saxony because the ruling circles of these states refused to recognise the imperial Constitution approved by the majority of deputies. In Saxony the Provincial Diet was dissolved by order of King Frederick Augustus II as early as April 28, 1849. This act and the Government’s other counter-revolutionary measures sparked off the uprising in Dresden on May 3. It started the armed struggle for the imperial Constitution in a number of regions in Germany.  

301  See Note 19.  

302  See Note 50.  

303  The address quoted here was composed by Lassalle in November 1848 on behalf of the Düsseldorf civic militia and sent to the Prussian National Assembly that same evening. The address was published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 149, November 22, 1848. About Lassalle’s speech at Neuss, see Note 292.  

304  See Note 86.  

305  An allusion to the paragraphs in Prussian Law concerning the prosecution and punishment of persons guilty of “stirring up discontent”.  

20—699
On May 1, 1849 the Cologne municipal council, which consisted mainly of liberal bourgeois representatives, addressed all other municipal councils in the Rhine Province with a proposal to convene a meeting on May 5, 1849 in connection with the new situation that had arisen in Prussia after the dissolution of the Second Chamber. The Prussian Government banned this meeting (the ban was published in the Kölnische Zeitung No. 104, May 2, 1849). Even so, the Cologne municipal council convoked a congress of delegates from the Rhine cities on May 8, 1849 in Cologne. The Congress came out in favour of the imperial Constitution and demanded the convocation of the dissolved Provincial Diet. It was made clear that, if the Prussian Government ignored the Congress's resolution, the question of the Rhine Province's secession from Prussia would be raised. This threat, however, was not supported by decisive action and remained merely an empty declaration, because the liberal majority of the Congress rejected the proposal to arm the people and to resist the authorities by force.

On September 26, 1848 the authorities, frightened by the upsurge of the revolutionary-democratic movement in Cologne, declared a state of siege there "to safeguard the individual and property". The military commandant's office issued an order prohibiting all associations pursuing "political and social aims", banned 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. A protest campaign compelled the Cologne military authorities to lift the state of siege on October 2. The Neue Rheinische Zeitung resumed publication on October 12.

On September 25, 1848 the Cologne authorities arrested several leaders of democratic and workers' associations and provoked premature action on the part of the workers, who began to erect barricades in the city. Marx and his associates did their utmost to prevent the Cologne workers from premature and isolated actions. On the next day, a state of siege was declared in Cologne on the pretext of "safeguarding the individual and property" (see Note 307).

Sans-Souci—a residence of the Prussian kings in Potsdam, built at the time of Frederick II.

At the peak of the victorious offensive of the Hungarian revolutionary troops, the National Assembly at its grand meeting in Debreczin on April 14, 1849 adopted, on Kossuth's initiative, a Declaration of Hungary's Independence. The Habsburg dynasty was dethroned and Kossuth elected head of state. In fact, a republican order was established in Hungary though, for foreign policy considerations, the name "Hungarian republic" was not used in official documents.

The Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 291 for May 6, 1849 published the minutes of the session of the Hungarian National Assembly on April 14, 1849 and the text of the Declaration of Independence adopted by it. It also reproduced the respective article from the Neue Oder-Zeitung, supplying it with the following introductory note by the editors (probably written by Engels): "Cologne, May 5. The Neue Oder-Zeitung contains minutes of the session of the Hungarian National Assembly
held in Debreczin on April 14, which decreed separation from Austria and the overthrow of the Habsburg dynasty and nominated Kossuth president of the state. Despite the poor German translation, we reproduce below the whole article word for word."

See Note 310.

See Note 19.

The author of the report cited by Engels is obviously referring to the revolutionary unrest among peasants and townspeople in Galicia, subordinate to Austria. It was caused by rumours spreading in the spring of 1849 about the impending intrusion from behind the Carpathians of the Hungarian army and Polish legions fighting in its ranks. In April 1849, a large group of peasant recruits escaped from Chrzanov (near Cracow) and tried to make their way to Hungary. Some were captured by the Austrian authorities; four were shot in Cracow.

See Note 151.

The reference is to the schemes for a Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian state under the auspices of the Habsburgs. These were put forward by the Right-wing leaders of the South-Slav national movement (see Note 244).

Rascians—see Note 54.

On May 3-9, 1849 an armed uprising took place in Dresden, the capital of Saxony. It broke out because the 'King of Saxony refused to recognise the imperial Constitution. With workers forming the most active contingent in the barricade fighting, the insurgents occupied the greater part of the city and formed the provisional government headed by a radical democrat Tzschirner. However, the moderate policy of other members of the provisional government, desertion by the bourgeois civic militia, sabotage on the part of the liberal municipal council, the treachery of the bourgeoisie in Leipzig where they suppressed the workers' solidarity movement, weakened the insurgents' resistance to counter-revolution. The uprising was put down by Saxon troops assisted by troops dispatched from Prussia. Active in the uprising were the Russian revolutionary Mikhail Bakunin, a workers' leader Stephan Born and the composer Richard Wagner.

The Palatinate Defence Council was formed at the beginning of May at people's gatherings in Kaiserslautern. Relying on the people's support, it demanded that the Bavarian Government recognise the imperial Constitution. However, the moderate elements on the Council strove to confine the movement to legal resistance. Only the threat of intervention by Prussia made the Palatinate petty-bourgeois democrats take more resolute action. On May 17, a provisional government of the Palatinate was formed and separation from Bavaria proclaimed.

See Note 40.

On the Dresden uprising, see Note 319.

See Note 320.

At that moment Bassermann was commissioner of the provisional Central Authority in Frankfurt (see Note 41) empowered to negotiate with the Prussian ruling circles. Despite the National Assembly's decision, the Austrian Archduke
Johann, head of the Central Authority, supported the activities of the Prussian and other governments against the imperial Constitution.  

325 On March 19, 1848, during the revolutionary events in Berlin, the armed people compelled King Frederick William IV to come onto the balcony of his palace and bare his head before the insurgents who had fallen on the barricades.  

326 This article was reprinted in the Deutsche Londoner Zeitung No. 218, June 1, 1849 (see this volume, pp. 511-12). Later it was published in a slightly abridged form in the newspaper Der Sozialdemokrat (Zurich) No. 2, January 8, 1886 and entitled “Aus dem Ruhmeskranz der Hohenzollern”. The name of the author was mentioned in the editorial introduction. 


327 During the war between Sweden and Poland (1655-60) the Great Elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William, sided now with the one, now with the other, of the warring states. Taking advantage of Poland's military difficulties, he broke off relations with Sweden in 1657 on condition that the Polish King renounced his sovereign rights to Eastern Prussia, which was joined to Brandenburg in 1628 but was dependent on the Polish crown. The Peace of Oliva concluded on May 3, 1660 by Sweden with Poland, Austria and Brandenburg confirmed Eastern Prussia's independence from Poland. 

328 This refers to the first partition of Poland between Prussia, Austria and Russia in 1772. It was initiated by the Prussian King Frederick II. 

329 Early in 1792, supported by England and Tsarist Russia, Austria and Prussia concluded a military alliance against revolutionary France. During the war, this first anti-French coalition was joined by the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont), England, Holland, Spain, Naples and other states. However, the defeats inflicted by the French army on the allied troops and the growing Austro-Prussian contradictions compelled Prussia to withdraw from the coalition in 1795 and conclude in Basle a separate peace with the French Republic. 

330 In 1788 royal edicts limiting the rights of the press and freedom of worship were issued in Prussia on the initiative of Bischoffswerder, adviser to Frederick William II. 

331 See Note 137. 

332 The wars waged in 1813-14 and 1815 against Napoleonic France after the defeat of Napoleon's army in Russia in 1812 were contradictory in nature. Their character was affected by the counter-revolutionary and expansionist aims and policy of the ruling circles in the feudal monarchical states, and this is implied in this article. At the same time, especially in 1813, when the struggle was aimed at liberating German territory from French occupation, it assumed the character of a genuinely popular national liberation war against foreign oppression. Later in a series of articles entitled “Notes on the War” (1870), Engels stressed the progressive nature of the people's resistance to the French rule and in his work The Role of Force in History (1888) he wrote: “The people's war against Napoleon was the reaction of the national feeling of all the peoples, which Napoleon had trampled on.” 

333 On May 22, 1815, Frederick William III of Prussia who, during the war with Napoleonic France, had to respond to the demand for a Constitution, issued a
decree promising to convene an all-Prussia people's representative body. However, according to the law of June 5, 1823, only provincial assemblies of the estates with limited consultative functions were formed.

The battle of Waterloo—see Note 166.

334 The reference is to the Federative Act (Bundesakte) which proclaimed an ephemeral German Confederation and virtually sanctioned the political dismemberment of Germany and the maintenance of the monarchist system in the German states. This Act was signed on June 8 at the Vienna Congress and confirmed on June 9 in the Vienna concluding document. It contained vague promises of constitutional reforms and freedom of the press, but these remained a dead letter.

335 These decisions were drawn up in August 1819 on the initiative of the Austrian Chancellor Metternich at the conference in Carlsbad by delegates of the states forming the German Confederation. They envisaged the introduction of preliminary censorship in all the German states, strict surveillance over universities, prohibition of students' societies and the establishment of a committee of inquiry to suppress so-called demagogues (participants in the opposition movement of that time).

The congress of the Holy Alliance (see Note 40), which began in Troppau in October 1820 and ended in Laibach in May 1821, openly proclaimed the principle of interference in the internal affairs of other states. Accordingly, the congress in Laibach resolved to send Austrian troops to Italy, and the congress in Verona (1822) to effect French intervention in Spain, with the aim of crushing the revolutionary and national liberation movements in those countries.

336 According to the law of January 17, 1820 on state debt, state loans could only be made with the consent of the assemblies of estates, but this law was not observed in practice.

Seehandlung or Preussische Seehandlungsgesellschaft (Prussian Overseas Trading Company)—a trade and credit society founded in 1772 which enjoyed a number of important state privileges. It granted large credits to the Government and actually played the part of its banker and broker. In 1904 it was transformed into the official Prussian State Bank.

337 The reference is to the suppression of the Polish national liberation insurrection of 1830-31 by the Tsarist Government.

338 In a letter of January 15, 1838 addressed to the citizens of Elbing who expressed their dissatisfaction with the persecution of seven opposition professors in Hanover, the Prussian Minister of the Interior, 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 the affairs of heads of state."

339 Here the reference is to the so-called Lehnin Prophecy (Vaticinium Lehninense)—a poem in Latin which is ascribed to a certain Hermann, a monk of the Lehnnin monastery (near Potsdam) who lived circa 1300. It described the crimes of the Hohenzollern dynasty which ruled in Brandenburg and prophesied their ruin in the eleventh generation.

340 In 1843 Frederick William IV, who wanted to revive the romantic aspect of feudalism, issued a decree on the rebirth of the Order of the Swan, a medieval religious order of knights (founded in 1443 and dissolved during the Reformation). The King's intention did not materialise, however.
The United Diet—see Note 88.

The "scrap of paper"—an expression taken from the royal speech of Frederick William IV at the opening of the United Diet on April 11, 1847. The King declared that he would never agree to a Constitution which he derisively called "a written piece of paper".

341 Marx probably had in mind the idea repeatedly expressed by Hegel that, in the process of dialectical development, there is an inevitable transition from the stage of formation and efflorescence to that of disintegration and ruin. In particular, Hegel stated in Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts that the "history of a world-historic nation contains partly the development of its principle from its latent embryonic stage until it blossoms ... and the period of its decline and fall..." (Part 3, Section 3, § 347). Marx developed this idea in his Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law: Introduction (end of 1843-beginning of 1844): "History is thorough and goes through many phases when carrying an old form to the grave. The last phase of a world-historical form is its comedy" (see present edition, Vol. 3, p. 179).

p. 421

342 The report which Engels cites from the liberal Düsseldorfer Zeitung and supplements with a call to the Cologne troops to join the popular movement, describes the initial stage of the Elberfeld uprising.

The Elberfeld uprising of workers and petty bourgeois broke out on May 8, 1849 and served as a signal for armed struggle in a number of cities in the Rhine Province (Düsseldorf, Iserlohn, Solingen and others) in defence of the imperial Constitution. The immediate occasion for the uprising was the attempts by the Prussian Government to use troops to suppress the revolutionary movement on the Rhine, to destroy democratic organisations and the press, and to disarm the army reserve troops it had itself called up which disobeyed its orders and supported the demand for the imperial Constitution. Engels played an active part in the uprising, having arrived in Elberfeld on May 11 together with a workers' detachment from Solingen (later legal proceedings were instituted against him for this—see present edition, Vol. 10). Engels' efforts to secure the disbandment of the bourgeois civic militia, the imposition of a war tax on the bourgeoisie, extensive armament of the workers in order to form the core of the Rhinish revolutionary army and to unite local uprisings, met with opposition from the Committee of Public Safety which was dominated by the representatives of the local bourgeoisie. Under pressure from bourgeois circles, Engels was deported from the city on the morning of May 15. As a result of secret negotiations between a deputation from the city bourgeoisie and the Government and of the capitulatory stand taken by the Committee of Public Safety, workers' detachments including those which came to their support from other places (the Berg Country, etc.) were forced out of the city on the night of May 16 (some managed to break through to the south, to the insurgent Palatinate) and the previous order was restored in Elberfeld. The defeat of the Elberfeld uprising led to the triumph of reaction throughout Rhenish Prussia.

The Neue Rheinische Zeitung and Neue Kölnische Zeitung devoted several articles to the events in Elberfeld (see, for instance, this volume, pp. 447-49 and 508).

p. 423

343 See Note 68.

p. 425

344 In English this article was first published in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972.

p. 426
The suppression of the uprising in Dresden—see Note 319.

In response to the dispatch of artillery to suppress the Dresden uprising, workers and democrats in Breslau erected barricades in the city on May 6 and 7, 1849. They were, however, considerably outnumbered by the counter-revolutionary troops and were defeated. Isolated attempts to start a revolt in Saxony (the Prussian province) also failed. In the eastern districts of Prussia, the authorities managed in a very short time to overwhelm the campaign in defence of the imperial Constitution.

