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KARL MARX
FRIEDRICH ENGELS
WERKE • ARTIKEL • ENTWÜRFE
SEPTEMBER 1867
BIS MÄRZ 1871

Friedrich Engels
Karl Marx. Das Kapital. Rezension in der „Zukunft“

Die Zukunft.
Nr. 254, 30. Oktober 1867.
Beilage

Karl Marx, Das Kapital. Erster Band.
Hamburg. Meißner. 1867. 784 Seiten. 8°.

Es ist eine für jeden Deutschen betrübende Thatsache, daß wir, das Volk der Denker, auf dem Gebiete der politischen Oeconomie bisher so wenig geleistet haben. Unsere Berühmtheiten auf diesem Fach sind günstigsten Falls Compilatoren, wie Rau und Roscher, und wo etwas Originelles geliefert wird, da haben wir Schutzzöllner wie List (der übrigens einem Franzosen abgeschrieben haben soll) oder Sozialisten, wie Rodbertus und Marx. - Unsere correcte politische Oekonomie scheint es sich wirk-
lich zur Aufgabe gestellt zu haben Jeden, der es mit der ökonomischen Wissenschaft ernstlich meint, dem Sozialismus in die Arme zu treiben. Haben wir es doch erlebt, daß die ganze offizielle Oekonomie es gewagt hat, einem Lassalle gegenüber das altbekannte Gesetz über die Bestim-
mung des Arbeitslohns zu verläugnen, und daß es einem Lassalle über-
lassen blieb, Leute, wie Ricardo gegen Schulze-Delitzsch u.A. in Schutz zu nehmen! Es ist leider wahr, nicht einmal mit Lassalle konnten sie wissenschaftlich fertig werden und mußten - welche Anerkennung auch immer ihre praktischen Bestrebungen verdienen mochten - den Vorwurf auf sich sitzen lassen, ihre ganze Wissenschaft bestehe in der Verwässe-
rung der, alle Gegensätze und Schwierigkeiten vertuschenden, Harmo-
nien eines Bastiat. - Bastiat als Autorität und Ricardo verleugnet - das ist unsere offizielle Oekonomie heutzutage in Deutschland. Aber freilich, wie soll es anders sein? Die Oekonomie ist leider bei uns ein Feld, für das sich Niemand wissenschaftlich interessirt, sie ist entweder ein Stück Brodstudium für's cameralistische Examen oder ein möglichst oberfläch-
lich zu erlernendes Hülfsmittel für die politische Agitation. Ob unsere staatliche Zersplitterung, unsere leider noch zu wenig entwickelte Indu-

Friedrich Engels

striе, oder unsere, in dieser Branche der Wissenschaft herkömmliche, Abhängigkeit vom Ausland, daran Schuld sind?

Unter diesen Umständen ist es immer erfreulich, ein Buch in die Hand zu bekommen, wie das obige, worin der Verfasser, während er die jetzt coursirende verwässerte, oder wie er sie recht treffend nennt, „*Vulgär-Ökonomie*“ mit Entrüstung auf ihre klassischen Vorbilder bis Ricardo und Sismondi zurück verweist, sich auch den Klassikern gegenüber zwar kritisch verhält, aber doch stets den Gang streng wissenschaftlicher Untersuchung beizubehalten strebt. Die früheren Schriften von Marx, namentlich die im Jahre 1859 bei Duncker in Berlin erschienene über das Geldwesen, zeichneten sich schon durch einen streng wissenschaftlichen Geist ebenso sehr aus, wie durch rücksichtslose Kritik, und unseres Wissens hat unsere ganze offizielle Oekonomie bisher nichts dagegen vorgebracht. - Wenn sie aber schon mit der damaligen Schrift nicht fertig wurde, wie wird es ihr jetzt bei diesen 49 Bogen über das Capital ergehen? 15
- Man verstehe uns recht. Wir sagen nicht, daß sich gegen die Deductionen dieses Buches nichts einwenden ließe, daß Marx seine Beweise vollständig erbracht habe; wir sagen blos, wir glauben nicht, daß sich unter unsren sämmtlichen Oekonomen Einer finden werde, der im Stande ist, sie zu widerlegen. - Die Untersuchungen, die in diesem Buche geführt werden, sind von der höchsten wissenschaftlichen Feinheit. Wir berufen uns vor Allem auf die künstlerische, dialectische Anlage des Ganzen, auf die Weise, wie in dem Begriff der Waare bereits das Geld als an sich existirend dargestellt, wie aus dem Geld das Capital entwickelt wird. Wir bekennen, daß wir die neu eingeführte Kategorie des Mehrwerths für 25 einen Fortschritt halten, daß wir nicht einsehen, was sich dagegen sagen läßt, wenn behauptet wird, nicht die *Arbeit*, sondern die *Arbeitskraft* erscheine als Waare auf dem Markte; daß wir die Berichtigung zum Ricardoschen Gesetz über die Rate des Profits (daß statt Profit gesetzt werden müsse: Mehrwerth) für ganz in der Ordnung ansehen. - Wir müssen gestehen, daß der historische Sinn, der durch das ganze Buch geht, und der es dem Verfasser verbietet, die ökonomischen Gesetze für ewige Wahrheiten, für etwas anderes anzusehen als die Formulirung der Existenzbedingungen gewisser vorübergehender Gesellschaftszustände, uns sehr angesprochen hat; daß die Gelehrsamkeit und der Scharfsinn, 35 mit dem hierbei die verschiedenen geschichtlichen Gesellschaftszustände und ihre Existenzbedingungen dargestellt sind, auf Seiten unserer offiziellen Oekonomen leider vergebens gesucht werden dürften. - Untersuchungen, wie die über die ökonomischen Bedingungen und Gesetze der Sklaverei, der verschiedenen Formen der Leibeigenschaft und Hörigkeit, 40 und über die Entstehung der freien Arbeiter sind unsren Fachökonomen

Das Kapital. Rezension in der „Zukunft“

bisher ganz fremd geblieben. - Wir möchten ebenfalls gern die Meinung dieser Herren über die uns hier gegebenen Entwicklungen über Coopera-
tion, Theilung der Arbeit und Manufaktur, Maschinerie und große In-
dustrie in ihren historischen und ökonomischen Zusammenhängen und
5 Wirkungen hören, sie können hier jedenfalls manches Neue lernen. - Und was werden sie namentlich zu der, allen hergebrachten Theorien
der freien Concurrenz ins Gesicht schlagenden und nichtsdestoweniger
hier aus offiziellem Material nachgewiesenen, Thatsache sagen, daß in
England, im Vaterlande der freien Concurrenz, jetzt fast kein Arbeits-
10 zweig mehr besteht, dem nicht durch Staatseingriffe die tägliche Arbeits-
zeit streng vorgeschrieben ist, und dem nicht der Fabrikinspektor auf-
paßt? Und daß dennoch im Maß wie die Arbeitszeit beschränkt wird,
nicht nur die einzelnen Industriezweige sich heben, sondern auch der
einzelne Arbeiter in der kürzeren Zeit mehr Produkt liefert als früher in
15 der längeren?

Es ist leider nicht zu leugnen, daß der besonders herbe Ton, den der Verfasser gegen die *offiziellen deutschen* Oekonomen anschlägt, nicht ungerechtfertigt ist. Sie alle gehören mehr oder weniger zur „Vulgärökono-
mie“, sie haben der Popularität des Tages zu Liebe ihre Wissenschaft
20 prostituiert und deren klassische Coryphäen verleugnet. Sie sprechen von
„Harmonien“, und treiben sich in den banalsten Widersprüchen herum.
Möge die harte Lektion, die ihnen dies Buch ertheilt, dazu dienen, sie aus
ihrer Lethargie zu wecken, ihnen in Erinnerung zu bringen, daß die Oe-
konomie nicht blos eine nährende Kuh ist, die uns mit Butter versorgt,
25 sondern eine Wissenschaft, die einen ernsten und eifrigen Cultus verlangt.

Friedrich Engels
Karl Marx. Das Kapital.
Manuskript einer Rezension. („Rheinische Zeitung“)

[[1]] Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. I. Band:
der Produktionsprozeß des Kapitals. Hamburg, O. Meißner, 1867.

Das allgemeine Stimmrecht hat unsren bisherigen parlamentarischen Parteien eine neue, die *sozialdemokratische*, hinzugefügt. Bei den letzten Wahlen zum norddeutschen Reichstag hat sie in den meisten großen 5 Städten, in allen Fabrikbezirken, ihre eignen Kandidaten aufgestellt und sechs oder acht Abgeordnete durchgesetzt. Verglichen mit den vorletzten Wahlen, hat sie bedeutend größere Stärke entwickelt, und man darf daher annehmen daß sie, vor der Hand wenigstens noch, im Wachsen ist. Es wäre Thorheit, wollte man die Existenz, die Thätigkeit und die Doktrinen 10 einer solchen Partei noch länger mit vornehmem Stillschweigen behandeln in einem Lande, wo das allgemeine Stimmrecht die letzte Entscheidung in die Hände der zahlreichsten und ärmsten Klassen gelegt hat.

So sehr nun auch die sozialdemokratischen wenigen Parlamentler unter sich zerfallen u. zerfahren sein mögen, so ist doch mit Sicherheit 15 anzunehmen daß alle Fraktionen dieser Partei das vorliegende Buch als ihre *theoretische Bibel*, als die Rüstkammer begrüßen werden, woraus sie ihre wesentlichsten Argumente schöpfen. Schon aus diesem Grunde verdient es besondere Aufmerksamkeit. Aber auch seinem eignen Inhalte nach ist es geeignet Aufsehen zu erregen. Wenn Lassalle's Hauptargu- 20 mentation - und Lassalle war in der politischen Oekonomie nur ein Schüler von Marx - sich darauf beschränkte, das sogenannte Ricardo-sche Gesetz über den Arbeitslohn immer & immer zu wiederholen - so haben wir hier ein Werk vor uns, welches mit unläugbar seltner Gelehrsamkeit das ganze Verhältnis von Kapital & Arbeit in seinem Zusam- 25 menhange mit der ganzen ökonomischen Wissenschaft behandelt, welches sich zum letzten Endzweck setzt, „das ökonomische Bewegungsgesetz der modernen Gesellschaft zu enthüllen“, und dabei, nach offenbar auf-

Das Kapital. Manuskript einer Rezension. („Rheinische Zeitung“)

richtigen & mit unverkennbarer Sachkenntnis geführten Untersuchungen, zu dem Resultat kommt daß die ganze „kapitalistische Produktionsweise“ aufgehoben werden muß. Wir möchten aber ferner noch besonders darauf aufmerksam machen, daß abgesehen von den Schlußfolgerungen des Werks, der Verfasser im Verlauf desselben eine ganze Reihe von Hauptpunkten der Oekonomie in einem ganz neuen Lichte darstellt und hier, in rein wissenschaftlichen Fragen, zu Resultaten kommt, welche von der bisherigen gangbaren Oekonomie sehr abweichen und welche die Schulökonomen ernstlich werden kritisiren & wissenschaftlich widerlegen müssen, wenn sie nicht ihre bisherige Doktrin scheitern sehen wollen. Im Interesse der Wissenschaft ist zu wünschen daß sich die Polemik grade über diese Punkte in den Fachschriften recht bald entspinne.

Marx beginnt mit der Darstellung des Verhältnisses von Waare & Geld, woraus das Wesentlichste schon vor längerer Zeit in einer besondern Schrift veröffentlicht ward. Er geht dann zum Kapital über und hier kommen wir alsbald zum springenden Punkt des ganzen Werks. Was ist Kapital? Geld, welches sich in Waare verwandelt, um sich aus der Waare in mehr Geld zurück zu verwandeln als die ursprüngliche Summe betrug. Indem ich für 100 Thaler Baumwolle kaufe, & diese für 110 Thaler verkaufe, bewähre ich meine 100 Thaler als Kapital, sich selbst verwerthen den Werth. Nun entsteht die Frage, woher kommen die 10 Thaler die ich bei diesem Prozeß verdiene, wie geht es zu, daß aus 100 Thalern durch zweimaligen einfachen Austausch 110 Thaler werden? Die Oekonomie setzt nämlich voraus daß bei allen Austäuschungen gleicher Werth gegen gleichen Werth ausgetauscht wird. Marx geht nun alle möglichen Fälle durch (Preisschwankungen der Waaren &sw.), um zu beweisen, daß unter den von der Oekonomie gegebenen Voraussetzungen die Bildung von 10 Thalern *Mehrwerth* aus 100 ursprünglichen Thalern *unmöglich* ist. Dennoch findet dieser Prozeß täglich statt, & die Oekonomen sind uns die Erklärung dafür schuldig geblieben. Diese Erklärung gibt Marx wie folgt: Das Rätsel ist nur zu lösen, wenn wir eine Waare ganz eigner Art auf dem Markte finden, eine Waare, deren Gebrauchswerth darin besteht, Tauschwerth zu erzeugen. Diese Waare existiert - sie ist die *Arbeitskraft*. Der Kapitalist kauft die Arbeitskraft auf dem Markt, und läßt sie für sich arbeiten, um ihr Produkt wieder zu verkaufen. Wir haben also vor allen Dingen die Arbeitskraft zu untersuchen.

Was ist der Werth der Arbeitskraft? Nach dem bekannten Gesetz: der Werth derjenigen Lebensmittel welche nothwendig sind, den Arbeiter in der in einem gegebenen Lande & einer gegebenen Epoche historisch festgestellten Weise zu erhalten & fortzupflanzen. Wir nehmen an, der Arbeiter bekommt seine Arbeitskraft zu ihrem vollen Werth bezahlt. Wir

Friedrich Engels

nehmen ferner an, Dieser Werth repräsentire sich in einer Arbeit von *sechs* Stunden täglich, oder einem *halben* Arbeitstage. Der Kapitalist aber behauptet die Arbeitskraft für einen *ganzen* Arbeitstag gekauft zu haben, & läßt den Arbeiter 12 oder mehr Stunden arbeiten. Er hat also bei zwölfstündiger Arbeit das Produkt von sechs Arbeitsstunden erworben 5 ohne es bezahlt zu haben. Daraus folgert Marx: *Aller Mehrwerth* - wie er sich auch vertheile, als Gewinn des Kapitalisten, Grundrente, Steuer etc. - ist *unbezahlte Arbeit*.

Aus dem Interesse des Fabrikanten, möglichst viel unbezahlte Arbeit an jedem Tage herauszuschlagen & aus dem entgegengesetzten Interesse 10 des ||2| Arbeiters, entsteht der Kampf um die Länge des Arbeitstags. In einer sehr lesenswerthen Illustration, die ungefähr hundert Seiten füllt, schildert Marx den Hergang dieses Kampfs in der englischen großen Industrie, welcher trotz des Protestes der freihändlerischen Fabrikanten, im letzten Frühjahr damit geendigt hat, daß nicht nur alle Fabrikindustrie, 15 sondern auch aller Kleinbetrieb, & selbst alle häusliche Industrie unter die Schranken des Fabrikgesetzes gestellt worden ist, wonach die tägliche Arbeitszeit von Frauen & Kindern unter 18 Jahren - & damit indirekt auch die der Männer in den bedeutendsten Industriezweigen auf höchstens *Wh* Stunden festgesetzt ist. Er erklärt auch zugleich warum die 20 englische Industrie hierdurch nicht gelitten, sondern im Gegentheil gewonnen hat: indem die Arbeit jedes Einzelnen an Intensität mehr gewann als sie an Zeitdauer verkürzt wurde.

Der Mehrwerth kann aber auch auf eine andre Weise erhöht werden, als durch die Verlängerung der Arbeitszeit über die zur Erzeugung der nothwendigen Lebensmittel oder ihres Werths erforderliche Zeit hinaus. In einem gegebenen Arbeitstage, sagen wir von 12 Stunden, stecken nach vorheriger Annahme 6 Stunden nothwendiger & 6 Stunden zur Production von Mehrwerth verwandter Arbeit. Gelingt es nun, durch irgend ein Mittel die nothwendige Arbeitszeit auf 5 Stunden herabzu- 25 drücken, so bleiben 7 Stunden während deren Mehrwerth producirt wird. Dies kann erreicht werden durch Verkürzung der für die Production der nothwendigen Lebensmittel erforderlichen Arbeitszeit, mit andern Worten durch Verwohlfeilerung der Lebensmittel, und dies wieder nur durch Verbesserungen in der Production. Marx gibt bei diesem Punkte wieder 30 eine ausführliche Illustration, indem er die drei Haupthebel untersucht resp. schildert, wodurch diese Verbesserungen zu Stande gebracht werden: 1) die *Cooperation*, oder die Vervielfachung der Kräfte, welche aus dem gleichzeitigen & planmäßigen Zusammenwirken Vieler entsteht, 2) die *Theilung der Arbeit*, wie sie in der Periode der eigentlichen Manufac- 35 tur (also bis etwa 1770) zur Ausbildung kam, endlich 3) die *Maschinerie* 40

Das Kapital. Manuskript einer Rezension. („Rheinische Zeitung“)

mit deren Hülfe seit jener Zeit die große Industrie sich entwickelte. Auch diese Schilderungen sind von großem Interesse & zeigen eine erstaunliche Sachkenntniß bis ins technologische Detail hinein. |

[4] Wir können nicht auf die weiteren Einzelheiten der Untersuchungen über Mehrwerth & Arbeitslohn eingehen, wir bemerken nur zur Vermeidung von Mißverständnissen daß, wie Marx durch eine Menge von Cittaten beweist, auch der Schulökonomie die Thatsache nicht fremd ist daß der Arbeitslohn geringer ist als das ganze Product der Arbeit. Es ist zu hoffen daß dies Buch den Herren von der Schule Gelegenheit bieten wird uns über diesen allerdings befremdlichen Punkt nähere Aufklärung zu geben. Sehr zu rühmen ist daß alle thatsächlichen Belege, die Marx anführt, aus den besten Quellen, meist offiziellen Parlamentsberichten, genommen sind. Bei dieser Gelegenheit unterstützen wir den in der Vorrede indirekt gemachten Antrag des Verfassers: auch in Deutschland durch Regierungskommissäre - die aber keine voreingenommenen Bürokraten sein dürfen - die Arbeiterverhältnisse in den verschiedenen Industrien gründlich untersuchen zu lassen & die Berichte dem Reichstag & dem Publikum vorzulegen.

Der erste Band schließt mit der Abhandlung der Akkumulation des Kapitals. Über diesen Punkt ist schon öfter geschrieben worden, obwohl wir gestehen müssen daß auch hier manches Neue gegeben & das Alte von neuen Seiten beleuchtet wird. Das Eigenthümlichste ist der versuchte Nachweis daß neben der Konzentration & Akkumulation des Kapitals & Schritt haltend mit ihr die Akkumulation einer überzähligen Arbeiterbevölkerung vor sich geht & daß Beide zuletzt eine soziale Umwälzung einerseits nothwendig, anderseits möglich machen.

Was der Leser auch von den sozialistischen Ansichten des Verfassers halten mag, so glauben wir ihm doch im Vorstehenden gezeigt zu haben daß er es hier mit einer Schrift zu thun hat welche hoch über der landläufigen sozialdemokratischen Tagesliteratur steht. Wir fügen hinzu daß, die etwas stark dialektischen Sachen auf den ersten 40 Seiten ausgenommen, das Buch trotz aller wissenschaftlichen Strenge dennoch sehr leicht faßlich & durch die sarkastische, nach keiner Seite hin schonende, Schreibart des Verfassers selbst interessant abgefaßt ist. |

Friedrich Engels
Karl Marx über das Kapital.
Rezension in der „Elberfelder Zeitung“

Elberfelder Zeitung.
Nr. 302, 2. November 1867

S. Karl Marx über das Capital.
(Hamburg, Verlag von Otto Meißner I. Band 1867.)

Fünfzig Bogen gelehrter Abhandlung, um uns zu beweisen, daß das gesammte Capital unserer Banquiers, Kaufleute, Fabrikanten und großen Grundbesitzer nichts weiter ist als angesammelte unbezahlte Arbeit der 5 Arbeiterklasse! Wir erinnern uns, daß im Jahre 1848 die „Neue Rheinische Zeitung“, im Namen der schlesischen Bauern, die Forderung einer „schlesischen Milliarde“ aufstellte. Tausend Millionen Thaler, so wurde behauptet, sei der Betrag, der bei der Aufhebung der Leibeigenschaft und der Feudaldienste, allein den schlesischen Bauern unrechtmäßig entzogen 10 und in die Tasche der großen Grundbesitzer geflossen sei, und dieser Betrag wurde zurückgefördert. Aber die Herren von der weiland „Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung“ sind wie die selige Sibylle mit ihren Büchern; je weniger man ihnen bietet, desto mehr fordern sie. Was sind tausend Millionen Thaler gegen diese kolossale Rückforderung, die jetzt im Namen 15 der gesammten Arbeiterklasse gemacht wird - denn so müssen wir es doch wohl verstehen! Ist das sämmtliche angesammelte Capital der besitzenden Klassen weiter nichts als „unbezahlte Arbeit“, so scheint ja direct daraus zu folgen, daß diese Arbeit nachträglich bezahlt, das heißt, das gesammte fragliche Capital an die Arbeit übertragen wird. Es würde 20 sich da freilich zunächst noch darum handeln, *wer* dann eigentlich befugt wäre, es in Empfang zu nehmen. Doch Spaß bei Seite! So radical-socialistisch das vorliegende Buch auch zu Werke geht, so derb und schohnungslos es auch nach allen Seiten gegen Leute auftritt, die sonst für Autoritäten gelten, so müssen wir doch gestehen, daß es eine äußerst 25 geleherte und auf strengste Wissenschaftlichkeit Anspruch machende Arbeit ist. Es ist schon häufig davon in der Presse die Rede gewesen, daß

Karl Marx über das Kapital. Rezension in der „Elberfelder Zeitung“

Marx die Resultate seiner langjährigen Studien in einer Kritik der gesammten bisherigen Nationalökonomie zusammenfassen und damit den socialistischen Bestrebungen die wissenschaftliche Unterlage geben wolle, die ihnen bisher weder Fourier noch Proudhon, noch auch Lassalle zu 5 geben vermochte. Diese Arbeit ist in der Presse schon lange und oft angekündigt worden. 1859 erschien bei Duncker in Berlin ein „erstes Heft“, welches sich aber nur über Materien verbreitete, die kein unmittelbar praktisches Interesse hatten, und welches daher auch wenig Aufsehen erregte. Die folgenden Hefte erschienen nicht, und die neue socialistische Wissenschaft schien ihre Geburtswehen nicht überleben zu 10 sollen. Wie viele Witze sind nicht über diese neue Offenbarung gemacht worden, die so oft angekündigt wurde und doch nie und nimmer in die Welt treten zu wollen schien! Nun gut, hier endlich ist der „erste Band“ - fünfzig Druckbogen wie gesagt - und Niemand kann ihm nachsagen, daß er nicht des Neuen, Kühnen, Verwegenen genug und übergenug ent- 15 hält, und daß dasselbe nicht in durchaus wissenschaftlicher Form vorge- tragen wird. Marx appelliert mit seinen ungewohnten Sätzen dieses Mal nicht an die Massen, sondern an die Männer der Wissenschaft. An diesen ist es, die hier in ihren Grundlagen angefochtenen Gesetze ihrer öcono- 20 mischen Theorie zu vertheidigen, den Beweis zu liefern, daß das Capital zwar aufgesammelte Arbeit, aber nicht aufgesammelte, *unbezahlte* Arbeit ist. Lassalle war ein praktischer Agitator, und es mochte genügen, ihm in 25 der praktischen Agitation, in der Tagespresse, in Versammlungen gegenüber zu treten. Hier aber handelt es sich um eine systematische, wissen- schaftliche Theorie, und hier kann die Tagespresse nicht mit entscheiden, hier kann nur die Wissenschaft das letzte Wort sprechen. Es ist zu hoffen, daß Leute wie Roscher, Rau, Max Wirth u. s. w. diese Gelegenheit er- 30 greifen, um das Recht der bisher allgemein anerkannten politischen Oeconomie gegen diesen neuen, und sicher nicht verächtlichen Angriff zu vertheidigen. Die social-demokratische Saat ist unter der jüngeren Generation und der Arbeiterbevölkerung an gar manchen Orten aufgegangen - sie wird durch dies Buch ohnehin neue Nahrung genug finden.

Friedrich Engels
Karl Marx. Das Kapital. Rezension in der
„Düsseldorfer Zeitung“

Düsseldorfer Zeitung.
Nr. 316, 16. November 1867

* Karl Marx. *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. Erster Band.*
Hamburg, Meißner. 1867.

Dies Buch wird manchen Leser sehr enttäuschen. Seit Jahren ist, von gewisser Seite, auf sein Erscheinen hingewiesen worden. Hier sollte die wahre sozialistische Geheimlehre und Panace endlich enthüllt werden, und Mancher mag sich vorgestellt haben, als er es endlich angekündigt sah, daß er hier nun erfahren werde, wie es denn eigentlich im kommunistischen tausendjährigen Reich aussehen werde. Wer sich auf dies Vergnügen gespitzt hat, der hat sich gründlich geirrt. Er erfährt hier allerdings, wie die Dinge nicht sein sollen, und zwar wird ihm dies mit einer sehr deutlichen Derbheit und auf 784 Seiten auseinander gesetzt, und wer Augen hat zu sehen, der sieht hier die Forderung einer socialen Revolution klar genug gestellt. Hier handelt es sich nicht um Arbeiterassocationen mit Staats-Kapital wie bei weiland Lassalle, hier handelt es sich um die *Abschaffung des Kapitals* überhaupt.

Marx ist und bleibt derselbe Revolutionär, der er immer gewesen, und in einer wissenschaftlichen Schrift war er wohl der Letzte, der seine Ansichten in dieser Beziehung verhüllt hätte. Aber was dann nach der sozialen Umwälzung werden soll - darüber gibt er uns nur sehr dunkle Andeutungen. Wir erfahren, daß die große Industrie „die Widersprüche und Antagonismen der kapitalistischen Form des Produktionsprocesses, daher, gleichzeitig die Bildungsmomente einer neuen und die Umwälzungsmomente der alten Gesellschaft reift“, und ferner, daß die Aufhebung der kapitalistischen Form der Produktion „das individuelle Eigenthum wiederherstellt, aber auf Grundlage der Errungenschaft der kapitalistischen Aera, der Cooperation freier Arbeiter und ihrem Ge-

Karl Marx. Das Kapital. Rezension in der „Düsseldorfer Zeitung“

meineigenthum an der Erde und an den durch die Arbeit selbst producirten Produktionsmitteln".

Hiermit müssen wir uns begnügen, und nach dem Vorliegenden zu schließen, wird auch wohl der zweite und dritte in Aussicht gestellte Band 5 dieses Werks uns wenig über diesen interessanten Punkt bieten. Für diesmal werden wir uns eben mit der „Kritik der politischen Oekonomie“ begnügen müssen, und da gerathen wir auf ein allerdings sehr weitläufiges Feld. Wir können hier natürlich nicht auf die wissenschaftliche Erwägung der in diesem voluminösen Buche angestellten ausführlichen De-10 ductionen eingehen, wir können nicht einmal die darin aufgestellten Hauptsätze in Kurzem wiedergeben. Die mehr oder weniger bekannten Grundlehren der sozialistischen Theorie reduziren sich alle darauf, daß der Arbeiter in der heutigen Gesellschaft nicht den vollen Werth seines Arbeitsprodukts vergütet erhält. Dieser Satz bildet auch den rothen Fa-15 den des vorliegenden Werks, nur daß er weit schärfer präcisirt, consequenter in allen seinen Folgerungen verfolgt und enger mit den Hauptsätzen der National-Oekonomie verwoben oder direkter in Gegensatz zu ihnen gestellt ist, als bisher. Dieser Theil der Schrift unterscheidet sich durch seinen Versuch strenger Wissenschaftlichkeit sehr vortheilhaft von 20 allen uns bekannten früheren derartigen Schriften, und man sieht, daß es dem Verfasser nicht nur mit seiner Theorie, sondern auch mit der Wissenschaft überhaupt Ernst ist.

Was uns in diesem Buch besonders aufgefallen, ist dies: daß der Verfasser die Sätze der Nationalökonomie nicht, wie gewöhnlich geschieht, 25 als ewig gültige Wahrheiten, sondern als Resultate bestimmter geschichtlicher Entwicklungen auffaßt. Während selbst die Naturwissenschaft sich mehr und mehr in eine geschichtliche Wissenschaft verwandelt - man vergleiche Laplaces astronomische Theorie, die gesammte Geologie und die Schriften Darwins - war die Nationalökonomie bisher 30 eine ebenso abstrakte, allgemein gültige Wissenschaft wie die Mathematik. Was auch das Schicksal der sonstigen Behauptungen dieses Buchs sein mag, wir halten es für ein bleibendes Verdienst von Marx, daß er dieser bornirten Vorstellung ein Ende gemacht hat. Es wird nach dieser Schrift nicht mehr möglich sein z.B. Sklavenarbeit, Frohnarbeit 35 und freie Lohnarbeit ökonomisch über einen Kamm zu scheeren, oder Gesetze, welche für die heutige, durch freie Konkurrenz bestimmte große Industrie gültig sind, ohne Weiteres auf die Zustände des Alterthums oder die Zünfte des Mittelalters anzuwenden, oder wenn diese modernen Gesetze auf alte Zustände nicht passen, dann einfach die alten 40 Zustände für ketzerisch zu erklären. Von allen Nationen haben die Deutschen den meisten, ja fast allein historischen Sinn, und so ist es

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ganz in der Ordnung, daß es wieder ein Deutscher ist, der auch im Bereich der Nationalökonomie die historischen Zusammenhänge nachweist.