Alongside the uprising in Dresden and other towns in the Rhine Province and Westphalia, the most powerful struggle for the imperial Constitution developed in the Bavarian Palatinate and Baden (South-West Germany). Despite the limited nature of this Constitution the popular masses saw it as the only revolutionary achievement still surviving. In the Palatinate and Baden, workers, urban petty bourgeoisie and peasants rose in its defence. Soon they were joined by military units, particularly the lower ranks. In the middle of May provisional governments were set up there, the Grand Duke of Baden, Leopold, fled from the country, and the separation of the Palatinate from Bavaria was proclaimed. However, the leadership of the movement fell into the hands of moderate petty-bourgeois democrats who were hesitant, refusing to proclaim a republic and carry through a radical agrarian reform in the interests of the peasants. They chose passive defensive tactics which confined the movement to local limits and prevented the uprising from spreading outside the Palatinate and Baden. Nevertheless, the combined Palatinate-Baden insurgent army, in which there were many workers' units, put up a strong resistance to the Prussian-Bavarian-Württemberg mercenary troops who greatly exceeded the insurgents in numbers and strength. Engels took part in the campaigns and battles of this army. He was aide to August Willich, commander of one of the units which covered the retreat of its last detachments to Swiss territory on July 11 and 12. The insurgents' last stronghold—Rastatt—fell on July 23.

The uprising in the Palatinate and Baden was the culmination of the German revolution of 1848-49. Its character and course were later described by Engels in the essay "The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution" (see present edition, Vol. 10).

In April 1849, President Louis Napoleon and the French Government decided to send an expeditionary corps under General Udino to Italy with the aim of intervening against the Roman Republic and restoring the secular power of the Pope. On April 30, 1849 the French troops were driven from Rome. The main blow was dealt them by Garibaldi's volunteer legion. However, Udino violated the terms of the armistice signed by the French and, on June 3, started a new offensive against the Roman Republic which had just completed a military campaign in the south against Neapolitan troops and was compelled to deliver a rebuff to the Austrians in the north. On July 3, after a month of heroic defence, Rome was captured by the interventionists and the Roman Republic ceased to exist.

Engels' article on the uprising in Elberfeld and Düsseldorf (see Note 342) was obviously written not later than May 10, before he left for insurgent Elberfeld via Solingen, where an armed struggle in defence of the imperial Constitution had also begun. It is possible that Engels sent the report to Cologne from Solingen, where he formed a detachment of armed workers on May 10. The next day he and this detachment arrived in Elberfeld where he stayed till the morning of May 15. The article was published in the special supplement to the Neue Rheinishe...
Zeitung No. 295, May 11, and probably the editors themselves supplied it with the same date. p. 428

Marx has in mind the close bond between the three monarchs—the Prussian King, the Russian Tsar and the Austrian Emperor. p. 430

The majority of the Prussian National Assembly which continued its sitting in Berlin despite the King’s order to transfer the Assembly to Brandenburg was dispersed by General Wrangel’s troops on November 15, 1848.

The Second Chamber was dissolved on April 27, 1849 (about this see Note 270) on the basis of the Brandenburg-Manteuffel Government's memorandum, sanctioned by the King. p. 430

The Saxon King Friedrich Augustus II found refuge in the fortress of Königstein to which he fled from Dresden during the uprising in May 1849.

*Imperial Max in Munich*—King of Bavaria, Maximilian II, nominated by certain deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly for German emperorship. p. 430

The reference is to the Constitution imposed by the Prussian King on December 5, 1848 (see Note 52). p. 432

See Note 63. p. 432

See Note 270. p. 434

See Note 136. p. 434

See Note 306. p. 436

Marx’s prediction of the Frankfurt National Assembly’s inglorious end, which was brought about by its own compromise with and connivance in the counter-revolution, came true. In compliance with the orders of the Austrian, Prussian and other governments which recalled their deputies from Frankfurt, the Assembly’s liberal majority, scared by the uprisings in defence of the imperial Constitution and the possibility of a civil war, disavowed this Constitution—their own creation—and resigned. The moderate democrats who thus proved to be in the majority lacked the courage to join the insurgents and continued to cherish hopes of introducing a Constitution by peaceful means. Early in June 1849, when the threat of dissolution arose, the “rump” of the Assembly transferred its sittings to Stuttgart (Württemberg). The imperial regent, who took an openly counter-revolutionary stand, was replaced by a five-man imperial administration (Karl Vogt, Ludwig Simons and others) which, because of its refusal to take revolutionary measures and its wavering and equivocal policy, was a complete failure. On June 18, 1849, the “rump” was dispersed by Württemberg troops. p. 438

*Charlottenburg*—a royal palace in the town of the same name west of Berlin (it became a suburb in the twentieth century); built in 1695 for Sophia Charlotte, wife of the Great Elector of Brandenburg, it later became one of the residences of the Prussian kings and also a place of their burial. p. 438

This refers to the joint action taken against revolutionary Hungary by the three monarchs—the Austrian Emperor, the Russian Tsar and the Prussian King. This counter-revolutionary plot is also exposed in Engels’ article “The Third Party in the Alliance” (see this volume, pp. 394-95). p. 440

In April 1795 Prussia concluded the separate Basle peace treaty with France and withdrew from the first anti-French coalition. and in October of that same year it
Notes

signed the Petersburg convention with Russia and Austria on the third partition of Poland (see Note 276).

“Scrap of parchment”—paraphrased expression from the royal speech of Frederick William IV at the opening of the United Diet in 1847 (see Note 340).

See Note 46.

Ça ira!—a popular song during the French Revolution.

On May 19, 1849 the Neue Rheinische Zeitung came out for the last time. The Government and the police had long awaited a suitable moment to suppress the newspaper. In April and early May 1849, the Minister of the Interior, Manteuffel, repeatedly demanded that the Cologne Public Prosecutor's office and legal authorities bring an action against its editors. By that time, the number of charges against them had grown to 23 (some were later used as a pretext for instituting legal proceedings against Marx and Engels by default, see this volume, p. 516). However, Marx's and Engels' acquittal by the jury in February 1849 and fear of the people's unrest compelled the Public Prosecutor's office to refrain from making the legal proceedings against the paper public. Only after the main uprisings in the Rhine Province had, on the whole, been suppressed, was a long-prepared measure applied against Marx—expulsion from Prussia. He was refused Prussian citizenship in due time, despite the Cologne magistrate's favourable reply to his application for this on his arrival in Cologne on April 11, 1848. After four months' delay, the Royal Government refused to confirm the magistrate's decision, and Minister Kühlwetter, to whom Marx sent a complaint, turned it down (see present edition, Vol. 7, p. 581). Marx continued to remain "a foreigner" who could at any moment be accused of abusing hospitality and be subject to expulsion. The Royal Government's note to this effect followed on May 11, 1849 (see below) and was handed to Marx on May 16. Other editors were also persecuted. Weerth and Dronke, who did not enjoy Prussian citizenship either, were likewise ordered to leave Cologne. Legal proceedings were instituted against Engels for his part in the Elberfeld uprising. The democratic press still surviving in Germany protested against the police measures towards the newspaper's editors (see this volume, pp. 509-13). Forced to cease publication of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Marx and Engels cherished hopes of resuming it shortly in some other place (see this volume, p. 473), but the situation in the country did not allow them to carry out these intentions. The entire issue No. 301 of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung which carried this and other articles by Marx and Engels, together with the editors' address to the Cologne workers, was printed in red ink.

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.

This refers to the verdicts of the Cologne jury court pronounced on February 7 and 8, 1849. On February 7, Karl Marx, editor-in-chief of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Frederick Engels, co-editor, and Hermann Korff, responsible publisher, were brought before the court on a charge of having insulted the Chief Public Prosecutor Zweifelf and having libelled the policemen who arrested workers' leaders, in the article "Arrests" published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 35, July 5, 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 7).
On February 8, 1849 the second trial—against the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats—was held. For details see Note 289.

At both trials, the jury returned a verdict of not guilty. For the speeches made by Marx and Engels at the trial, see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 304-22.

In English this article was first published in the collection: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972.

The delegates of the opposition headed by Kossuth submitted a whole programme of progressive reforms to the National Assembly (Diet) of the Hungarian Kingdom convened in November 1847 in Pressburg. However, the demands of the opposition came up against stubborn resistance on the part of the Right aristocratic wing of the Assembly, especially its Upper Chamber, and were implemented only under pressure of the revolutionary masses after the popular uprising in Pest and Buda on March 15, 1848. Even at this stage, the reforms carried out were of a narrow nature (see notes 193 and 263) because the Assembly was dominated by moderate liberal aristocrats inclined to compromise with the Austrian Court and conservative circles. Equality and autonomy were not granted to the oppressed nationalities and this allowed the Habsburg reaction to use their national movements in the struggle against the Hungarian revolution.

See Note 232.

Engels is evidently referring to the rescript issued by the Austrian Emperor Ferdinand on October 3, 1848 when he ordered that the Hungarian Assembly be dissolved and its resolutions not sanctioned by the Crown (including that on the formation of the Defence Council) be regarded as invalid. According to this rescript, the Croatian Ban Jellachich was appointed commander-in-chief of all troops and extraordinary government commissioner in Hungary, and martial law was introduced throughout the country. The rescript was published in the *Wiener Zeitung* No. 275, October 5, 1848.

The battle of Schwechat (near Vienna), in which the Hungarian army was defeated by Austrian troops under Windischgrätz, took place on October 30, 1848, on the eve of the fall of revolutionary Vienna.

The reference is to the *Declaration of Hungary's Independence* adopted by the National Assembly on April 14, 1849 (see Note 313).

The reference is to the Polish national liberation insurrection of 1830-31.

The reference is to the elections to the French Legislative Assembly held on May 13, 1849. The monarchist groups—legitimists, Orleanists and Bonapartists who formed a joint “party of order”—got the majority. Though the elections were held in an atmosphere of administrative pressure and accompanied by ballot-rigging on the part of the conservative authorities, a major success was scored by a bloc of democrats and petty-bourgeois socialists called the Mountain
party. About two million electors voted for their candidates, who received 180
seats in the Assembly.  p. 463

379 The expectation of a new upsurge of the European revolution, which is expressed
in Engels' article closing his series about the revolutionary war in Hungary, as well
as in other items by Marx and Engels in the last issues of the Neue Rheinische
Zeitung, was fostered by the brilliant victories scored by the Hungarian army, the
uprisings in South-West Germany and the maturing conflict between the
democratic and counter-revolutionary forces in the French Republic. Hopes of a
more extensive and wider revolution did not come true, however. The uprisings
in Baden and the Palatinate did not extend beyond local limits and the activities
of petty-bourgeois democrats in France in June 1849 failed (see this volume,
pp. 477-79). In the Hungarian campaign, a change shortly took place
unfavourable to the revolutionary movement. Internal differences intensified
between radical circles and the supporters of a compromise with the Habsburgs
among the liberal landowners who were afraid that the revolution would go
further. The views of the latter were also shared by Gőrgey, Hungarian
commander-in-chief (in May also appointed War Minister), who often acted
contrary to the instructions of Kossuth and other radicals. Gőrgey's strategic error
was that he actually refused to undertake operations to capture Vienna and use
the main forces for the siege of the fortress of Buda (Ofen), and this gave the
Austrian command time to bring up reserves. In mid-June 1849 the Tsarist army
under Paskevich entered Hungary to offer help to the Austrian counter-
revolution. The Tsarist intervention was carried out according to the agreement
concluded by Emperor Nicholas I and Francis Joseph in Warsaw on May 21, and
was in fact approved by the ruling circles of France and England who were eager
to destroy the revolution in Central Europe. The combined forces of the
Habsburgs and the Tsar far outnumbered those of the Hungarians and inflicted
several defeats on the latter. On August 13, Gőrgey, who was in command of the
Hungarian main army, signed a capitulation at Világos. The Hungarian
revolution was suppressed amid great terror of which many Hungarian military
and political figures fell victims. Kossuth, Bem, Dembiński and the head of the last
Hungarian Government Szemere who had to flee the country, were sentenced to
death by default.  p. 463

380 See Note 19.  p. 464

381 After the defeat of the Prussian troops by Napoleon's army at Jena and Auerstedt
(October 14, 1806), a number of Prussian fortresses capitulated to the French
without a fight. The fortress of Küstrin, for instance, surrendered to a small
French detachment on October 31 and Magdeburg, with its many thousand-
strong garrison and artillery, was surrendered by General Kleist on November 8,
after the first salvo fired by the French from light field mortars.

In the Appeal To My People (An Mein Volk) of March 17, 1813 Frederick Wil-
liam III promised to introduce a Constitution in Prussia, but this remained a
dead letter.  p. 464

382 See Note 340.  p. 464

383 See Note 274.  p. 464

384 "And My house wish to serve the lord"—words from the royal speech of Frederick
William IV at the opening of the first United Diet on April 11, 1847. The words
"unweakened crown" (see Note 46) are also from that speech.  p. 465
This address 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. 467

This statement was written by Marx in Bingen (Hesse) during his last days in Germany. Immediately after the suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Marx and Engels went to Frankfurt am Main and then to insurgent Baden and the Palatinate. However, they failed in their attempts to convince the Left deputies of the Frankfurt Assembly and members of the provisional governments of Baden and the Palatinate of the need to give the movement an all-German character, to mount a resolute offensive, to bring the Assembly openly to join the uprising, to compel it to call upon the people everywhere to take up arms, set up an energetic executive power and carry out radical agrarian and other reforms. Their bold revolutionary plan was turned down by the representatives of petty-bourgeois democrats. From Bingen, Marx decided to go to France where new revolutionary events were expected, intending to establish closer ties between the German democrats and the revolutionary circles in Paris. For his part, Engels thought it expedient to return to the Palatinate and join personally the forthcoming struggle against the counter-revolutionary troops that were then concentrating.

This statement in the press was in reply to the claims of the democratic *Westdeutsche Zeitung* (which first came out in Cologne on May 25, 1849) to be the successor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Its editorial board announced that the subscribers to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* would receive the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* instead. The covering letter addressed to the editorial board of the liberal *Frankfurter Journal* has survived in manuscript form. There are no data about the statement being published in this newspaper, but it was printed in the democratic newspapers of Frankfurt and Cologne. p. 473

This article was written by Engels in early June 1849, immediately after his return to Kaiserslautern—the capital of the Palatinate which he and Marx visited in the last ten days of May after the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* ceased to appear. In the Palatinate, Engels refused to accept the civil and military posts offered him by the provisional government, because he did not want to take responsibility for the policy of the petty-bourgeois democratic members of the government, a policy which he, a proletarian revolutionary, did not support. He agreed, however, to write a few articles for the government newspaper, *Der Bote für Stadt und Land*, in defence of the democratic movement against attacks from conservative and moderately liberal papers.

Engels' second article was not published because of objections that it was too “inflammatory” (see Engels' article “The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution”, present edition, Vol. 10). This induced Engels to cease contributing to the newspaper. On June 13, Engels left Kaiserslautern for Offenbach in order to join the ranks of the Baden-Palatinate army—Willich's volunteer corps. As Willich's aide, he took part in drafting the plan for military operations and supervised the implementation of the most important assignments. He fought in four big battles, in particular at Rastatt. On July 12, 1849, Engels was one of the last fighters to cross the Swiss border. p. 474

An allusion to Marx who, in view of the decisive revolutionary events expected in France, went to Paris about June 2, 1849. He was issued with the mandate of the Central Committee of German Democrats signed by d'Ester, the most active member of the provisional government in the Palatinate, and this empowered him

See Note 40. p. 474
to represent the German revolutionary party before the French democrats and socialists in Paris.

390 See Note 244.

391 The reference is to the Prussian General Peucker who, from July 15, 1848 to May 10, 1849, held the post of Minister of War in the so-called Central Authority (see Note 41) and was then in command of the imperial troops sent to the Palatinate and Baden to suppress the movement for the imperial Constitution there.

392 See Note 335.

393 See Note 136.

394 On June 13, 1849, in Paris the petty-bourgeois Mountain party (see Note 378) came out against the Government, on account of the bombardment of Rome by French troops sent to Italy to suppress the Roman Republic. That was done in violation of Article 5 of the French Constitution, which forbade the use of armed forces against the freedom of other nations. The representatives of the Mountain in the Legislative Assembly declared that they would use all possible means to defend the Constitution. At the decisive moment, however, the leaders of the Mountain were frightened of a new armed uprising by the Paris proletariat and called upon Parisians to confine themselves to a peaceful protest demonstration against intervention in Italy. The demonstration took place on June 13 and was dispersed by troops and bourgeois detachments of the National Guard prepared in advance. A state of siege was declared in Paris, massive repressions began against democratic and proletarian organisations, some representatives of the Mountain emigrated, others were arrested and put on trial. The Legislative Assembly was overwhelmed by the conservative “party of order”, a union of monarchist factions, which started a campaign against the democratic freedoms and rights that still survived. The events of June 13 testified to the bankruptcy of the tactics used by petty-bourgeois democrats and inflicted a severe blow to the revolutionary movement in Europe.

395 The reference is to the revolutionary group within the Commission of the Twenty-Five, the agency of the Paris Democratic-Socialist Electoral Committee. The group included members of workers’ clubs and secret societies. The Democratic-Socialist Committee headed the campaign carried on in Paris by the Mountain for the elections to the French Legislative Assembly held on May 13, 1849 (see Note 378).

396 Conservatoire des Arts—an educational establishment in Paris.

397 The reference is to the Democratic Association of the Friends of the Constitution, an organisation of moderate bourgeois republicans set up by the members of the National party (see Note 71) during the campaign for the elections to the French Legislative Assembly held on May 13, 1849.

398 Ledru-Rollin stated in the Legislative Assembly on June 11, 1849, that the Mountain intended to defend the Constitution by force of arms if necessary.

399 During the proletarian uprising in Paris on May 15, 1848 (see Note 77), Ledru-Rollin persuaded demonstrators who had burst into the premises of the Constituent Assembly to cease from decisive action, clear the premises and allow the Assembly to discuss their demands calmly.
During the uprising of the French proletariat on June 23-26, 1848, Ledru-Rollin supported the measures taken by the Government and the Constituent Assembly to suppress the insurgents and was one of the first to send a telegraph request for military reinforcements to be dispatched from the provinces to Paris.

p. 478

The reference is to the brutal suppression of the workers' uprising in Lyons which broke out on June 15, 1849 under the impact of the June 13 events in Paris.

p. 479

In view of the great financial and organisational difficulties which arose after the introduction of the state of siege in Cologne on September 26, 1848 and the suspension of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see Note 307), Marx was compelled to take financial responsibility for the newspaper's publication upon himself; he invested in it all the cash he had and thus, in fact, became its owner.

p. 480

Marx began to study political economy at the end of 1843 and, in the spring of 1844, set himself the task of giving critical examination of bourgeois political economy from the standpoint of materialism and communism. The draft written in this connection—*Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (see present edition, Vol. 3)—has reached us in an incomplete form. In February 1845, just before his first expulsion from France, Marx concluded a contract with the Leske publishers in Darmstadt for the publication of a two-volume *Kritik der Politik und Nationalökonomie*, which he continued to work on in Brussels (see present edition, Vol. 4, p. 675). In September 1846, however, Leske informed Marx that, in view of rigorous censorship and police persecution, he would not be able to publish the work. The contract was soon cancelled. Nevertheless Marx did not cease his economic studies and added new material to his notebooks containing extracts on political economy. He set out the results of his economic research in a book directed against Proudhon, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, in his Speech on the Question of Free Trade, in his *Wage Labour and Capital* and other works (see present edition, Vol. 6 and this volume, pp. 197-228). Marx did not give up his intention of writing a big treatise on political economy, but during the intensive revolutionary activities of 1848-49, he had to postpone it. Marx managed to resume his economic research on a regular basis only after he moved to London in August 1849.

p. 480

On July 19, 1849 in an atmosphere of repression against democrats and socialists following the events of June 13 in Paris, the French authorities informed Marx that an order had been issued for his expulsion from Paris to Morbihan, a swampy and unhealthy place in Brittany. Marx protested and the expulsion was delayed, but on August 23 he again received a police order to leave Paris within 24 hours. At the end of August, Marx set off for London where he spent the rest of his life.

p. 481

This is a rough version of the Repudiation drawn up by Engels on behalf of a group of men who had served in the volunteer corps under Willich (Engels was his aide) and had taken part in the military operations of the Baden-Palatinate army. Willich's corps consisted of eight companies numbering 700-800 people, partly students but mostly workers—German emigrants in Besançon (France), members of workers' associations and gymnastics societies, etc. Two companies were formed from the workers of Rhenish Prussia, participants in the May uprising in Elberfeld and other towns. Engels described them as the most steady and reliable in the insurgent army. At the closing stage of the military campaign, when the insurgents were defeated at the battle at Rastatt, Willich's corps covered the retreat of other
insurgent units and on July 12, 1849 was the last to leave German territory. During their stay in Switzerland, the men and officers of the corps were criticised and abused by petty-bourgeois emigrants, leaders of the uprising in the Palatinate and Baden. This compelled Engels, who happened to be in the town of Vevey, in the Swiss Canton of Waad (Vaud), to write this Repudiation.

On Marx's advice (see his letter to Engels dated August 1, 1849), Engels soon began to write “The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution” directed against the petty-bourgeois democrats. He finished it in February 1850 in London, where he had moved from Switzerland (it took him October and November 1849 to travel to England). The facts given in the rough copy of the Repudiation and pertaining to the moment when the Baden-Palatinate army was retreating towards the Swiss border are found in the concluding part of that work (see present edition, Vol. 10). Engels' manuscript was discovered in the Berne Federal Archives by Rolf Dlubek, an historian from the German Democratic Republic, who published it in 1967. There are many deletions. Judging from the first lines, the document was intended to be signed by several participants in the campaign. At the end of the rough copy, there is the pencilled signature of Captain Koehler.

405 The reference is to one of the units in the insurgent army, the Baden Landsturm under Becker. During the revolution of 1848-49, Becker played an important role in the republican uprisings in South Germany. At that time he took a revolutionary-democratic stand, but his views on programme and tactics were confined to petty-bourgeois socialism.

406 The commanders of the Baden-Palatinate army that was retreating before the enemy's superior forces held a council of war in Jestetten on July 10, 1849, on the eve of the crossing on to Swiss territory. At the council, most of the commanders spoke for ending the struggle. Among them was the commander-in-chief Franz Siegel, who was reinstated in this post when on July 1, 1849, the Polish general, Mieroslawski, who had commanded the insurgent army for some time, resigned.

407 The reference is to the acquittals of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (the accused were Marx, Engels and Korff) and of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats (the accused were Marx, Schapper and the lawyer Schneider II) at the trials held on February 7 and 8, 1849 (see notes 289 and 366).

408 What is meant here is evidently the order issued by the Prussian Minister of the Interior Kühlwetter to the effect that the decision of the Cologne royal government authorities not to grant Prussian citizenship to Marx remained in force (see Note 365, and also the article “The Conflict between Marx and Prussian Citizenship” and the letter from the Minister of the Interior Kühlwetter to Marx dated September 12, 1848, present edition, Vol. 7).

409 In February and March 1849, a number of democratic banquets were organised in the Rhine Province to mark the anniversaries of the revolutions in France and Germany. Marx and Engels regarded these banquets as a form of revolutionary education for the masses, and gave them their general support. They themselves, however, attended only those that were held under genuinely revolutionary slogans and did not approve the attempts of petty-bourgeois democrats to exaggerate the significance of those revolutionary events that were half-hearted and incomplete in character and thereby sowed constitutional illusions among the masses. Among these events, they believed, was the March revolution in Prussia (see this volume, p. 108). Therefore, having published in the *Neue Rheinische*
Zeitung (No. 245, May 14, 1849) an announcement of the banquet in Solingen in compliance with its organisers' request, they did not accept an invitation to attend in person. Their refusal to accept this and other invitations was tactfully explained in the editorial note published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 249, second edition, March 18, 1849 which read: "The editorial board of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung has received from many neighbouring towns, both on the left and the right bank of the Rhine, invitations to attend banquets to be held on March 18. We are very grateful to our democratic friends for these kind invitations, but unfortunately having plenty of work to do we could not accept a single one of them." Nevertheless, Marx, Engels and other newspaper editors took an active part in the banquet organised in Cologne at the Gürzenich hall, on March 19, not to celebrate the March revolution but in honour of those who fought on the barricades in Berlin on March 18 and 19, 1848 (see next document, pp. 490-91).

410 On the trial of Barbès, Blanqui, Raspail and other revolutionary leaders held in Bourges between March 7 and April 3, 1849, see Note 78.

411 The reference is to the banquet organised by liberals and moderate democrats in Cologne to mark the anniversary of the revolution of March 18, 1848.

Waiters—see Note 136.

412 This refers to the attempt by the Minister of the Interior, Manteuffel, to implicate Marx, Engels and their associates in the case against cobbler Hätzel, a member of the Communist League, at whose house in Berlin the Rules of the League, weapons and hand grenades had been found. On March 30, 1848, Manteuffel sent a secret police agent to Cologne to carry out house searches, seize papers and, using the evidence thus obtained, arrest the Cologne leaders of the Communist League. However, this police action misfired owing to lack of evidence. p. 493

413 These decisions by the general meeting of the Cologne Workers' Association were connected with the policy of strengthening the class independence of the workers' organisations and with practical steps to form a mass political party in Germany. Marx, Engels and their associates in the Communist League and the Neue Rheinische Zeitung adopted this policy in view of the changes that had taken place in the country's political situation by the spring of 1849 (see Note 225). Marx and Engels attached great importance to the Cologne Workers' Association in their plans for founding the party. By that time, the Association had become the bulwark of their ideological influence on the workers' movement and one of the initiators of the union of workers' associations in the Rhine Province and throughout Germany.

The Cologne Workers' Association—a workers' organisation founded on April 13, 1848 by Andreas Gottschalk. By the beginning of May it had up to 5,000 members, most of whom were workers and artisans. The Association was headed by a President and a committee, which included representatives of various trades, and had several branches.

Most of the leading figures in the Workers' Association (Gottschalk, Anneke, Schapper, Moll, Lessner, Jansen, Röser, Nothjung, Bedorf) were members of the Communist League. After Gottschalk's arrest on July 6, Moll was elected President of the Association, and on October 16, on request of the Association's members, the presidency was temporarily assumed by Marx. From February to May 1849 the post was held by Schapper.

In the initial period of its existence, the Workers' Association was influenced by Gottschalk who ignored the tasks of the proletariat in the democratic revolution,
pursued a policy of boycotting elections to representative institutions and came out against a union with democracy. Gottschalk combined ultra-Left phrases with quite moderate methods of struggle (e.g. petitions) and support for the demands advanced by workers affected by craft prejudices. From the very outset, Gottschalk's sectarian position was opposed by the supporters of Marx and Engels. Under their impact, a change took place at the end of June 1848 in the activities of the Workers' Association, which became a centre of revolutionary agitation among the workers, and from the autumn of 1848 among the peasants as well. Propaganda of scientific communism and study of Marx's works were carried on within the Association. It maintained contacts with other workers' and democratic organisations.

With the aim of strengthening the Association, Marx, Schapper and its other leaders reorganised it in January and February 1849. On February 25, new Rules were adopted declaring a higher class consciousness on the part of the workers to be the main task of the Association.

The mounting counter-revolution and intensified police persecution frustrated the Association's activities aimed at unity and organisation of the working masses. After the Neue Rheinische Zeitung was suppressed and Marx, Schapper and other leaders left Cologne, the Association gradually turned into an ordinary workers' educational society.

The reference is to the Central Committee of German Workers that was elected at the Workers' Congress held in Berlin from August 23 to September 3, 1848. At this congress the Workers' Fraternity, a union of many workers' associations, was founded. 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. The Central Committee, which included Stephan Born, Schwenniger and Kick, had its headquarters in Leipzig.