Karl Marx
Draft of a speech on the "Fenian Question" for the
meeting of the General Council of the International
Working Men's Association, November 26, 1867

| i | I.
Exordium. The execution.

Since our last meeting the object of our discussion, Fenianism, has entered a new phase. It has been baptised in blood by the English Government. The Political Executions at Manchester remind us of the fate of John Brown at Harper's Ferry. They open a new period in the struggle between Ireland and England. The whole Parliament and liberal press responsible. Gladstone. Reason: to keep up the hypocrisy that this was no political, but a common criminal affair. The effect produced upon Europe quite the contrary. They seem anxious to keep up the Act of the Long Parliament. English a divine right to fight the Irish on their native soil, but every Irish Fighting against the British Government in England to be treated as an outlaw. Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. State of Siege. Facts from the *Chronicle*. Governmental Organisation of "Assassination and violence". Case of Bonaparte.

II.
The question.

What is Fenianism?

Karl Marx

III.

1. *The Landquestion.*

Decrease of Population.

1846	in 20 J.	2,649,693	11801:	5,319,867.	
1841:	8,222,664				5
1866:	<u>5,571,971</u>				
	2,649,693				

Decrease of Population.

1855:	6,041,665				
1866:	<u>5,571,971</u>	in 11 years	1,032,694.		10
	1,032,694				

Population not only decreased, but the number of the deaf-mutes, the blind, the decrepit, the lunatic and idiotic increased relatively to the numbers of the population. |

\2\ Increase of Livestock from 1855 to 1866. 15

In the same period from 1855 to 1866 number of the Live Stock increased as follows: cattle by 178,532, sheep by 667,675, Pigs by 315,918. If we take into account the simultaneous decrease of Horses by 20,656, and equalise 8 sheeps to 1 horse *total increase of live stocks:* 996,859, about one Million. 20

Thus 1,032,694 Irishmen have been displaced by about one Million of cattle, pigs, and sheep. What has become of them? The *emigration list* answers.

Emigration.

From 1st May 1851 to 31st Dec. 1866: 1,730,189. Character of that Emigration. 25

The process has been brought about and is still functioning upon an always enlarging scale by the *throwing together* or *consolidation of farms* (eviction) and by the simultaneous conversion of tillage into pasture.

From 1851-1861 *total number of farms* decreased by 120,000, while simultaneously the number of farms of 15-30 acres increased by 61,000, that of 30 acres by 109,000 (together 170,000). The decrease was almost exclusively owed to the extinction of farms from less than one to less than 15 acres. Lord Dufferin. The increase means only that amongst the decreased number of farms there is a larger portion of farms of large dimension. 30 35

I.
England The execution

Execution
Accompanied with the right of execution. Execution is carried out publicly. It has been baptised with the name of
the public execution of criminals instead of the name of capital punishment. Capital punishment is the death
sentence carried out publicly before a large crowd of spectators. It is a simple
public trial. No trial, no defense, no argument, no defense. Because to keep up the popularity of the act
no political or a social cause effect. Effect gained from large public execution. They used to keep up the act
of the long execution. Capital punishment right to fight the rich on their side and killing them fighting the rich of
capital punishment on another. Oppression of the working class. Death of large. Such form the Imperial
government organization of a draconian and violent law enforcement.

II
The question [Answer] 1
1861 - 1862]

Answer: What is terrorism?

III

1) The Land question

Decrease of Population
$$\frac{1851}{1861} = 9,224,664$$

$$\frac{1861}{1866} = 9,744,911$$

$$= 2649,653$$

$$= 2649,653 \quad | \quad 1861 - 5,919,862$$

Decrease of Population
$$\frac{1851}{1861} = 6,041,665$$

$$\frac{1861}{1866} = 9,744,911$$

$$= 1032,694$$

$$= 1032,694 \quad | \quad 1861 - 6,942$$

Population only increased but the number of Dead bodies. Therefore the increase of the dead bodies
and death increased mainly to the number of the population.
Population increased during 1861 - 1866

Karl Marx: Draft of a speech on the "Fenian Question".
Erste Seite

Draft of a speech on the "Fenian Question"

How the process works.

a) *The People.*

The situation of the mass of the *people* has deteriorated, and their State is verging to a crisis similar to that of 1846. The relative surplus population now as great as before the famine.

Wages have not risen more than 20% since the potato famine. The price of potatoes has risen nearly 200%; the necessary means of life on an average by 100%. Professor Cliffe Leslie, in the London *Economist* d.d. Feb. 9, 1867 says: "After a loss of $\frac{1}{2}$ s of the population in 21 years, throughout most of the island, the rate of wages is now only 1s. a day; a shilling does not go further than 6d. did 21 years ago. Owing to this rise in his ordinary food the labourer is worse off than he was 10 years ago."

b) *The Land.*

1) *Decrease of land under crops.*

15	Decrease in cereal crops:
	1861-1866: 470,917 acres.

Decrease in Green crops:
1861-66: 128,061 acres.

2) *Decrease per Statute Acre of every crop.* There has been decrease of yield in wheat, but greater 1847 to 1865 per cent: the exact decrease: oats 16.3, flax: 47.9, turnips 36.1, potatoes 50%. Some years would show a greater decrease, but on the whole it has been *gradual* since 1847. |

[3] Since the exodus, the land has been underfed and overworked, partly from the injudicious consolidation of farms, and, partly, because, under the cornacre system, the farmer in a great measure trusted to his labourers to manure the land for him. Rents and profits may increase, although the profit of the soil decreases. The total produce may diminish, but that part of it, which is converted into surplus produce, falling to landlord and greater farmers, instead of to the laborer. And the price of the surplus produce has risen.

So result: Gradual Expulsion of the natives. Gradual Deterioration and exhaustion of the source of national life, the soil.

Process of Consolidation.

This process has only begun; it is going on in rapid strides. The consolidation has first attacked the farms of under one to under 15 acres. It will be far from having reached the English point of consolidation, if all 35 farms under 100 acres have disappeared. Now the state was this in 1864:

The *total area of Ireland*, included bogs and waste land: 20,319,924 Acres.

Of those 1, - 12,092,117 acres form still farms from *under 1 to under 100 acres*, and are in the hands of 569,844 farmers. 1, = 8,227,807 form 40 farms from 100 till over 500 acres, and are in the hands of 31,927 persons.

Karl Marx

Thus to be cleared off 2,847,220, if we number only the farmers and their families.

This system natural offspring of the famine of 1846, accelerated by the abolition of cornlaws, and the rise in the price of meat and wool, now systematic.

5

Clearing of the Estate of Ireland, transforming it in an Engl. Agricultural District, minus its resident lords and their retainers, separated from England by a Broad Water Ditch.

Change of Character of the English rule in Ireland. State only tool of the landlords. *Eviction*, also employed as means of political punishment. 10 (Lord Abercorn. (Engld. Gaels in the Highlands of Scotland.)) Former Engl. Policy: Displacing the Irish by English (Elisabeth) roundheads (Cromwell). Since Anne 18 Century Politico-Econ. character only in the protectionist measures of England against her own Irish colony: within that Colony making *religion* a proprietary title. After the *Union* system of 15 rackrenting and middlemen, but left the Irish, however ground to the dust, holder of their native soil. Present system, quiet businesslike extinction and Government only instrument of landlords (and usurers).

From this altered state:

20

1.) *Distinguishing Character of Fenianism*: Socialist, lower class movement. I

||[4]|| 2) *Not catholic movement*.

Priests leaders as long as Catholic Emancipation and their leader, Daniel O'Connell, remained leader of the Irish movement. Ridiculous Pop- 25 ishism of the English. High Catholic Priests against Fenianism.

3) *No representative leader in the British Parliament*. Character of O'Connells physical force movement. Extinction of Irish party in Parliament.

4) *Nationality*. Influence of European movement. And Engl. Phrasology.

5) *America, Ireland, England* three fields of Action, leadership of America.

6) *Republican*, because American Republic.

I have now given the characteristics of Fenianism.

35

Draft of a speech on the "Fenian Question"

IV. The Engl. People.

A cause of humanity and right, but above all a specific English question.

a) *Aristocracy and Church. Army. (France, Algiers.)*

b) *Irish in England.* Influence on wages etc. Lowering the character of
5 the Engl, and Irish. *The Irish character.* Chastity of Irishmen. Attempts
at education in Ireland. Diminution of crimes.

Convicted in Ireland.

Committed for trial: *Convicted:*

1852 17,678 10,454

10 1866 4,326 2,418

The decrease in the numbers of Persons committed for Trial in Eng-
land and Wales, since 1855, is partly due to the *Criminal Justice Act of*
1855, authorising Justices to pass sentences for short periods with the
consent of the prisoners, instead of committing for Trial to the Sessions.

15 Birmingham. Progress of the Engl. People. Infamy of the Engl. Press.

c) *The Foreign Policy.* Poland etc. Castlereagh. Palmerston.

V. The Remedy.

Foolishness of the minor Parliamentary Propositions.

Error of the Reform League.

20 *Repeal* as one of the Articles of the Engl. Democratic Party. |

Karl Marx

Entwurf des Vortrags über den Fenianismus im Deutschen
Arbeiterbildungsverein London am 16. Dezember 1867

[1] I.) Was zeichnet den Fenianismus aus? Er geht in der That v. irischen Amerikanern, Irländern in Amerika aus. Sie sind die Anreger und leader. Aber in Irland selbst schlug die Bewegung nur Wurzel (u. hat immer noch ihren eigentlichen Sitz) in den Volksmassen, den lower orders. Das charakterisiert sie. In allen früheren irischen Bewegungen folgte das Volk nur der Leitung v. Aristokraten od. middle classmen u. stets den kath. Pfaffen. Bei der Erhebung gegen Cromwell anglo-irische Häuptlinge u. Pfaffen; bei dem Krieg gegen William III sogar dem König v. England Jacob II an der Spitze, in der Revolution v. 1798 protestantische Republikaner v. Ulster (Wolfe Tone, Lord Fitzgerald), endlich in diesem Jahr- 5 hundert dem bourgeois O'Connell gestützt auf die kath. Geistlichkeit, die auch in allen früheren Bewegungen, mit Ausnahme v. 1798 leitende Rolle spielt. Der Fenianismus v. der kath. Geistlichkeit in Bann gethan. Sie hat erst ihren Widerstand aufgegeben, seit sie durch denselben allen Einfluß auf die irische Volksmasse zu verlieren fürchtete. 15

II.) Was die Engländer wundert ist dieß: Verglichen mit der früheren Unterdrückung Irlands durch England finden sie das jetzige Regime des selben mild. Woher grade jetzt diese entschiedenste u. unversöhnlichste Form des Gegensatzes? Was ich zeigen will, u. was selbst den Engländern ein Geheimniß ist, die Partei für die irische Nationalität u. das Recht 20 ihrer Lossagung v. England ergreifen, ist, daß seit 1846, die, obgleich der Form nach weniger barbarisch, der Sache nach vernichtend ist u. keinen andern Ausweg erlaubt: als freiwillige Emancipation Irlands durch England oder Kampf auf Leben od. Tod.

III.) Was die vergangene Geschichte angeht, so facts in jedem Geschichtsbuch zu finden. Ich werde daher nur einige Andeutungen geben, soweit nötig den Unterschied der jetzigen Epoche v. der früheren klar zu machen, u. zweitens einige Punkte hervorzuheben bezüglich des Charakters dessen, was jetzt das irische Volk heißt. 25

Entwurf des Vortrags über den Fenianismus im Arbeiterbildungsverein

a) *Die Engländer in Irland vor der protestantischen Reformation.*

1172. Henry II. Erobert noch nicht 73 v. Irland. Nominal conquest. Geschenk des Papst Hadrian IV. (Engländer). Ungefähr 300 Jahre später anderer Papst (unter Elisabeth) (1576) - Gregor XIII nimmt den Engländern (Elisabeth) wieder den Kram ab. The "English Pale". Capital: Dublin. Vermischung der englischen Common Colonists mit den Iren, der Anglo-Normannischen Grossen mit den irischen Häuptlingen. Sonst den Eroberungskrieg geführt, wie gegen die red Indians (ursprünglich). Bis 1565 (Elisabeth) keine englische Verstärkungen nach Irland geschickt.

10 b) *Protestant epoch. Elisabeth. James I. Charles! Cromwell.*

Kolonisationsplan (16. 17. Jahrhundert)

Elisabeth Der Plan war Iren auszurotten, wenigstens bis river Shannon, u. an seine Stelle englische Colonisten zu setzen, ihnen das land abzunehmen etc. In den Kämpfen gegen die Elisabeth fochten die katholisch gebliebenen Anglo-Irish mit den natives gegen die Engländer. Der eingestandne Plan der letztern:

Clearing the island of the natives and stocking it with loyal Englishmen. They succeeded only to plant a landowning aristocracy. English Protestant "adventurers" (merchants, usurers), who obtained from the English 20 crown the confiscated lands, and "gentlemen undertakers" who were to plant the ceded states with native English families.

James I. Ulster. (Jacobite plantation. 1609-12.) British undertakers, "to stock the confiscated, stolen lands with Irish." Seit 1613 werden erst die Irish als Engl. subjects betrachtet, bis dahin als „outlaws“ u. „enemies“ u. *Irish Parliament* regierte nur innerhalb des *Pale*. Damit Verfolgung gegen die Katholiken.

Elisabeth settled Munster, *James I Ulster*, but *Leinster* u. *Connaught* have not yet been purged. *Charles I* tried to purge *Connaught*.

Cromwell: *First national revolt of Ireland, its 2nd complete Conquest,* 30 *Partial Re-colonisation. (1641-60).*

Irish Revolution of 1641. August 1649 Cromwell landing in Dublin. (Nach ihm Ireton, Lambert, Fleetwood; Henry Cromwell).

In 1652 the 2ndcomplete conquest of Ireland completed. Division of spoil: the Government itself the "Adventurers" who had lent £ 360,000 for the 35 11 years of war, the officers and soldiers, by the *Acts of the English Parliament* 4 Aug. 1652 and 26 Sept. 1653. Smite the Amalekites of the Irish Nation hip and thigh, and replant the re-devasteted land with new colonies of brand new Puritan English. - Blutvergießen, Verwüstung, Entvölkern ganzer Grafschaften, Versetzung ihrer Bewohner in andere 40 Gegenden, Verkauf vieler Iren als Sklaven nach den westindischen Inseln. I

[2] Durch die irische Eroberung wirft Cromwell die englische Republik über [den] Haufen.

Seit der Zeit Mißtrauen der Iren gegen die *englische Volkspartei*,

c) *Restauration of the Stuarts. William III. Second Irish revolt, and the Capitulation on Terms. 1660-1692. (1701) (Anne.)*

5

Damals die British am zahlreichsten in Irland. Never higher than :/n, never lower than :/n of the Irish population.

1684. Charles II begins to favour the Catholic interest of Ireland, and to enlist a Catholic Army.

1685. James II gives full rein to the Catholics of Ireland. Catholic army 10 increased and favoured. The Catholics soon began to declare that the Acts of Settlement must be repealed and the proprietors of 1641 re-established. James calls some Irish regiments to England.

1689. William III in Engld. 12 March 1689: James landed at Kinsale at the head of Irish soldiers. Limerick capitulates to William III, 1691. 15 Shameful violation of the treaty, already under William III, still more under Anne.

d) *Ireland defrauded and humbled to the dust. 1692-July 4 1 776.*

a) All notions of "planting" the country with English and Scotch yeomen or tenant farmers were discarded. Versuch German and French 20 protestants anzusiedeln. French protestants in the towns (woollen manufacturers) vertrieben durch das English protectionist and mercantile system.

1694. The *Anglo-Irish Parliament*, (like obedient colonists) passed, on the command of the mother country, a prohibitory tax of Irish woollen 25 goods export to foreign countries.

1694. In the same year, the English Parliament laid [a] heavy tax on the import of the home manufactures in England and Wales, and absolutely prohibited their export to other countries. She stroke down the manufactures of Ireland, depopulated her cities, and threw the people back upon 30 the land.

The *Williamite* (imported Lords) *absentees*. Cry against absentee landlords since 1692.

Ebenso legislation of Engld against Irish Cattle.

1698: Molyneux pamphlet f. die independence des Irish parliament (i.e. 35 der English Colony in Ireland) against the English. Thus began the Struggle of the English Colony in Ireland and the English Nation. Gleichzeitig struggle between the Anglo-Irish Colony and the Irish Nation. William III resisted the shameful attempts of the English and Anglo-Irish Parliaments to violate the treaties of Limerick and Galway.

40

Entwurf des Vortrags über den Fenianismus im Arbeiterbildungsverein

ß) Queen Anne. (1701-13 - George bis 1776.)

Penal Code built up by the Anglo-Irish Parliament with assent of the English Pari. Most infamous means to make Protestant Proselytes amongst the Irish catholics by regulations of "Property". A code for the transfer of "Property" from Catholics to Protestants, or to make "Anglicanism" a proprietary title (Education. Personal disabilities.) (No Catholic able to be a private soldier.) To teach the Catholic Religion was a transportable felony, to convert a Protestant to Catholicism an act of treason. To be a Catholic Archbishop banishment, if returning from banishment act of high treason; hanged, disembowelled alive, and afterwards quartered. |

|3| Experiment to coerce the mass of the Irish nation into the Anglican religion. Catholics deprived of vote for members of Parliament.

This Penal Code intensified the hold of the Catholic Priesthood upon the 15 Irish people.

The poor people fell into habits of indolence.

During the palmy days of Protestant ascendancy and Catholic degradation, the Protestants did not encroach upon the Catholics in numbers.

e) 1776-1801. Uebergangszeit.

20 a) Eh wir zu dieser Uebergangsperiode kommen, was das Resultat des English Terrorism?

English incomers absorbed into the Irish people and catholicised.

The towns founded by the English Irish.

No English colony (except Ulster Scotch) but English landowners.

25 The North American Revolution forms the first turning point in Irish history.

ß) 1777 the British army surrendered at Saratoga Springs to the American "rebels". British cabinet forced to make concessions to the Nationalist (English) party in Ireland.

30 1778 Roman Catholic Relief Bill (passed by the Anglo-Irish Parliament) (Catholics were still excluded from acquiring by purchase, or as tenants, any freeholds interest.)

1779 freetrade with Great Britain. Almost all restraints put upon Irish industry swept away.

35 1782 The Penal Code still further released. The Roman Catholics allowed to acquire freehold property for lives, or in fee simple, and - to open schools.

1783 Equal rights of the Anglo-Irish Parliament.

Winter 1792-93: After the French Government had annexed Belgium, 40 and England resolved upon French war, another portion of the Penal Code was released. Irish could become Colonels in Army, elective franchise for Irish Parliament etc.

Karl Marx

Rebellion of 1798. Belfast Republicans. (Wolf Tone, Lord Fitzgerald)
Irish Peasants not ripe.

Anglo-Irish House of Commons voted for the Act of Union passed in 1800. By the Legislature and Customs Union of Britain and Ireland closed the struggle between the Anglo-Irish and the English. The colony 5 itself protested against the illegal act of Union. |

|4| 1801-1846.

a) 1801-1831. Während dieser Zeit (nach Ende des Kriegs) den Iren mit England gemein die Bewegung für katholische Emancipation. (1829)

Seit 1783, *legislative Independenz v. Irland*, shortly after which duties 10 were imposed on *various articles of foreign manufacture*, avowedly with the intention of enabling some of her people to employ some of their surplus labour etc.

The natural consequence was, that Irish manufactures gradually disappeared as the Act of Union came into effect. 15

Dublin.	1800	Master woollen manufacturers ..	91	1840 ..	12
		Hands employed ...	4918		602
		Master woolcombers ...	30	1834	5
		Hands employed ...	230		66
		Carpet manufacturers ...	13	1841	1
		Hands employed	720		0
		Silk loomweavers at work ...	2500	1840 ...	250
Kilkenny	1800:	Blanket manufacturers ...	56	1822...	42
		Hands employed	3000	1822:	925
Balbriggan	1799:	Calikolooms at work ...	2500	1841:	226
Wicklow	1800:	Handlooms at work ...	1000	1841	0
Cork:	1800:	<u>Braidweavers.....</u>	1000	1834:	40
	"	Worsted Weavers ...	2000		90
		Hoosiers	300	if	28
	"	Woolcombers ...	700		110
		Cottonweavers ...	2000		220

etc. Die Leinenindustrie (Ulster) keine Kompensation.

"The cotton manufacture of Dublin, which employed 14,000 operatives, has been destroyed; the 3400 silklooms have been destroyed; the serge (Sersche) manufacture, which employed 1491 operatives, have been destroyed; the flannel manufacture of Rathdrum, the blanket manufacture of Kilkenny, the camlet (Camelot) trade of Bandon, the worsted manufactures of Waterford, the ratteen and frieze manufactures of Carrick-on-Suir have been destroyed. One business alone survives! ... That fortunate business—which the Union Act has not struck down—that 40 favoured, and privileged, and patronised business is the Irish coffin-maker's."

Entwurf des Vortrags über den Fenianismus im Arbeiterbildungsverein

(Speech o/T.F. Meagher, 1847)

So oft Irland also auf dem Punkt sich industriell zu entwickeln, crushed u. in bios agricultural land zurückverwandelt.

Nach dem letzteren General Census v. 1861:

5	<i>Agricultural Population of Ireland</i> (including all cottiers and farm labourers with their families) . . .	4,286,019
	In den 798 towns (wovon viele in der That blosse Marktnecken) . . .	<u>1,512,948</u>
		• 5,978,967

10 Also ungefähr (1861) /s rein agricol, in der That vielleicht h, wenn die Landstädte mitgezählt. |

[5] Da also Irland rein agricultural: "Land is life." (*Justice Blackburn*). Land became the great object of pursuit. The people had now before them the choice between the occupation of land, *at any rent*, or *starvation*. System of *rackrenting*. "The lord of the land was thus enabled to dictate his own terms, and therefore it has been that we have heard of the payment of 5, 6, 8, and even as much as 10 /. per acre." "Enormous rents, low wages, farms of an enormous extent, let by rapacious and indolent proprietors to *monopolising land-jobbers*, to be relet by intermediate op-
20 pressors, for five times their value, among the wretched starvers on po-
tatoes and water." State of popular starvation.

Korngesetze in England geben Monopol bis zu a certain extent für den Export v. Irish corn nach England. The average export of grain in the first 3 years following the passage of the Act of Union about 300,000 qrs.

25 1820 über 1 million qrs.

1834 yearly average v. 2 4i millions qrs.

Amount to pay *rent to absentees*, and interest to mortgagees, (1834) über 30 millions dollars (*an 7 Mill. £ St.*). Middlemen accumulated fortunes that they *would* not invest in the improvement of land, and *could* not, under the system which prostrated manufactures, invest in machinery etc. All their accumulations were sent therefore to England for investment. An official document published by the British Government shows that the transfers of Brit. securities from England to Ireland, i.e., the investment of Irish capital in England, in the 13 years following the adoption of free trade in 1821, amounted to as many millions of £ St.; and thus was Ireland forced to contribute cheap labor and cheap capital to building up "the great works of Britain".

Viel Schweine u. Export derselben.

Karl Marx

1831-1841 Zuwachs der Bevölkerung Irlands v.	7,767,401	auf	8,175,238.		
		in den 10 years	407,837.		
während derselben Zeit Emigration:			<u>450,873</u>	(etwas	
über 40,000 per year)					
				858,710.	5
O'Connell. Repeal Movement. Lichfield House Contract mit Whigs.					
Partial famines. <i>Insurrection Acts, Arms Acts, Coercion Acts.</i>					
IV.) Die Periode der letzten 20 Jahre (v. 1846 an). <i>Clearing of the Estate of Ireland.</i>					
Früher repeated cases of partial famine. Jetzt general.	10				
Diese neue Periode wird eingeleitet durch die Kartoffelkrankheit (1846-1847), die Hungersnoth u. den darauf folgenden Exodus.					
Crepirt über 1 Million theils direkt am Hungertod, theils in Folge v. diseases etc. (durch den Hunger). Es wanderten in den 9 Jahren 1847-55 aus 1,656,044.	"	"	"		15
Die Umwälzung des alten Agricultur Systems erst natürliche Folge der brachliegenden Felder. Fliehende Menschen. (Die families clubbed together to send away the youngest and most enterprising). Daher natürlich Zusammenwerfen der kleinen Pachten u. Verdrängung v. Ackerbau durch Viehweiden.					20
Aber es kamen bald Umstände hinzu, wodurch dieß in bewußtes u. planmäßig befolgtes System 6 verwandelt.					
Erstens: <i>Hauptmoment:</i> Eine der unmittelbaren Folgen der irischen Catastrophe war die Abschaffung der Korngesetze. Damit verlor das irische Getreide sein Monopol des englischen Markts in gewöhnlichen Jahren. Fallen der Getreidepreise. Unmöglichkeit die Renten zu zahlen. Gleichzeitig fortwährendes Steigen in den letzten 20 Jahren der Fleischpreise, Wolle u. anderer tierischer / animalischer Produkte. Ungeheuer Aufschwung der Wollindustrie in England. Schweinezucht hing zum Theil mit dem alten System zusammen. Jetzt bes. Schafe u. Hornvieh.	25				
Deprived of the English market now, as by the Act of Union of her own.					30
Als Nebenumstände, welche dieß systematisch zu machen beitrugen:					
Zweitens: Umwandlung der Agrikultur in England. Karikatur davon in Irland.					
Drittens: Die verzweifelte Flucht der starving Irländer nach England füllten in Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow Keller, Spelunken, workhouses mit men, women, children in a state almost of starvation.	35				
Parlamentsakt passirt, (1847^18), daß die irischen Landlords had to support their own paupers. (Englisches Paupergesetz auf Irland ausge-dehnt.) Daher (nähmlich England) Sucht der zum grossen Theil sehr	40				

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verschuldeten Irish landlords to get rid of the people, and clear their estate.

Viertens: Encumbered Estates Act (= 1853?) "The landlord was ruined, for he could collect no rents, and he was at the same time liable for the 5 payment of enormous taxes for the maintenance of his poor neighbours. His land was encumbered with mortgages and settlements, created when food was high, and he could pay no interest; and now a law was passed, by aid of which property could be summarily disposed of at a public sale, and the proceeds distributed among those who had legal claims upon it." 10 Absentee Proprietors (Englische Kapitalisten, Insurance societies etc. dadurch vermehrt, ebenso frühere middlemen etc., die modern ökonomisch wirtschaften wollten.)

Die Verdrängung der farmer theils gütliche Kündigung. Aber noch mehr *eviction* im Grossen (Gewaltsam, *crowbar brigade*, Brecheisenbri-15 gade (beginnt mit Vernichtung des Dachs), gewaltsame Ejection. (Auch als polit. Strafmittel) Dies dauert fort v. 1847 bis jetzt. (*Abercorn, Viceroy v. Irland*) Afrikanische Razzias. (Razzias of the little African Kings.) (People driven from the land. The starving population of the towns largely increased.) "The tenantry are turned out of the cottages by scores at a 20 time ... Land agents direct the operation. The work is done by a large force of police and soldiery. Under the protection of the latter, the Crow-bar Brigade advances to the devoted township, takes possession of the houses ... The sun that rose on a village sets on a desert." (*Galway Paper 1852.*) (*Abercorn.*)

25 Zunächst wollen wir sehn, wie das System auf den Boden wirkt, in *Irland*, wo die Verhältnisse ganz andre als in England.

Abnahme bebauter Ländereien. 1861-1866.

	<i>Decrease in cereal crops.</i>	<i>Decrease in green crops.</i>
1861-65	428,041 Acres	1861-65: 107,984 acres
30 1866	<u>42,876</u>	1866: <u>20,077</u>
	zus. 460,917	128,061.

[7] *Abnahme des yield per Statute Acre of every crop.*

1847-1865 per cent: the exact decrease: *oats* 16.3, *flax* 47.9, *turnips* 36.1, *potatoes*: 50. Some years would show a greater decrease, but on the 35 whole it has been gradual since 1847.

Estimated average Produce per Statute Acre:

	<i>Wheat.</i>	<i>Potatoes.</i>	<i>Flax.</i>
	<i>cwts.</i>	<i>tons</i>	<i>stones. 14 lbs.</i>
1851	12.5	5.1	38.6
40 1866	11.3	2.9	24.9

Karl Marx

Während Irland sonst viel Weizen ausführte, jetzt erklärt es sei nur noch gut um *Hafer* (oats) zu bauen. (Der auch fortwährend, Ertrag per acre, abnimmt.)