At the end of 1848, under the impact of the revolutionary events and experience drawn from them, the leaders of the Workers' Fraternity began to display certain revolutionary tendencies. They recognised the need to arm the workers and for them to take an active part in the political struggle. There was a great desire to set up an all-German workers' organisation. In the spring of 1849, the Workers' Fraternity and a number of regional congresses of workers' associations proposed that a national workers' congress be convened in Leipzig to found a general workers' union. These plans, however, were frustrated by the developing counter-revolution.

This reference is to the participation of Gottschalk, prior to his arrest, in the First Democratic Congress. It was held in Frankfurt am Main from June 14 to 17, 1848.
and attended by delegates of 89 democratic and workers' associations from different towns in Germany. The congress decided to unite all democratic associations and to set up district committees under the Central Committee of German Democrats. However, due to the weakness and vacillations of the petty-bourgeois leaders, even after the congress the democratic movement in Germany still lacked unity and organisation, and remained ideologically heterogeneous.

418 When the Zeitung des Arbeiter-Vereines zu Köln ceased to appear because of police reprisals against the owner of its printing-press, the newspaper Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit, which began publication on October 26, 1848, became the organ of the Cologne Workers' Association. At the end of December, as a result of Gottschalk's interference in the paper's affairs, its publication was interrupted. From January 14, 1849, the newspaper Freiheit, Arbeit began to appear. Its responsible editor was Prinz, who supported Gottschalk and pursued the latter's policy of splitting the Cologne Workers' Association. Prinz refused to submit to the editorial commission which had been appointed at the committee meeting of the Cologne Workers' Association on January 15 and included Schapper, Röser and Reiff; the committee meeting of January 29 resolved, therefore, that the Freiheit, Arbeit could not be regarded as the Association's newspaper and that the Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit should resume publication with Esser as its editor. The Freiheit, Brüderlichkeit, Arbeit reappeared on February 8 and continued publication up to the middle of 1849. The Freiheit, Arbeit continued to appear until June 17, 1849, carrying a variety of insinuations against Marx and Engels.

419 In a declaration written in Brussels on January 9, 1849 and published in the Freiheit, Arbeit on January 18, Gottschalk explained his "voluntary banishment" by the fact that, despite his acquittal, many of his fellow-citizens remained convinced of his guilt. He declared that he would come back only if he was called by "the hitherto supreme arbiter in the country" (an allusion to the King, Frederick William IV), or by "his fellow-citizens", by "the voice of the people".

420 The reference is to the Workers' Fraternity (see Note 414).

421 This receipt was made at the time of Marx's trip to North-West Germany and Westphalia in mid-April 1849 with the aim of drawing local workers' associations into the preparations for organising a proletarian party, of establishing closer contacts with the members of the Communist League and democrats and of collecting funds to continue the publication of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung.

422 Simultaneously with the Congress of Workers' Associations of the Rhine Province and Westphalia (about the preparations for which see this volume, p. 392) on May 6, 1849 in Cologne a congress of the democratic organisations of these provinces, and then a joint sitting were held. Both congresses took place at a time when the authorities were preparing reprisals against those who engaged in revolutionary disturbances. It was expected that a state of siege would be declared in Cologne. The sittings of the congresses were therefore short and reports on their resolutions were not published in the newspapers. These resolutions evidently concerned urgent measures to combat the counter-revolution. The joint sitting of the congresses showed that, despite the organisational break with the petty-bourgeois democrats, the workers' organisations led by Marx and Engels did not reject combined actions with them in the struggle against the counter-revolution.
Marx and Engels planned that the congress of the workers' associations of Rhenish Prussia, which, as the newspaper report indicates, was attended by a considerable number of delegates, would be a new step towards the convocation of an all-German workers' congress and a union of workers' associations on a country-wide scale. The mounting reaction, however, upset this plan to create a mass political party of the German proletariat.

423 As the report of May 18 from Cologne published in the Trier'sche Zeitung indicates, the news of reprisals against the Neue Rheinische Zeitung was circulating among journalists before May 19, when the last issue of the newspaper appeared. A Cologne correspondent of the constitutional monarchist Deutsche Zeitung put out in Frankfurt am Main wrote as follows about this in a report also dated May 18: "The editor-in-chief of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Herr Karl Marx, has received orders from our Regierungspräsident to leave Cologne within 24 hours, failing which the authorities will be obliged to resort to force. The reason given in the letter from the Regierungspräsident is that by the unbridled language predominating in recent numbers of his newspaper, by deriding and insulting the Royal Government and the authorities, as well as by openly working for the Social Republic, Herr Marx has shamelessly abused the hospitality extended to him. Since orders for the arrest of his other colleagues as well are to be implemented and the latter therefore intend to escape, the last number of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung will appear tomorrow morning, and it will be printed in red. Furthermore, this number will contain a remarkable valedictory poem by Freiligrath. The editors and the workers are said to be intending to proceed to the Palatinate without delay" (Deutsche Zeitung No. 138, May 20, 1849).

424 The reference is to a number of Marx's items and his speech for the defence at the trial against the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats on February 8, 1849. These were published in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung and proved that by effecting the coup d'état and dispersing the Prussian National Assembly on December 5, 1848, the Government of Frederick William IV had grossly violated the edicts sanctioned by the King after the March revolution introducing a constitutional system in the country. In his speech for the defence Marx pointed to the "Decision on Some Principles of the Future Prussian Constitution" adopted on April 6, 1848 and the electoral law for the convocation of the National Assembly adopted on April 8, 1848 (see Note 86).

425 This is an excerpt from the section "Continental Europe" in "The Political and Historical Survey" published in several issues of the Democratic Review: The author of the "Survey" was obviously George Julian Harney, editor of the journal.

426 On the stay of Marx and Engels in South-West Germany (Baden and the Palatinate) after being compelled to leave Cologne, see Note 386.

427 In September 1848 Marx, Korff and others were accused by the imperial Ministry of having libelled the deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly in: 1) Georg Weerth's series of feuilletons Leben und Taten des berühmten Ritters Schnappfahnski directed against Lichnowski, a Right-wing representative, and published anonymously in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung in August, September and December 1848 and January 1849; 2) a report from Breslau in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 95 for September 6, 1848 about Prince Lichnowski's machinations in the electoral campaign; 3) a report from Frankfurt am Main in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 102 for September 14, 1848 exposing false information in the report by Stedtmann, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly, concerning the vote on
the armistice with Denmark; 4) a resolution of the public meeting in Cologne published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 110, September 23, 1848, in which the deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly who had voted for the armistice with Denmark were accused of having betrayed the nation (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 588-89). For more details on the trial, see this volume, pp. 517-20.  

428 See Note 92.  

429 The reference is to the Democratic Society in Cologne which was set up in April 1848 and included small businessmen, as well as workers and artisans. Marx, Engels and other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* who formed the leadership of the Society strove to direct its activities towards a resolute struggle against the counter-revolutionary policy of the Prussian ruling circles and exposure of the liberal bourgeoisie’s “agreement” policy. In April 1849 Marx and his supporters, who had in fact begun to organise an independent mass proletarian party, found it necessary to separate from the petty-bourgeois democrats and so withdrew from the Democratic Society. At the same time, they continued to support the revolutionary actions of all the democratic forces in Germany.  

430 This was the third time that the authorities instituted legal proceedings against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. At the first trial of Marx, Engels and Korff, held on February 7, 1849, the jury returned a verdict of not guilty (see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 304-22). At the second trial on May 29, 1849 the Public Prosecutor’s office and the police authorities failed to sentence Marx and other newspaper editors in their absence and only Korff, the former responsible manager, was sentenced to a one-month term of imprisonment and to pay one-seventh of the costs (see this volume, pp. 519-20), so the third time it was decided to put only Korff on trial. It was thought that, by condemning him, other leading editors of the newspaper would likewise be morally discredited, above all Marx as editor-in-chief. But the reactionaries miscalculated: Korff was acquitted.  

431 See Note 307.  

432 The news of Marx’s arrival in Paris was evidently somewhat delayed in reaching Cologne. Judging from Marx’s letter to Engels of July 7, 1849 sent from Paris to Kaiserslautern (the Palatinate), he arrived in the French capital in the first days of June.  

433 On Marx’s expulsion from Paris, see Note 403.
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Barbès, Armand (1809-1870)—French revolutionary, a leader of secret societies during the July monarchy; deputy to the Constituent Assembly in 1848; sentenced to life imprisonment for his participation in the popular insurrection of May 15, 1848; after amnesty in 1854 emigrated to Belgium.—81

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Becker, Hermann Heinrich (1820-1885)—German lawyer and journalist, a leader of the Cologne Association for Workers and Employers, member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats, editor of the Westdeutsche Zeitung (from May 1849 to July 1850); member of the Communist League from 1850.—282, 490, 506, 516-19

Becker, Johann Philipp (1809-1886)—German revolutionary, participant in the democratic movement of the 1830s-40s in Germany and Switzerland and in the war against the Sonderbund; took an active part in the revolution of 1848-49; was in command of the Baden people's militia during the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; prominent figure in the First International in the 1860s, and dele-
gate to all its congresses; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—482-83

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**Berg, Fyodor Fyodorovich, Count** (1790-1874) —Russian general, later field marshal; in 1849 carried out diplomatic missions at the Prussian and Austrian courts in connection with Russian participation in the war against revolutionary Hungary; Governor-General of Finland (1855-63); Deputy Governor of the Kingdom of Poland (1865-79).—398

**Berg, Philipp Karl Peter von** (1815-1866) —Prussian Catholic priest; in 1848 deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre); in 1849 deputy to the Second Chamber.—137-38, 139

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**Berger von der Pleisse, Johann, Baron** (1768-1864) —Austrian lieutenant field-marshall, later Master of Ordnance, took part in the wars against revolutionary and Napoleonic France (1793-1815); commandant of the Arad fortress (1844-49); after defending it for nine months, he surrendered the fortress to the Hungarian troops. —238

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Bogdanović, Konstantin (1811-1854)—Serbian statesman, writer and journalist, founder of the magazine Vjestnik (Pest, 1848); secretary to Patriarch Rajachich.—147

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Bonin, Gustav von (1797-1878)—Prussian statesman, Minister of Finance (September-November 1848), Oberpräsident of Posen (1850s-60s).—69

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**Castiglioni, Heinrich, Count** (1790-1853)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, military commandant of Cracow from 1846, took part in suppressing the Polish national liberation movement and in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—319

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**Changarnier, Nicolas Anne Théodule** (1793-1877)—French general and politician, monarchist; deputy to the Constituent and the Legislative Assembly; commander of the Paris garrison and national guard after June 1848; took part in dispersing the Paris demonstration of June 13, 1849.—477

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**Clerfayt, Karl, Count** (1733-1798)—Austrian field marshal, took part in the war between Austria and Turkey (1788-89), in 1794 and 1795 commander-in-chief of the Austrian army in the war with the French Republic.—231

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**Clouth**—leader of a Magyar-Slovak military unit that operated in March 1849 in North-East Hungary.—62

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**Coburg-Saalfeld, Friedrich Josias, Prince** (1757-1815)—Austrian field marshal, participated in the war against the French Republic (1793-94).—231

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**Condé, Louis Henri Joseph, duc de Bourbon, Prince de** (1756-1830)—French aristocrat, emigrated during the French Revolution; in 1825 received compensation for confiscated property, part of which he bequeathed to his favourite Sophie Feuchère.—82

**Cramer, Carl**—German democrat, publisher and editor of the Cologne democratic newspaper *Wächter am Rhein* (1848-49).—450, 490

**Cremayville**—Austrian army officer, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—245

**Csorich** (Čorić), Anton, barun od Monte Cretó (1795-1864)—Austrian general, Croat by birth, lieutenant-field marshal (from 1849), second chief of the 15th Infantry Regiment; took part in crushing the October 1848 uprising in Vienna and in the war against revolutionary Hungary.—153, 273, 303, 314, 316, 354, 363, 459
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Dahlen von Orlaburg, Franz, Baron (b. 1779)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, second chief of the 59th Infantry Regiment.—284, 457, 458

Damjanich, Jânos (1804-1849)—Hungarian general, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, supporter of Kossuth; after the revolution was defeated, he was executed together with twelve other Hungarian generals by the Austrian authorities on October 6, 1849.—26, 123, 179, 233, 262, 282, 408

Deák, Ferencz (1803-1876)—Hungarian politician, liberal aristocrat, supporter of compromise with the Austrian monarchy; Minister of Justice in the Batthyâny Government (March-September 1848) and an initiator of the Austro-Hungarian agreement of 1867 to transform the Empire into a dual monarchy—Austria-Hungary; leader of the Hungarian ruling party.—240

Dembinski, Henryk (1791-1864)—Polish general and prominent figure in the national liberation movement, participant in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, commander-in-chief of the Hungarian revolutionary army (end of January and February 1849) and then of the Northern Theiss army; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated first to Turkey and then to France.—11, 16, 58, 76, 78, 112, 144, 149, 181, 187, 188, 232-34, 245, 268, 269, 270, 272, 275, 286, 292, 300, 314, 401, 460

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Diez, Friedrich Christian (1794-1876)—German philologist, founder of comparative study of the Romance languages, author of Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen.—325

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Dronke, Ernst (1822-1891)—German journalist, at first “true socialist”, later a member of the Communist League and an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung.—473, 490, 514, 516-19

Druey, Henri (1799-1855)—Swiss radical statesman, took part in drafting the 1848 Constitution; member of the Federal Council, President of the Swiss Confederation in 1850.—45

Duchâtel—participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, general in the Hungarian revolutionary army, French by birth.—78, 124, 181, 187

Dufauwre, Jules Armand Stanislas (1798-1881)—French statesman, Orleanist; Minister of the Interior (October-December 1848, June-October 1849), Minister of Justice (February 1871-May 1873, March 1875-August 1876) and Prime Minister (March-December 1876, September 1877-February 1879).—481, 526, 529

Duhamel, Alexander Osipovich (1801-1880)—Russian general and diplomat, took part in suppressing the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, carried out special diplomatic missions in Moldavia and Wallachia in 1842 and 1849.—78, 305