In der That: 7566 führte Irland nur 13,250 qrs Weizen aus, dagegen 48,589 qrs davon ein (also beinahe das Vierfache) dagegen führte es aus ungefähr 1 Million qrs Hafer (f. 1,20i,737 £ St.) 5

Since the exodus, the land has been underfed and overworked, partly from the injudicious consolidation of farms, and partly because, under the cornacre system, the farmer in a great measure trusted to his labourers to manure the land for him. Rents and profits (where the farmer is no peasant farmer) may increase, although the produce of the soil decreases. The total produce may diminish, and still greater part of it be converted into surplus produce, falling to the landlord and (great) farmer. And the price of the surplus produce has risen.

Also *Sterilisation* (graduelle) des Landes, wie das *Sicilien durch altes Rom.* (ditto *Aegypten*). 15

Auf das *Vieh* kommen wir gleich zu sprechen. Aber erst die *Bevölkerung*.

Abnahme der Population.

1801: 5,319,867. 1841: 8,222,664. 1851: 6,515,974. 1861: 5,764,543. 20 Wenn derselbe Fortschritt 7577 werden sein 5,300,000, also weniger als 1801. Ich werde aber gleich zeigen, daß 1871 die Zahl geringer sein würde, selbst wenn die Rate der Emigration constant bliebe.

Die Emigration.

Diese accounts natürlich für Theil der Abnahme, *Irish v. 1845-66* wanederten aus 1,990,244, also ungefähr 2 Millionen. (Unerhört.) (Ungefähr $\frac{2}{3}$ der *Total Emigration from United Kingdom 1845-1866*: nämlich: 4,657,588. V. 1831-41 ||8| war die Emigration ungefähr = 'h des Zuwachses der Bevölkerung während des Decenniums. Seit 1847 ist sie bedeutend größer als der Zuwachs. 25 30

Indes die Emigration allein does not account for the decrease of the population since 1847.

Abnahme des natürlichen jährlichen Zuwachses der Bevölkerung.

Dieser Zuwachs (jährliche) 1831-1841 1.10 p.c., also about 1 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. jährlich. Wenn die Bevölkerung in derselben Proportion gewachsen 35 1841-51, so 1851 = 9,074,514. War aber nur: 6,515,794. Also Deficit von 2,558,720. Davon accounted for by emigration für 1,274,213. Bleiben zu berechnen 1,284,507. Ueber 1 Million krepirt am famine. Aber nicht das ganze Deficit v. 1,274,213. Also offenbar der natürliche Bevölkerungs-zuwachs v. 1841-1851 vermindert. 40

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Dieß wird bestätigt durch Betrachtung des *Decenniums 1851-1861*. Kein famine. Die Bevölkerung fiel v. 6,515,794 auf 5,764,543. Absolute Abnahme: 751,251. Aber Emigration während dieser Zeit über 1,210,000. Also Zuwachs v. nearly 460,000 während der 10 Jahre. Nämlich 751,251
5 + 460,000 = die Zahl der Auswanderer = 1,211,251. Die Emigration nahm beinahe das 3fache des Zuwachses weg. Die Rate desselben = 70 (⁷₀/₁₀₀) p.c. per Jahr, also bedeutend abgenommen gegen die 1.10 v. 1831-41.

Die Sache erklärt sich sehr einfach. The increase of a population by 10 births must principally depend on the proportion which those between 20 and 35 bear to the rest of the community. Now the proportion of persons between the ages of 20 and 35 in the population of the United Kingdom is about 1 : 3.98 or 25.06 p.c., while their proportion in the emigration even of the present day is about 1 : 1.89 or 52.76 p.c. In Irland wahrscheinlich noch größer.
15

Physische Verschlechterung der Bevölkerung.

In 1806, with a total population of 5,574,107, there was an excess of females over males by 50,469, whilst in 1867, with a total population of 5,557,196, there is an excess of the females over males. Zugleich nicht nur 20 *relativer*, sondern *absoluter Zuwachs* of deafmute (Taubstummen), blind, insane, idiotic, and decrepit inhabitants. Contrasting 1851 with 1861, whilst the population had decreased enormously, the number of deafmutes had increased by 473, on their former total of 5,180; the lame and decrepit by 225, on their former total of 4,375; the blind by 1,092, on 25 their former total of 5,767; the lunatic and idiotic, by the immense number of 4,118, on their former total of 9,980; mounting up, in 1861, notwithstanding the decrease in the population, to 14,098. |

|9| *Wages.*

Wages have not risen more than 20 % since the potato famine. The 30 price of potatoes has risen nearly 200 %; 100 % der rise der nöthigen Lebens/Nahrungs/mittel Kohlen etc. on an average.

Prof. Cliff Leslie, in the *Economist* of Feb. 9, 1867 says: "After a loss of $\frac{1}{4}$ of the population in 21 years, throughout most of the island, the rate of wages is now only Is. a day; a shilling does not go further than 6d. did 35 21 years ago." "Owing to this rise in the ordinary food the labourer is worse off than he was 10 years ago."

Partial famines, bes. in Munster u. Connaught.

Bankrott der shopkeeper permanent. Verfall der Landstädte etc.

Facit des Prozesses:

40 V. 1855-66: 1,032,694 Irländer'ersetzt durch 996,859 Livestock (Hornvieh, Schafe u. Schweine). Dieß nämlich der Zuwachs an Livestock wäh-

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rend dieser Zeit, wenn v. dem Decrease of Horses während dieser Zeit (20,656) durch 4 Schafe compensirt, diese also vom Zuwachs abgezogen worden.

Consolidation of farms.

V. 1851-1861: total decrease v. farms 120,000. (Die Zahl der farms v. 5
15-30 acres, u. der v. 30 wuchs) Traf also besonders farms v. unter 1 -
unter 15 acres.

Nun 1861 (das Gesamtareal Irlands = 20,319,924 Acres), davon ungefähr $\frac{1}{3}$ /s des Areals 12 Mill. Acres mit 569,844 Pächter unter 1 - unter 100
acres,

about $\frac{1}{3}$ /s (8 Mill. Acres) Pachten über 100 u. 500 acres (31,927 Pächter).

Der Prozeß im schönsten Fortgang: Ulster. (Flachsbau, schott. protestant. Pächter.)

Times etc. Zu diesem System gratulirt Abercorn officiell as Viceroy. 15
Selbst einer dieser devastators. Lord Dufferin: Ueberbevölkerung etc.

So Frage of Leben u. Tod.

Meagher, Hennessy, Irishman.

	1101	<i>Abnahme der Verbrechen in Irland,</i>	20
<i>Committed for</i>	<i>tmill.</i>	<i>Convicted.</i>	
1852:	17,678	10,454	
1866:	4,326	2,418.	
V.)	<i>United States u. Fenianism.</i>		

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Plagiarismus.
Zuschrift an „Die Zukunft“

Die Zukunft.
Nr. 291, 12. Dezember 1867.
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Plagiarismus.

Social-Demokrat vom 22. September. General-Versammlung des Allgemeinen deutschen Arbeitervereins.

5 *Debatte über den Arbeitstag,*
v. Hofstetten (Eigenthümer des
Social-Demokrat) spricht:
10 1) „Die Arbeitskraft ist heutzutage
eine Waare ... Der Kaufpreis (soll
heißen: der Werth) einer Sache
(sollte heißen: Waare) ist bestimmt
durch die Arbeitszeit, die zu ihrer
Herstellung nöthig ist. Der Arbei-
ter muß nun eine bestimmte An-
15 zahl Stunden arbeiten, um den
Werth, den er für seine Arbeits-
kraft erhalten hat, wieder zu erzeu-
gen: das ist der *nothwendige Theil*
des *Arbeitstages*, aber keineswegs
20 der *Arbeitstag selber*. Um diesen
herzustellen, muß (warum?) ein un-
bestimmter Theil hinzukommen;
trotzdem er *unbestimmt* ist, hat er
doch seine *nöthigen Grenzen*.“

25

Karl Marx: „Das Kapital. Kritik
der Politischen Oekonomie. 1867.“
Abschnitt: „Der Arbeitstag.“

1) „Wir gingen von der Voraussetzung aus, daß die *Arbeitskraft* zu ihrem *Werthe* gekauft und verkauft wird. Ihr *Werth*, wie der jeder andern Waare wird bestimmt durch die zu ihrer Produktion nöthige Arbeitszeit. Erheischt also die Durchschnittssumme der täglichen Lebensmittel des Arbeiters zu ihrer Produktion 6 Stunden täglich, so muß er im Durchschnitt 6 Stunden per Tag arbeiten, um seine Arbeitskraft täglich zu produciren oder den in ihrem Verkauf erhaltenen *Werth* zu reproduciren. Der *nothwendige Theil seines Arbeitstages* beträgt dann 6 Stunden und ist daher, unter sonst gleichbleibenden Umständen, eine *gegebene Größe*. Aber damit ist die *Größe des Ar-*

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*beitstages selbst noch nicht gegeben. - Einer seiner Theile ist zwar bestimmt durch die zur beständigen Reproduktion des Arbeiters selbst erheischt Arbeitszeit, aber 5 seine Gesamtgröße wechselt mit der Länge oder Dauer der *Mehrarbeit*. ... Obgleich nun der Arbeitstag keine feste, sondern eine fließende Größe ist, kann er 10 andererseits nur innerhalb gewisser Schranken variieren." (p. 198, 199.)*

2) „Seine (des Arbeitstags) *Minimalschranke* ist jedoch unbestimmbar. - Allerdings, setzen wir die 15 *Mehrarbeit* = 0, so erhalten wir eine *Minimalschranke*, den Theil des Tages nämlich, den der Arbeiter nothwendig zu seiner Erhaltung arbeiten muß. Auf Grundlage der 20 kapitalistischen Produktionsweise kann die nothwendige Arbeit aber immer nur einen Theil seines Arbeitstages bilden, der Arbeitstag sich also nur auf dies Minimum 25 verkürzen. Dagegen besitzt der Arbeitstag eine *Maximalschranke*. Er kann über eine gewisse Grenze nicht verlängert werden. Diese Maximalschranke ist doppelt bestimmt. Einmal durch die *physische Schranke der Arbeitskraft*. Ein Mensch kann während des natürlichen Tags von 24 Stunden nur ein bestimmtes Quantum Lebenskraft 35 verausgaben und das Maß dieser Kraftverausgabung bildet ein Maß für seine physisch mögliche Arbeitszeit. So kann ein Pferd, Tag aus, Tag ein, nur 8 Stunden arbeiten. Während eines Theils des Ta- 30 35 40

2) „Die eine (Grenze), die *Maximalgrenze* beruht in der physischen Möglichkeit, (wie kann eine Grenze in einer Möglichkeit beruhen!), eine wie lange Zeit der Mensch überhaupt im Stande ist zu arbeiten, da er zur Fristung seiner Existenz doch auch schlafen, ruhen, sich kleiden und sich reinigen muß. Die *Minimal-Grenze* ist gegeben in den Anforderungen, welche der zeitweise *Culturzustand* einer Epoche abgiebt. Je nach diesem Zustande und der bestehenden Gesetzgebung ist auch die Zeitdauer des Arbeitstages und der Mehrarbeit verschieden. Danach hat man 8-, 12-, 16-, ja sogar einen 18stündigen Arbeitstag.“

5

10

15

20

ges muß die Kraft ruhen, schlafen, während eines anderen Theils hat der Mensch andere physische Bedürfnisse zu befriedigen, sich zu nähren, reinigen, kleiden u.s. w. Außer dieser *einen physischen Schranke* stößt die Verlängerung des Arbeitstages auf *moralische Schranken*. Der Arbeiter braucht Zeit zur Befriedigung geistiger und sozialer Bedürfnisse, deren Umfang und Zahl durch den allgemeinen *Kulturzustand* bestimmt sind. ... Beide Schranken (die physische und moralische Maximalschranke) sind aber sehr elastischer Natur und erlauben den größten Spielraum. So finden wir Arbeitstage von 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18 u.s.w. Stunden" (p. 199).

Herr v. Hofstetten macht Blödsinn aus dem von ihm plagiirten Passus. Z.B. läßt er die *Maximalschranke* des Arbeitstages durch rein *physische* und seine *Minimalschranke* durch *moralische* Grenzen bestimmen, nachdem er vorher selbst nachgeplappert hat, daß der *nothwendige Theil des Arbeitstages*, also seine absolute *Minimalschranke*, durch die zur Erhaltung der Arbeitskraft *nothwendige Arbeitszeit* bestimmt ist!

3) „Die Erfahrung in England hat gezeigt, daß bei einem kürzeren Arbeitstag dieselbe Mehrarbeit erzielt wird, indem alsdann die Arbeit viel intensiver betrieben wird.“

4) „Die Bestrebung der Kapitalisten geht also dahin, einen möglichen langen Arbeitstag zu bezwicken. (Welcher Unsinn! Eine Bestrebung zu erzwecken!) Aber der Arbeiter besitzt als einzige Waare nur seine Arbeitskraft, und

3) Ueber die Intensifikation der Arbeit und Erzielung gleicher oder größerer „Mehrarbeit“ mit der zwangsgesetzlichen Verkürzung des Arbeitstags in England cf. p. 401-409.

4) „Der Kapitalist behauptet daher nur sein Recht als Käufer, wenn er den Arbeitstag so lange als möglich und wo möglich aus Einem Arbeitstag zwei zu machen sucht. Andererseits schließt die spezifische Natur der verkauften Waare

ist in derselben ein gewisser Punkt überschritten (was heißt das: *ein Punkt ist in der Arbeitskraft überschritten?*), so muß er sagen, *ich bin abgenutzt* (!), ich bin gemordet. (Bravo!) (Nachdem er bereits gemordet ist, soll er das noch hinterdrein sagen!) Daher (weil er das sagen muß!) muß das Maß der Arbeit im Interesse des Arbeiters fixirt werden, damit diese Waare, die Arbeitskraft, möglichst lange erhalten bleibt und *ausgenutzt* werden kann. Damit verlangt er nur sein gutes Recht." (Eben beklagte er sich, daß er *abgenutzt* sei, und verlangt es nun als sein gutes Recht, *ausgenutzt zu werden!*)

5) „In England ist dieses Maß (des Arbeitstags) gesetzlich auf 10 Stunden festgesetzt (!) und es bestehen Fabrikinspektoren daselbst, die dem Ministerium über die Beobachtung dieses Gesetzes berichten. In vielen Ländern bestehen auch Gesetze zur Beschränkung der Kinderarbeit: in Oesterreich, in der Schweiz, in Amerika, und in Belgien (!) werden ähnliche Gesetze vorbereitet. (!) In Preußen hat man auch die gleichen Gesetze, aber da stehen sie nur auf dem Papier und sind niemals ausgeführt worden. In Amerika ist nach Beendigung des Krieges, welcher die Emancipation der Sklaven zur Folge hatte, sogar der achtständige Arbeitstag verlangt. Auch der internationale Arbeiter-Congreß schlug 1866 einen 8ständigen vor.“

eine Schranke ihres Consums durch den Käufer ein, und der Arbeiter behauptet daher nur sein Recht als Verkäufer, wenn er den Arbeitstag auf eine bestimmte 5 Normalgröße beschränken will ... Ich will (sagt er) mein einziges Vermögen, die Arbeitskraft, haushalten ... Die Benutzung meiner Arbeitskraft und die Beraubung 10 derselben sind ganz verschiedene Dinge ... Du zahlst mir eintägige Arbeitskraft, wo Du dreitägige verbrauchst. Das ist wider unsren Vertrag und das Gesetz des Waa- 15 renaustauschs. Ich verlange also einen Arbeitstag von *normaler Länge* etc." (p. 201, 202.)

5) „Der jetzt regulirende Factory Act von 1850 (nicht *in England*, 20 sondern *in besonderen*, von Marx namhaft gemachten Industriezweigen des Ver. Königreichs) erlaubt für den durchschnittlichen Wo- 25 chentag 10 Stunden ... Es sind ei- gene Wächter des Gesetzes bestellt, die dem Ministerium des Innern direkt untergeordneten *Fabrikinspektoren*, deren Berichte halbjährig von Parlaments wegen veröf- 30 fentlicht werden, (p. 207.)

... Wirkliche, nicht vorbereitete Beschränkungen des Arbeitstags für Minderjährige in einigen Staaten von Nord-Amerika 35 (p. 244), Beschränkung des Arbeitstags überhaupt in Frankreich (p. 248), für Kinder in einigen Kantonen der Schweiz (p. 251), in Oesterreich (p. 252), in Belgien 40 nichts dergleichen, (p.l. c.) Lobens-

Plagiarismus. Zuschrift an „Die Zukunft“

10

werth wären die Verordnungen der Herren v.d. Heydt und Manteuffel etc., wenn sie ausgeführt würden. (I.e.) In den Vereinigten Staaten blieb jede selbständige Arbeiterbewegung gelähmt, so lange die Sklaverei einen Theil der Republik verunstaltete ... Aber aus dem Tod der Sklaverei entsproß sofort ein neuverjüngtes Leben. Die erste Frucht des Bürgerkriegs war die *Achtstunden-Agitation*. Gleichzeitig beschloß der *Internationale Arbeitercongresß*: „Wir schlagen 8 Arbeitsstunden als legale Schranke des Arbeitstags vor.“ (p. 279, 280.)

In derselben Weise, wie Herr v. Hofstetten, verballhornt der ihm nachfolgende Redner, Herr Geib aus Hamburg, die von Marx gegebene Geschichte der englischen Fabrikgesetzgebung. Beide Herren verschweigen 20 gleich sorgsam die Quelle ihrer Weisheit.

Friedrich Engels
Karl Marx. Das Kapital. Rezension im „Beobachter“

Der Beobachter.
Nr. 303, 27. Dezember 1867

Karl Marx. Das Kapital.

Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.
Erster Band.
Hamburg, Meißner 1867.

Was man auch von der Tendenz des vorliegenden Buches denken möge, 5
so glauben wir sagen zu dürfen, daß es zu denjenigen Leistungen gehört,
welche dem deutschen Geist Ehre machen. Es ist bezeichnend, daß der
Verfasser zwar ein Preuße ist, aber ein Rheinpreuße, welche noch bis vor
Kurzem sich gern als „Mußpreußen“ bezeichneten, und ferner ein Preu-
ße, welcher die letzten Jahrzehnte fern von Preußen, im Exil zugebracht 10
hat. Preußen selbst hat längst aufgehört das Land irgend welcher wissen-
schaftlichen Initiative zu sein, speziell im historischen, politischen oder
sozialen Fach wäre eine solche dort unmöglich. Man kann von ihm viel-
mehr sagen, daß es den russischen, nicht den deutschen Geist repräsen-
tirt. 15

Was nun das Buch selbst angeht, so muß man sehr wohl unterscheiden
zwischen zwei sehr disparaten Theilen darin, erstens den gediegenen po-
sitiven Entwicklungen darin und zweitens den tendentiellen Schlußfol-
gerungen die der Verfasser daraus zieht.

Die ersten sind großenteils eine direkte Bereicherung der Wissen- 20
schaft. Der Verfasser behandelt darin die ökonomischen Verhältnisse in
einer ganz neuen, materialistischen, naturhistorischen Methode. So die
Darstellung des Geldwesens, und der ausführliche sehr sachkundige
Nachweis, wie die verschiedenen successiven Formen der industriellen
Production, hier die Cooperation, die Theilung der Arbeit und mit ihr die 25
Manufactur im engeren Sinne und endlich die Maschinerie, die große
Industrie und die ihr entsprechenden gesellschaftlichen Combinationen
und Verhältnisse sich aus einander naturwüchsig entwickeln.

Karl Marx. Das Kapital. Rezension im „Beobachter“

Was nun die Tendenz des Verfassers angeht, so können wir auch darin wieder eine doppelte Richtung unterscheiden. Soweit er sich bemüht nachzuweisen, daß die jetzige Gesellschaft, ökonomisch betrachtet, mit einer andern, höhren Gesellschaftsform schwanger gehe, insoweit be-
5 strebt er sich nur denselben allmäßlichen Umwälzungsprozeß auf dem sozialen Gebiet als Gesetz hinzustellen, den *Darwin* naturgeschichtlich nachgewiesen hat. Eine solche allmäßliche Veränderung hat ja auch bisher in den gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen, vom Alterthum durch das Mittelalter bis jetzt stattgefunden, und es ist unseres Wissens noch nie von
10 irgend welcher wissenschaftlichen Seite ernsthaft behauptet worden, daß Adam Smith und Ricardo in Beziehung auf die künftige Weiterentwicklung der heutigen Gesellschaft das letzte Wort gesagt hätten. Im Gegenteil, die liberale Lehre vom Fortschritt schließt auch den Fortschritt auf sozialem Gebiet ein, und es gehört zu den anmaßlichen Paradoxen der
15 sog. Sozialisten, zu thun als wenn sie den gesellschaftlichen Fortschritt allein gepachtet hätten. Den gewöhnlichen Sozialisten gegenüber ist es als Verdienst von Marx anzuerkennen, daß er auch da einen Fortschritt nachweist, wo die extrem einseitige Entwicklung der gegenwärtigen Zustände von unmittelbar abschreckenden Folgen begleitet ist. So überall
20 bei der Darstellung der sich aus dem Fabriksystem im Großen ergebenden Extreme von Reichthum und Armut u.s.w. Gerade durch diese kritische Auffassung des Gegenstandes hat der Verfasser - sicher gegen seinen Willen - die stärksten Argumente gegen allen Sozialismus vom Fach geliefert.
25 Ganz anders ist es mit der Tendenz, mit den subjectiven Schlußfolgerungen des Verfassers beschaffen, mit der Art und Weise wie er sich und Andern das Endresultat des jetzigen sozialen Entwicklungsprozesses darstellt. Diese haben mit dem, was wir den positiven Theil des Buchs nennen, gar nichts zu schaffen; ja, wenn der Raum es erlaubte darauf ein-
30 zugehn, so könnte vielleicht gezeigt werden, daß diese seine *subjectiven* Grillen durch seine eigne *objective* Entwicklung selbst widerlegt werden.
Wenn Lassalle's ganzer Sozialismus darin bestand, auf die Kapitalisten zu schimpfen und den preußischen Krautjunkern zu schmeicheln, so finden wir hier das grade Gegentheil. Herr Marx weist die geschichtliche
35 Nothwendigkeit der kapitalistischen Produktionsweise, wie er die jetzige soziale Phase nennt, ausdrücklich nach, und ebenso sehr die Ueberflüssigkeit des blos konsumirenden grundbesitzenden Junkerthums. Wenn Lassalle große Rosinen im Kopf hatte von dem Beruf Bismarcks zur Einführung des sozialistischen tausendjährigen Reichs, so desavouirt
40 Herr Marx seinen mißrathenen Schüler laut genug. Nicht nur, daß er ausdrücklich erklärt hat, er habe mit allem „königl. preußischen Regie-

Friedrich Engels

rungs-Sozialismus" nichts zu schaffen, er sagt auch Seite 762 ff. gradezu, das jetzt in Frankreich und Preußen herrschende System werde in kurzer Frist die Herrschaft der russischen Knute über Europa zur Folge haben, wenn ihm nicht in Zeiten Einhalt gethan werde.

Wir bemerken schließlich, daß wir in Obigem nur auf die Hauptzüge des starken Bandes Rücksicht nehmen konnten; beim Einzelnen wäre noch Manches zu bemerken, was wir aber hier übergehen müssen, dazu sind ja auch Fachzeitschriften genug da, die sicher auf diese jedenfalls sehr bemerkenswerthe Erscheinung eingehen werden. 5

Friedrich Engels
Karl Marx. Das Kapital. Rezension im
„Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg“

Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg.
Nr. 306, 27. Dezember 1867

Karl Marx, Das Kapital.
Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.
Erster Band. Hamburg, Meißner, 1867.

Wenn wir auf das obige Werk Rücksicht nehmen, so geschieht es sicher
5 nicht wegen der spezifisch-sozialistischen Tendenz, die der Verfasser
schon in der Vorrede offen zur Schau trägt.

Es geschieht, weil dasselbe, abgesehen von der Tendenz, wissenschaftliche Entwicklungen und thatsächliches Material enthält, welche alle Beachtung verdienen. Wir werden auch auf den wissenschaftlichen Theil
10 hier nicht eingehen, da dies unsren Zwecken ferner liegt und beschränken uns daher lediglich auf das Thatsächliche.

Wir glauben nicht, daß irgend ein Werk - in deutscher oder in fremder Sprache - existirt, in dem die analytischen Grundzüge der neueren Industriegeschichte vom Mittelalter bis auf den heutigen Tag in so klarer und
15 vollständiger Zusammenfassung gegeben sind wie auf Pag. 302-495 des vorliegenden Buchs in den drei Kapiteln: Cooperation, Manufaktur und große Industrie. Jede einzelne Seite des industriellen Fortschritts ist hier an ihrer Stelle nach Verdienst hervorgehoben, und wenn auch die spezifische Tendenz hier und da durchbricht, so muß man dem Verfasser doch
20 die Gerechtigkeit widerfahren lassen, daß er die Thatsachen nirgends nach seiner Theorie modelt, sondern im Gegentheil seine Theorie als Resultat der Thatsachen darzustellen sucht. Diese Thatsachen hat er stets aus den besten, und was den neuesten Stand betrifft, aus Quellen entnommen, die ebenso authentisch wie in Deutschland zur Zeit unbekannt
25 sind: den englischen Parlamentsberichten. Deutsche Geschäftsleute, welche ihre Industrie nicht blos vom alltäglichen Erwerbsstandpunkt betrachten, sondern sie als ein wesentliches Glied in der ganzen großen

Friedrich Engels

modernen Industrieentwicklung aller Länder ansehen und sich daher auch für das interessiren, was nicht unmittelbar zu ihrer Branche gehört, werden hier eine reiche Quelle der Belehrung finden und uns dafür danken, sie hierauf aufmerksam gemacht zu haben. Hat die Zeit ja doch längst aufgehört, wo jeder Geschäftszweig einzeln und still für sich bestand, und hängen sie doch jetzt alle von einander und von den Fortschritten ab, die in entfernten Ländern, wie in nächster Nähe gemacht werden und von den wechselnden Konjunkturen des Weltmarkts. Und wenn, wie dies wohl möglich, die neuen Zollvereinsverträge demnächst eine Beschränkung des bisherigen Zollschatzes im Gefolge haben dürf- 10
ten, so tritt die Forderung allen unsren Fabrikanten nahe, sich mit der Geschichte der neuen Industrie im Allgemeinen bekannt zu machen, damit sie aus ihr im Voraus lernen, wie sie sich am besten bei solchen Veränderungen zu verhalten haben. Die höhere Bildung, welche uns Deutsche bisher, trotz der politischen Zersplitterung, immer wieder ge- 15
rettet hat, würde auch in diesem Falle die beste Waffe sein, welche wir gegen den grobmateriellen Engländer anzuwenden hätten.

Dies führt uns auf einen andern Punkt. Bei der neuen Zollvereinsgesetzgebung dürfte der Augenblick bald eintreten, wo eine gleiche Regelung der Arbeitszeit in den vereinsländischen Fabriken von den Fabrikanten selbst gefordert wird. Es wäre augenscheinlich unbillig, wenn in einem Staat die Arbeitszeit, namentlich von Kindern und Frauen, ganz im Belieben des Fabrikanten stände, während sie in einem andern Staate wesentlichen Beschränkungen unterliegt. Eine Verständigung über gemeinsame Bestimmungen in dieser Beziehung wird schwerlich zu umge- 20
hen sein, und um so weniger, wenn wirklich Erniedrigungen der Schutzzölle eintreten sollten. In dieser Hinsicht aber haben wir in Deutschland nur höchst ungenügende, ja so zu sagen, gar keine Erfahrungen und sind ganz auf die Lehren angewiesen, die wir aus der Gesetzgebung anderer Länder, namentlich Englands und aus deren Früchten ziehen können. 25
Und hier hat der Verfasser der deutschen Industrie dadurch einen großen Dienst geleistet, daß er die Geschichte der englischen Fabrikgesetzgebung und ihrer Resultate in der ausführlichsten Weise nach den offiziellen Dokumenten gegeben hat. (Vergl. pag. 207-281, und 399-496 und später stellenweise.) Diese ganze Seite der englischen Industriegeschichte ist in 30
Deutschland so gut wie unbekannt und man wird sich wundern, zu erfahren, daß, nachdem ein Parlamentsakt vom laufenden Jahre nicht weniger als 24^e Mill. Arbeiter unter Regierungskontrolle gestellt hat, jetzt nicht nur fast alle industrielle, sondern auch die meiste häusliche und ein Theil der Ackerbauarbeit in England der Aufsicht der Beamten und einer 35
direkten oder indirekten Zeitbeschränkung unterworfen ist. Wir fordern

Das Kapital. Rezension im „Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg“

unsere Fabrikanten auf, sich durch die Tendenz des Buchs nicht abhalten zu lassen, und namentlich diesen Theil desselben ernsthaft zu studiren; dieselbe Frage wird auch ihnen über kurz oder lang sicher einmal gestellt werden!