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Durando, Giovanni (1804-1869)—
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Duroc, Géraud Christophe Michel, duc de 
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logne Workers' Association; editor of its 
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Arbeit* (1849).—490, 495, 501, 503

d'Ester, Karl Ludwig Johann (1813-
1859)—German socialist and demo-
crat, physician; member of the Co-
logne community of the Communist League, in 1848 deputy to the Prus-
ian National Assembly (Left wing); 
from October 1848 member of the Central Committee of Democrats in 
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Gödsche, Hermann—Prussian conservative journalist, wrote feuilletons for the Neue Preussische Zeitung (Kreuz-Zeitung).—281
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von (1749-1832)—German poet.—66
Goldmark, Joseph (b. 1818)—Austrian radical politician, participant in the 1848-49 revolution; in May 1848 member of the Vienna Committee of Public Safety, deputy to the Austrian Imperial Diet (1848); physician.—39
Görgy, Arthur (1818-1916)—military leader of the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, a commander and then commander-in-chief (April to June 1849) of the Hungarian army; expressed the conservative views of the nobility, favoured agreement with the Habsburgs and later capitulation; War Minister (from May 1849).—10, 11, 17, 20, 59, 61, 77, 93, 112, 122, 133, 144, 181, 185, 186, 188, 232-34, 241, 262, 269, 272, 275, 284, 285, 289, 292, 293, 300, 314, 318, 336, 346, 363, 395, 404-06, 424, 459-61
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 “Left” sectarian tendencies in the German working-class movement.—498-500, 508
Götz, Christian (1783-1849)—Austrian general, took part in suppressing the Italian national liberation movement and in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—10, 25, 90, 113, 121, 146, 153, 160, 185, 233, 241, 272, 302, 303, 315, 330, 353
Grammont von Linthal, Franz, Baron (1799-1849)—Austrian general, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849, commander of a cavalry brigade (1849).—76
Gräser.—237
Grouchy, Emmanuel, Marquis de (1766-1847)—French marshal, participated in the Napoleonic wars.—175
Grüne, Karl Theodor Ferdinand (1817-1887)—German journalist, “true socialist” in mid-1840s, petty-bourgeois democrat during the revolution of 1848-49, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly.—88
Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume (1787-1874)—French historian and conservative statesman, actually directed France’s home and foreign policy from 1840 until the February revolution of 1848.—323
**Gustavus II Adolphus (1594-1632)**—King of Sweden (1611-32) and general; headed the alliance of Protestant states during the Thirty Years' War; one of the Protestant unions founded in Germany in the 1830s was named after him.—321

**Guyon, Richard Debaufre** (1803-1856)—participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, general in the Hungarian revolutionary army, English by birth; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Turkey; in 1852 became a Turkish general known as Khourschid Pasha; fought in the 1853-56 Crimean war. —78, 285, 406

**Gyukovics**—Austrian army officer, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—273

**Habsburgs**—dynasty of emperors of the Holy Roman Empire from 1273 to 1806 (with intervals), of Austria (from 1804) and of Austria-Hungary (1867-1918).—148, 397, 425

**Hagen**—Prussian lawyer, defended Korf at the trial held in Cologne on May 30, 1849.—522

**Hám, Johann von** (1781-1857)—Hungarian Cardinal, Lord Primate, in 1849 the Hungarian Government deposed him for high treason.—92

**Hammerstein-Ecuqurd, Wilhelm, Baron von** (1785-1861)—Austrian general, took part in suppressing the national liberation movement in Galicia and the Bukovina in 1848 and 1849.—152-53, 160, 186, 253, 262, 275, 280, 287, 293, 365

**Hansemann, David Justus** (1790-1864)—German capitalist, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prussian Minister of Finance (from March to September 1848).—56, 69, 138

**Harkort, Friedrich Wilhelm** (1793-1880)—Prussian industrialist and liberal politician, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly in 1848 and 1849, then deputy to the Second Chamber (Centre), later Progressist.—88

**Harney, George Julian** (1817-1897)—prominent figure in the English labour movement, a Chartist leader (Left wing); editor of *The Northern Star* and *Democratic Review*, associate of Marx and Engels.—490

**Hartmann**—Düsseldorff forwarding agent.—429

**Haschka, Lorenz Leopold** (1749-1827)—Austrian poet, author of the Austrian state anthem.—107

**Havas, Joseph**—in 1849 imperial commissioner in Pest.—364

**Hayde**—Austrian major, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—279

**Haydn, Franz Joseph** (1732-1809)—Austrian composer.—107

**Haynau, Julius Jakob, Baron von** (1786-1853)—Austrian Master of Ordnance, took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Italy, commander of the Austrian troops in Hungary (1849 and 1850), initiated butchery of Hungarian revolutionaries.—280, 293, 317

**Hecker**—Prussian officer of justice, Public Prosecutor in Cologne (1848).—339, 340

**Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich** (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—421

**Heine, Heinrich** (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—418, 446

**Heinrich von Bordeaux (Henry V)**—see Chambord, Henri Charles Ferdinand Marie Dieudonné d'Artois, duc de Bordeaux, comte de

**Henry V**—see Chambord, Henri Charles Ferdinand Marie Dieudonné d'Artois, duc de Bordeaux, comte de

**Hess, Heinrich, Baron von** (1788-1870)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, later field marshal; took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; in 1854 and 1855 commander-in-chief of troops in Hungary, Galicia and the Danube principalities.—175, 253, 286, 401

**Hexamer, Adolf** (1801-1874)—editor of *Die Reforme* (Berlin), physician; attended the first and the second democratic congresses (Frankfurt am Main and Berlin), member of the Central
Committee of German Democrats; after 1849 emigrated to Switzerland and later to the USA.—33, 34

**Heydt, von der**—Austrian major, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—93

**Heydt, August, Baron von der** (1801-1874)—Prussian statesman, banker in Elberfeld; Minister of Trade, Industry and Public Works from December 1848 to 1862; deputy to the Second Chamber (1848).—93, 130-31, 281, 324, 328, 428, 439, 445

**Höchster, Ernst Hermann** (born c. 1811)—Elberfeld lawyer, petty-bourgeois democrat, Chairman of the Committee of Public Safety in Elberfeld (May 1849); emigrated after the uprising was defeated.—448-49

**Höcke**—Austrian democrat, participant in the October 1848 uprising in Vienna.—257

**Hofstitter.**—43

**Hohenzollern**—see Frederick William IV

**Hohenzollern, Frau**—see Elizabeth

**Hohenzollerns**—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—51, 65, 66, 69, 88, 125, 126, 129, 131-32, 139, 195, 357-58, 416, 418-22, 440-41, 444

**Holstein, Prince**—Austrian major, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—28, 75

**Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus)** (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—15

**Hórvaþth, Mihály** (1809-1878)—Hungarian Catholic bishop, participant in the national liberation struggle in Hungary in 1848 and 1849, Minister of Religious Worship and Education in the Szemere Government, first historian to study the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49.—92

**Hórváth-Petricevich von Széplak, Johann Niklas, Baron** (1801-1865)—Austrian colonel, later lieutenant-field marshal; took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—161, 238, 244, 350

**Hoym, Karl Georg Heinrich von** (1739-1807)—Prussian official, from 1770

Minister for Silesia, pursued a policy of Germanising Polish lands.—361

**Hrabovsky (Hrabovszky) von Hrabova, Johann (János), Baron** (1779-1852)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, Hungarian by birth; in early 1847 commanded troops in Slavonia and Syrmien; in 1848 headed the Hungarian army fighting Southern Slavs; in 1850, he was sentenced by the Austrian court martial to capital punishment for non-fulfilment of military duty; the sentence was later commuted to ten-year imprisonment.—401

**Hübnerbein (Hunerbein), Friedrich Wilhelm** (born c. 1817)—German tailor; member of the Communist League and of the Committee of Public Safety during the uprising in Elberfeld (May 1849).—447

**Hunyadi**—family of Hungarian nobles.—100

**Hurban, Josef Miloslav** (1817-1888)—Slovak Evangelical pastor, writer and active member of the national movement, associate of L'udovít Štúr; defended national rights of Slovakia against the Hungarian aristocracy's great-power policy; fought in alliance with the Austrians against the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49.—62, 100, 120, 162, 424

**Hüser, Johann Hans Gustav Heinrich von** (1782-1857)—Prussian general, commandant of Mainz (1844-49).—452

**Huthsteiner, F. W.**—police inspector in Erfurt, former editor of the Barmer Zeitung.—71

**Ilovanovich, Joseph**—prominent figure in the Serbian national movement; in February 1849 was a member of the local administration in the Voivodina.—40

**Ilovanovich, Kosta**—prominent figure in the Serbian national movement; in February 1849 was a member of the local administration in the Voivodina.—40
Jablonowski, Stanislaw, Prince—Polish landowner, a commander of the Polish national guard in Cracow (April 1848); when the citizens of Cracow rose against the Austrian authorities (April 1848), he concluded an agreement with the latter behind their backs.—93

Jablonowsky, Felix, Prince (1808-1857)—Austrian major-general, subsequently lieutenant-field marshal, brigade commander during the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—10, 90, 113, 121, 146, 153, 160, 185, 233, 241, 249, 261, 272, 303, 342, 353, 368

Jacoby, Johann (1805-1877)—German radical writer and politician, physician; a leader of the Left wing in the Prussian National Assembly (1848); deputy to the Second Chamber (extreme Left wing) in 1849; in the 1870s was close to the Social-Democratic Party.—140

Jäger—first lieutenant in the Austrian army, took part in the suppression of the revolution in Italy, in the war against revolutionary Hungary (1848-49), and in the siege of Komorn (spring of 1849).—180

Janiczek—participant in the Slovak national movement of 1848-49; went over to the Hungarian side (spring of 1849).—409

Jellachich de Buzim (Jellačić), Joseph, Count (1801-1859)—Croatian statesman, Austrian general; from March 1848 Ban and later commander-in-chief of Croatia and the Military Border area; took an active part in suppressing the popular uprising in Vienna (October 1848) and in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—59-60, 73, 77, 91, 95, 97, 99, 107, 110, 115, 121, 123, 133, 145-46, 147, 152, 154, 159, 178, 187, 229, 233, 235, 238, 241, 246, 249, 253, 261, 262, 265, 269-70, 272, 273, 275, 284, 288, 292, 330, 336, 343, 352, 363, 365, 368, 381, 391, 397, 401, 406, 408, 410, 456, 460

Jellačić, Albert—borderers' colonel, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—75

Jessenak, Janos, Baron (1800-1849)—participant in the revolution of 1848-49 in Hungary, he was shot by the Austrians after its defeat.—245

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.—490

Josticas—family of Hungarian nobles in Transylvania known for their pro-Habsburg sentiments.—40

Jovich von Siegenberg, Stephan, Baron (1774-1850)—Austrian general, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—237

Kacanski, Sergyë (1813-1859)—bishop in Karlowitz; in 1848 and 1849 member of Skupština in the Voivodina.—40

Kalchberg, Wilhelm, Baron von (1807-1883)—Austrian captain, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—272

Kalliany de Kallian, Joseph, Baron (1786-1859)—Austrian general, participant in the war against revolutionary Hungary; commander of Austrian troops in Transylvania (spring of 1849).—113, 242, 243, 279

Karageorge, George Petrovich (also Czerny George) (1768-1817)—leader of the Serbian uprising against Turkish yoke (1804-13), ruler of Serbia (1811-13); was defeated by the Turks and fled the country (1813); in 1817 was murdered on orders from his rival Miloš Obrenović.—31

Karger, Leopold, von (1792-1867)—Austrian major-general, participant in the war against revolutionary Hungary; in 1849 commanded a cavalry brigade.—72, 78, 95, 110

Karl, Friedrich Alexander, Prince of Prussia (1801-1883)—Prussian general, son of Frederick William III of Prussia; from
1848 chief of the Austrian 8th Cuirassier Regiment.—28
Karl, Friedrich August Wilhelm (1804-1873)—Duke of Brunswick from 1823; early in September 1830 was deposed and forced to emigrate; attempted to regain power and in the 1840s and 1850s maintained contacts with democratic elements; published the Deutsche Londoner Zeitung.—169
Kellner—Austrian major, participant in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—30
Khevenhiiller-Metsch, Franz, Count (1783-1823)—Austrian Master of Ordnance, chief of the 35th Infantry Regiment.—30
Kiesewetter, Julius, von Wiesenbrunn (1804-1862)—Austrian major, subsequently major-general of the 30th Infantry Regiment, participant in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—11
Klapka, Georg (György) (1820-1892)—general in the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848 and 1849), commandant of the Komorn fortress (June-September 1849); political refugee after the revolution, returned to Hungary in 1867.—100, 262, 269, 272, 278, 284, 368, 406, 408
Klapka, Józef (1786-1863)—participant in the wars against Napoleonic France; Burgomaster of Temesvar (1819-33); father of Georg Klapka.—278
Kničanin, Stephan Petrović (1809-1855)—Serbian politician and statesman; from July 1848 to March 1849 commanded a volunteer corps from the principality of Serbia; this corps joined the Voivodina Serbs fighting against Hungarian troops.—31, 59, 98, 117, 287, 294, 303, 319, 332, 457
Kobylica, Lüctian (1812-1851)—Huzul (Ukrainian) peasant, leader of the anti-feudal movement in the Bukovina (1840s); deputy to the Austrian Imperial Diet (1848), deprived of his deputy's rights for defending the interests of the peasants; headed an armed peasant detachment (1848-49), was arrested (1850) and deported.—289, 290, 431
Kock, Charles Paul de (1793-1871)—French novelist and playwright.—40
Kohler—participant in the military operations of the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army in the summer of 1849, captain of Willich's volunteer corps.—484
Kolarovitch—prominent figure in the Serbian national movement; in February 1849 became a member of the local administration in the Voivodina.—40
Kollár, Jan (1793-1852)—Slovak poet and philologist, a representative of the Slovak and Czech Renaissance, a leader of the national movement; advocated unity of the Slav peoples within the framework of the Austrian Empire (Austro-Slavism).—300
Kopel—Austrian colonel, then general, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—237
Korff, Hermann—Prussian officer, dismissed from the army for his political views (1847); democrat; responsible publisher of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49); later emigrated to the USA.—514, 516-20, 521-22
Kostich, Alexander—participant in the national movement of the Voivodina Serbs in 1848 and 1849.—190
Kress von Kressenstein, Karl, Baron (1781-1856)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, second chief of the 7th Light Cavalry Regiment; took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—269, 273, 274
Krestić, Nicolă (1824-1887)—Serbian politician, editor-in-chief of the news-
paper *Slavenski jug* (1848-49); Ban Jellachich’s secretary (1848-49); a member of the local administration in the Voivodina (1849).—40