Friedrich Engels
Karl Marx. Das Kapital. Rezension in der
„Neuen Badischen Landes-Zeitung“

Neue Badische Landes-Zeitung.
Nr. 20, 21. Januar 1868

-st- Karl Marx: Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. Erster Band. Hamburg, Meißner, 1867. - Wir müssen es Andern überlassen, sich mit dem theoretischen und streng wissenschaftlichen Theil dieses Werkes zu befassen, und die neue Anschauung, die der Verfasser von der Entstehung des Kapitals gibt, zu kritisiren. Wir können aber nicht umhin, darauf aufmerksam zu machen, daß derselbe uns hier gleichzeitig eine große Masse des schätzbarsten geschichtlichen und statistischen Materials bietet, welches fast ohne Ausnahme aus den offiziellen, dem englischen Parlament vorgelegten Kommissionsberichten geschöpft ist. Nicht mit Unrecht betont er die Wichtigkeit solcher Untersuchskommissionen zur Erforschung der innern sozialen Zustände eines Landes. Sie sind - wenn anders die richtigen Leute gefunden werden - das beste Mittel für ein Volk, sich selbst kennen zu lernen; und Herr Marx mag wohl nicht Unrecht haben, wenn er sagt, daß ähnliche Untersuchungen, in Deutschland angestellt, zu Resultaten führen würden, über die wir selbst erschrecken müßten. Wußte doch, vor denselben, kein Engländer, wie es unter der ärmeren Klasse seines Landes aussah! - Es versteht sich übrigens, daß ohne solche Untersuchungen alle Sozialgesetzgebung, wie man jetzt in Bayern sagt, mit halber Sachkenntniß und oft ganz im Dunkeln abgemacht werden wird. Die s. g. „Erhebungen“ und „Ermittlungen“ deutscher Behörden haben nicht entfernt denselben Werth. Wir kennen die bürokratische Schablone zu gut: man schickt Formulare herum und ist froh, wenn sie irgendwie ausgefüllt zurückkommen; die Information, auf welche hin die Ausfüllung geschieht, wird nur zu oft gerade bei Denen gesucht, deren Interesse es ist, daß die Wahrheit vertuscht werde. Man halte dagegen die Untersuchungen englischer Kommissionen, z.B. über die Arbeitsverhältnisse in einzelnen Geschäftszweigen. Da werden nicht nur die Fabrikanten und Meister, sondern auch die Arbei-

Das Kapital. Rezension in der „Neuen Badischen Landes-Zeitung“

ter bis zu den kleinen Mädchen herab, nicht nur diese, sondern auch Aerzte, Friedensrichter, Geistliche, Schullehrer und Jeder überhaupt vernommen, der in irgend einer Weise über den Gegenstand Auskunft geben kann. Da wird jede Frage und jede Antwort stenographirt und wörtlich 5 abgedruckt und dem ganzen Material der darauf begründete Kommissionsbericht mit seinen Schlußfolgerungen und Anträgen beigegeben. Der Bericht und sein Material weist also gleichzeitig im Einzelnen nach, ob und wie die Kommissäre ihre Pflicht erfüllt haben, und erschwert jede Parteilichkeit Einzelner bedeutend. Das Nähere, sowie eine unzählige 10 Menge von Beispielen, kann man im obigen Buche selbst nachlesen. Wir wollen hier nur den Einen Punkt hervorheben, daß in England mit der Ausdehnung der Handels- und Gewerbefreiheit gleichen Schritt hält die Ausdehnung der gesetzlichen Beschränkung der Arbeitszeit für Kinder und Frauen, und damit die Stellung fast aller Industrien unter die Auf 15 sieht der Regierung. Herr Marx gibt uns eine ausführliche geschichtliche Darstellung dieser Entwicklung, wie zuerst die Spinnereien und Webereien seit 1833 in dieser Weise auf 12 Stunden tägliche Arbeitszeit beschränkt wurden; wie nach einem langen Kampf zwischen Fabrikanten und Arbeitern endlich die Arbeitszeit auf 10½ Stunden - 6½ Stunden für 20 Kinder - festgesetzt, und nun von 1850 an ein Industriezweig nach dem andern diesem Fabrikgesetz unterworfen wurde. Zuerst die Kattundruckereien (1845 schon), dann 1860 die Färbereien und Bleichereien, 1861 die Spitzen- und Strumpfwaarenfabriken, 1863 die Töpfereien, Tapetenfabriken u.s. w., und endlich 1867 fast alle übrigen irgend bedeutenden 25 Industriezweige; von der Bedeutung dieses letzten Aktes von 1867 mag man sich eine Vorstellung machen, wenn man erfährt, daß derselbe die Arbeit von nicht minder als *anderthalb Millionen* Weibern und Kindern unter den Schutz und die Kontrolle des Gesetzes stellt. Wir haben diesen Punkt besonders hervorgehoben, weil es in dieser Beziehung bei uns in 30 Deutschland im Ganzen leider schlecht genug bestellt ist, und wir müssen es dem Verfasser Dank wissen, daß er ihn so ausführlich behandelt und zum ersten Mal dem deutschen Publikum zugänglich gemacht hat. Dieser Ansicht wird jeder Menschenfreund sein, was er auch von den theoretischen Sätzen des Herrn Marx halten mag. - Auf anderweitiges, schätzbares Material aus der Geschichte der Industrie und des Ackerbaues einzugehen, erlaubt uns der Raum nicht, wir sind aber der Ansicht, daß Jeder, der sich für Nationalökonomie, Industrie, Arbeiterverhältnisse, Kulturgeschichte und Sozialgesetzgebung interessiert, welchen Standpunkt er auch einnehmen mag, dies Buch nicht ungelesen lassen darf.

Friedrich Engels

Karl Marx on Capital. Manuscript of the review
for "The Fortnightly Review"

|[§]||

|[2]| Karl Marx on Capital.*!

I.

Mr. Thomas Tooke, in his inquiries on currency, points out the fact that money, in its function as capital, undergoes a reflux to its point of issue, 5 while this is not the case with money performing the function of mere currency. This distinction (which, however, had been established long before by Sir James Steuart) is used by Mr. Tooke merely as a link in his argumentation against the "Currency men" & their assertions as to the influence of the issue of paper-money on the prices of commodities. Our 10 author, on the contrary, makes this distinction the starting point of his inquiry into the nature of capital itself, & especially as regards the question: How is money, this independent form of existence of value, converted into capital?

All sorts of business-men—says Turgot—have this in common, that 15 they *buy in order to sell*; their purchases are an advance which afterwards is returned to them.

To *buy in order to sell*, such is indeed the transaction in which money functions as capital, and which necessitates its return to its point of issue; in contradistinction to *selling in order to buy*, in which process money 20 may function as currency only. Thus it is seen that the different order in which the acts of selling & buying follow upon each other, impress upon money two different motions of circulation. In order to illustrate these two processes, our author gives the following formulae:

*> Das Kapital. Von Karl Marx. Erster Band. Hamburg, Meissner, 1868.

25

Mary on Cap

Call 2

* Das Kapital. Band I. 1867.

form judiciously ~~the~~ ^{value,} course & time passed? ^{to}
What would you do if you had to
have his son come to you? What would you do
if he were dead? What would you do if he
had been ill? etc.

This is the best

Friedrich Engels: Karl Marx on Capital. Review for "The Fortnightly Review". Erste Seite

Karl Marx on Capital. Review for 'The Fortnightly Review"

To sell in order to buy: a Commodity C is exchanged for money M, which is again exchanged for another commodity C; or: C—M—C. |

||[3]|| To buy in order to sell: money is exchanged for a commodity & this is again re-exchanged for money: M—C—M.

5 The formula C—M—C represents the simple circulation of commodities, in which money functions as means of circulation, as currency. This formula is analysed in the first chapter of our book which contains a new and very simple theory of value and of money, extremely interesting scientifically, but which we here leave out of consideration as, on the 10 whole, immaterial to what we consider the vital points of Mr Marx's views on Capital.

The formula M—C—M, on the other hand, represents that form of circulation in which money resolves itself into Capital.

The process of buying in order to sell: M—C—M, may evidently be 15 resolved into M—M; it is an indirect exchange of money against money. Suppose I buy Cotton for £1,000.- and sell it for £1,100.-; then, *infine*, I have exchanged £1,000 for £1,100, money for money.

Now, if this process were always to result in returning to me the same sum of money which I had advanced, it would ||4| be absurd. But, whether 20 the merchant, who advanced £1,000, realises £1,100, or £1,000, or even £900 only, his money has gone through a phase essentially different from that of the formula C—M—C: which formula means, to sell in order to buy, to sell what you do not want in order to be able to buy that which you do want. Let us compare the two formulae.

25 Each process is composed of two phases or acts, and these two acts are identical in both formulae; but there is a great difference between the two processes themselves. In C—M—C, money is merely the mediator; the Commodity, useful value, forms the starting and the concluding point. In M—C—M, the commodity is the intermediate link, while money is the 30 beginning & the end. In C—M—C the money is spent once for all; in M—C—M it is merely advanced, with the intention to recover it; it returns to its point of issue, & in this we have a first palpable difference between the circulation of money as *currency* & of money as *capital*.

In the process of selling in order to buy, C—M—C, the money can 35 return to its point of issue on the condition only that the whole process be repeated, that a fresh quantity of commodity be sold. The reflux, therefore, is independent of the process itself. But in M—C—M, this reflux is a necessity and intended from the beginning; if it does not take place, there is a hitch somewhere & the process remains incomplete.

40 To sell in order to buy, has for its object the acquisition of *useful* value; to buy in order to sell, that of *exchangeable* value.

In the formula $C - M - C$, the two extremes are, economically speaking, identical. They are both commodities; they are, moreover, of the same quantitative value, for the whole theory of value implies the supposition that, normally, equivalents only are exchanged. At the same time, these two extremes $C - C$ are two useful values different in quality, 5 and they are ||5| exchanged on that very account.—In the process of $M - C - M$, the whole operation, at the first glance, appears meaningless. To exchange £100 for £100, and that by a roundabout process, appears absurd. A sum of money can differ from another sum of money by its quantity only. $M - C - M$, therefore, can only have any meaning by the 10 quantitative difference of its extremes. There must be more money drawn out from circulation than had been thrown into it. The cotton bought for £1,000 is sold for £1,100, = £1,000 + £100; the formula representing the process, thus, changes to $M - C - M'$, in which $M' = M + \Delta M$, M plus an increment. This ΔM , this increment, Mr. Marx calls *surplus valued*. The 15 value originally advanced not only maintains itself, it also adds to itself an increment, it *begets value*, and *it is this process which changes money into capital.*

In the form of circulation $C - M - C$, the extremes *may*, certainly, also differ in value, but such a circumstance would here be perfectly indifferent; the formula does not become absurd if both extremes are equivalents. On the contrary, it is a condition of its normal character that they should be so.

The repetition of $C - M - C$ is limited by circumstances entirely extraneous to the process of exchange itself: by the requirements of consumption. But in $M - C - M$, beginning & end are identical as to quality, and by that very fact the motion is, or may be, perpetual. No doubt, $M + \Delta M$ is different in quantity from M ; but still it is a mere limited sum of money. If you spend it, it will cease to be capital; if you withdraw it from circulation, it will be a stationary hoard. The inducement once ||6| admitted for the process of making value beget value, this inducement exists as much for M' as it existed for M ; the motion of Capital becomes perpetual and endless, because at the close of each separate transaction its end is no more attained than before. The performance of this endless process transforms the owner of money into a *capitalist.* 35

Apparently, the formula $M - C - M$ is applicable to merchants' capital alone. But the manufacturer's capital, too, is money which is exchanged for commodities and re-exchanged for more money. No doubt, in this

* (footnote) Wherever "value" is here used without qualification, it always means *value in exchange.* 40

Karl Marx on Capital. Review for The Fortnightly Review"

case, a number of operations intervene between purchase & sale, operations which are performed outside of the sphere of mere circulation; but they do not change anything in the nature of the process. On the other hand, we see the same process in its most abbreviated form in capital lent 5 on interest. Here the formula dwindles down to $M - M'$, value which is, so to say, greater than itself.

But whence does this increment of M , this surplus value arise? Our previous inquiries into the nature of commodities, of value, of money, & of circulation itself, not only leave it unexplained, but appear even to 10 exclude any form of circulation which results in such a thing as a surplus value. The whole difference between the circulation of commodities ($C - M - C$) and the circulation of money as capital ($M - C - M$) appears to consist in a simple reversion of the process; how should this reversion be capable of producing such a strange result?

15 Moreover: this reversion exists for *one* only of the three parties to the process. I, as a capitalist, buy a commodity from A, and sell it again to B. A & B appear as mere sellers & buyers of commodities. I, myself, appear, in buying from A, merely as an owner of money, ||7| and in selling to B, as owner of a commodity; but in neither transaction do I appear as a 20 capitalist, as the representative of something which is *more* than either money or commodity. For A the transaction began with a sale, for B it began with a purchase. If from my point of view there is a reversion of the formula $C - M - C$, there is none from theirs. Besides, there is nothing to prevent A from selling his commodity to B without my intervention, and then there would be no occasion for any surplus value.

Suppose A and B buy their respective requirements from each other directly. As far as useful value is concerned, they may both be gainers. A may even be able to produce more of his particular commodity than B could produce in the same time, and *vice versa*, in which case they both 30 would gain. But it is different with regard to value in exchange. In this latter case equal quantities of value are exchanged, whether money serves as the medium or not.

Considered in the abstract, that is to say excluding all circumstances which are not deducible from the inherent laws of the simple circulation 35 of commodities, there is in this simple circulation, besides the fact of one useful value being replaced by another, a mere change of form of the commodity. The *same* value in exchange, the same quantity of social labour fixed in an object, remains in the hands of the owner of the commodity, be it in the shape of this commodity itself, or in that of the 40 money it is sold for, or in that of the second commodity bought for the money. This change of form does not in any way involve any change in

the quantity of the value, as little as the exchange of a five pound note for five sovereigns. Inasmuch as there is merely a change in the *form* of the value in exchange, there must be exchange of equivalents, at least whenever the process takes place in its purity and under normal conditions. Commodities *may* be sold at prices above or below their values, but if 5 they are, the law of the exchange of commodities is always violated. In its pure & normal form, therefore, the exchange of commodities is not a means of creating surplus value. Hence arises the error of all economists who attempt to derive surplus value from the exchange of commodities, such as Condillac. 10

We will, however, suppose that the process does not take place under normal conditions, and that non-equivalents are exchanged. Let every seller, for instance, sell his commodity ten per cent ||8| above its value. *Caeteris paribus*, everybody loses again as a buyer what he had gained as a seller. It would be exactly the same as if the value of money had fallen 15 10 pet. The reverse, with the same effect, would take place if all buyers bought their goods 10 pet. below their value. We do not get an inch nearer to a solution by supposing that every owner of commodities sells them above their value in his quality as a producer, and buys them above their value in his quality as a consumer. 20

The consistent representatives of the delusion that surplus value arises from a nominal addition to the price of commodities, presuppose always the existence of a class which buys without ever selling, which consumes without producing. At this stage of our inquiry, the existence of such a class is as yet inexplicable. But admit it. Whence does that class receive 25 the money with which it keeps buying? Evidently from the producers of commodities—on the strength of no matter what legal or compulsory titles, without exchange. To sell, to such a class, commodities above their value, means nothing but to recover a portion of the money which had been given away gratuitously. Thus the cities of Asia minor, while paying 30 a tribute to the Romans, recovered part of this money by cheating the Romans in trade; but after all, these cities were the greatest losers of the two. This, then, is no method of creating surplus value.

Let us suppose the case of cheating. A sells to B wine of the value of £40 for corn of the value of £50. A has gained £10 and B has lost £10, 35 but betwixt them, they have only £90 just as before. Value has been transferred but not created. The whole capitalist class of a country cannot, by cheating one another, increase their collective wealth.

Therefore: If equivalents are exchanged, there arises no surplus value, and if non-equivalents are exchanged, there arises no surplus value either. 40 The circulation of commodities creates no new value. This is the reason

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why the two oldest and most popular forms of capital, commercial capital and interest-bearing capital, are here left entirely out of consideration. To explain the surplus value appropriated by these two forms of capital otherwise than as the result of mere cheating, [19] a number of intermediate links are required which are still wanting at this stage of the inquiry. Later on we shall see that they both are secondary forms only, and shall also trace the cause why both appear, in history, long before modern capital.

Surplus value, then, cannot originate from the circulation of commodities. But can it originate outside of it? Outside of it, the owner of a commodity is simply the producer of that commodity, the value of which is established by the amount of his labour contained in it and measured by a fixed social law. This value is expressed in money of account, say in a price of £10. But this price of £10 is not at the same time a price of £11; this labour contained in the commodity creates value, but no value which begets new value; it can add new value to existing value, but merely by adding new labour. How, then, should the owner of a commodity, outside the sphere of circulation, without coming into contact with other owners of commodities—how should he be able to produce surplus value, or in other words, to change commodities or money into capital?

"Capital, then, cannot originate from the circulation of commodities, and no more can it *not* originate from it. It has to find its source in it, and yet *not* in it. The change of money into capital has to be explained on the basis of the laws inherent to the exchange of commodities, *the exchange of equivalents forming the starting-point*. Our owner of money, as yet the mere chrysalis of a capitalist, has to buy his commodities at their value, to sell them at their value, and yet to extract more money from this process than he had invested in it. His development into the capitalist butterfly has to take place within the sphere of the circulation of commodities, and yet *not* within it. These are the terms of the problem. *Hie Rhoclus, hic salta.*"

And now for the solution:

"The change in the value of the money, which is to be transformed into capital, cannot take place in that money itself; for, as means of purchase and means of payment, it merely *realises* the price of the commodity which it buys or pays for; while, if it remained in its money-form, without being exchanged, it could never change its value at all. No more can the change arise from the second act of the process, the re-sale of the commodity; because this merely changes the commodity from its natural form into the form of money. *The change must take place with the commodity* which is bought in the first act M—C; but it cannot take place in

its value in exchange, because we exchange equivalents; the commodity is bought at its value. *The change can only arise from its value in use, that is from the use which is made of it.* In order to extract value in exchange from the use of a commodity, our owner of money must have the good luck to discover, within the sphere of circulation, in the market, a commodity, *the useful value of which is endowed with the peculiar quality of being a source of exchangeable value, the using-up of which is the realisation of labour and therefore the creation of value.* And the owner of money finds, in the market, such a specific commodity: the power to work, the *labour-power.*

5

By power to work, or labour-power, we understand the sum total of the physical and mental faculties which exist in the living person of a human being and which he puts into motion when he produces useful values.

But in order to enable the owner of money to meet the labour power as 15 a commodity in the market, several conditions have to be fulfilled. In itself, the exchange of commodities does not include any other relations of dependence except such as arise from its own nature. On this supposition, labour power can appear, as a commodity, in the market, so far only as it is offered for sale, or sold, by its own owner, the person whose 20 labour power it is. In order to enable its owner to sell it as a commodity, he must be able to dispose of it, he must be the free proprietor of his labour power, of his person. He and the owner of money meet in the market, and transact business, as each other's peers, as free and independent owners of commodities, so far different only, that the one is the 25 buyer & the other the seller. This relation of equality before the law must continue; the owner of the labour power can, therefore, sell it for a limited time only. If he were to sell it in a lump, once for all, he would sell himself, he would || 111 from a free man change into a slave, from an owner of a commodity into a commodity. ... The second essential condition to enable the money-owner to meet labour-power as a commodity in the market, is this: that the owner of the labour-power, instead of selling commodities in which his labour has been embodied, be compelled to sell this, his labour-power itself, such as it exists in his own personality.

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No producer can sell commodities different from his own labour-power, unless possessed of means of production, raw materials, instruments of labour etc. He can make no boots without leather. Moreover, he requires the means of subsistence. Nobody can feed upon future products, upon useful values the production of which he has not yet completed; as on the first day of his appearance on the stage of the world, man is

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compelled to consume before and while he produces. If his products are produced as *commodities*, they must be sold *after* production, and can satisfy his wants after the sale only. The time of production is lengthened by the time required for sale.

5 The change of money into capital, thus, requires that the money-owner meet, in the market, the *free labourer*, free in that double sense, that he, as a free person, can dispose of his labour-power; and that, on the other hand, he have no other commodities to sell; that he be entirely unencumbered with, perfectly free from, all the things necessary for putting his
10 labour power into action.

The question why this free labourer meets him in the market has no interest for the money-owner. For him, the labour-market is only one of the various departments of the general market for commodities. And, for the moment, it has no interest for us either. We stick to the fact theoretically, as he sticks to it practically. One thing, however, is clear. It is not nature which produces, on the one hand, owners of money and of commodities, and on the other, owners of nothing but their own labour-power. This relation does not belong to natural history; nor is it a social relation common to all historical periods. It is evidently the result of a
15 long historical process, the product [12] of a number of economical revolutions, of the destruction of a whole series of older strata of social production.

The economical categories, which we have previously analysed, bear, in the same manner, the impress of their historical origin. The existence
25 of a product in the form of a commodity involves certain historical conditions. In order to become a commodity, the product must not be produced as the immediate means of subsistence of the producer. Now, if we had inquired: How and under what circumstances do all, or at least the great majority, of products adopt the form of commodities?—we should
30 have found that this occurs exclusively on the basis of a specific system of production, the *capitalistic* mode of production. But this inquiry was entirely foreign to the analysis of Commodity. The production & circulation of commodities may take place, while the overwhelming mass of products—produced for immediate domestic self-use—is never changed
35 into commodities; while, thus, the process of social production, in all its breadth and depth, is, as yet, far from being ruled by value in exchange.
... Or, in analysing money, we find that the existence of money presupposes a certain development of the circulation of commodities. The peculiar forms of existence of money, such as the form of simple equivalent,
40 or of means of circulation, means of payment, hoard, or universal money, as either one or the other may prevail, point to very different stages of

the process of social production. Still, experience shows that a relatively crude state of the circulation of commodities suffices to produce all these forms. But with Capital it is quite different. The historical conditions necessary for its existence are far from being created simultaneously with the mere circulation of commodities and money. Capital can originate 5 only value when the owner of the means of production and subsistence meets, in the market, the free labourer offering for sale his labour-power, and this one condition implies ages of historical development. Thus, Capital, at once, heralds itself as a specific epoch of the process of social 10 production."

We have now to examine this peculiar commodity, the labour-power. It has a value in exchange, as all other commodities; this value is determined in the same way as that of all other commodities: by the time of labour required for its produc| |13|tion, which includes reproduction. The value of labour power is the value of the means of subsistence necessary 15 for the maintenance of its owner in a normal state of fitness for work. These means of subsistence are regulated by climate & other natural conditions, and by a standard historically established in every country. They vary, but for a given country & a given epoch they are also given. Moreover, they include the means of subsistence for the substitutes of 20 worn-out labourers, for their children, so as to enable this peculiar species of owners of a commodity to perpetuate itself. They include, finally, for skilled labour, the expense of education.

The minimal limit of the value of labour power is the value of the physically absolute necessities of life. If its price falls to this limit, it falls 25 below its value, as the latter involves labour power of normal, not of inferior quality.

The nature of labour makes it evident, that labour power is used *after* the conclusion of the sale only; and in all countries with capitalist mode of production, labour is paid after having been performed. Thus, every- 30 where, the labourer gives credit to the capitalist. Of the practical consequences of this credit given by the labourer, Mr. Marx gives some interesting examples from Parliamentary papers, for which we refer to the book itself.—

In consuming labour-power, its purchaser produces at once commod- 35 ities & surplus value, and, in order to examine this, we have to leave the sphere of circulation for that of production.

Here we find at once that the process of labour is of a double nature. On the one hand it is the simple process of production of useful value; as such, it can & must exist under all historical forms of social existence; on 40 the other hand, it is this process carried on under the specific conditions

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of Capitalistic production, as before stated. These we have now to inquire into.

The process of labour, on a Capitalistic basis, has two peculiarities. Firstly, the labourer works under the control of the capitalist who takes care that no waste is made and that no more than the socially indispensable amount of labour is spent upon each individual piece of work. Secondly, the product is the property of the capitalist, the process itself being carried on between two things belonging to him: the labour-power and the means of work.

10 The capitalist does not care for the useful value, except || 14| so far as it is the incorporation of exchangeable value, & above all, of surplus value. His object is to produce a commodity of a value higher than the sum of value invested in its production. How can this be done?

Let us take a given commodity, say Cotton Yarn, and analyse the quantity of labour embodied in it. Suppose that for the production of 10 U of yarn we require 10 té of Cotton, value 10/- (leaving waste out of consideration). There are further required certain means of work, a steam-engine, carding-engines and other machinery, coal, lubricants etc. To simplify matters, we call all these "spindle" and suppose that the share of wear & tear, coal etc. required for spinning 10 H of yarn, is represented by 21-. Thus we have 10/- cotton + 21- spindle = 12/-. If 12/- represent the product of 24 working hours or two working days, then the cotton and spindle in the yarn incorporate two days' labour. Now, how much is added in the spinning?

25 We will suppose the value, *per diem*, of labour power to be 3/-, and these 3/- to represent the labour of six hours. Further, that six hours are required to spin 10 H of yarn by one labourer. In this case 3/- have been added to the product by labour, the value of the 10 ti yarn is 15/- or 1/6 d. per U .

30 This process is very simple, but it does not result in any surplus value. Nor can it, as in Capitalistic production things are not carried on in this simple way.

"We supposed the value of labour-power was 3/- *per diem* and that 6 hours' labour was represented by that sum. But if /*a//a-day's labour is required to maintain a labourer for 24 hours, there is nothing in that to prevent the same labourer from working a *whole* day. The exchangeable value of labour power, and the value which it may produce, are two entirely different quantities, and it was this difference which the capitalist had in his eye when he invested his money in that commodity. That it has 40 the quality of producing useful value, was a mere *conditio sine qua non*, inasmuch as labour must be invested in a useful form in order to produce

value. But our capitalist looked beyond that, what attracted him, was the specific circumstance that this labour-power is the source of exchangeable value, and of more exchangeable value ||15| than is contained in itself. This is the peculiar 'service' which he expects from it. And in doing so, he acts in accordance with the eternal laws of the exchange of commodities. The seller of the labour-power realises its exchangeable [value], and parts with its useful value. He cannot obtain the one without giving away the other. The useful value of the labour-power, labour itself, no more belongs to its seller, than the useful value of sold oil to an oil-merchant. The capitalist has paid the value *per diem* of the labour power; 10 to him, therefore, belongs its use during the day, a day's labour. The circumstance that the maintenance of the labour-power for one day costs half a day's labour only, although this labour-power can be made to work a whole day; that, therefore, the value created by its use during a day, is twice as great as its own daily value—this circumstance is a peculiar piece of good luck for the buyer, but not at all a wrong inflicted upon the seller." 15

"The labourer, then, works 12 hours, spins 20 tt of yarn representing 20/- in cotton, 4/- in spindle etc., and his labour costs 3/-,—total, 27/-. But if 10 U of cotton absorbed 6 hours of labour, 20 té of cotton have 20 absorbed 12 hours of labour, equal to 6/-. The 20 U of yarn now represent 5 days of labour; 4 in the shape of Cotton & spindles &c, 1 in the shape of spinning labour; the expression, in money, for 5 days labour, is 30/-; consequently the price of the 20 U yarn is 30/-, or 1/6 d. per U as before. But the sum total of the value of the commodities invested in this process was 27/-. The value of the product has increased beyond the value of the commodities invested in its production by '9%. Thus 27/- have been transformed into 30/-. They have produced a surplus value of 3/-. The trick has, at last, succeeded. Money has been converted into capital. 30

All the conditions of the problem have been solved, and the laws of the exchange of commodities have in no way been violated. Equivalent has been exchanged against equivalent. The capitalist, as purchaser, has paid every commodity at its value: Cotton, spindles &c, labour-power. After which, he did what every buyer of commodities does. He consumed their useful value. The process of consumption of the labour-power, at the same time process of production of the ||16| commodity, resulted in a product of 20 U of yarn, value 30/-. Our capitalist returns to the market & sells the yarn at 1/6 d. per U, not a fraction above or below its value. And yet he extracts 3/- more from circulation than he originally invested in it. The whole of this process, the transformation of his money into

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capital, passes within the sphere of circulation, and at the same time *not* within it. By the intervention of circulation, because the purchase, in the market, of the labour-power was its indispensable condition. Not within the sphere of circulation, because this merely initiates the process of value
5 begetting value, which is performed in the sphere of production. And thus *tout est pour le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes possibles.*"

From the demonstration of the mode in which surplus value is produced, Mr. Marx passes to its analysis. It is evident, from what precedes, that only one portion of the capital invested in any productive undertaking directly contributes to the production of surplus value, and that is the capital laid out in the purchase of labour-power. This portion only produces *new* value; the capital invested in machinery, raw material, coal &c. does indeed reappear in the value of the product *pro tanto*, it is maintained and reproduced, but no surplus value can proceed from it. This induces Mr. Marx to propose a new subdivision of Capital into *constant* capital, that which is merely reproduced—the portion invested in machinery, raw materials and all other accessories to labour;—and *variable* capital, that which is not only reproduced, but is, at the same time, the direct source of surplus value—that portion which is invested in the purchase of labour power, in wages. From this it is clear, that however necessary constant capital may be to the production of surplus value, yet it does not directly contribute to it; and, moreover, the amount of constant capital invested in any trade has not the slightest influence upon the amount of surplus value produced in that trade.*¹⁷ Consequently, it |
25 |17| ought not to be taken into consideration in fixing the *rate* of surplus value. That can be determined only by comparing the amount of surplus value to the amount of capital directly engaged in creating it, that is to say, the amount of *variable* capital. Mr. Marx, therefore, determines the rate of surplus value by its proportion to variable capital only: if the daily
30 price of labour be 3/-, and the surplus value created daily be also 3/-, then he calls the rate of surplus value 100 p. ct. What curious blunders may result from reckoning, according to usual practice, constant capital as an active factor in the production of surplus value, is shown in an example from Mr. N.W. Senior "when that Oxford professor, noted for
35 his scientific attainments and his beautiful diction, was invited, in 1836, to Manchester, in order to learn political economy there (from the Cotton spinners) instead of teaching it in Oxford."—

The working time in which the labourer reproduces the value of his labour-power, Mr. Marx calls "*necessary labour*"; the time worked be-

40 *¹ We must observe, here, that *surplus value* is not at all identical with *profit*.