Kübech, Karl Friedrich, Baron von Kübau (1780-1855)—Austrian statesman, Minister of Finance (1840-48).—133, 179

Kühlwetter, Friedrich Christian Hubert von (1809-1882)—Prussian statesman; Minister of the Interior in the Auerswald-Hansemann Government (June-September 1848), later Regierungspräsident in Düsseldorf, Oberpräsident of Westphalia.—69

Kulmer, Franz, Baron von (1806-1853)—Austrian politician, Croatian feudal lord, government representative in the Agram (Zagreb) comitat (in the 1840s); Minister without portfolio (from December 1848), mediated between the Ban and the Croatian authorities.—246

Kyll, Ulrich Franz—German lawyer, petty-bourgeois democrat, Cologne deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; deputy to the Second Chamber (extreme Left wing) in 1849, later Progressist.—329

L

Ladenberg, Adalbert von (1798-1855)—Prussian official, Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine (November 1848-December 1850).—439

La Marmora, Alfonso Ferrero (1804-1878)—Italian general and politician, Minister of War in Piedmont (1848, 1849-55, 1856-59); commander of Sardinian corps in the Crimea (1855); later Prime Minister.—150, 151, 156, 157, 166, 172

Lamartine, Alphonse Marie Louis de (1790-1869)—French poet, historian and politician; a leader of moderate republicans in the 1840s; in 1848 Foreign Minister and de facto head of the Provisional Government.—191, 427

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 opportunistic trend within the German Social-Democratic movement.—339-40, 372-74, 383-87

Latinovich, Carl—prominent figure in the Serbian national movement; head of the local administration’s Legal Department in the Voivodina in February 1849.—40

Latour, Theodor, Count Baillet von (1780-1848)—Austrian conservative statesman, War Minister in 1848; killed during the October 1848 Vienna uprising.—456

Lederer, Karl Joseph, Baron von (1800-1868)—Austrian major-general, later lieutenant-field marshal; during the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849 commanded a cavalry brigade; took part in the siege of Komorn.—30

Lederer, Moriz, Baron von (b. 1809)—Austrian colonel, later lieutenant-field marshal; during the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849 commanded a cavalry brigade of the South Army.—117

Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician, a leader of petty-bourgeois democrats; editor of *La Réforme*; Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government (February to May 1848); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (head of the Montagnards).—192, 477, 478

Legeditsch, Ignaz von (1791-1866)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, second chief of the 2nd Hussar Regiment, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—30, 93

Leiningen-Westerburg, Christian Franz Seraphin Vincenz, Count (1812-1856)—Austrian major-general, later lieutenant-field marshal, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—25
Lelewel, Joachim (1786-1861)—Polish historian and revolutionary; participant in the 1830-31 Polish insurrection, a leader of the democratic wing of Polish émigrés; committee member of the Brussels Democratic Association (1847-48).—463

Leopold II (1797-1870)—Grand Duke of Tuscany (1824-59).—148

Lichnowski, Felix Maria, Prince von (1814-1848)—Prussian army officer, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing); killed during the Frankfurt uprising in September 1848; he was the prototype for the main character in Georg Weerth's satirical novel Leben und Taten des berühmten Ritters Schnapphahnski (Life and Deeds of the Famous Knight Schnapphahnski).—516-18

Lisiecki, von—legal officer in Posen, Polish by birth; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848, deputy to the Second Chamber (extreme Left wing) in 1849.—295, 296, 298, 320

Lobkowitz, Franz Georg, Prince (1800-1858)—Austrian army officer and diplomat; with the rank of colonel, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—31, 32, 113, 114, 134, 159, 182, 263, 287, 457

Lobhauer, Rudolf—Prussian writer; in the early 1830s radical, was compelled to emigrate to Strassburg; from 1835 professor in Berne; in the 1840s contributed to Prussian government and pietist periodicals.—45

Louis XVI (1754-1793)—King of the French (1774-92); guillotined during the French Revolution.—419

Louis Napoleon—see Napoleon III

Louis Philippe I (1773-1850)—Duke of Orléans, King of the French (1830-48).—7, 48, 51, 80, 82

Lüders, Alexander Nikolayevich, Count (1790-1874)—Russian general, commander of an occupation corps in Moldavia and Wallachia (1848); took part in military operations against Hungarian troops in Transylvania (1849).—122, 279, 312

Ludwig, Gottfried von Reschenbach (1792-1880)—Austrian major-general, then lieutenant-field marshal, commanded a cavalry brigade during the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—365

Luise, Auguste Wilhelmine Amalie (1776-1810)—Queen of Prussia, wife of Frederick William III, daughter of Duke Karl von Mecklenburg-Strelitz.—437

M

Mack, József (1810-1868)—took part in the revolution of 1848-49 in Hungary; from January 1849 lieutenant-colonel in the Hungarian revolutionary army, artillery commander of the Komorn fortress; after the defeat of the revolution fled the country.—337

Madarász, László (1811-1909)—Hungarian radical, lawyer, took part in the revolution of 1848-49, acted as Minister of Police in the Defence Council; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Switzerland and later to the USA.—77, 100, 188

Mailáth, György (1786-1861)—Hungarian statesman, Supreme Judge (1839-48); President of the Upper Chamber of the National Assembly (1848), advocated compromise with the Habsburgs.—240

Malkowsky, von Dammwalden, Ignaz (1784-1854)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, Polish by birth; took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—31, 32, 113, 114, 134, 159, 182, 263, 287, 457

Mamula, Lazarus, Baron von (1795-1878)—Austrian colonel, later lieutenant-field marshal, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—354

Manara, Luciano (1825-1849)—Italian major, took part in the revolution of 1848-49 and the war against Austria, leader of the Lombardian volunteer corps, defender of the Roman Republic (1849).—164
Marmol, Maria Evarist (Dom or Don Miguel) (1802-1866)—King of Portugal (1828-34), chief of the Austrian 39th Infantry Regiment.—123
Mirbach, Otto von (born c. 1800)—Prussian retired artillery officer. petty-bourgeois democrat, took part in the revolution of 1848-49; commandant of Elberfeld during the May 1849 uprising; emigrated after the uprising was defeated.—448, 449, 508
Moeller—official of the Royal Government in Cologne.—451, 511
Molé, Louis Mathieu, comte (1781-1855)—French statesman, Orleanist, Prime Minister (1836-37, 1837-39), deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848), deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51).—323
Montenuovo, Wilhelm Albrecht, Prince von (1821-1895)—Austrian colonel, from August 1849 major-general, later lieutenant-field marshal; took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary, commanded a cavalry brigade (1849).—28
Morrel—Prussian police officer, prison governor in Düsseldorf (1848-49).—373
Mosle, Johann Ludwig (1794-1877)—German army officer; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1848-49), imperial commissioner in Vienna (August to October 1848).—47
Muraviev, Nikolai Nikolayevich (Karsky) (1794-1866)—Russian general, commander of a grenadier corps (late 1848); took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—262
Napoleon I Bonaparte (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—45, 52, 66, 114, 149, 150, 176, 229, 261, 400, 419, 420

Napoleon III (Louis Napoleon), Prince (1808-1873)—nephew of Napoleon I, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—81, 82, 85, 169

Nassau, Adolf Wilhelm Karl Friedrich, Duke of (1817-1905)—cavalry general, chief of the Austrian 15th Infantry Regiment.—366

Nedeljkovich, Jovan—confidant of the Voivodina ruler, Patriarch Rajchich.—254

Nicholas I (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—312, 337, 345, 394, 395, 398, 414, 415, 421, 430, 440, 441, 474

Nicolovius, Georg Heinrich Franz—Prussian legal officer; Public Prosecutor General for the Rhine Province in 1848.—339, 340, 373

Nothjung, Peter (1821-1866)—tailor; a member of the Cologne Workers' Association and the Communist League; one of the accused at the Cologne trial of Communists (1852).—490

Nugent, Albert Eugen Laval (b. 1816)—Austrian colonel, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849; son of Laval Nugent.—285, 319, 344

Nugent, Laval, Count of Westmeath (1777-1862)—Austrian Master of Ordnance; took part in the suppression of the national liberation movement in Italy in 1848 and in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—17, 26, 90, 115, 117, 179, 230, 278, 285, 293, 294, 303, 319, 344, 354, 457, 458

Null, Friedrich van der (died c. 1854)—Austrian colonel, later general; from 1848 commanded the 8th Border Infantry Regiment.—113

Nyáry, Pál (1806-1871)—Hungarian politician of the liberal aristocratic opposition; member of the Committee of Public Safety and of the Defence Council (1848); deputy to the National Assembly.—100

Obilich, Milosh—Serbian national hero, killed the Turkish Sultan Murad I in the battle with the Turks at Koshovo in 1389.—31

Ochsbein, Johann Ulrich (1811-1890)—Swiss statesman and politician; radical, later liberal; President of the Diet during the war against the Sonderbund; head of the Federal Government (1847-48); President of the National Council and member of the Federal Council in 1848.—44, 45

Orléans, Duke of—see Louis Philippe I

Ottinger, Franz, Baron von (1792-1869)—Austrian general, commanded a cavalry brigade during the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—59, 75, 77

Otto, Karl Wunibald (born c. 1809)—German chemist; in 1848 and 1849 a member of the Cologne Workers' Association, a member of the Communist League, one of the accused at the Cologne trial of Communists (1852).—495, 501, 503

Pallavicini, Alfonziol, Count (1807-1875)—Hungarian magnate.—186

Palacky, František (1798-1876)—Czech historian and liberal politician; Chairman of the Slav Congress in Prague in June 1848; deputy to the Austrian Imperial Diet in 1848 and 1849; supported a federation of autonomous Slav areas within the framework of the Habsburg monarchy.—106, 144

Pallavicini, Alfonziol, Count (1807-1875)—Hungarian magnate.—186

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, 1859-65); a Tory at the beginning of his career, from 1830 onwards a Whig.—74
Palóczy, Lásló (1783-1861)—Hungarian politician, deputy to the National Assembly (1848-49), its Chairman till early July 1848 and a member of the Commission of Appeal.—145

Paskevich, Ivan Fyodorovich (1782-1856)—Russian field marshal-general; commander-in-chief of the Tsarist army that suppressed the Polish insurrection (from June 1831); in 1849 commander-in-chief of Tsarist troops participating in crushing the revolution in Hungary.—239

Paskowich—representative of the Vojvodina local administration in Vienna.—147

Pavlov, Prokofy Yakovlevich (1796-1868)—Russian general, took part in the suppression of the Polish insurrection of 1830-31 and in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849; during the Crimean war of 1853-56 commanded troops on the Danube and in the Crimea.—312

Peeler, Sir Robert (1788-1850)—British statesman, moderate Tory; Prime Minister (1841-46); repealed the Corn Laws in 1846.—4

Perczel, Alexander (d. 1861)—father of Mor Perczel.—73

Perczel, Moritz (Mór) (1811-1899)—general in the Hungarian revolutionary army in 1848 and 1849; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Turkey, and in 1851 to England.—26, 58, 61, 72, 111, 257, 286, 289, 293, 318, 351, 334, 354, 397, 408, 410, 425, 461

Perker—Prussian official.—496

Perrone di San Martino, Ettore (1789-1849)—general in the Piedmontese army, fought against Austria in 1848 and 1849.—175

Peter, Archduke—Austrian official.—405

Peter II Petrovic Njegoš (1813-1851)—Vladika of Montenegro (1830-51).—31

Peucker, Eduard von (1791-1876)—Prussian general and statesman; War Minister in the so-called Imperial Government in Frankfurt (July 1848 to May 1849); took part in suppressing the uprising in Baden and the Palatinate in 1849.—475

Pfersmann von Eichthal, Alois (1781-1854)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, second chief of the 37th Infantry Regiment; fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—237, 242, 332

Pfuel, Ernst Heinrich Adolf von (1779-1866)—Prussian general; Governor of Neuchâtel (1832-48); commandant of Berlin (March 1848); suppressed the uprising in Posen in May 1848; Prime Minister and War Minister (September and October 1848).—69, 138

Pheiffer, Heinrich—Prussian barrister-attorney, defence counsel for Arnold Bechtold at the trial of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung editors and contributors on May 29, 1849 in Cologne.—519

Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti) (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—7, 148

Podalecki—Polish army officer, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; executed by the Austrians in 1849.—235

Pongrác, Baron—royal commissioner in Galicia in 1849.—405

Popovich, Marcus—participant in the Serbian national movement, member of the local administration in the Vojvodina (February 1849).—40

Pothmann, Johann (born c. 1825)—German democrat, a member of the Committee of Public Safety and head of the army reserve during the May 1849 Elberfeld uprising; emigrated to Holland after the uprising was defeated.—447

Pottinger, Sir Henry (1789-1856)—English diplomat and military figure; commanded English troops during the Opium war with China (1842), Governor of Hong Kong (1843), Governor of Madras (1847-54).—3

Prohaska von Guelphenburg, Franz Adolf, Baron (1768-1862)—Austrian general; from 1835 chief of the 7th Infantry Regiment fighting against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—272

Przyłuski, Leon (1789-1865)—Archbishop of Gnesen and Posen (1845-65).—359
Puchner, Anton, Baron von (1779-1852)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—10, 29, 90, 94, 185, 233-34, 271, 460