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yond that, & during which surplus value is produced, he calls "*surplus labour*". Necessary labour & surplus labour combined form the "*working day*". —

In a working day, the time required for necessary labour is given; but the time employed in surplus labour is not fixed by any economical law, 5 it may be longer or shorter, within certain limits. It can never be zero, as then the inducement for the capitalist, to employ labour, would have ceased; nor can the total length of the working day ever attain 24 hours, for physiological reasons. Between a working day of, say six hours, and one of 24, there are, however, many intermediate stages. The laws of the 10 exchange of commodities demand that the working day have a length not exceeding that which is compatible with the normal wear & tear of the labourer. But what is this normal wear & tear? How many hours of daily labour are compatible with it? Here the opinions of the capitalist and those of the labourer differ widely, and, as there is no higher authority, 15 the question is solved by *force*. The history of the determination of the length of the ||18| working day is the history of a struggle about its limits between the collective capitalist & the collective labourer, between the two classes of capitalists & working men.

"Capital, as has been stated before, has not invented surplus labour. 20 Wherever a portion of society holds the exclusive monopoly of the means of production, there the labourer, slave, serf, or free, has to add, to the labour necessary for his own subsistence, an increment of labour in order to produce the means of subsistence for the owner of the means of production, be that owner an Athenian κολος καγεθβ, an Etruscan theo- 25 erat, a *civis Romanus*, a Norman baron, an American slave-owner, a Wallachian boyar, a modern landlord or Capitalist." It is, however, evident that in any form of society, where the value in use of the product is more important than its value in exchange, surplus labour is restrained by the narrower or wider range of social wants; and that under these 30 circumstances there does not exist necessarily a desire for surplus labour for its own sake. "Thus we find that in the classical period surplus labour in its extremist form, the working to death of people, existed almost exclusively in gold & silver mines, where value in exchange was produced in its independent form of existence: money. But wherever a nation 35 whose production is carried on in the more rudimentary forms of slavery or serfage, lives in the midst of a universal market dominated by capitalist production, and where therefore the sale of its products for exports forms its chief purpose—there to the barbarous infamies of slavery or serfdom are superadded the civilised infamies of over-working. Thus in 40 the Southern States of America slave-labour preserved a moderate and

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patriarchal character while production was directed to immediate domestic consumption chiefly. But in the same measure as the export of cotton became a vital interest to those states, the over-working of the negro, in some instances even the wearing-out of his life in seven working years,
5 became an element in a calculated & calculating system ... Similar with the *corvées* of the serfs in the Danubian Principalities." Here the comparison with Capitalist production becomes particularly interesting because, in the *corvée* surplus labour has an independent, palpable form.

"Suppose the working day counts six hours of necessary and six hours
10 of surplus labour; then the labourer furnishes the capitalist with 36 hours of surplus labour a week. He might as well have worked three days for himself and three days for the capitalist. But this is not at once visible. Surplus labour & necessary labour are ||19| more or less mixed up together. I might express the same relation thus, that, in every minute, the
15 labourer works 30 seconds for himself & 30 more for the capitalist. But with the serfs' *corvée* it is different. The two kinds of labour are separated in space. The labour, which, for instance, a Wallachian peasant performs for himself, he performs on his own field his surplus labour for the Boyar he performs on the boyar's estate. The two portions of his labour exist
20 independent of each other, surplus labour, in the shape of *corvée*, is completely separated from necessary labour." We must refrain from quoting the further interesting illustrations from the modern social history of the Danubian principalities, by which Mr. Marx proves the Boyars there aided by Russian intervention to be quite as clever extractors of
25 surplus labour as any Capitalist employers. But what the *règlement organique*, by which the Russian General Kisseeleff presented the Boyars with almost unlimited command over the peasants' labour, expresses positively, the English Factory Acts express negatively. "These acts oppose the inherent tendency of capital to an unlimited exploitation—we
30 ask pardon for introducing this French term, but there does not exist any English equivalent—of the labour power, by forcibly putting a limit to the length of the working day by the power of the State, and that a State ruled by landlords and Capitalists. Not to speak of the working class movement which was daily gaining greater dimensions, this limitation of
35 factory labour was dictated by the same necessity which brought Peruvian Guano on the fields of England. That same blind rapacity which in the one case had exhausted the soil, in the other case had attacked the vitality of the nation at its root. Periodical epidemics here spoke as plainly, as, in France & Germany, the necessity for constantly reducing the
40 standard of height for soldiers."

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To prove the tendency of capital to extend the working day beyond all reasonable limits Mr. Marx quotes amply from the Reports of the Factory Inspectors, of the Children's Employment Commission, the Reports on Public Health and other Parliamentary Papers, and sums up in the following conclusions:

5

"What is a working day? How long is the time during which Capital may be allowed to consume the working power on paying for its value *per diem*? How far may the working day be extended beyond the time necessary for reproducing the working power itself? Capital, as we have seen, replies: the working day [20] counts full 24 hours, excepting those 10 few hours of rest without which the labour power absolutely refuses to renew its services. It is a matter of course that the labourer during the whole of the live-long day is nothing but labour power, that all his disposable time is workingtime and belongs to value-begetting Capital... But in this madly blind race after surplus-labour, capital outruns not 15 only the moral, but also the purely physical maximum limits of the working day ... Capital does not care for the duration of life of the working power ... it produces its premature exhaustion & death, it effects the prolongation of the working time during a given period by shortening the labourer's life."

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But is not this against the interest of capital itself? Has capital, in the long run, not to replace the cost of this excessive wear & tear? That may be the case theoretically. Practically, the organised slave trade in the interior of the Southern States had raised the practice of using up the working power of the slaves in seven years to an acknowledged economic principle; practically, the English Capitalist relies upon the supply of labourers from the agricultural districts. "He sees constant over-population, that is an over-population as compared with the capacity of capital to absorb living labour, though this over-population be formed by a constant current of crippled, quickly fading generations of men, pressing 25 upon their successors and plucked before maturity. Certainly, to an uninterested observer, experience would show on the other hand how soon capitalist production, though dating, historically speaking, from yesterday only, has attacked the vital root of national strength, how the degeneration of the industrial population is retarded only by the constant absorption of agricultural elements, & how even these agricultural labourers, in spite of fresh air and that principle of natural selection which is so specially powerful amongst them, have already begun to decline. Capital, which has such capital motives to deny the sufferings of the working classes in the midst of which it exists, Capital will be disturbed in its practical activity as little and as much by the prospect of 35 40

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future degeneracy of the human race and of inevitable ultimate depopulation, as by the possible fall of the earth into the sun. In every joint stock "limited" swindle, every participator knows that the thunderstorm will come sooner or later, but every one expects that the lightning will fall on 5 the head of his neighbour, after he, himself, shall have had time to collect the golden rain & store it up safely. *Après moi le déluge*, is the battle-cry of every capitalist and of every capitalist nation. Capital, therefore, ||21 is reckless of the health and life of the labourer, unless society compels it to act otherwise. And, upon the whole, this disregard of the labourer does 10 not depend upon the good or bad will of the individual capitalist. Free Competition imposes the immanent laws of capitalist production upon every individual capitalist in the shape of extraneous compulsory laws."

The determination of the normal working day is the result of many centuries of struggle between employer and labourer. And it is curious to 15 observe the two opposing currents in this struggle. At First, the laws have for their end to compel the labourers to work longer hours; from the first statute of labourers 23.rd Edward III (1349) up to the eighteenth century, the ruling classes never succeeded in extorting from the labourer the full amount of possible labour. But with the introduction of steam and mod- 20 em machinery, the tables were turned. So rapidly did the introduction of the labour of women & children break down all traditional bounds to working hours, that the nineteenth century began with a system of over-working which is unparalleled in the history of the world, and which, as early as 1803, compelled the legislation to enact limitations of working 25 hours. Mr. Marx gives a full account of the history of English factory legislation up to the workshops Act of 1867, and draws from it these conclusions:

1) Machinery and Steam cause overwork, at first, in those branches of industry where they are applied, and legislative restrictions are, therefore, 30 first applied to these branches; but in the sequel we find that this system of overwork has spread also to almost all trades even where no machinery is used, or where the most primitive mode of production continue in existence. (*Vide Children's Employment Commission's Reports.*)

2) With the introduction of the labour of women & children in the 35 factories, the individual "free" labourer loses his power of resistance to the encroachments of Capital and has to submit unconditionally. Thus he is reduced to collective resistance; the struggle of class against class, of the collective workmen against the collective capitalists begins. |

|22| If we now look back to the moment when we supposed our "free" 40 and "equal" labourer to enter into a contract with the capitalist, we find that, under the process of production, a good many things have changed

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considerably. That contract, on the part of the labourer, is not a free contract. The daily time during which he is at liberty to sell his working power is the time during which he is compelled to sell it; and it is merely the opposition of the labourers, as a mass, which forcibly obtains the enactment of a public law to prevent them from selling themselves and their children, by a "free" contract into death and slavery. "In the place of the grandiloquent catalogue of the inalienable rights of man, he has now nothing but the modest *Magna Charta* of the Factory Act." – 5

We have next to analyse the *rate* of surplus value and its relation to the *total quantity* of surplus value produced. In this inquiry, as we have done 10 hitherto, we suppose the value of labour power to be a determinate constant quantity.

Under this supposition, the rate of surplus value determines at the same time the quantity furnished to the capitalist by a single labourer in a given time. If the value of our labour-power be 3/- a day representing six 15 hours' labour, and the rate of surplus-value be 100 per cent, then the variable capital of 3/- produces every day a surplus value of 3/-, or the workman furnishes six hours of surplus labour every day.

Variable capital being the expression in money of all the labour power employed simultaneously by a capitalist, the sum total of the surplus 20 value produced by the labour power is found by multiplying that variable capital by the rate of surplus value; in other words it is determined by the proportion between the number of working powers simultaneously employed, and the degree of exploitation. Either of these factors may vary, so that the decrease in the one may be compensated by the increase of the 25 other. A variable capital required to employ 100 labourers with a rate of surplus value of 50 pet (say 3 hours of daily surplus labour) will produce no more surplus value than half that variable capital, employing 50 labourers at a rate of surplus value of 100 pet. (say six hours of daily surplus labour). Thus, under certain circumstances & within certain lim- 30 its, the supply of labour at the command of capital may become independent of the actual supply of labourers.

There is, however, an absolute limit to this increase of surplus value by increasing its rate. Whatever may be the $\frac{V}{P}$ value of labour, whether it be represented by two or by ten hours of necessary labour, the total value 35 of the work performed, day after day, by any labourer, can never attain the value representing 24 hours' labour. In order to obtain equal quantities of surplus value, variable capital may be replaced by prolongation of the working day within this limit only. This will be an important element in explaining, hereafter, various phenomena arising from the two 40 contradictory tendencies of capital: 1) to reduce the number of labourers

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employed, i.e. the amount of variable capital, and 2) yet to produce the greatest possible quantity of surplus labour.

It follows further: "The value of labour being given, and the rate of surplus value being equal, the quantities of surplus value produced by 5 two different capitals are in direct proportion to the quantities of variable capital contained in them. This law flatly contradicts all experience founded upon the *appearance* of facts. Everybody knows that a cotton spinner who works with a relatively large constant, & a relatively small variable capital, does not, on that account obtain a lesser ratio of profit 10 than a baker who puts in motion relatively little constant & relatively much variable capital. To solve this apparent contradiction, a good many intermediate links are required, just as, starting from elementary Algebra, a great number of intermediate links are required in order to understand that jj may represent a real quantity."

15 For a given country & a given length of working day, surplus value can be increased only by increasing the number of labourers, i.e. by an increase of population; this increase forms the mathematical limit for the production of surplus value by the collective capital of that country. On the other hand, if the number of labourers be determined, this limit is 20 fixed by the possible prolongation of the working day. It will be seen hereafter that this law is valid for that form only of surplus value which has been hitherto analysed.

"We find, at this stage of our inquiry, that not every amount of money is capable of being converted into capital; that there is an extreme mini- 25 mum for it: the cost of a unit of labouring power and of the means of labour necessary to keep it going. Suppose the rate of surplus value to be 50 per cent, our infant-capitalist would be required to be able to employ two workmen in order to live, himself, as a workman lives. But this would prevent him from saving anything; and the end of capitalist production is 30 not merely preservation, but also & chiefly increase of wealth. To live twice as well as a common labourer, and to re-transform one half of the surplus value produced into capital, he would have to be able to employ eight workmen. He might certainly take his share of the work, along with his workmen, but he would still remain a small master, a hybrid between 35 capitalist & labourer. Now, a certain development of capitalist production renders it necessary that the capitalist should devote the whole of the time during which he acts as a capitalist, as capital personified, to the appropriation and ||24| control of other people's labour, and to the sale of its products. The restrictive guilds of the middle ages attempted to check 40 the transformation of the small master into a capitalist by fixing a very

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low maximum to the number of workmen which each was allowed to employ. The owner of money or commodities changes into a real capitalist only then, when he is able to advance, for the purpose of production, a minimum sum far higher than this medieval maximum. Here, just as in the natural sciences, the correctness is proved of the law discovered by 5 Hegel that mere quantitative changes, at a certain point, imply a qualitative difference." The minimum amount of value required to change an owner of money or commodities into a capitalist, varies for different stages of the development of capitalist production, and for a given stage of development, it varies for different branches of industry. 10

"During the process of production detailed above, the relation of capitalist and labourer has changed considerably. First of all, capital has been developed into command of labour, i.e. into command over the labourer himself. Personified capital, the capitalist, takes care that the labourer performs his work regularly, carefully & with the required degree of intensity. Further, Capital has been developed into a compulsory relation which obliges the working class to perform more labour than is prescribed by the narrow circle of their own requirements. And as a producer of other people's industry, as an extortioneer of surplus labour and exploiter of labour power, capital far exceeds in energy, recklessness 15 and efficiency all former systems of production, though they were based upon direct forced labour.

Capital, at first, takes the command of labour under such technological conditions as it finds historically established. It does not, therefore, necessarily at once change the mode of production. The production of 25 surplus value, in the form hitherto analysed, that is to say by mere prolongation of the working day, appeared independent of every change in the mode of production itself. It was quite as efficient in the primitive baking trade as in modern cotton-spinning.

In the process of production considered as a mere process of labour, 30 the relation between the labourer and his means of production is not that of labour and capital, but that of labour and the mere instrument and raw material of productive action. In a tannery, for instance, he treats the skins as a mere object for labour. It is not the capitalist whose skin he tans. But things change as soon as we look upon the process of production as a process of creating surplus value. The means of production at once change into means of absorbing other people's labour. It is no longer the workman who employs the means of production, it is the means of production which employ the workman. It is not he who | 35 | consumes them as material elements of his productive action, it is 40 they which consume him as the ferment of their own vital process, and

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the vital process of capital consists in nothing but its progressive motion as value begetting value. Furnaces and workshops which have to stand idle at night without absorbing labour, are 'a pure loss' to the capitalist. Therefore furnaces & workshops constitute 'a title upon the night-work 5 of the hands'. (See Reports of Childrens' Empl. Commission, 4th Report, 1865, pages 79 to 85.) The mere change of money into means of production changes the latter into legal and compulsory titles upon other people's labour and surplus-labour."

There is, however, another form of surplus value. Arrived at the 10 most limit of the working day, another means remains to the capitalist for increasing surplus labour: by increasing the productivity of labour, by thereby reducing the value of labour, & thus shortening the period of necessary labour. This form of surplus value will be examined in a second article.

15

Samuel Moore. I

Friedrich Engels
„Das Kapital“ von Marx. Rezension im
„Demokratischen Wochenblatt“

Demokratisches Wochenblatt.
Nr. 12, 21. März 1868

„Das Kapital“ von Marx.*

I.

So lange es Kapitalisten und Arbeiter in der Welt giebt, ist kein Buch erschienen, welches für die Arbeiter von solcher Wichtigkeit wäre wie das vorliegende. Das Verhältnis von Kapital und Arbeit, die Angel, um die sich unser ganzes heutiges Gesellschaftssystem dreht, ist hier zum ersten Mal wissenschaftlich entwickelt, und das mit einer Gründlichkeit und Schärfe wie sie nur einem Deutschen möglich war. Werthvoll wie die Schriften eines Owen, Saint-Simon, Fourier sind und bleiben werden, - erst einem Deutschen war es vorbehalten, die Höhe zu erklimmen, von 10 der aus das ganze Gebiet der modernen sozialen Verhältnisse klar und übersichtlich daliegt, wie die niederen Berglandschaften vor dem Zuschauer, der auf der höchsten Kuppe steht.

Die bisherige politische Oekonomie lehrt uns, daß die Arbeit die Quelle allen Reichthums und das Maß aller Werthe ist, so daß zwei Gegenstände, deren Erzeugung dieselbe Arbeitszeit gekostet hat, auch denselben Werth besitzen, und, da durchschnittlich nur gleiche Werthe unter sich austauschbar sind, auch gegen einander ausgetauscht werden müssen. Gleichzeitig lehrt sie aber, daß eine Art aufgespeicherter Arbeit existirt, welche sie Kapital nennt; daß dieß Kapital durch die in ihm enthaltenen Hülfsquellen die Produktivität der lebendigen Arbeit ins Hundert- und Tausendfache steigert, und dafür eine gewisse Vergütung in Anspruch nimmt, welche man Profit oder Gewinn nennt. Wie wir Alle wissen, stellt sich dieß in der Wirklichkeit so, daß die Profite der aufgespeicherten,

* Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Oekonomie, von Karl Marx. Erster Band: Der Produktionsprozeß des Kapitals. Hamburg, O. Meißner 1867.

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todten Arbeit immer massenhafter, die Kapitalien der Kapitalisten immer kolossaler werden, während der Lohn der lebendigen Arbeit immer geringer, die Masse der bloß von Arbeitslohn lebenden Arbeiter immer zahlreicher und ärmer wird. Wie ist dieser Widerspruch zu lösen? Wie
5 kann ein Profit für den Kapitalisten übrigbleiben, wenn der Arbeiter den vollen Werth der Arbeit ersetzt erhält, den er seinem Produkt zusetzt? Und da nur gleiche Werthe ausgetauscht werden, so sollte dieß doch der Fall sein. Andererseits, wie können gleiche Werthe ausgetauscht werden, wie kann der Arbeiter den vollen Werth seines Produkts erhalten, wenn,
10 wie von vielen Oekonomen zugegeben wird, dieses Produkt zwischen ihm und dem Kapitalisten getheilt wird? Die bisherige Oekonomie steht vor diesem Widerspruch rathlos da, schreibt oder stottert verlegene, nichts-sagende Redensarten. Selbst die bisherigen sozialistischen Kritiker der Oekonomie sind nicht im Stande gewesen, mehr zu thun, als den Wider-
15 spruch hervorzuheben; gelöst hat ihn Keiner, bis Marx jetzt endlich den Entstehungsprozeß dieses Profits bis auf seine Geburtsstätte verfolgt und damit alles klargemacht hat.

Bei der Entwicklung des Kapitals geht Marx von der einfachen, notorisch vorliegenden Thatsache aus, daß die Kapitalisten ihr Kapital
20 durch Austausch verwerthen: Sie kaufen Waare für ihr Geld und verkau-
fen sie nachher für mehr Geld, als sie ihnen gekostet hat. Z. B. ein Ka-
pitalist kauft Baumwolle für 1000 Thaler und verkauft sie wieder zu 1100 Thlr., „verdient“ also 100 Thlr. Diesen Ueberschuß von 100 Thlr. über
das ursprüngliche Kapital nennt Marx *Mehrwerth*. Woraus entsteht die-
25 ser Mehrwerth. Nach der Annahme der Oekonomen werden nur gleiche
Werthe ausgetauscht, und dieß ist auf dem Gebiet der abstrakten Theorie
auch richtig. Der Einkauf von Baumwolle und ihr Wiederverkauf kann
also ebensowenig einen Mehrwerth liefern, wie der Austausch von einem
Silberthaler gegen dreißig Silbergroschen und der Wiedereintausch der
30 Scheidemünze gegen den Silberthaler, wobei man nicht reicher und nicht
ärmer wird. Der Mehrwerth kann aber ebensowenig daraus entstehen,
daß die Verkäufer die Waaren über ihren Werth verkaufen, oder die Käu-
fer sie unter ihrem Werth kaufen, weil Jeder der Reihe nach bald Käufer,
bald Verkäufer ist und sich dieß also wieder ausgleiche. Ebensowenig kann
35 es daher kommen, daß die Käufer und Verkäufer sich gegenseitig über-
vortheilen, denn dieß würde keinen neuen oder Mehrwerth schaffen, son-
dern nur das vorhandene Kapital anders zwischen den Kapitalisten ver-
theilen. Trotzdem daß der Kapitalist die Waaren zu ihrem Werth kauft
und zu ihrem Werth verkauft, zieht er mehr Werth heraus, als er hinein-
40 warf. Wie geht dieß zu?

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Der Kapitalist findet unter den gegenwärtigen gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen auf dem Waarenmarkt eine Waare, welche die eigenthümliche Beschaffenheit hat, *dafß ihr Verbrauch eine Quelle von neuem Werth, Schöpfung neuen Werthes ist, und diese Waare ist - die Arbeitskraft.*

Was ist der Werth der Arbeitskraft? Der Werth jeder Waare wird gemessen durch die zu ihrer Herstellung erforderliche Arbeit. Die Arbeitskraft existirt in der Gestalt des lebendigen Arbeiters, der zu seiner Existenz, sowie zur Erhaltung seiner Familie, welche die Fortdauer der Arbeitskraft auch nach seinem Tode sichert, einer bestimmten Summe von Lebensmitteln bedarf. Die zur Hervorbringung dieser Lebensmittel nötige Arbeitszeit stellt also den Werth der Arbeitskraft dar. Der Kapitalist zahlt ihn wöchentlich, und kauft dafür den Gebrauch der Wochenarbeit des Arbeiters. So weit werden die Herren Oekonomen so ziemlich mit uns über den Werth der Arbeitskraft einverstanden sein. 5

Der Kapitalist stellt seinen Arbeiter nun an die Arbeit. In einer bestimmten Zeit wird der Arbeiter so viel Arbeit geliefert haben, als in seinem Wochenlohn repräsentirt war. Gesetzt, der Wochenlohn eines Arbeiters repräsentire drei Arbeitstage, so hat der Arbeiter, der Montags anfängt, am Mittwoch-Abend dem Kapitalisten den *vollen Werth des gezahlten Lohnes ersetzt*. Hört er dann aber auf zu arbeiten? Keineswegs. 15 Der Kapitalist hat seine *Wochenarbeit* gekauft, und der Arbeiter muß die drei letzten Wochentage auch noch arbeiten. Diese *Mehrarbeit* des Arbeiters, über die zur Ersetzung seines Lohnes nötige Zeit hinaus, ist die *Quelle des Mehrwerths*, des Profits, der stets wachsenden Anschwellung des Kapitals. 20 25

Man sage nicht, es sei eine willkürliche Annahme, daß der Arbeiter in drei Tagen den Lohn wieder herausarbeite, den er erhalten hat, und die übrigen drei Tage für den Kapitalisten arbeite. Ob er gerade drei Tage braucht, um den Lohn zu ersetzen, oder zwei, oder vier, ist allerdings hier ganz gleichgiltig und wechselt auch nach den Umständen; aber die 30 Hauptsache ist die, daß der Kapitalist neben der Arbeit, die er bezahlt, auch noch Arbeit herausschlägt, die er *nicht bezahlt*, und das ist keine willkürliche Annahme, denn an dem Tage, wo der Kapitalist auf die Dauer nur noch so viel Arbeit aus dem Arbeiter herausbekäme, wie er ihm im Lohn bezahlt, an dem Tage würde er seine Werkstatt zuschließen, 35 da ihm eben sein ganzer Profit in die Brüche ginge.

Hier haben wir die Lösung aller jener Widersprüche. Die Entstehung des Mehrwerths (wovon der Profit des Kapitalisten einen bedeutenden Theil bildet) ist nun ganz klar und natürlich. Der Werth der Arbeitskraft wird gezahlt, aber dieser Werth ist weit geringer als derjenige, welchen der 40 Kapitalist aus der Arbeitskraft herauszuschlagen versteht, und die Dif-

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ferenz, die *unbezahlte Arbeit*, macht gerade den Anteil des Kapitalisten, oder, genauer gesprochen, der Kapitalistenklasse aus. Denn selbst der Profit, den im obigen Beispiel der Baumwollhändler aus seiner Baumwolle herausschlug, muß, wenn die Baumwollpreise nicht gestiegen wären, aus unbezahlter Arbeit bestehen. Der Händler muß an einen Baumwollfabrikanten verkauft haben, der, außer jenen 100 Thalern noch einen Gewinn für sich aus seinem Fabrikat herausschlagen kann, der also die eingesteckte unbezahlte Arbeit mit ihm theilt. Diese unbezahlte Arbeit ist es überhaupt, welche alle nichtarbeitenden Mitglieder der Gesellschaft erhält. Aus ihr werden die Staats- und Gemeindesteuern, soweit sie die Kapitalistenklasse treffen, die Grundrenten der Grundbesitzer u.s.w. gezahlt. Auf ihr beruht der ganze bestehende gesellschaftliche Zustand.

Andererseits wäre es abgeschmackt, anzunehmen, daß die unbezahlte Arbeit erst entstanden sei unter gegenwärtigen Verhältnissen, wo die Produktion von Kapitalisten einerseits und von Lohnarbeitern andererseits betrieben wird. Im Gegentheil. Die unterdrückte Klasse hat zu allen Zeiten unbezahlte Arbeit leisten müssen. Während der ganzen langen Zeit, wo die Sklaverei die herrschende Form der Arbeitsorganisation war, haben die Sklaven weit mehr arbeiten müssen, als ihnen in der Form von Lebensmitteln ersetzt wurde. Unter der Herrschaft der Leibeigenschaft und bis zur Abschaffung der bäuerlichen Fronarbeiter war dasselbe der Fall; hier tritt sogar der Unterschied handgreiflich zu Tage zwischen der Zeit, die der Bauer arbeitet für seinen eignen Lebensunterhalt und der Mehrarbeit für den Gutsherrn, weil eben die letztere von der ersten getrennt vollzogen wird. Die Form ist jetzt verändert, aber die Sache ist geblieben, und so lange „ein Theil der Gesellschaft das Monopol der Produktionsmittel besitzt, muß der Arbeiter, frei oder unfrei, der zu seiner Selbsterhaltung nötigen Arbeitszeit überschüssige Arbeitszeit zusetzen, um die Lebensmittel für die Eigner der Produktionsmittel zu produzieren.“ (Marx S. 202.)

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I

Im vorigen Artikel sahen wir, daß jeder Arbeiter, der vom Kapitalisten beschäftigt wird, zweifache Arbeit verrichtet. Während eines Theils seiner Arbeitszeit ersetzt er den ihm vom Kapitalisten vorgeschossenen Lohn, und diesen Theil der Arbeit nennt Marx die *nothwendige Arbeit*. Nachher aber hat er noch weiter fortzuarbeiten und produziert während dieser Zeit

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den *Mehrwerth* für den Kapitalisten, wovon der Profit einen bedeutenden Theil ausmacht. Dieser Theil der Arbeit heißt die Mehrarbeit.

Wir nehmen an, der Arbeiter arbeite drei Tage der Woche zur Ersetzung seines Lohns, und drei Tage zur Produktion von Mehrwerth für den Kapitalisten. Anders ausgedrückt heißt dieß, er arbeitet, bei täglich 5 zwölfstündiger Arbeit sechs Stunden täglich für seinen Lohn und sechs Stunden zur Erzeugung von Mehrwerth. Aus der Woche kann man nur sechs, selbst mit Hinzuziehung des Sonntags nur sieben Tage schlagen, aber aus jedem einzelnen Tage kann man sechs, acht, zehn, zwölf, fünfzehn und selbst mehr Arbeitsstunden schlagen. Der Arbeiter hat dem 10 Kapitalisten für seinen Taglohn einen Arbeitstag verkauft. Aber, *was ist ein Arbeitstag?* Acht Stunden oder achtzehn?

Der Kapitalist hat ein Interesse daran, daß der Arbeitstag so lang wie möglich gemacht werde. Je länger er ist, desto mehr Mehrwerth erzeugt er. Der Arbeiter hat das richtige Gefühl, daß jede Stunde Arbeit, die er 15 über die Ersetzung des Arbeitslohns hinaus arbeitet, ihm unrechtmäßig entzogen wird; er hat an seinem eignen Körper durchzumachen, was es heißt, überlange Zeit zu arbeiten. Der Kapitalist kämpft für seinen Profit, der Arbeiter für seine Gesundheit, für ein paar Stunden täglicher Ruhe, um außer Arbeiten, Schlafen und Essen sich auch noch sonst als Mensch 20 betätigten zu können. Beiläufig bemerkt, hängt es gar nicht vom guten Willen der einzelnen Kapitalisten ab, ob sie sich in diesen Kampf einlassen wollen oder nicht, da die Concurrenz selbst den philanthropischsten unter ihnen zwingt, sich seinen Collegen anzuschließen, und so lange Arbeitszeit zur Regel zu machen wie diese. 25

Der Kampf um die Feststellung des Arbeitstags dauert vom ersten geschichtlichen Auftreten freier Arbeiter bis auf den heutigen Tag. In verschiedenen Gewerben herrschen verschiedene herkömmliche Arbeitstage; aber in der Wirklichkeit werden sie selten eingehalten. Nur da, wo das Gesetz den Arbeitstag feststellt und seine Einhaltung überwacht, nur 30 da kann man wirklich sagen, daß ein Normal-Arbeitstag besteht. Und dies ist bis jetzt fast nur der Fall in den Fabrikdistrikten Englands. Hier ist der zehnstündige Arbeitstag (10'/r Stunden an fünf Tagen, I: II am Samstag) für alle Frauen und für Knaben von 13 bis 18 Jahren festgestellt, und da die Männer nicht ohne jene arbeiten können, so fallen auch 35 sie unter den zehnstündigen Arbeitstag. Dies Gesetz haben die englischen Fabrikarbeiter durch jahrelange Ausdauer, durch den zähdesten, hartnäckigsten Kampf mit den Fabrikanten, durch die Preßfreiheit, das Coalitions- und Versammlungsrecht, sowie durch geschickte Benutzung der Spaltungen in der herrschenden Klasse selbst erobert. Es ist das Palladium der Arbeiter Englands geworden, es ist nach und nach auf alle 40

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großen Industriezweige und im vorigen Jahre fast *auf alle Gewerbe* ausgedehnt worden, wenigstens auf alle, in denen Frauen und Kinder beschäftigt werden. Ueber die Geschichte dieser gesetzlichen Regelung des Arbeitstags in England enthält das vorliegende Werk ein höchst ausführliches Material. Der nächste „Norddeutsche Reichstag“ wird auch eine Gewerbeordnung zu berathen haben, und damit die Regelung der Fabrikarbeit. Wir erwarten, daß keiner der Abgeordneten, die von deutschen Arbeitern durchgesetzt worden sind, an die Berathung dieses Gesetzes geht, ohne sich vorher mit dem Manschen Buch vollkommen vertraut gemacht zu haben. *Es ist da Vieles durchzusetzen.* Die Spaltungen in den herrschenden Klassen sind den Arbeitern günstiger als sie je in England waren, weil *das allgemeine Stimmrecht die herrschenden Klassen zwingt, um die Gunst der Arbeiter zu buhlen.* Vier oder fünf Vertreter des Proletariats sind unter diesen Umständen *eine Macht*, wenn sie ihre Stellung zu benutzen wissen, wenn sie vor allen Dingen wissen, um was es sich handelt, was die Bürger nicht wissen. Und dazu giebt ihnen Marx' Buch alles Material fertig an die Hand.

Wir übergehen eine Reihe weiterer sehr schöner Untersuchungen von mehr theoretischem Interesse, und kommen nur noch auf das Schlußkapitel, das von der Akkumulation oder Anhäufung des Kapitals handelt. Hier wird zuerst nachgewiesen, daß die kapitalistische, d.h. durch Kapitalisten einerseits und Lohnarbeiter andererseits bewirkte Produktionsmethode nicht nur dem Kapitalisten sein Kapital stets neu produziert, sondern daß sie auch gleichzeitig die Armuth der Arbeiter immer wieder produziert; so daß dafür gesorgt ist, daß stets aufs Neue auf der einen Seite Kapitalisten bestehen, welche die Eigenthümer aller Lebensmittel, aller Rohprodukte und aller Arbeitsinstrumente sind, und auf der andern Seite die große Masse der Arbeiter, welche gezwungen ist, ihre Arbeitskraft diesen Kapitalisten für ein Quantum Lebensmittel zu verkaufen, das im besten Falle eben hinreicht, sie in arbeitsfähigem Zustande zu erhalten und ein neues Geschlecht arbeitsfähiger Proletarier heranzuziehen. Das Kapital aber reproduziert sich nicht bloß: es wird fortwährend vermehrt und vergrößert - damit seine Macht über die eigentumslose Klasse von Arbeitern. Und wie es selbst in stets größerem Maßstabe reproduziert wird, so reproduziert die moderne kapitalistische Produktionsweise ebenfalls in stets größerem Maßstabe, in stets wachsender Zahl die Klasse besitzloser Arbeiter. „Die Akkumulation des Kapitals reproduziert das Kapitalverhältniß auf erweiterter Stufenleiter, mehr Kapitalisten oder größere Kapitalisten auf diesem Pol, mehr Lohnarbeiter auf jenem ... Akkumulation des Kapitals ist also Vermehrung des Proletariats“ (p. 600). Da aber durch den Fortschritt der Maschinerie,

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durch verbesserten Ackerbau etc. stets weniger Arbeiter benötigt werden, um ein gleiches Quantum Produkte hervorzubringen, da diese Ver- vollkommnung, d.h. diese Ueberzähligmachung von Arbeitern rascher wächst, als selbst das wachsende Kapital, was wird aus dieser stets zunehmenden Zahl von Arbeitern? Sie bilden eine industrielle Reserve- 5 Armee, welche während schlechter oder mittelmäßiger Geschäftszeiten unter dem Werth ihrer Arbeit bezahlt und unregelmäßig beschäftigt wird, oder der öffentlichen Armenpflege anheim fällt, die aber der Kapitalistenklasse zu Zeiten besonders lebhaften Geschäfts unentbehrlich ist, wie dies in England handgreiflich vorliegt - die aber unter allen Umständen 10 dazu dient, die Widerstandskraft der regelmäßig beschäftigten Arbeiter zu brechen und ihre Löhne niedrig zu halten. „Je größer der gesellschaftliche Reichthum desto größer die relative Surpluspopulation (überzählige Bevölkerung) oder industrielle Reserve-Armee. Je größer aber diese Reserve-Armee im Verhältniß zur aktiven (regelmäßig beschäftigten) Arbeiter-Armee, desto massenhafter die konsolidirte (ständige) Surpluspopulation oder die Arbeiterschichten, deren Elend im umgekehrten Verhältniß steht zu ihrer Arbeitsqual. Je größer endlich die Lazarusschichte der Arbeiterklasse und die industrielle Reserve-Armee, desto größer der offizielle Pauperismus. Dies ist das absolute, allgemeine Gesetz 20 der kapitalistischen Akkumulation“ (p. 631).

Dies sind, streng wissenschaftlich nachgewiesen - und die offiziellen Oekonomen hüten sich wohl, auch nur den Versuch einer Widerlegung zu machen - einige der Hauptgesetze des modernen, kapitalistischen, gesellschaftlichen Systems. Aber ist damit alles gesagt? Keineswegs. Ebenso 25 scharf wie Marx die schlimmen Seiten der kapitalistischen Produktion hervorhebt, ebenso klar weist er nach, daß diese gesellschaftliche Form nothwendig war, um die Produktivkräfte der Gesellschaft auf einen Höhengrad zu entwickeln, der eine gleiche menschenwürdige Entwicklung für alle Glieder der Gesellschaft möglich machen wird. Dazu waren alle 30 früheren Gesellschaftsformen zu arm. Erst die kapitalistische Produktion schafft die Reichthümer und die Produktionskräfte, welche dazu nötig sind, aber sie schafft auch gleichzeitig in den massenhaften und unterdrückten Arbeitern die Gesellschaftsklasse, die mehr und mehr gezwungen wird, die Benutzung dieser Reichthümer und Produktivkräfte für die 35 ganze Gesellschaft - statt wie heute für eine monopolistische Klasse - in Anspruch zu nehmen.

Karl Marx
Mein Plagiat an Frédéric Bastiat.
Entwurf einer Entgegnung

I Mein Plagiat an F. Bastiat.

In entdeckt ein Bastiatit, daß ich die Bestimmung der *Werthgröße* der Waaren durch die zu ihrer Produktion „gesellschaftlich nothwendige Arbeitszeit“ dem *F. Bastiat* abstibitzt 5 habe, u. noch dazu in verbalhornter Form. Ich könnte mir dieß qui pro quo schon gefallen lassen. Wenn nämlich dieser Bastiatit N. I Bastiat's und meine Werthbestimmungen der Sache nach identisch findet, erklärt ein Bastiatit N. II ziemlich gleichzeitig in dem Leipziger „Literarischen Centralblatt“ vom : „

10

Durch Addition von Bastiatit N. I zu Bastiatit N. II ergäbe sich also das Facit, daß das ganze Heer der Bastiatiten jetzt in mein Lager Übergehn u. meine Entwicklungen über das Capital in Bausch u. Bogen annehmen müßte. Man begreift, daß ich nur nach hartem Seelenkampf auf 15 solche Annexionsfreuden verzichte.

Die in meiner Schrift „*Das Kapital, 1867*“ enthaltene Werthbestimmung findet sich schon 2 Decennien früher in meiner Schrift gegen Proudhon: „*Misere de la Philosophie Paris 1847*“ (p. 49 sqq.) Bastiat's Werthweisheit kam erst einige Jahre später auf die Welt. Ich konnte daher 20 nicht den Bastiat abschreiben, wohl aber der Bastiat mich.

Jedoch giebt Bastiat in der That gar keine Analyse des Werths. Er tritt nur begriffslose Vorstellungen breit zum tröstlichen Nachweis, daß „die Welt voll großer, trefflicher, täglicher Dienste“ ist.

Die deutschen Bastiatiten sind bekanntlich alle nationalliberal. Ich leiste ihnen also auch „großen trefflichen Dienst“ durch einen Fingerzeig 25 auf den *specifisch preußischen Ursprung* des Bastiatschen Weisheitsfunden. Der alte *Schmalz* war nämlich preußischer Regierungsrath, wenn ich nicht irre, sogar geheimer preußischer Regierungsrath. Er war außerdem

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Demagogenreicher. Dieser alte Schmalz also veröffentlichte 1818 zu Berlin ein „*Handbuch der Staatswirtschaftslehre*“. Die französische Uebersetzung seines Handbuchs erschien 1826 zu Paris unter dem Titel: „*Economie Politique*“. Der Uebersetzer, Henry Jouffroy, figurirt auf dem Titel als ..*Conseiller au Service de Prusse*“. In folgendem Zitat wird man 5 die Bastiat'sche Werthvorstellung, nicht nur dem Inhalt, sondern selbst dem Wortlaut nach, quintessenzlich vorfinden:

« Le travail d'autrui en général ne produit jamais pour nous qu'une économie de temps, et cette économie de temps est tout ce qui constitue sa valeur et son prix. Le menuisier, par exemple, qui me fait une table, et le 10 domestique qui porte mes lettres à la poste, qui bat mes habits, ou qui cherche pour moi les choses qui me sont nécessaires, me rendent l'un et l'autre un service absolument de même nature; l'un et l'autre m'épargne et le temps que je serais obligé d'employer moi-même à ces occupations, et celui qu'il m'aurait fallu consacrer à acquérir l'aptitude et les talents 15 qu'elles exigent. » (Schmalz, I.e. t. I, p. 304.)

Man weiß also jetzt, wo Bastiat sein Fett, ich wollte sagen sein Schmalz hergeholt hat. |

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Karl Marx. Eine biographische Skizze

Die Zukunft.
Nr. 185, 11. August 1869

Karl Marx.

Man hat sich in Deutschland daran gewöhnt, in Ferdinand Lassalle den Urheber der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung zu sehen. Und doch ist Nichts unrichtiger. Wenn ihm vor sechs, sieben Jahren in allen Fabrikdistrikten, 5 in allen großen Städten, den Centren der arbeitenden Bevölkerung, das Proletariat in Massen zuströmte, wenn seine Reisen Triumphzüge waren, um die ihn die Landesfürsten beneiden konnten - war da der Boden nicht vorher etwa schon im Stillen gedüngt worden, der so rasch aufschießende Frucht trug? Wenn die Arbeiter seinen Lehren Beifall zuauchzten, ge-10 schah dies, weil diese Lehren ihnen neu, oder weil sie den Denkenden unter ihnen schon längst mehr oder weniger bekannt waren?

Die heutige Generation lebt rasch und vergißt rasch. Die Bewegung der vierziger Jahre, die in der Revolution von 1848 gipfelte und in der Reaktion von 1849-52 ihren Abschluß fand, ist bereits verschollen, mit 15 sammt ihrer politischen und sozialistischen Literatur. Es muß daher daran erinnert werden, daß vor und während der Revolution von 1848 unter den Arbeitern, namentlich Westdeutschlands, eine wohlorganisierte sozialistische Partei bestand, welche zwar nach dem Kölner Kommunistenprozeß auseinanderfiel, deren einzelne Mitglieder aber im Stillen 20 fortfuhren, den Boden vorzubereiten, dessen Lassalle sich nachher bemächtigte. Es muß ferner daran erinnert werden, daß ein Mann existierte, der, neben der Organisation dieser Partei, das wissenschaftliche Studium der sog. sozialen Frage, d.h. die Kritik der politischen Oekonomie, zu seiner Lebensaufgabe gemacht und bereits vor 1860 bedeutende Resul-25 tate seiner Forschungen veröffentlicht hatte. Lassalle war ein höchst talentvoller, vielseitig gebildeter Kopf, ein Mann von großer Energie und fast unbegränzter Versatility; er war ganz dazu gemacht, unter allen Umständen eine politische Rolle zu spielen. Aber weder war er der ur-

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sprüngliche Initiator der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung, noch war er ein origineller Denker. Der ganze Inhalt seiner Schriften war entlehnt, selbst nicht ohne Mißverständnisse entlehnt, er hatte einen Vorgänger und einen intellektuellen Vorgesetzten, dessen Dasein er freilich verschwieg, während er seine Schriften vulgarisirte und dieser intellektuelle Vorgesetzte heißt Karl Marx. 5

Karl Marx ist geboren am 5. Mai 1818 zu Trier, wo er seine Gymnasialbildung erhielt. Er studirte Rechtswissenschaften in Bonn und später in Berlin, wo ihn indeß die Beschäftigung mit der Philosophie dem Jus bald abwendig machte. Nach fünfjährigem Aufenthalt in der „Metropole“ 10 der Intelligenz kehrte er 1841 nach Bonn zurück, mit der Absicht, sich dort zu habilitiren. Damals herrschte in Preußen die erste „neue Aera“. Friedrich Wilhelm IV. hatte erklärt, er liebe eine gesinnungstüchtige Opposition, und an verschiedenen Stellen wurde der Versuch gemacht, eine solche zu organisiren. So wurde in Köln die „Rheinische Zeitung“ ge- 15 stiftet; Marx kritisierte in ihr mit damals unerhörter Kühnheit die Verhandlungen des rheinischen Provinziallandtages in Artikeln, die großes Aufsehen machten. Ende 1842 übernahm er selbst die Redaktion und machte der Censur so viel zu schaffen, daß man ihm die Ehre anthat, für die Rhein. Ztg. einen Spezial-Censor von Berlin zu schicken. Als auch 20 dies nicht half, mußte die Zeitung doppelte Censur durchmachen, indem jede Nummer, außer der gewöhnlichen, noch in zweiter Instanz der Censur des Kölner Regierungspräsidenten unterworfen wurde. Aber auch dies Mittel half nichts gegen die „verhärtete Böswilligkeit“ der Rhein. Zeitung; und Anfang 1843 erließ das Ministerium ein Dekret, wonach die 25 Rhein. Zeitung Ende des ersten Quartals aufhören mußte. Marx trat sofort ab, da die Aktionäre einen Vermittlungsversuch machen wollten, aber auch dieser schlug fehl und die Zeitung hörte auf zu erscheinen.

Die Kritik der Verhandlungen des rheinischen Landtags nöthigte Marx, Fragen des materiellen Interesses zu studiren. Hier traten ihm 30 neue Gesichtspunkte entgegen, Gesichtspunkte, die weder die Juristerei noch die Philosophie vorgesehen hatten. Anknüpfend an Hegel's Rechtsphilosophie, kam Marx zu der Einsicht, daß nicht der von Hegel als „Krönung des Gebäudes“ dargestellte Staat, sondern vielmehr die von ihm so stiefmütterlich behandelte „bürgerliche Gesellschaft“ diejenige 35 Sphäre sei, in der der Schlüssel zum Verständniß des geschichtlichen Entwicklungsprozesses der Menschheit zu suchen sei. Die Wissenschaft der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft aber ist die politische Oekonomie, und diese Wissenschaft konnte nicht in Deutschland, sie konnte nur in England oder Frankreich gründlich studirt werden. 40

Karl Marx. Eine biographische Skizze

Nach seiner Verheirathung mit der Tochter des Geh. Regierungsraths v. Westphalen in Trier (Schwester des späteren preußischen Ministers des Innern v. Westphalen) siedelte Marx daher im Sommer 1843 nach Paris über, wo er sich hauptsächlich dem Studium der Nationalökonomie und 5 der Geschichte der großen französischen Revolution widmete. Zugleich gab er mit Rüge die „deutsch-französischen Jahrbücher“ heraus, von denen indeß nur ein Band erschien. 1845 von Guizot aus Frankreich ausgewiesen, ging er nach Brüssel und blieb dort, mit gleichen Studien beschäftigt, bis Ausbruch der Februar-Revolution. Wie wenig er mit dem 10 landläufigen Sozialismus selbst in seiner gelehrthuendsten Form einverstanden war, bewies seine Kritik des großen Proudhon'schen Werks: „Philosophie de la misère“, welche 1847 unter dem Titel: „Misere de la philosophie“, Brüssel und Paris, erschien. In dieser Schrift finden sich bereits viele wesentliche Punkte seiner jetzt ausführlich dargelegten 15 Theorie. Auch das „Manifest der kommunistischen Partei“, London 1848, vor der Februar Revolution geschrieben und von einem Arbeiterkongreß in London adoptirt, ist wesentlich sein Werk.

Von der belgischen Regierung unter dem Einfluß der Panik der Februar-Revolution wieder ausgewiesen, kam Marx auf Aufforderung der 20 französischen provisorischen Regierung nach Paris zurück. Die Sturmfluth der Revolution drängte alle wissenschaftlichen Beschäftigungen in den Hintergrund; es hieß jetzt eingreifen in die Bewegung. Nachdem Marx während der ersten aufgeregten Tage dem Unsinn der Agitatoren entgegen gearbeitet hatte, welche deutsche Arbeiter von Frankreich aus 25 als Freischaaren zur Republikanisirung Deutschlands organisiren wollten, ging er mit seinen Freunden nach Köln und gründete dort die „Neue Rheinische Zeitung“, die bis zum Juni 1849 bestand und am Rhein noch in gutem Gedächtniß ist. Die Pressefreiheit von 1848 ist wohl nirgends so erfolgreich ausgebeutet worden als damals, mitten in einer preußischen 30 Festung, von jener Zeitung. Nachdem die Regierung vergeblich versucht hatte, die Zeitung durch gerichtliche Verfolgung totzumachen - Marx stand zweimal vor den Assisen, wegen Pressevergehen und wegen Aufforderung zur Steuerverweigerung und wurde beidemale freigesprochen - wurde sie zur Zeit der Mai-Aufstände 1849 dadurch zum Fall gebracht, 35 daß Marx unter dem Vorwande, seine preußische Unterthanenschaft verloren zu haben und die übrigen Redakteure unter ähnlichen Vorwänden ausgewiesen wurden. Marx mußte daher wieder nach Paris, von wo er abermals ausgewiesen wurde und noch im Sommer 1849 nach seinem jetzigen Wohnsitz, London, ging.

40 In London fand sich damals die ganze fine fleur der kontinentalen Flüchtlingsschaft aller Nationen zusammen. Es wurden Revolutionsco-

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mités aller Art gebildet, Kombinationen, provisorische Regierungen in partibus infidelium, es gab Streitigkeiten und Zänkereien aller Art, und die dabei betheiligt gewesenen Herren blicken jetzt sicher auf diese Periode als auf die mißlungenste ihres Lebens zurück. Marx hielt sich von allen diesen Umtrieben fern. Eine Zeit lang setzte er seine „Neue Rhein. 5 Ztg.“ in der Form einer Monatsrevue fort (Hamburg 1850), nachher zog er sich ins British Museum zurück und durchforschte die dortige ungeheure, großentheils noch ungekannte Bibliothek nach ihrer national-ökonomischen Seite hin. Gleichzeitig schrieb er regelmäßig in die „New-York Tribune“, er war so zu sagen der Redakteur dieses ersten englisch- 10 amerikanischen Blattes, für europäische Politik, bis zum Ausbruche des amerikanischen Bürgerkrieges.

Der Staatsstreich des 2. Dezember veranlaßte ihn zu einer Broschüre: „Der 18. Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte“, New-York 1852, welche jetzt eben in neuem Abdruck (Hamburg bei Meißner) erscheint, und zum Ver- 15 ständniß der haltlosen Lage, in die derselbe Bonaparte gerade jetzt gerathen ist, nicht wenig beitragen wird. Der Held des Staatsstreiches wird hier eben in seiner nackten Wirklichkeit dargestellt, wie er erscheint ohne die Glorie, mit der der momentane Erfolg ihn umgeben hat. Der Philister, der seinen Napoleon III. für den größten Mann des Jahrhunderts 20 hält und sich nun nicht erklären kann, wie dieses Wundergenie jetzt plötzlich Böcke über Böcke schießt und einen politischen Fehler über den anderen begeht, - besagter Philister kann sich aus der erwähnten Marx-schen Arbeit Raths erholen.

So wenig Marx sich während seines ganzen Londoner Aufenthalts vor- 25 drängte, so zwang ihn doch Carl Vogt, nach der italienischen Campagne 1859, zu einer Polemik, die in Marx's: „Herr Vogt, London 1860“ ihren Abschluß fand. Um dieselbe Zeit erschien die erste Frucht seiner national-ökonomischen Studien: „Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie, Berlin 1859. Erstes Heft.“ Dies Heft enthält blos die Geldtheorie, welche von 30 ganz neuen Gesichtspunkten dargestellt ist; die Fortsetzung ließ auf sich warten, da der Verfasser inzwischen so viel neues Material entdeckte, daß er neue Studien für nöthig hielt.

1867 endlich erschien in Hamburg: „Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. Erster Band.“ Dies Werk enthält die Resultate des Studiums 35 eines ganzen Lebens. Es ist die politische Oekonomie der arbeitenden Klasse, auf ihren wissenschaftlichen Ausdruck reducirt. Hier handelt es sich nicht um agitatorische Phrasen, sondern um streng wissenschaftliche Deduktionen. Mag man sich zum Sozialismus verhalten wie man will, man wird immerhin anerkennen müssen, daß hier derselbe zuerst wissen- 40 schaftlich dargestellt ist und daß es eben Deutschland vorbehalten war,

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diese Leistung auch auf diesem Gebiet zu verwirklichen. Wer jetzt noch den Sozialismus bekämpfen will, wird mit Marx fertig werden müssen, gelingt ihm dies, dann braucht er freilich die dei minorum gentium nicht zu erwähnen.

5 Das Marx'sche Buch hat aber auch noch nach anderer Seite hin ein Interesse. Es ist die erste Schrift, in der die tatsächlichen Verhältnisse, die zwischen Kapital und Arbeit bestehen, in ihrer klassischen Form, wie sie solche in England erlangt haben, vollständig und übersichtlich geschildert werden. Die parlamentarischen Untersuchungen lieferten
10 hierzu ein reichliches, einen Zeitraum von fast vierzig Jahren umfassendes und selbst in England so gut wie ungekanntes Material über die Verhältnisse der Arbeiter in fast allen Industriezweigen, über die Arbeit von Weibern und Kindern, über Nachtarbeit u.s. w., dies Alles ist hier zum ersten Mal zugänglich gemacht. Daran reiht sich die Geschichte
15 der Fabrikgesetzgebung in England, welche, von den bescheidenen Anfängen der ersten Akte von 1803 an, jetzt dahin gekommen ist, die Arbeitszeit in fast allen, fabrikmäßig oder häuslich betriebenen Geschäftszweigen für Weiber und junge Leute unter 18 Jahren auf 60 Stunden wöchentlich, für Kinder unter 13 Jahren auf 39 Stunden wöchent-
20 lieh zu beschränken. Nach dieser Seite hin ist das Buch von höchstem Interesse für jeden Industriellen.

Marx ist lange Jahre unbedingt der „Bestverleumdete“ deutsche Schriftsteller gewesen, wogegen ihm Niemand das Zeugniß verwehren wird, daß er dafür auch tapfer um sich gehauen hat, und daß seine Hiebe
25 alle scharf saßen. Aber die Polemik, in der er doch so viel „gemacht“ hat, war im Grunde doch nur Sache der Nothwehr bei ihm. Sein eigentliches Interesse war schließlich doch immer bei seiner Wissenschaft, die er fünf- und zwanzig Jahre mit einer Gewissenhaftigkeit studirt und durchdacht hat, die ihresgleichen sucht; einer Gewissenhaftigkeit, die ihn verhindert
30 hat, seine Schlußfolgerungen in systematischer Form vor das Publikum zu bringen, ehe sie ihm nach Form und Inhalt selbst genügten, ehe er darüber mit sich klar war, daß er kein Buch ungelesen, keinen Einwurf unerwogen gelassen, daß er jeden Punkt vollständig erschöpft habe. Originelle Denker sind in dieser Zeit der Epigonen sehr rar, wenn aber ein
35 Mann nicht nur ein origineller Denker, sondern auch im Besitz einer, in seinem Fache unerreichten Gelehrsamkeit ist, so verdient er doppelte Anerkennung.

Außer seinen Studien beschäftigt sich Marx, wie nicht anders zu erwarten, mit der Arbeiterbewegung; er ist einer der Gründer der „Internationale Arbeiter-Assoziation“, welche in letzter Zeit so viel von sich reden machte und bereits an mehr als einem Ort Europas bewiesen hat,

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daß sie eine Macht ist. Wir glauben nicht zu irren, wenn wir sagen, daß auch in dieser, jedenfalls in der Arbeiterbewegung Epoche machenden Gesellschaft, das deutsche Element - Dank namentlich Marx - die ihm gebührende einflußreiche Stellung einnimmt.

Karl Marx
The Fourth Annual Report of the General Council
of the International Working Men's Association

The Times.
Nr. 26225, 9. September 1868

The year 1867-68 will mark an epoch in the history of the Association. After a period of peaceable development it has assumed dimensions powerful enough to provoke the bitter denunciations of the ruling classes and the hostile demonstrations of Governments. It has entered upon the 5 phases of strife.

The French Government took, of course, the lead in the reactionary proceedings against the working classes. Already last year we had to signalize some of its underhand manœuvres. It meddled with our correspondence, seized our statutes, and the Congress documents. After many 10 fruitless steps to get them back, they were at last given up only under the official pressure of Lord Stanley, the English Minister of Foreign Affairs. But the Empire has this year thrown off the mask and tried to directly annihilate the International Association by *coups de police* and judiciary prosecution. Begot by the struggle of classes, of which the days of June, 15 1848, are the grandest expression, it could not but assume alternately the attitudes of the official saviour of the Bourgeoisie and of the paternal protector of the Proletariat. The growing power of the International having manifested itself in the strikes of Roubaix, Amiens, Paris, Geneva, &c, reduced our would-be patron to the necessity of turning our society 20 to his own account or of destroying it. In the beginning he was ready enough to strike a bargain on very moderate terms. The manifesto of the Parisians read at the Congress of Geneva having been seized at the French frontier, our Paris Executive demanded of the Minister of the Interior the reasons of this seizure. M. Rouher then invited one of the 25 members of the Committee to an interview, in the course of which he declared himself ready to authorise the entry of the manifesto on the condition of some modifications being inserted. On the refusal of the delegate of the Paris Executive, he added, "Still, if you would introduce

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some words of gratitude to the Emperor, who has done so much for the working classes, one might see what could be done."