Ramorino, Gerolamo (1792-1849)—Italian general; fought on the side of the Polish insurgents in 1830 and 1831; commanded the 5th Lombardian Division of the Piedmontese army in 1848 and 1849; his tactics facilitated the victory of the counter-revolutionary Austrian troops; shot by decision of the Piedmontese War Council in May 1849.—156, 164, 166, 169, 171, 173, 174, 176

Rastic, Daniel, Baron (1794-1853)—Austrian major-general, later lieutenant-field marshal, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—273

Rath—Prussian barrister, defence counsel for Korff at the trials of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung editors and contributors held in Cologne on May 29 and 30, 1849.—519, 521-22

Raveaux, Franz (1810-1851)—German politician, Cologne deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848 and 1849; in June 1849 one of the five imperial regents; member of the Baden Provisional Government.—498

Reichardt, Gustav (1797-1884)—German democrat; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; member of the Central Committee of German Democrats from October 1848.—33

Reichetzer, Baron—Austrian major, adjutant of the General Command; fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—279

Renard, Andreas, Count (1795-1874)—Silesian landowner; deputy to the Second Chamber (Right wing) in 1849.—88, 138, 139
Révay, Baron—royal commissioner in Galicia (1849).—405
Riedel, Adolf Friedrich Johann (1809-1872)—deputy to the Prussian National Assembly; deputy to the Second Chamber (Right wing) in 1849.—88, 143, 324-29
Riedesel zu Eisenbach, Hermann, Baron (d. 1849) — Austrian major, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—273
Riotte, Karl Nikolaus (born c. 1816)—German democrat, lawyer; deputy to the Second Chamber (1849), member of the Committee of Public Safety during the May 1849 Elberfeld uprising; later emigrated to the USA.—448
Rittinghausen, Moritz (1814-1890)—German journalist and politician, petty-bourgeois democrat; participant in the 1848-49 revolution, later member of the German Social-Democratic Party.—490
Röhrdanz—German man of letters, was in contact with Right-wing government circles in Prussia.—281
Rohrscheidt, von—Prussian official, district president; deputy to the Second Chamber (Centre) in 1849.—320
Rudics von Almás, Joseph, Baron—member of the Serbian national movement; a leader of the local administration in the Voivodina (February (1849).—40
Rüdiger, Fyodor Vasilyevich, Count (1784-1856) — Russian general, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849; Deputy Governor of the Kingdom of Poland.—312
Ruge, Arnold (1802-1880)—German radical journalist, Young Hegelian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848.—33-35
Rukavina, Georg (Džuro), Baron von Vido-ovgrad (1777-1849)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, Croat by birth; fought in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—10, 12, 25, 90, 97, 98, 121, 123, 147, 183, 184, 254, 294, 304, 397, 457
Rupp, Julius (1809-1884)—German pastor, participant in the “Friends of Light” religious movement; deputy to the Second Chamber (Left wing) in 1849.—320-24
Sack—Prussian official in Silesia.—70
Savoia, Ferdinando, duca di Genova (1822-1855)—son of Charles Albert of Sardinia; fought against Austria in 1848 and 1849.—156, 165, 166, 175
Savona—brigade commander in the Piedmontese army (1849), fought against Austria in 1848 and 1849.—165
Savoy, Duke of—see Victor Emmanuel II
Schaeffer, H.—member of the democratic association in Solingen.—489
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 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.—282, 372, 489, 490, 495, 501, 503, 504
Scherer—German barrister; deputy to the Second Chamber (Right wing) in 1849.—140
Schmutz—Austrian captain, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—30
Schneider, Johannes (1792-1858)—Swiss statesman, member of the Great
Council of the Berne canton and deputy to the National Council (1848-50).—43

Schneider II, Karl—German lawyer, democrat, President of the Cologne Democratic Society and member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats in 1848; defence counsel for Marx and Engels at the trial of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung on February 7, 1849; deputy to the Second Chamber (extreme Left wing) in 1849.—372, 498

Schulze-Delitzsch, Franz Hermann (1808-1883)—German economist and liberal politician; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; a leader of the Progressist Party in the 1860s, author of co-operative projects that detracted workers from the revolutionary struggle.—143

Schulzig, Franz Joseph, Baron von (1787-1864)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—20, 62, 178

Schurter—Austrian general, took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—242

Schwanbeck, Eugen Alexis (1821-1850)—German journalist, an editor of the Kölnische Zeitung.—190, 450

Schwarzenberg, Edmund Leopold Friedrich, Prince zu (1803-1873)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, second chief of the 2nd Dragoon Regiment; took part in the suppression of the Italian national liberation movement and in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—19

Schwarzenberg, Felix, Prince zu (1800-1852)—Austrian conservative statesman and diplomat; Prime Minister and Foreign Minister (from November 1848 to 1852).—133, 147, 161, 308, 356, 397

Seckendorf, August Heinrich Eduard Friedrich, Baron von (1807-1885)—Prussian lawyer and legal officer; deputy to the Second Chamber (Centre) in 1849. —88

Sever, A.—prominent figure in the national movement of Transylvanian Romanians, Prefect of the Romanian administration set up in Transylvania in October 1848; a commander of the Romanian volunteers in Transylvania, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—122

Shakhovskoy, Ivan Leontyevich, Prince (1776-1860)—Russian general.—312

Siegel (Sigel), Franz (1824-1902)—petty-bourgeois democrat; supreme commander, then deputy supreme commander of the Baden revolutionary army during the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Switzerland, then to Britain and in 1852 to the USA.—483

Simon—hotel owner in Cologne.—503

Simons, Ludwig (1803-1870)—German barrister; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848, then Minister of Justice (1849-60).—328, 329, 439, 445

Simonyi, Ernst (Ernő) (1821-1882)—participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, after its defeat emigrated. —163

Simson, Martin Eduard Sigismund von (1810-1899)—Prussian politician and lawyer; in 1848-49 member and President (from December 1848 to May 1849) of the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre); in November 1848 was sent as an imperial commissioner to Berlin to settle the conflict between the King and the Prussian Assembly; later became a National Liberal.—48

Simonich, Balthasar, Baron von (1785-1861)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, Serbian by birth; fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—30, 97, 122, 245, 331, 342, 365, 406, 459

Sivkovich, Johann, Baron von (1779-1857)—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, chief of the 41st Infantry Regiment.—287

Solaroli, Paolo (1796-1877)—general in the Piedmontese army, fought against Austria in 1848 and 1849.—174

Solon (c. 638-c. 558 B.C.)—Greek politician, Athenian legislator.—88
Sophia (1805-1872)—Archduchess of Austria, mother of Emperor Francis Joseph I.—49, 457
Sossay, Anton, Baron von (1790-1874)—Austrian major-general, later lieutenant-field marshal; commanded a brigade during the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—30, 245
Stadion, Franz, Count von (1806-1853)—Austrian statesman; an organiser of the struggle against the national liberation movement in Galicia and Bohemia; Minister of the Interior (1848-49).—147, 161, 308, 351, 397
Stangier, Johann—farmer in the Altenkirchen district, participant in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province.—339, 373, 375
Stankovich, Johann—prominent figure in the Serbian national movement, became a member of the local administration of the Voivodina in February 1849.—40
Stanojevich, Milija—commander of an auxiliary corps sent by the Principality of Serbia to support the Voivodina Serbs during the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—183
Stedtmann, Karl (1804-1882)—Prussian moderate liberal politician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Centre); member of the commission for signing an armistice in Malmö (1848) and imperial commissioner in Schleswig-Holstein (September 1848 to March 1849).—516, 518, 520
Stein—member of the local administration in the Voivodina (1849).—40
Stein—a commander of the Voivodina Serbian troops that fought against revolutionary Hungary (1848-49).—183
Stephan (1817-1867)—Austrian Archduke, Palatine in Hungary (1847-48); in September 1848 was appointed commander of the Hungarian army; sabotaged the struggle against Jellachich's counter-revolutionary troops; fled from Hungary.—239-41, 456
Stephen Dushan (c. 1308-1355)—King of Serbia (from 1331), recaptured a number of Greek and Slav lands from Byzantium, in 1346 was proclaimed "Tsar of the Serbs and the Greeks".—31
Stminger—member of the local administration in the Voivodina (1849).—40
Stojackovic, Alex (b. 1822)—Serbian writer and historian; official of the local administration in the Voivodina (February 1849).—40
Stojakovich, Georg—participant in the Serbian national movement in 1848 and 1849.—190
Stratimirovich, Georg (Diordži) (1822-1908)—leader of the Serbian national movement in the Voivodina, moderate liberal; commanded the Serbian units in the Austrian army, participated in the war against revolutionary Hungary (1848-49).—12, 78, 98, 116, 117, 332, 334, 344
Stroba, Antonín (1814-1856).—Czech lawyer and prominent figure in the national movement, held pro-Austrian views; President of the Austrian Imperial Diet (1848).—106
Strotha, Karl Adolf von (1786-1870)—Prussian general, conservative, deputy to the First Chamber, War Minister (November 1848 to February 1850).—296-98, 320, 439
Štúr, L'udovit (1815-1856)—Slovak philologist, literary critic and journalist, a representative of Slovak Renaissance and a leader of the national movement; opposing the Hungarian aristocracy's great-power policy, he fought against the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49 in alliance with the Austrians; later advocated pan-Slavism.—11, 62, 101, 119, 120
Stürmer, Bartolomäus, Count von (1787-1865)—Austrian diplomat, internuncio in Constantinople (February 1849).—41
Stutterheim, Johann, Baron (1803-1870)—Austrian colonel, later major-general, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—113
Stüve, Johann Karl Bertram (1798-1872)—German politician, liberal; Minister of the Interior of Hanover (1848-50).—56
Suplikac, Johann—prominent figure in the Serbian national movement, member of the local administration in the Voivodina (February 1849).—40, 147

Svetozazhitich—member of the Serbian national movement, official of the local administration in the Voivodina (February 1849).—40

Széchenyi—family of Hungarian aristocrats.—40

Szirmay de Szirma, István, Count (1794–1857)—Hungarian aristocrat, opponent of the 1848-49 Hungarian revolution; sentenced to capital punishment by the Hungarian revolutionary Government but the sentence was not executed.—186

Tamerlane (or Timur) (1336–1405)—Central Asian soldier and conqueror, founder of a vast state in Asia with its capital in Samarkand.—49

Teichbert—Austrian major, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—237

Thadden-Triglaff, Adolf von (1796–1882)—Prussian landowner from Pomerania, deputy to the United Diet (1847).—125

Thiers, Louis Adolphe (1797–1877)—French historian and statesman; Prime Minister (1836 and 1840); deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848) and the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); head of the Orleanist monarchist party after 1848; crushed the Paris Commune; President of the Republic (1871-73).—191, 323

Tietzen—Prussian lieutenant-general.—442

Tillier, Johann Anton (1792–1854)—Swiss historian and statesman, President of the Great Council of the Berne canton (1837 and 1848), deputy to the National Council (1848-51); emigrated in 1851.—45

Todorovich (Teodorović), Kusman von (1787–1858) — Austrian general, Serbian by birth; took part in the war against revolutionary Hungary (1849).—10, 12, 25, 31, 73, 90, 97, 114-15, 147, 163, 229, 251, 254, 319, 334, 425, 457

Tresckow, Sigismund Otto—German merchant, from 1796 owner of a landed estate in Owinsk (Posen).—362

Troost—German democrat, member of the Committee of Public Safety during the May 1849 Elberfeld uprising.—447

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Unruh, Hans Victor von (1806–1886)—Prussian engineer and politician; in 1848 a leader of the Left Centre in the Prussian National Assembly; President of this Assembly from October 1848; deputy to the Second Chamber (Left wing) in 1849; subsequently a founder of the Progressist Party.—67

Urban, Karl, Baron von (1802–1877)—Romanian colonel, later lieutenant-field marshal for the Austrians; commander of the 17th Border (2nd Romanian) Infantry Regiment; Right-wing leader of the Romanian national movement in Transylvania; fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—113, 122, 134, 159

Uttenhoven (d. 1849)—Prussian army officer, was killed during the May 1849 Elberfeld uprising.—428

V

Veigl von Kriegeslohn, Valentin (1802–1863)—Austrian major-general and then lieutenant-field marshal; commanded a cavalry brigade during the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849.—30, 114, 245, 350

Vetter, Antal (1803–1882)—Hungarian lieutenant-general, chief of General Staff of the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848-49) and commander-in-chief (March 1849); after the suppression of the revolution a refugee until
1867.—26, 123, 179, 181, 188, 233, 262, 288, 293, 300, 314, 356, 460
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Victor Emmanuel II (1820-1878)—Duke of Savoy, King of Sardinia (1849-61),
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W

Wachter, Karl—German democrat; a member of the Cologne Committee of Public Safety (September 1848).—490
Wachter—member of the local administration in the Voivodina (1849).—40
Waldeck, Benedikt Franz Leo (1802-1870)—German lawyer and radical politician; in 1848 a Left-wing leader and Vice-President of the Prussian National Assembly; subsequently one of the leaders of the Progressist Party.—197, 140, 141, 323
Waldemar, Friedrich Wilhelm (1817-1849)—Prussian prince.—88
Wallmoden-Gimborn, Ludwig Georg Theodel (1769-1862)—Austrian general, later Master of Ordnance, chief of the 6th Cuirassier Regiment.—118, 285
Warsan, Georg—participant in the Serbian national movement, became a member of the local administration in the Voivodina in February 1849.—40
Weerth, Georg (1822-1856)—German poet and writer, a member of the Communist League, a founder of proletarian poetry in Germany; an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung in 1848-49.—473, 514, 516, 517, 519, 520
Welcker, Karl Theodor (1790-1869)—German lawyer, liberal journalist; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre) in 1848 and 1849, imperial ambassador to Vienna.—47, 377
Welden, Franz Ludwig, Baron von (1782-1853)—Austrian Master of Ordnance, in 1848 took part in the campaign against the national liberation movement in Italy; commandant of Vienna after the suppression of the October 1848 uprising; in April and May 1849 commander-in-chief of Austrian troops fighting against revolutionary Hungary.—117, 121, 179, 238-39, 244-45, 284, 286, 288, 293, 304, 316, 318, 331, 333, 335, 336, 342-43, 349-51, 354, 363, 371, 381, 396, 460-61
Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of (1769-1852)—British general and statesman, Tory; Prime Minister (1828-30) and Foreign Secretary (December 1834 to April 1835).—176
Wenck—Austrian major, fought against revolutionary Hungary (1848-49).—405
Wenzel—official of the Cologne Royal Government.—496
Wesendonck, Hugo—Prussian lawyer in Düsseldorf; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848 and 1849; deputy to the Second Chamber (extreme Left wing) in 1849.—320
Wex—district commissioner in Béhometh.—289
Weydemeyer, Joseph (1818-1866)—prominent figure in the German and American labour movement; came
under the influence of "true socialism" in 1846-47; after making the acquaintance of Marx and Engels became their associate; participated in the 1848-49 revolution, emigrated to the USA after its defeat. — 473