M. Rouher's, the sub-Emperor's, insinuation was met by a blank rebuff. From that moment the Imperial Government looked out for a pretext to suppress the Association. Its anger was heightened by the anti-chauvinist agitation on the part of our French members after the German war. Soon after, when the Fenian panic had reached its climax, the General Council addressed to the English Government a petition demanding the commutation of the sentence of the three victims of Manchester, and qualifying their hanging as an act of political revenge. At the same time it held public meetings in London for the defence of the rights of Ireland. The Empire, always anxious to deserve the good graces of the British Government, thought the moment propitious for laying hands upon the International. It caused nocturnal perquisitions to be made, eagerly rummaged the private correspondence, and announced with much noise that it had discovered the centre of the Fenian conspiracy, of which the International was denounced as one of the principal organs. All its laborious researches, however, ended in nothing. The public prosecutor himself threw down his brief in disgust. The attempt at converting the International Association into a secret society of conspirators having miserably broken down, the next best thing was to prosecute our Paris branch as a non-authorised society of more than 20 members. The French judges, trained by the Imperialist discipline, hastened, of course, to order the dissolution of the Association and the imprisonment of its Paris Executive. The tribunal had the naïveté to declare in the preamble of its judgment that the existence of the French Empire was incompatible with a working men's association that dared to proclaim truth, justice, and morality as its leading principles. The consequences of these prosecutions made themselves felt in the departments, where paltry vexations on the part of the Prefects succeeded to the condemnations of Paris. This Governmental chicanery, however, so far from annihilating the Association, has given it a fresh impulse by forcing the Empire to drop its patronising airs to the working classes.

In Belgium the International Association has made immense strides. The coal lords of the basin of Charleroi, having driven their miners to riots by incessant exactions, let loose upon those unarmed men the armed force which massacred many of them. It was in midst of the panic thus created that our Belgian branch took up the cause of the miners, disclosed their miserable economical condition, rushed to the rescue of the families of the dead and wounded, and procured legal counsel for the prisoners, who were finally all of them acquitted by the jury. After the

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affair of Charleroi the success of the International in Belgium was assured. The Belgian Minister of justice, Jules Bara, denounced the International Association in the Chamber of Deputies and made of its existence the principal pretext for the renewal of the law against foreigners.

5 He even dared to threaten he should prevent the Brussels Congress from being held. The Belgian Government ought at last to understand that petty States have no longer any *raison d'être* in Europe except they be the asylums of liberty.

In Italy, the progress of the Association has been impeded by the 10 reaction following close upon the ambuscade of Mentana; one of the first consequences was the restriction put upon the right of association and public meeting. But the numerous letters which have come to our hands fully prove that the Italian working class is more and more asserting its individuality quite independently of the old parties.

15 In Prussia, the International cannot exist legally, on account of a law which forbids all relations with foreign societies. Moreover, in regard to the General Union of the German Working Men, the Prussian Government has imitated Bonapartism on a shabby scale. Always ready to fall foul of each other, the military Governments are cheek by jowl when 20 entering upon a crusade against their common enemy, the working classes. In spite, however, of all these petty tribulations, small groups spread over the whole surface of Germany had long since rallied round our Geneva centre. The General Union of the German Working Men, whose branches are mostly confined to Northern Germany, have in their recent 25 Congress held at Hamburg decided to act in concert with the International Working Men's Association, although debarred from joining it officially. In the programme of the Nuremberg Congress, representing upwards of 100 working men's societies, which mostly belong to Middle and Southern Germany, the direct adhesion to the International has been 30 put on the order of the day. At the request of their leading committee we have sent a delegate to Nuremberg.

In Austria the working-class movement assumes a more and more revolutionary aspect. In the beginning of September a congress was to meet at Vienna, aiming at the fraternisation of the working men of the 35 different races of the Empire. They had also sent an address to the English and French working men, in which they declared for the principles of the International. Your General Council had already appointed a delegate to Vienna when the Liberal Government of Austria, on the very point of succumbing to the blows of the feudal reaction, had the shrewdness to stir the anger of the working men by prohibiting their congress.

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In the struggle maintained by the building trades of Geneva the very existence of the International in Switzerland was put on its trial. The employers made it a preliminary condition of coming to any terms with their workmen that the latter should forsake the International. The working men indignantly refused to comply with this dictate. Thanks to 5 the aid received from France, England, Germany, &c, through the medium of the International, they have finally obtained a diminution of one hour of labour and 10 per cent increase of wages. Already deeply rooted in Switzerland, the International has witnessed since that event a rapid increase in the number of its members. In the month of August last the 10 German working men residing in Switzerland (about 50 societies) passed at their Congress in Neuenburg a unanimous vote of adhesion to the International.

In England the unsettled state of politics, the dissolution of the old parties, and the preparations for the coming electoral campaign have 15 absorbed many of our most active members, and, to some degree, retarded our propaganda. Nevertheless, we have entered into correspondence with numerous provincial trades' unions, many of which have sent in their adhesion. Among the more recent London affiliations those of the Curriers' Society and the City Men's Shoemakers are the most considerable as regards numbers. 20

Your General Council is in constant communication with the National Labour Union of the United States. On its last Congress of August, 1867, the American Union had resolved to send a delegate to the Brussels Congress, but, pressed for time, was unable to take the special measures 25 necessary for carrying out the vote.

The latent power of the working classes of the United States has recently manifested itself in the legal establishment of a working day of eight hours in all the workshops of the Federal Government, and in the passing [of] laws to the same effect by many State Legislatures. However, 30 at this very moment the working men of New York, for example, are engaged in a fierce struggle for enforcing the eight hours' law, against the resistance of rebellious capital. This fact proves that even under the most favourable political conditions all serious success of the proletariat depends upon an organisation that unites and concentrates its forces; and 35 even its national organisation is still exposed to split on the disorganisations of the working classes in other countries, which one and all compete in the market of the world, acting and reacting the one upon the other. Nothing but an international bond of the working classes can ever ensure their definitive triumph. This want has given birth to the Interna- 40 tional Working Men's Association. That Association has not been hatch-

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ed by a sect or a theory. It is the spontaneous growth of the proletarian movement, which itself is the offspring of the natural and irrepressible tendencies of modern society. Profoundly convinced of the greatness of its mission, the International Working Men's Association will allow itself 5 neither to be intimidated nor misled. Its destiny, henceforward, coalesces with the historical progress of the class that bear in their hands the regeneration of mankind.

London, September 1

Karl Marx
Vierter jährlicher Bericht des Generalrats
der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation

|[i]| Vierter Jährlicher Bericht des Generalraths der Internationalen Arbeiterassocation

Das Jahr 1867-68 macht Epoche in der Internationalen Arbeiterassocation. Nach einer Periode ruhigen Fortschritts schwoll ihr Wirkungskreis mächtig genug, um bitte Denunciation von Seiten der herrschenden Klassen u. Regierungsverfolgungen hervorzurufen. Sie trat in das Stadium des Kampfes. 5

Die französische Regierung ging natürlich voran in der Reaction gegen die Arbeiterklasse. Schon im vorigen Jahre hatten wir einzelne feindliche Manöver derselben zu denunciren - Unterschlagung von Briefen, Con- fiskation unsrer Statuten, Abfangung der Dokumente des Lausanner Congresses an der französischen Grenze. Letztere, lange vergeblich zu Paris herausverlangt, wurden uns endlich nur zurück erstattet unter dem officiellen Druck von Lord Stanley, dem englischen Minister des Auswärtigen. 15

In diesem Jahre jedoch hat das Kaiserthum die Maske ganz weggeworfen. Es hat offen die Internationale Arbeiterassocation durch seine Polizei und seine Gerichte zu vernichten gesucht. Die Decemberdynastie schuldet ihre Existenz dem Klassenkampf, dessen großartigste Erscheinung die Juniinsurrection von 1848 war. Sie spielte daher nothwendig abwechselnd die Rollen des Retters der Bourgeoisie u. des patriarchalischen Gönners des Proletariats. Sobald die wachsende Macht der Internationalen Arbeiterassocation in den Strikes von Amiens, Roubaix, Paris, Genf u.s. w. deutlich hervortrat, war der selbsternannte Arbeiterpatron auf die Alternative beschränkt, sich unsrer Gesellschaft zu bemächtigen oder sie zu unterdrücken. Im Anfang verlangte man nicht viel. Ein Manifest, welches die Pariser Abgeordneten auf dem Congreß zu Genf (1866) verlesen u. im folgenden Jahre zu Brüssel veröffentlicht hat- 25

ten, war an der französischen Grenze confisct worden. Auf Anfrage unsres Pariser Comittés über die Gründe dieses Gewaltschritts lud der Minister *Rouher* ein Comittemitglied zu persönlicher Besprechung ein. Während der ||2| darauf folgenden Zusammenkunft verlangte er zunächst 5 Milderung und Änderung einiger Stellen des Manifests. Auf die abschlägige Antwort erwiderte er: „Dennoch könnte man sich verständigen, wenn Sie nur einige Worte des Danks an den Kaiser einfließen ließen, der so sehr viel für die Arbeiterklasse gethan hat.“ Dieser zarte Wink Rouhers, des Unterkaisers, fand nicht das erwartete Verständniß. Von diesem 10 Augenblick lauerte das Decemberregime auf irgend einen Vorwand zur gewaltsausübung der Association. Sein Ärger wuchs in Folge der antichauvinistischen Agitation unsrer französischen Mitglieder nach dem preußisch-österreichischen Krieg. Kurz darauf, als der fenische Panik seinen Höhepunkt in England erreicht, richtete der Generalrat der I.A. A. 15 eine Petition an die britische Regierung, worin die bevorstehende Hinrichtung der drei Manchester Märtyrer als gerichtlicher Mord bezeichnet war. Gleichzeitig hielten wir öffentliche Meetings in London zur Vertheidigung der Rechte Irlands. Stets ängstlich um Englands Gunst buhrend, hielt die französische Regierung jetzt die Umstände reif zu einem 20 Schlag gegen die I.A. A. auf beiden Seiten des Kanals. Während der Nacht brach ihre Polizei in die Wohnungen unsrer Pariser Komitémitglieder ein, durchstöberte ihre Privatbriefe u. verkündete geräuschvoll in der englischen Presse, man habe das Centrum der fenischen Verschwörung endlich entdeckt. Eins ihrer Hauptorgane sei die I.A. A. Viel Lärm 25 um nichts! Die gerichtliche Untersuchung fand trotz besten Willens nicht den Schatten eines corpus delicti. Nachdem der Versuch, die I.A. A. in eine geheime Verschwörungsgesellschaft zu verwandeln, so schmählich gescheitert war, griff man zur nächsten besten Ausflucht. Man verfolgte das Pariser Komité als eine unautorisierte Gesellschaft von mehr als 30 20 Mitgliedern. Die französischen Richter eingebrochen in die kaiserliche Disciplin erklärten natürlich ohne Weiteres die Gesellschaft für aufgelöst u. verurteilten die Komitémitglieder zu Geldstrafe u. Gefängniß. Jedoch beging das Gericht die Naivität in den Erwägungsgründen seines Urteilsspruchs zweierlei zu proklamiren, einerseits die wach||[3]|sende 35 Macht der I.A. A. andrerseits die Unverträglichkeit des Decemberreichs mit der Existenz einer Arbeitergesellschaft, welche Wahrheit, Recht und Moral ernsthaft als leitende Prinzipien behandle. Die Folgen dieser Vorgänge machten sich bald fühlbar in den Departements, wo kleinliche Präfeturhetzereien den Pariser Verurtheilungen auf dem Fuß nachfolg- 40 ten. Statt jedoch vor diesen Regierungschikanen zu fallen, saugte die I.A. A. nur neue Lebenskraft daraus. Nichts hat ihren Einfluß in Frank-

Karl Marx

reich mehr gefördert, als daß sie das Decemberregime endlich zum offnen Bruch mit der Arbeiterklasse zwang.

In Belgien rühmt sich unsre Gesellschaft großer Fortschritte. Die Minenbesitzer im Becken von Charleroi trieben ihre Kohlenarbeiter durch unausgesetzte Plackereien zur Erneute, um hinterher die bewaffnete Ge- 5 wait auf die unbewaffnete Menge loszulassen. In Mitte dieses hervorgerufenen Paniks nahm der belgische Zweig der I.A. A. die Sache der Kohlenarbeiter in die Hand, enthüllte durch die Presse u. auf öffentlichen Meetings ihre elende ökonomische Lage, unterstützte die Familien der Gefallenen u. Verwundeten u. verschaffte gerichtlichen Beistand für die 10 Gefangenen. Sie alle wurden schließlich durch die Jury freigesprochen. Seit den Ereignissen in Charleroi war unser Erfolg in Belgien gesichert. Unterdeß denuncirte der Justizminister Jules Bara in der Belgischen Deputirtenkammer die I.A. A. u. machte ihre Existenz zum Hauptvorwand für die Erneuerung des Fremdengesetzes. Er drohte sogar mit Verbot des 15 Brüssler Kongresses. Die Belgische Regierung sollte endlich einsehen, daß kleine Staaten nur noch den einen Existenzgrund in Europa haben, die Asyle der Freiheit zu sein.

In Italien ward die Association gelähmt durch die Reaktion im Gefolge der Metzelei von Mentana. Eine der nächsten Folgen waren polizeiliche 20 Beschränkungen des Vereins- u. Versammlungsrechts. Dennoch beweist unsre ausgedehnte Correspondenz daß die italienische Arbeiterklasse sich mehr u. mehr eine von allen alten Parteien unabhängige Individualität erringt.

In Preußen kann die I.A. A. nicht gesetzlich ||¶| bestehn, weil ein 25 Gesetz jeden Zusammenhang preußischer Arbeitervereine mit auswärtigen Gesellschaften untersagt. Zudem wiederholt die preußische Regierung auf kleinlichem Maßstab die bonapartistische Politik z. B. in ihren Quängeleien mit dem „Allgemeinen deutschen Arbeiterverein“. Stets auf dem Sprung sich in die Haare zu fallen, sind die Militairregierungen stets 30 einig, wenn es einen Kreuzzug gegen ihren gemeinschaftlichen Feind, die Arbeiterklasse, gilt.

Trotz aller gesetzlichen Hindernisse, jedoch haben sich seit lange kleine über ganz Deutschland zerstreute Zweige um unser Komité zu Genf gruppirt. 35

Auf seinem letzten Kongreß zu Hamburg beschloß der „Allgemeine deutsche Arbeiterverein“, der besonders in Norddeutschland verbreitet ist, im Einklang mit der LA. A. zu handeln, wenn auch gesetzlich außer Stand sich ihr officiell anzuschließen. Der bevorstehende Nürnberger Kongreß, Repräsentant von ungefähr 100 Arbeitervereinen, die nament- 40 lieh Mittel- u. Süd-Deutschland angehören, hat den direkten Anschluß

Vierter jährlicher Bericht des Generalrats der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation

an die I.A. A. auf seine Tagesordnung gesetzt. Auf den Wunsch seines leitenden Komités haben wir einen Delegirten nach Nürnberg geschickt.

In Ostreich gewinnt die Arbeiterbewegung einen mehr u. mehr ausgeprägten Charakter. Für Anfang September wurde von Wien aus ein 5 Congreß anberaumt zur Verbrüderung der Arbeiter der verschiedenen Völkerschaften des Kaiserreichs. Man veröffentlichte zugleich ein Einladungsschreiben an Engländer u. Franzosen, worin die Prinzipien der I.A. A. proklamirt sind. Euer Generalrath hatte bereits einen Delegirten für Wien ernannt, als das gegenwärtige *liberale* österreichische Kabinet, auf 10 dem Punkt der Feudalreaktion zu erliegen, so hellsichtig war auch um die Feindschaft der Arbeiter durch das Verbot ihres Kongresses zu werben.

In den Kämpfen der Bauarbeiter zu Genf handelte es sich gewissermassen um die Existenz der I.A. A. in der Schweiz. Die Bauherrn | ||[5]| machten nämlich den Austritt der Arbeiter aus der I.A. A. zur vor-15 läufigen Bedingung jeden Compromisses. Die Arbeiter wiesen diese Anmassung entschieden zurück. Dank der Hülfe die ihnen in der Schweiz selbst ward, als auch, vermittelst der I.A. A. von Frankreich, England, Deutschland und Belgien, haben sie schließlich eine Verkürzung des Arbeitstags u. eine Erhöhung des Arbeitslohns erobert. Bereits tief gewur-20 zeit im Schweizer Boden, griff die I.A. A. nun rasch um sich. Unter anderem beschlossen 50 deutsche Arbeiter Bildungsvereine, vielleicht die ältesten in Europa, vorigen Herbste auf ihrem Kongreß zu Neuenburg einstimmig den Anschluß an die I.A. A.

In England hat die politische Bewegung, die Auflösung der alten Partei u. die Vorbereitung für den kommenden Wahlkampf viele unsrer 25 besten Kräfte in Anspruch genommen und unsre Propaganda daher verlangsamt. Nichtsdestoweniger eröffneten wir eine lebhafte Correspondence mit den provinzialen Trades' Unions. Ein Theil derselben hat bereits 30 seinen Zutritt erklärt. Unter den neugewonnenen Verzweigungen in London behaupten die Trades' Unions der Lederarbeiter u. Cityschuhmacher, der Zahl ihrer Mitglieder nach, den ersten Rang.

Euer Generalrath unterhielt eine beständige Verbindung mit der „Nationalen Arbeiterunion der Vereinigten Staaten“. Auf ihrem letzten Congreß August 1867, hatte die amerikanische Union die Absendung 35 eines Vertreters zum dießjährigen Brüssler Congreß votirt, versäumte aus Zeitmangel jedoch die nöthigen Maßregeln zur Ausführung des Beschlusses zu treffen.

Die latente Macht der nordamerikanischen Arbeiterklasse leuchtet her-40 vor aus der gesetzlichen Einführung eines 8stündigen Arbeitstags in den öffentlichen Werkstätten der Federalregierung ||[6]| u. aus der Erlassung eines allgemeinen 8 Stunden Gesetzes in 8 bis 9 Einzelstaaten der Federa-

Karl Marx

tion. Dennoch untergeht die amerikanische Arbeiterklasse augenblicklich, in New York z.B., einen verzweifelten Kampf gegen das rebellische Kapital, welches die Ausführung des 8 Stunden Gesetzes mit allen großen ihm zu Gebot stehenden Mitteln zu vereiteln sucht. Diese Thatsache beweist, daß selbst unter den günstigsten politischen Verhältnissen jeder ernsthafte Erfolg der Arbeiterklasse von der Reife der Organisation abhängt, welche ihre Kräfte schult u. concentrirt. 5

Und selbst ihre nationale Organisation scheitert leicht an dem Mangel ihrer Organisation jenseits der Landesgrenzen, da alle Länder auf dem Weltmarkt konkurriren u. einander daher wechselseitig beeinflussen. Nur ein internationales Band der Arbeiterklasse kann ihren definitiven Sieg sichern. Es war dies Bedürfniß, welches die Internationale Arbeiterassocation schuf. Sie ist nicht die Treibhauspflanze einer Sekte oder einer Theorie. Sie ist ein naturwüchsiges Gebild der proletarischen Bewegung, die ihrerseits aus den normalen u. unwiderstehlichen Tendenzen der modernen Gesellschaft entspringt. Tief durchdrungen von der Größe ihres Berufs, läßt sich die I.A. A. weder einschüchtern, noch mißleiten. Ihr Geschick ist von nun an unzertrennbar verschlungen mit dem geschichtlichen Fortschritt der Klasse, die in ihrem Schoos die Wiedergeburt der Menschheit birgt. 15 20

London 1 September 1868.

Für den Generalrath
Robert Shaw Vorsitzender
J. George Eccarius General Secretär | 25

Friedrich Engels
Zur Auflösung des Lassalleanischen Arbeitervereins

Demokratisches Wochenblatt.
Nr. 40, 3. Oktober 1868

Zur Auflösung des Lassalleanischen Arbeitervereins.

„Die Regierung weiß, und die Bourgeoisie weiß auch, daß die ganze jetzige deutsche Arbeiterbewegung nur *geduldet* ist, nur so lange lebt, wie es der Regierung *beliebt*. Solange der Regierung damit gedient ist, daß diese Bewegung besteht, daß der bürgerlichen Opposition neue, unabhängige Gegner erwachsen, solange wird sie diese Bewegung dulden. Von dem Augenblick an, wo diese Bewegung die Arbeiter zu einer selbständigen Macht entwickelt, wo sie dadurch der Regierung gefährlich wird, hört die Sache sofort auf. Die Art und Weise, wie den Fortschrittler die Agitation in Presse, Vereinen und Versammlungen gelegt worden ist, möge den Arbeitern zur Warnung dienen. Dieselben Gesetze, Verordnungen und Maßregeln, welche da in Anwendung gebracht worden sind, können jeden Tag gegen *sie* angewendet werden und ihrer Agitation den Garaus machen; *sie werden es, sobald diese Agitation gefährlich wird.* Es ist von der höchsten Wichtigkeit, daß die Arbeiter in diesem Punkte klar sehen, daß sie nicht derselben Täuschung verfallen, wie die Bourgeoisie unter der Neuen Aera, wo sie ebenfalls *nur geduldet* war, aber bereits im Sattel zu sein glaubte. Und wenn Jemand sich einbilden sollte, die jetzige Regierung würde die Presse, das Vereins- und Versammlungsrecht von den jetzigen Fesseln befreien, so gehört er eben zu den Leuten, mit denen nicht mehr zu sprechen ist. Und ohne Preßfreiheit, Vereins- und Versammlungsrecht ist keine Arbeiterbewegung möglich.“

Diese Worte stehen auf S. 50 und 51 einer Broschüre: „Die preußische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei, von Friedrich Engels. Hamburg 1865.“ Damals wurde der Versuch gemacht, den Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeiterverein - seiner Zeit die einzige organisierte Vereinigung social-demokratischer Arbeiter in Deutschland - unter die Fittiche

Friedrich Engels

des Ministeriums Bismarck zu bringen, indem man den Arbeitern Aussicht machte, die Regierung werde das allgemeine Stimmrecht bewilligen. Das „allgemeine, gleiche, direkte, Wahlrecht“ war ja von Lassalle als das einzige und unfehlbare Mittel zur Eroberung der politischen Macht durch die Arbeiterklasse gepredigt worden; was Wunder, daß da auf so untergeordnete Dinge wie Preßfreiheit, Vereins- und Versammlungsrecht, für die ja auch die Bourgeoisie einstand oder wenigstens einzustehen behauptete, herabgesehen wurde? Wenn sich die Bourgeoisie dafür interessirte, war das nicht gerade ein Grund für die Arbeiter, sich von der Agitation für solche Dinge fernzuhalten? Gegen diese Auffassung wandte sich das genannte Schriftchen. Die Leiter des Allgem. Deutschen Arbeiter-Vereins wußten das besser und der Verfasser hatte nur die Satisfaktion, daß die Lassalleianer seiner Vaterstadt Barmen ihn und seine Freunde in Acht und Bann erklärten.

Und wie stehen die Sachen heute? Das „allgemeine, direkte, gleiche Wahlrecht“ existirt seit zwei Jahren. Zwei Reichstage sind bereits durchgewählt. Die Arbeiter, statt am Staatsruder zu sitzen und „Staatshilfe“ nach Lassalles Vorschrift zu decretiren, bringen mit Ach und Krach ein halbes Dutzend Abgeordnete in den Reichstag. Bismarck ist Bundeskanzler und *der Allgem. Deutsche Arbeiterverein ist aufgelöst.*

Warum aber das allgemeine Wahlrecht den Arbeitern nicht das versprochene tausendjährige Reich gebracht hat, darüber konnten sie sich auch bereits bei Engels Raths erholen. Es heißt in obiger Broschüre S. 48:

„Und was selbst das allgemeine, direkte Wahlrecht angeht, so braucht man nur nach Frankreich zu gehen, um sich zu überzeugen, welche zahlreiche stupide Landbevölkerung, eine wohlorganisierte Bureaucratie, eine gut gemaßregelte Presse, durch Polizei hinreichend niedergehaltene Vereine und gar keine politischen Versammlungen hat. Wie viel Vertreter der Arbeiter bringt denn das allgemeine Stimmrecht in die französische Kammer? Und doch hat das französische Proletariat vor dem deutschen eine viel größere Konzentration und eine längere Erfahrung im Kampf und in der Organisation voraus.“

Dies bringt uns noch auf einen andern Punkt. In Deutschland ist die Landbevölkerung doppelt so stark, wie die Städtebevölkerung, d.h. es leben $\frac{2}{3}$ vom Ackerbau, $\frac{1}{3}$ von der Industrie. Und da der große Grundbesitz in Deutschland die Regel, der kleine Parzellenbauer die Ausnahme ist, so heißt das mit andern Worten: wenn $\frac{1}{3}$ der Arbeiter unter dem Kommando der Kapitalisten steht, so stehen $\frac{2}{3}$ unter dem Kommando der Feudalherren. Die Leute, welche in Einem fort über die Kapitalisten herhauen, aber gegen die Feudalen kein Wörtchen des

Zur Auflösung des Lassalleianischen Arbeitervereins

Zorns haben, mögen sich das zu Gemüthe führen. Die Feudalen beuten in Deutschland doppelt so viel Arbeiter aus wie die Bourgeois. Das ist aber noch lange nicht Alles. Die patriarchalische Wirthschaft auf den alten Feudalgütern bringt eine angestammte Abhängigkeit des ländlichen

5 Tagelöhners oder Häuslers von seinem gnädigen Herrn zu Wege, die dem Ackerbauproletarier den Eintritt in die Bewegung der städtischen Arbeiter sehr erschwert. Die Pfaffen, die systematische Verdummung auf dem Lande, der schlechte Schulunterricht, die Abgeschlossenheit der Leute von aller Welt, thun den Rest. Das Ackerbauproletariat ist derjenige

10 Theil der Arbeiterklasse, dem seine eignen Interessen, seine eigne gesellschaftliche Stellung am schwersten und am letzten klar werden, mit andern Worten, derjenige Theil, der am längsten ein bewußtloses Werkzeug in der Hand der ihn ausbeutenden, bevorzugten Klasse bleibt. Und welche Klasse ist dies? In Deutschland nicht die Bourgeoisie, sondern

15 der Feudaladel. Nun hat selbst in Frankreich, wo doch fast nur freie grundbesitzende Bauern existieren, wo der Feudaladel aller politischen Macht längst beraubt ist, das allgemeine Stimmrecht die Arbeiter nicht in die Kammer gebracht, sondern sie fast ganz davon ausgeschlossen. Was würde das Resultat des allgemeinen Stimmrechts in Deutschland sein, wo

20 der Feudaladel noch eine wirkliche soziale und politische Macht ist und wo *zwei* ländliche Tagelöhner auf *einen* industriellen Arbeiter kommen? Die Bekämpfung der feudalen und bürokratischen Reaktion - denn beide sind bei uns jetzt unzertrennbar - ist in Deutschland gleichbedeutend mit dem Kampf für geistige und politische Emancipation des Land-

25 proletariats - und so lange das Landproletariat nicht in die Bewegung mit hineingerissen wird, so lange kann und wird das städtische Proletariat in Deutschland nicht das Geringste ausrichten, so lange ist das allgemeine Wahlrecht für das Proletariat nicht eine Waffe sondern ein *Fallstrick*.

30 Vielleicht wird diese sehr offenherzige, aber nöthige Auseinandersetzung die Feudalen ermuthigen, für das allgemeine direkte Wahlrecht aufzutreten. Um so besser."

Der Allgemeine deutsche Arbeiterverein ist aufgelöst worden nicht nur unter der Herrschaft des allgemeinen Stimmrechts, sondern auch gerade

35 weil das allgemeine Stimmrecht herrscht. Engels hatte ihm vorhergesagt, er werde unterdrückt werden, sobald er *gefährlich* werde. In seiner letzten Generalversammlung hatte der Verein beschlossen: 1) für die Eroberung voller politischer Freiheit einzutreten und 2) mit der internationalen Arbeiterassoziation zusammen zu wirken. Diese beiden Beschlüsse

40 fassen einen vollständigen Bruch mit der ganzen Vergangenheit des Vereins in sich. Mit ihnen trat der Verein aus seiner bisherigen Sektenstellung

Friedrich Engels

heraus auf das breite Gebiet der großen Arbeiterbewegung. Aber höheren Orts scheint man sich eingebildet zu haben, dies sei gewissermaßen gegen die Absprache. Zu andern Zeiten hätte das soviel nicht verschlagen; aber seit der Einführung des allgemeinen Stimmrechts, wo man sein ländliches und kleinstädtisches Proletariat vor solchen Umsturzbestrebungen sorgsam zu hüten hat! Das allgemeine Stimmrecht war der letzte Nagel am Sarge des allgem. deutschen Arbeiter-Vereins. 5

Es gereicht dem Verein zur Ehre, daß er gerade an diesem Bruch mit dem bornirten Lassalleanismus zu Grunde gegangen ist. Was auch an seine Stelle treten möge, wird demzufolge auf einer weit allgemeineren 10 prinzipiellen Grundlage erbaut sein, als die paar ewig wiederholten Lassalleschen Redensarten von Staatshülfe bieten konnten. Von dem Augenblicke, wo die Mitglieder des aufgelösten Vereines anfangen zu denken, statt zu glauben, schwand das letzte Hinderniß, das einer Verschmelzung aller deutschen sozialdemokratischen Arbeiter zu einer großen Partei im 15 Wege stand.