Weyers, Peter Wilhelm (born c. 1814) — Düsseldorf worker; in 1848 was arrested and tried for spreading revolutionary propaganda. — 372, 374, 387

Weyll, Bartholomäus Joseph — German lawyer; a member of the Democratic Society, the Committee of Public Safety and the People's Committee in Cologne (1848); delegate to the Second Democratic Congress in Berlin (October 1848). — 490

Willich, August (1810-1878) — Prussian army officer, retired because of his political views; a member of the Communist League; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849); subsequently a leader of the sectarian group which split from the Communist League in 1850. — 482-83

Willisen, Karl Wilhelm (1790-1879) — Prussian general and military theorist; royal commissioner in Posen in 1848 and 1849. — 296

Wimpffen, Maximilian, Baron (1770-1854) — Austrian field marshal, chief of the 13th Infantry Regiment, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849. — 248


Windischgrätz, Alfred Joseph Nicolaus Guntram, Prince (1819-1876) — son of Field Marshal A. C. F. Windischgrätz, major, then lieutenant-field marshal, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849, aide-de-camp at his father's headquarters in 1849. — 286

Wohlgemuth, Ludwig, Baron (1788-1851) — Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, took part in suppressing the revolutionary movement in Italy (1848) and Hungary (1849). — 287, 304, 336, 343, 345, 346, 350-54, 363, 364, 368, 381, 391, 406, 460

Wolf(f), Ferdinand (1812-1895) — German journalist, a member of the Communist League, an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung in 1848 and 1849. — 473, 489, 490, 514

Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus) (1809-1864) — German proletarian revolutionary, a teacher; a member of the Communist League, an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49), friend and associate of Marx and Engels. — 282, 473, 489, 490, 497, 501, 503, 510, 514

Woroniecki — Prince, Polish army officer, took part in the Hungarian revolution (1848-49); was executed by the Austrians in 1849. — 235

Wrangel, Friedrich Heinrich Ernst, Count von (1784-1877) — Prussian general, took part in the counter-revolutionary coup d'état in Berlin and the dispersal of the Prussian National Assembly in November 1848. — 33, 56, 108, 109, 430

Wrba-Freudenthal, Ladislaus, Count (1795-1849) — Austrian major-general, fought against revolutionary Hungary (1848-49). — 19, 110, 146, 265, 266, 304

Wróński — Polish army officer, took part in the Hungarian revolution (1848-49); was executed by the Austrians in 1849. — 235

Wurmser, Dagobert Siegmund, Count (1724-1797) — Austrian field marshal, commander of the Austrian troops in Italy (1796), was defeated by Bonaparte several times and capitulated in the fortress of Mantua. — 291

Wyss, Franz Salomon (1795-1849) — Austrian major-general; took part in suppressing the October uprising in
Vienna (1848) and in the war against revolutionary Hungary (1848-49).—28

Zambeccari, Livio, conte (1802-1862)—Italian military leader, participant in the 1848-49 revolution, head of the volunteer detachments in Modena and Bologna; emigrated after the Republic in Rome was defeated.—166

Zanini, Peter—Austrian lieutenant-field marshal, second (1846-48) and then first (from 1848) chief of the 16th Infantry Regiment.—19, 59, 119, 394

Zeisberg, Karl, von (1788-1863)—Austrian major-general, later lieutenant-field marshal; fought against revolutionary Hungary (1848-49).—28, 58, 72, 77, 110

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Christ, Jesus (Bib.).—108

Don Quixote—title character of Cervantes' novel.—131, 161, 241, 292

Eckart—hero of German medieval legends loyal guard. In the Tannhäuser legend, he guards the mountain of Venus, warning those who approach it of the danger of Venus' charms.—193

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Jupiter—supreme Roman deity.—66

Lycurgus—legendarily legislator of ancient Sparta, said to have lived in the 9th-8th centuries B.C.—88

Zichy, Ferenc, Count (1811-1897)—Hungarian lawyer; Chairman pro tem in the Governor's Council of Hungary (1847), State Secretary in the Batthyány Government (1848), Supreme Commissioner in the Paskevich army fighting against revolutionary Hungary (1849).—239

Zittau, von—Austrian major-general, fought against revolutionary Hungary in 1848 and 1849, commander of an engineer corps besieging Komorn in the spring of 1849.—344

Zivanovich, Jacob (1808-1861)—participant in the Serbian national movement, a member of the local administration in the Voivodina (February 1849).—40, 147

Zweifel—Prussian official; Chief Public Prosecutor in Cologne; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—340

Michel—a name used ironically to denote a German philistine.—490

Móras—character from Schiller's ballade "Bürgschaft".—377

Münchhausen, Baron—character from German humorous adventure stories collected into book form by the German writer Rudolf Erich Raspe (second half of the 18th century) and published in English as the character's recollections: main character of Karl Immermann's novel Münchhausen, eine Geschichte in Arabesken (1838).—275

Perceval (also Percival, Percivale)—character from the epics about King Arthur and his knights.—355

Schnapphahnski—main character of Georg Weerth's satirical novel Leben und Taten des berühmten Ritters Schnapphahnski, whose prototype was a Prussian Junker, Prince Lichnowski.—516, 517

Themis (Gr. Myth.)—goddess of justice.—67
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*Deutsche Londoner Zeitung*—a literary and political weekly of German refugees living in London, appeared from April 1845 to February 1851, edited by the petty-bourgeois democrat Ludwig Bamberger and subsidised by the deposed Duke Charles of Brunswick. Between 1847 and 1851 the editorial board included Ferdinand Freiligrath and the newspaper carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—511-12

*Deutsche Zeitung*—a German daily published in Heidelberg from 1847 to October 1848 under the editorship of Georg Gervinus, then, up to 1850, in Frankfurt am Main; it supported the constitutional monarchy and unification of Germany under Prussian hegemony.—514

*Düsseldorfer Zeitung*—a German daily founded in 1745, published under this title in Düsseldorf from 1826 to 1926; in the 1840s voiced liberal views.—423, 507, 514

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*Frankfurter Journal*—a German daily published in Frankfurt am Main from the 17th century to 1903; in the 1840s voiced liberal views.—473

*Freiheit, Arbeit*—a German newspaper published in Cologne from January 14 to June 17, 1849, by Andreas Gottschalk's supporters in the Cologne Workers' Association and presented by them as the organ of the Association; pursued a sectarian line and printed insinuations against Marx and Engels.—498

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Neue Könlische Zeitung für Bürger, Bauern und Soldaten—a revolutionary-democratic newspaper published in Cologne from September 10, 1848, to June 14, 1849, by Friedrich Anneke and Friedrich Beust.—508, 509-10, 515, 523, 525

Neue Oder-Zeitung—a German daily published in Breslau (Wroclaw); first, under the title Allgemeine Oder-Zeitung, it was the organ of opposition Catholic circles. From March 1849 to the end of 1855 it appeared as Neue Oder-Zeitung and was the organ of German democrats; in 1855 Marx was its London correspondent.—90, 239, 252, 342, 365, 407

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*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a daily published in Cologne under the editorship of Marx from June 1, 1848, to May 19, 1849 (with an interval between September 27 and October 12, 1848); organ of the revolutionary-proletarian wing among the democrats during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany. Engels was among its editors.—13, 36-37, 65, 84-85, 108, 160, 262, 281, 295, 311, 340, 353, 357, 359, 372, 375, 410, 431-32, 437, 447, 449-50, 451, 454, 467, 473, 480, 489-90, 498, 503, 505, 509-12, 514-19, 521, 523-24

*Neue Zürcher-Zeitung*—a Swiss liberal newspaper published in German under this title in Zurich from July 1, 1821; from 1780 to 1821 came out under the title *Zürcher-Zeitung.*—44-45

*Oberschlesische Lokomotive*—a German newspaper published in 1849 in Râtibor (Racibórz).—257

*Ost-Deutsche Post*—an Austrian daily of the moderate liberals published in Vienna from 1848 to 1866.—112, 152, 154, 158, 190, 255, 265, 289, 293, 304, 307, 315, 355

*Österreichischer Correspondent*—a daily newspaper of the Austrian Government published in Vienna in 1848 and 1849 (from November 1848 to April 1849 in Olmütz).—9, 186, 246, 304

*Ostsee-Zeitung und Börsennachrichten der Ostsee*—a German daily published in Stettin (Szczecin) from 1835.—311

*La Patrie. Journal du commerce, de l'agriculture, de l'industrie, de la littérature, des sciences et des arts*—a daily published in Paris from 1841 to 1871; during the 1848 revolution voiced the views of the counter-revolutionary monarchist bourgeoisie (the so-called party of order) and later of the Bonapartists.—157

*Pester Zeitung*—a pro-Austrian daily published in German in Pest during the 1840s and the early 1850s.—10, 264

*Die Presse*—a liberal daily published in Vienna from July 1848 to 1896. In 1861 and 1862, when the newspaper held anti-Bonapartist views, it printed a number of articles and items by Marx.—246, 263, 364

*La Presse*—a daily published in Paris from 1836; in the 1840s, mouthpiece for the opposition to the July monarchy; in 1848 and 1849, organ of the moderate republicans, later a Bonapartist paper. From 1836 to 1857 it was edited by Émile Girardin.—480

*Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*—a German newspaper founded in Berlin in 1819; from 1819 to April 1848 it was a semi-official organ of the Prussian Government; its title was changed several times.—69, 417, 464

*Die Reform. Organ der demokratischen Partei*—a newspaper of the German petty-bourgeois democrats published by Arnold Ruge and H. B. Oppenheim under the editorship of Eduard Meyen from April 1848 in Leipzig, from the summer of 1848 to the early 1850s in Berlin.—33-35

*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. While edited by Marx (from October 15, 1842, to
March 17, 1843), the paper became a mouthpiece for revolutionary-democratic ideas, which led to its suppression. Engels was one of its contributors.—108

Rosenberg-Kreuzburger Telegraph—a German newspaper published in Rosenberg-Kreuzburg (Silesia) in 1849.—70

Schlesische Zeitung—a German daily published in Breslau (Wrocław) from 1742; the newspaper of the constitutional monarchists on the eve of and during the revolution of 1848-49.—14, 162

Serbske Novine (Српске Новине)—an official organ of the Serbian Government published in Belgrade from 1835.—41, 425

Der Siebenbürger Bote—a newspaper published in German in Hermannstadt (Sibiu), Transylvania, in 1848 and 1849.—62, 146

Slovenski jug—a Croatian pro-Austrian newspaper published in Agram (Zagreb) from 1848 to 1850.—116

Slovenski pozornik—a Slovak newspaper published in 1849.—300

Der Spiegel. Zeitschrift für die elegante Welt, Mode, Literatur, Kunst, Theater—an Austrian newspaper published in Pest from 1828.—315

Staats-Anzeiger—see Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger

Südslavische Zeitung—a weekly of the Croatian liberal monarchists published in German in Zagreb from 1849 to 1852.—116, 184, 229

Teutsches Volksblatt—a German newspaper of moderate democrats published in Würzburg in the 1840s.—36, 37

Trier'sche Zeitung—a daily founded in Trier in 1757, appeared under this title from 1815; in the early 1840s voiced radical views, and later came under the influence of "true socialists"; during the 1848-49 revolution a democratic newspaper.—509, 514

Triester Freihafen—an Austrian newspaper published in Trieste.—462

Vjestnik (Вјестић)—a Serbian newspaper published in Pest in 1848 and 1849, and later in Neusatz and Karlowitz.—425

Der Volksfreund—a German democratic weekly published in 1849 in Lemgo (Principality of Lippe-Detmold).—479

Der Wächter—a Swiss radical newspaper published in Murten (canton of Freiburg) from January 1849 and edited by Johann Kaspar Sieber.—43

Der Wächter am Rhein—a democratic newspaper published in Cologne in 1848 and 1849, edited by Carl Cramer.—450

Der Wanderer—a daily of the Austrian constitutional monarchists, published in Vienna from 1809 to 1866.—302, 335-36

Westdeutsche Zeitung—a democratic newspaper published in Cologne from May 25, 1849, to July 21, 1850, by Hermann Becker.—473

Wiener Zeitung—a daily organ of the Austrian Government published in Vienna from 1780 to 1931; had the subtitle Kaiserlich-königlich privilegirte (1800-06) or Österreichisch kaiserliche privilegirte (1807-47 and certain issues of 1848). There were a few supplements, among them Abend-Beilage zur Wiener Zeitung.—10, 92,
113, 116-17, 120, 163, 178, 243, 246, 250-51, 252, 254, 271, 279, 294, 314, 316, 346, 348, 397

_Wochen- und Adress-Blatt_—a German newspaper published twice a week in Erfurt in the 1840s.—71

_Zeitung des Osten_—a democratic daily published in Posen in 1849 by W. Stefanski, a prominent figure in the Polish national liberation movement.—312

_Zeitungs-Halle_—see _Berliner Zeitungs-Halle_
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GLOSSARY OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES


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*a This glossary includes geographical names occurring in Marx’s and Engels’ articles in the form customary in the German press of the time but differing from the national names or from those given on modern maps. The left column gives geographical names as used in the German original (when they differ from the national names of the time, the latter are given in brackets); the right column gives corresponding names as used on modern maps and in modern literature.—Ed.*
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