Friedrich Engels
Zur Auflösung des Lassalle'schen Arbeitervereins.
Nachtrag

Demokratisches Wochenblatt.
Nr. 41, 10. Oktober 1868

Zur Auflösung des Lassalle'schen Arbeitervereins.

Dem unter obiger Ueberschrift erschienenen Aufsatz (in der vorigen Nummer) ist am Schluß des Citats aus der Engels'schen Broschüre über 5 das allgemeine Stimmrecht folgende Note beizufügen:

Der von Lassalle dem Verein vererbte „Präsident der Menschheit“, Bernhard Becker, überhäufte damals „die Partei Marx“, d.h. Marx, Engels und Liebknecht, mit den infamsten Beschimpfungen.*¹ Jetzt, in seiner Schmutzschrift „Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand 10 Lassalle's“, welche seine eigene Jammerseele bloßlegt und nur durch die darin abgedruckten unterschlagenen Dokumente Interesse hat, verballdarbt derselbe Becker den Engels wie folgt:

„Allein, warum wird nicht für *unbedingte Vereins-, Versammlungs- und Pressefreiheit agitirt?* Warum suchen sich die Arbeiter nicht der ihnen in 15 der Reaktionszeit angelegten Fesseln zu entledigen? (S. 133.) ... Nur durch Weiterentwicklung der demokratischen Basis kann der Lassalleismus aufgefrischt und in lauterem Sozialismus hinübergeleitet werden. Hierzu ist unter Anderm nöthig, daß die Interessen der *Junker* oder vermöglichen Gutsbesitzer *nicht mehr geschont*, sondern daß die sozialistischen 20 Theorie durch *Anwendung an die große Masse der Landarbeiter*, die in Preußen die Bevölkerung der Städte bei weitem überragt, ergänzt und vervollständigt werde.“ (S. 134.)

Man sieht, der Verfasser jener Broschüre (F. Engels) kann mit der Wirkung auf seine Gegner zufrieden sein.

25 *-> Das saubere Geschäft wird jetzt von der Gräfin Hatzfeld, der „Mutter“ der Försterling-Mende'schen Karrikatur des Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitervereins, fortgesetzt.

Karl Marx
Die Verbindungen der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation
mit den englischen Arbeiterorganisationen

Demokratisches Wochenblatt.
Nr. 42, 17. Oktober 1868

Der außergewöhnliche Ernst, womit die englische und speziell die Londoner Presse die *Internationale Arbeiterassoziation* und ihren *Brüsseler Congreß* behandelt - (die „Times“ allein hat darüber 4 Leitartikel gebracht) - rief einen wahren Veitstanz in der deutschen Bourgeois presse hervor. Sie, die deutsche Presse, belehrt die englische Presse über deren 5 Irrthum, an die Bedeutung der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation in England zu glauben! Sie entdeckt, daß die englischen Trades' Unions, welche vermittelst der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation den Pariser, Genfer und belgischen Arbeitern bedeutende Geldunterstützungen im Kampf gegen das Kapital zuschickten, ganz und gar *nicht* in Verbindung 10 stehn mit derselben Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation!

„Angeblich stützt sich all das“, schreibt man uns aus London, „auf die Versicherung eines gewissen M. Hirsch,*¹ den Schulze-Delitzsch eigens zum Behuf solchen Skandals nach England schickte. M. Hirsch sagt's und M. Hirsch ist ein ehrenwerther Mann! Ehrenhirsch flößte den Unionisten (Mitgliedern der Trades' Unions, Gewerksgenossenschaften) in London Verdacht ein, weil [er] *kein* Einführungsschreiben von Seiten der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation besaß. Er wurde einfach *gefoppt*. Kein Wunder daher, daß der Hirsch Böcke schießt! Hätte man ihn auch nur ernsthaft genommen, so konnte man ihm ohne besondere Vertrau- 20 ensgeneigtheit mittheilen, was alle Welt in London weiß, nämlich, daß der allgemeine Rath der Trades' Unions, der zu London residirt, aus 6 bis 7 Personen besteht, wovon drei, *Odger* (Sekretär des allgemeinen Raths und Delegirter der Schuhmacher), *R. Applegarth* (Delegirter der vereinig-

*¹ Dr. Max Hirsch, der „berühmte“ Nationalökonom der Duncker'schen „Volkszeitung“ ist 25 damit gemeint. In London scheint man vor seiner Entdeckungsreise in die ihm unbekannten Regionen Englands keine Ahnung von der Existenz dieses neuesten Gesellschaftsretters gehabt zu haben.

Die Verbindungen der Internationale mit den englischen Arbeiterorganisationen

ten Zimmerleute und Tischler) und *Howell* (Delegirter der Maurer und Sekretär der Reformligue) zugleich Mitglieder des Generalraths der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation sind. Er hätte ferner erfahren, daß die übrigen affiliirten Trades' Unions (in London allein ungefähr 50, abgesehen von den provinzialen Trades' Unions) durch weitere fünf Mitglieder, nämlich durch *R. Shaw, Buckley, Cohn, Haies* und *Maurice*, im Generalrath der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation vertreten sind, außerdem aber jede Union das Recht und die Gewohnheit hat, für besondere Angelegenheiten Delegirte an den Generalrath zu schicken. Es sind ferner, von englischer Seite, im Generalrath der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation vertreten:

Kooperativgesellschaften, welche 3 Delegirte zum Brüsseler Congreß schickten, durch *Wim. Weston* und *Williams*;

die *Reformligue* durch *Dell, Cowell Stepney* und *Lucraft*, alle drei auch Mitglieder der Exekutivkommission der Reformligue;

die *National-Reform-Association*, eine Stiftung des verstorbenen Agitators Bronterre O'Brien, durch ihren Präsidenten *A. A. Walton* und *Milner*;

endlich die *atheistische* Volksagitation durch ihre berühmte Rednerin *Mrs. Harriet Law* und Herrn *Copeland*.

Man sieht, es existirt keine, irgendwie bedeutende Bewegungspartei des britischen Proletariats, die nicht direkt, durch ihre eigenen Führer, im Schooße des Generalraths der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation vertreten wäre. Endlich ist der „Beehive“, unter *George Potter's* Leitung, das offizielle Organ der englischen Trades' Unions, zugleich das offizielle Organ des Generalraths der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation, über dessen Sitzungen er wöchentlich Bericht abstattet.

Die Entdeckungen von Ehrenhirsch und die darauf folgenden Jubelauslassungen der deutschen Bourgeoisepresse lieferten ihrerseits erwünschtes Futter für den Londoner Correspondenten der „Weser-Zeitung“ und den Londoner A Correspondenten der „Augsburgerin“. Diese Person - das doppelte Geschäft wird nämlich von einer und derselben Person verrichtet - haust, aus ihr selbst am besten bekannten Gründen, mehrere Stunden von London entfernt, in einem abgelegenen Winkel. Hier macht sie ihre verschämten Auszüge aus „Times“, „Morning Star“ und „Saturday Review“ mit einer ästhetischen Fischsauce für den Geschmack ihres Publikums zurecht. Von Zeit zu Zeit, wie im vorliegenden Fall, kaut sie auch den Kohl der deutschen Zeitungen unter dem falschen Datum in der „Weser-Zeitung“ und „Augsburgerin“ wieder. Besagter Correspondent der „Weser-Zeitung“ und „Augsburgerin“ ist Niemand anders als der berüchtigte literarische Lumpenproletarier - *Elard Bis-*

Karl Marx

kamp. Seit lange von jedem anständigen Umgang ausgeschlossen, sucht der Unglückliche in gebranntem Wasser Stillung der Herzwunden, die Preußen ihm schlug durch die Annexion seines Vaterlandes Kurhessen und seines Freundes *Edgar Bauer.*"

Karl Marx
How Mr. Gladstone's Bank Letter of 1866
procured a loan of six millions for Russia

The Diplomatic Review.
Nr. 12, 2. Dezember 1868

How Mr. Gladstone's Bank Letter of 1866 procured a loan of six millions for Russia.

By Dr. Karl Marx.*'

Mr. Gladstone's letter of the 11th of May, 1866, suspended the Bank Charter Act of 1844 on the following conditions:—

- 5 1. That the minimum rate of discount should be raised to 10 per cent.
2. That if the Bank overstepped the legal limitation of its note issue, the profits of such overissue should be transferred from the Bank to the Government.
- 10 3. Consequently the Bank raised its minimum rate of discount to 10 per cent, (which means 15 to 20 per cent, for the common run of merchants and manufacturers), and *did not* infringe the *letter* of the Act in regard to the *note issue*. They collected, in the evening, notes from their banking friends and other connexions in the City to reissue them in the morning.
- 15 4. They infringed, however, the spirit of the Act by allowing, under the Government letter, their *Reserve* to dwindle down to zero, and *that Reserve*, according to the contrivances of the Act of 1844, forms the only available assets of the Bank as against the liabilities of its banking department.
- 20 5. Mr. Gladstone's letter, therefore, suspended Peel's Act in such a way as to perpetuate and even artificially exaggerate its worst effects. Neither Sir G.C. Lewis's letter of 1857 nor Lord John Russell's letter of 1847 lay open to the same censure.

*' Author of "Revelations of the 18th Century", published in the third volume of the *Diplomatic Review* (Free Press), and of *Das Kapital. Kritik der Politischen Oeconomie*. Erster Band. Hamburg, 1867.

Karl Marx

The Bank maintained the 10 per cent, minimum rate of discount for more than 3 months. This rate was regarded by Europe as a danger signal.

The most morbid sense of distrust in English solvency having thus been created by Mr. Gladstone, out comes Lord Clarendon, the man of the Paris Conference, with an explanatory letter, published in the *Times*, to the English Embassies on the Continent. He told the Continent, in so many words, that the *Bank of England* was *not bankrupt* (although it was *really so*, according to the Act of 1844), but that, to a certain degree, *English* industry and commerce were so. The immediate effect of his 10 letter was not a "run" of the Cockneys upon the Bank, but a "run" (for money) *of Europe upon England*. (That expression was used at the time by Mr. Watkin in the House of Commons.) Such a thing was quite unheard of in the annals of English commercial history. Gold was shipped from London to France, while, simultaneously, the official minimum rate of 15 discount was 10 per cent, in London, and 3/4 to 3 per cent, at Paris. This proves that the withdrawal of gold was no regular commercial transaction. It was solely the effect of Lord Clarendon's letter.

The 10 per cent, minimum rate of discount having thus been kept up for more than three months, there followed the inevitable reaction. From 20 10 per cent, the minimum rate receded by quick steps to 2 per cent., which, a few days ago, was still the official Bank rate. Meanwhile, all *English* securities, railway shares, bank shares, mining shares, every sort of home investment, had become utterly depreciated, and was anxiously shunned. Even the Consols declined. (On one day, during the Panic, the 25 Bank *declined* making advances upon Consols.) Then the hour had struck for *Foreign Investments*. Foreign Government Loans were contracted, under the most facile conditions, on the London market. At their head stood a *Russian Loan for 6 millions sterling*. This Russian Loan, which, a few months ago, had miserably broken down at the Paris 30 Bourse, was now hailed as a godsend on the London Stock Exchange. Last week only Russia has come out with a new loan for 4 millions sterling. Russia was in 1866, as she is now (November 9, 1868), almost breaking down under financial difficulties, which, consequent on the agricultural revolution she is undergoing, have assumed a most formidable 35 aspect.

This, however, is the least thing Peel's Act does for Russia—to keep the English money-market open to her. That Act puts England, the richest country in the world, *literally at the mercy of the Muscovite Government*, the most bankrupt Government in Europe.

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How Mr. Gladstone's Bank Letter of 1866 procured a loan of six millions for Russia

Suppose the Russian Government had had lodged, in the name of a private firm, German or Greek, from one to one and a half millions sterling at the beginning of May, 1866, in the banking department of the Bank of England. By the sudden and unexpected withdrawal of that sum,
5 she might have forced the banking department to stop payment at once, although there were more than thirteen millions sterling of gold in the issue department. The bankruptcy of the Bank of England might, then, have been enforced by a telegram from St. Petersburg.

What Russia was not prepared for in 1866, she may make ready to do
10 —if Peel's Act be not repealed—in 1876.

(Since the above was put in type, Russia has suddenly withdrawn one million in gold from the Bank. The effect is described thus by the *Daily News*:—

"The withdrawal of a million sterling in gold from the Bank in a single
15 day is precisely one of those unprecedented events that strike most forcibly on the public mind. We are accustomed to a moderate drain; to see sums taken for export at the rate of 20,000/. to 100,000/. at a time, so that more than a million may easily leave us in this manner in a week. But it has not the sensational effect of a million going out of the Bank in
20 one huge amount, and without the least warning that any such grand operation was contemplated. Hence the first consequence of the affair was *a depreciation in the Public Funds alone of some three to four millions, and in other securities, home, colonial, and foreign, of at least as much more.*")

Karl Marx
Preliminary remark to the
resolutions of the first congress assembled at
Geneva, September, 1866

As some of the resolutions passed at the first Congress may be considered as part of the platform of principles of the International Working Men's Association, and the reports of that congress have had but a limited circulation, the General Council deems it advisable to republish them with the issue of the resolutions passed at the last Congress.

Karl Marx
« L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs » et
« L'Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste ».
Circulaire du Conseil Général, 22 décembre 1868

|[i]| Association Internationale des Travailleurs
Conseil Général
L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs et
TAlliance de la Démocratie socialiste

5 Il y a un mois à peu près qu'un certain nombre de citoyens s'est constitué à Genève comme *Comité Central initiateur* d'une nouvelle Société Internationale dite *L'Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste*, se donnant pour mission spéciale d'étudier les questions politiques et philosophiques sur la base même de ce grand principe de l'égalité etc.

10 Le programme et le règlement imprimés de ce comité initiateur n'ont été communiqués au *Conseil Général* de *l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* que dans sa séance du 15^e Décembre. D'après ces documents la dite *Alliance Internationale est fondue entièrement dans l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* en même temps qu'elle est fondée en
15 *dehors de cette Association*.

A côté du *Conseil Général de l'Association Internationale* élu par les congrès de Genève, de Lausanne et de Bruxelles, il y aura, d'après le règlement initiateur, un autre *Conseil Central* à Genève, qui s'est nommé lui-même. ||2| A côté des groupes locaux de *l'Association Internationale des travailleurs*, il y aura les groupes locaux de *l'Alliance de la démocratie socialiste* qui par l'intermédiaire de leurs Bureaux nationaux, fonctionnant en dehors des bureaux nationaux de *l'Association Internationale*, demanderont au *bureau central de l'Alliance* leur admission dans *l'Association Internationale*, le *comité central de l'Alliance* s'arrogant le droit
25 d'admission dans *l'Association Internationale*.

En dernier lieu le *congrès général de l'Association Internationale des travailleurs* trouvera encore sa doublure dans le *congrès général de l'A1-*

liance Internationale, car dit le règlement initiateur: « Au congrès annuel des travailleurs la délégation de l'Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie socialiste, comme branche de l'Association Internationale des travailleurs, tiendra ses séances publiques dans un local séparé. »

Considérant,

5

que la présence d'un deuxième corps international, fonctionnant en dedans et en dehors de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, serait le moyen le plus infaillible de la désorganiser ;

que tout autre groupe d'individus résidant dans une localité quelconque aurait le droit d'imiter le groupe initiateur de Genève et sous des prétextes plus ou moins plausibles, d'enter sur l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs d'autres associations internationales avec d'autres missions spéciales;

que de cette manière l'Association Internationale des travailleurs deviendrait ||3|| bientôt le jouet des intrigants de toute nationalité et de tout parti ;

que d'ailleurs les statuts de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs n'admettent dans son cadre que des branches nationales (voir l'art. 1 et l'art. 6 des statuts) ;

que défense est faite aux sections de l'Association Internationale de se donner des statuts ou des règlements administratifs contraires aux statuts généraux et aux règlements administratifs de l'Association Internationale (voir l'art. 12 des règlements administratifs) ;

que les statuts et les règlements administratifs de l'Association internationale des travailleurs ne peuvent être révisés que par un congrès général où deux tiers des délégués présents voterait en faveur d'une telle révision (voir l'art. 13 des règlements administratifs.) ;

que la question a déjà été préjugée, par les résolutions contre la ligue de la paix, adoptées unanimement au congrès général de Bruxelles ;

que dans ces résolutions le Congrès a déclaré que la ligue de la paix n'avait aucune raison d'être, puisque d'après ses récentes déclarations, son but et ses principes étaient identiques avec ceux de l'Association Internationale des travailleurs ;

que plusieurs membres du groupe initiateur de Genève dans leur qualité de délégués au congrès de Bruxelles ont voté pour ces résolutions ;

Le Conseil Général de l'Association Internationale des travailleurs dans sa ||4| séance du 22^{me} Décembre 1868 a unanimement résolu :

1. Tous les articles du règlement de l'Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste statuant sur ses relations avec l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, sont déclarés nuls et de nul effet,

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[]

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"l'Association Internationale "les travailleurs" et
"l'Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Sociale".

Il y a un mois à peu près qu'un certain nombre de citoyens s'est constitue à Genève comme Conseil Central des travailleurs. Une nouvelle Société Internationale, c'est "Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Sociale", se donnant pour mission spéciale d'élucider les questions politiques et philosophiques relatives à ce que le principe de l'égalité est. Le programme et règlement exprimés par ce conseil des travailleurs ont été communiqués au Conseil Général de l'Association Internationale des travailleurs, qui dans sa séance du 15 novembre. Après ces documents, la date "Alliance Internationale" est fixée entièrement pour l'Association Internationale des travailleurs, en même temps qu'elle est fondée entièrement de hors de cette Association.

À côté du Conseil Général de l'Association Internationale, élu par les congrès de Genève, de Lausanne, et de Bruxelles, il y aura, après le règlement initial, un autre Conseil Central à Genève, nommé ~~qui sera~~ ^{qui sera} lui-même. À côté des groupes locaux de l'Association Internationale, il y aura des groupes locaux de l'Alliance Internationale, par l'intermédiaire de leurs Bureaux nationaux, fonctionnant en dehors des bureaux nationaux de

Karl Marx: « L'Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste ». Circulaire du Conseil Général vom 22. Dezember 1868.
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L'Association Internationale ...» et « L'Alliance Internationale ... ». Circulaire

2. *L'Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie socialiste n'est pas admise comme branche de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs.*

Par ordre du Conseil général de l'association internationale des travailleurs.

- 5 George Odger. Président de la séance
R. Shaw secrétaire correspondant pour l'Amérique
E. Dupont la France
K. Marx l'Allemagne
J. Johannard l'Italie
10 Zabicki la Pologne
P. Lafargue l'Espagne
Bernard la Belgique
H. Jung la Suisse
J.G. Eccarius, secrétaire du conseil Général
15 Londres, le 28 Décembre 1868.

Karl Marx
Deutsche Übersetzung des Berichts von
Friedrich Engels über die Knappschaftsvereine
der Bergarbeiter in den Kohlengruben Sachsen

Social-Demokrat.
Nr. 33, 17. März 1869

Bericht über die Knappschaftsvereine der
Bergarbeiter in den Kohlenwerken
Sachsens.*)

Die erste beste *Lohnordnung*, z.B. die der Niederwürschnitzer Compagnie, zeigt uns die allgemeine Lage der Bergarbeiter in den Kohlenwerken 5 des Erzgebirges. Der Wochenlohn beträgt für erwachsene Bergarbeiter 2 Thlr. bis 3 Thlr. 12 Sgr. 6 Pf., für Jungen 1 Thlr. 10 Sgr. bis 1 Thlr. 20 Sgr. Der Wochenlohn des Durchschnitts-Bergarbeiters beträgt ungefähr 2 Thlr. 20 Sgr. Auf Verlangen müssen sich die Arbeiter zu Stücklohn verdingen. Daß der Stücklohn den gewöhnlichen Taglohn kaum übersteigen kann, dafür sorgt die *Lohnordnung*. Jeder Arbeiter muß nämlich seine Kündigungsfrist monatlich geben, und zwar am ersten Tag jeden Monats. Weigert er sich also unter den angebotenen Bedingungen auf Stücklohn zu arbeiten, so wird er dazu gezwungen, wenigstens für 4 bis 8 Wochen. Es ist einfach lächerlich, unter solchen Umständen von Regelung des Stücklohns durch wechselseitige Uebereinkunft zu schwatzen, 15 von freiem Contrakt zwischen Arbeiter und Capitalist!

Die Löhne werden in zwei Stücken gezahlt, am 22. des Monats eine Abschlagssumme, am 8. des folgenden Monats der Lohnrest des verflossenen Monats. Der Capitalist behält also seinen Arbeitern den *geschuldeten* Lohn im Durchschnitt für drei volle Wochen vor, - eine herrschaftliche Zwangsanleihe, um so wohlthuender als Geld damit gemacht, aber kein Zins dafür gezahlt wird. - Die Ablösungen der Leute sind in der Regel zwölftündig und die oben angegebenen Wochenlöhne gelten für 6

*¹ Der Generalrath der Internationalen Arbeiterassocation hat beschlossen, daß der nachfolgende Bericht von Karl Marx, Sekretär des Generalraths für Deutschland, sowohl im englischen Original als in deutscher Uebersetzung veröffentlicht werde.

Übersetzung des Berichts von Friedrich Engels über die Knappschaftsvereine

zwölfstündige Tage. Der zwölfstündige Arbeitstag enthält zwei Stunden (zwei halbe Stunden und eine ganze Stunde) für Mahlzeiten, oder so genannte Aufsetzzeit. Bei dringender Arbeit sind die Ablösungen achtstündig (d.h. 3 Ablösungen in 48 Stunden per Mann) mit *einer halben 5 Stunde Mahlzeit*, - und sogar sechsständig. In letzterm Fall wird *gar keine Aufsetzzeit gestattet*.

Das Vorstehende liefert bereits ein trübes Bild von der Lage dieser Bergarbeiter. Zum Verständniß ihrer leibeigenchaftlichen Zustände bedarf es jedoch einer Durchmusterung der Statuten der Knappschaftsvereine. Nehmen wir diese Statuten für die Kohlenwerke I. des hohen und mächtigen *Prinzen Schönburg*, II. der *Niederwürschnitzer Compagnie*, III. der *Niederwürschnitz-Kirchberger Compagnie* und IV. der *Vereinigten Lugauer Compagnien*.

Die Einnahmen der Knappschaftsvereine bestehen 1) aus den Eintrittsgeldern und Beiträgen der Arbeiter, Strafgeldern, nicht reklamirten Löhnen u.s. w. und 2) aus den Beiträgen der Capitalisten. Die Arbeiter zahlen 3 oder 4 pCt. von ihren Löhnen, die Meister zahlen in I. 7 Gr. 5 Pf. monatlich für jeden Beitrag zahlenden Bergarbeiter, in II. 1 Pfennig von jedem Scheffel verkaufter Kohle, in III. als erste Einlage und zur Begründung der Knappschaftskasse 500 Thlr., im übrigen dieselben Beiträge wie die Arbeiter, endlich in IV. wie sub. IL, aber mit einem Begründungseinschuß von 100 Thlr. für jede der vereinigten Compagnien.

Ueberheimelt uns hier nicht ein Stück freundlicher Harmonie zwischen Capital und Arbeit? Wer wagt da noch, von einem Gegensatz ihrer Interessen zu faseln? Aber, wie der große deutsche Denker Hansemann gesagt hat, in Geldsachen hört die Gemüthlichkeit auf. Es fragt sich also: Was kostet dem Arbeiter die Großmuth der „hohen Werkseigenthümer“? Sehen wir zu.

Die Capitalisten tragen in einem Fall (III.) so viel bei wie die Arbeiter, 30 in allen andern beträchtlich weniger. Dafür verlangen sie folgende Rechte. *Was das Eigenthum an der Knappschaftskasse* betrifft:

I. „An der Knappschaftskasse steht den Knappschaftsmitgliedern *ein Eigentumsrecht nicht zu*; auch können dieselben ein Mehreres als die Gewährungen, worauf sie eintretenden Falls Statuten gemäß Anspruch 35 erlangen, aus der Kasse nicht begehrn, insonderheit *nicht auf Theilung derselben und der Bestände antragen*, selbst dann nicht, im Fall der Betrieb des einen oder andern Werkes aufhören sollte. Sollte der Betrieb Fürstlich-Schönburgscher Steinkohlenwerke in Oelsnitz ganz aufhören, so - nach Abfindung vorhandener Ansprüche - „steht wegen des Uebri- 40 gen dem fürstlichen Werkbesitzer die Verfügung zu.“

Karl Marx

II. Sollte der Fall eintreten, daß der Niederwürschnitzer Steinkohlenbau-Verein sich auflöste, so muß auch der Knappschaftskassenverband gleichzeitig mit zur Auflösung gebracht werden. Ueber den dann noch verbleibenden Bestand steht dem Direktorium die Verfügung zu. Die Mitglieder der Knappschaft haben kein Eigenthum an der Knappschaftskasse. 5
- p. III. wie sub II.

IV. „Die Knappschaftskasse wird als ein unveräußerliches Eigenthum der jetzt lebenden und künftig noch eintretenden Mitglieder des Vereins betrachtet. ... Nur wenn der unerwartete Fall eintreten sollte, daß die Auflösung sämmtlicher betheiligter Steinkohlenbau-Vereine vor sich gin- 10
ge und daher auch der Knappschaftsverband seiner Auflösung entgegenzuführen wäre“ - nun, in diesem unerwarteten Fall erwartet man, daß die Arbeiter den etwa vorhandenen Ueberschuß unter sich theilen werden. Beileibe nicht! In diesem Fall „haben die Direktoren der zuletzt sich auflösenden Vereine der königl. Kreisdirektion Vorschläge einzureichen. 15
Die letztgenannte Behörde aber hat über jene Verwendung zu entscheiden.“

In anderen Worten: Die Arbeiter zahlen den größten Theil der Beiträge zur Knappschaftskasse, aber die Capitalisten maßen sich das Eigenthum dieser Kasse an. Die Capitalisten scheinen ihren Arbeitern ein Geschenk 20
zu machen. In der That werden die Arbeiter zu einem Geschenk an ihre Capitalisten gezwungen. Diesen fällt mit dem Eigenthumsrecht von selbst auch die Controlle über die Kasse zu.

Vorsteher des Kassenvorstands ist der Geschäftsführer des Kohlenwerks. Er hat die Hauptverwaltung der Kasse, entscheidet in allen zweifeilichten Fällen, bestimmt die Höhe der Geldstrafen u. s. w. Ihm auf dem Fuß folgt der Knappschaftsschreiber, der zugleich der Kassirer ist. Er wird entweder vom Capitalisten ernannt oder bedarf dessen Bestätigung, wenn er von den Arbeitern erwählt wird. Dann kommen die gewöhnlichen Mitglieder des Vorstands. Sie werden im Allgemeinen von den Arbeitern gewählt, aber in einem Fall (III.) ernennt der Capitalist drei dieser Vorstandsmitglieder. Was es überhaupt mit dem Vorstand auf sich hat, zeigt die Bestimmung, daß „er mindestens einmal im Jahr eine Sitzung halten“ soll. Thatsächlich gebietet der Vorsteher. Die Vorstandsmitglieder dienen ihm als Handlanger. 30
35

Dieser Herr Vorsteher, d.h. der Geschäftsführer des Werks, ist auch sonst ein mächtiger Herr. Er kann die Prüfungszeit neuer Mitglieder abkürzen, Extraunterstützungen verleihen, sogar Arbeiter (III.), deren Ruf ihm anstößig dünkt, verjagen, stets aber an den Kapitalherren appellieren, dessen Entscheidung in allen Anliegenheiten der Knappschaft schlußgültig 40
ist. So können Prinz Schönburg und die Direktoren der Aktiengesell-

Übersetzung des Berichts von Friedrich Engels über die Knappschaftsvereine

Schäften die Vereinsstatuten ändern, die Arbeiterbeiträge erhöhen, Krankenunterstützungen und Pensionen schmälern, Ansprüche auf die Kasse mit neuen Hindernissen und Formalitäten umgeben, kurz *alles, was ihnen beliebt, mit dem Geld der Arbeiter thun*, unter dem einzigen Vorbehalt der 5 Bestätigung von Regierungsbehörden, welche bisher niemals gezeigt haben, daß sie die Lage und Bedürfnisse der Arbeiter auch nur kennenzulernen wollen. In den Kohlenwerken III. behalten sich die Direktoren sogar vor, jeden Arbeiter aus der Knappschaft zu verjagen, der von ihnen *gerichtlich verfolgt, aber - freigesprochen wurde!*

10 Und für welche Vortheile unterwerfen die Bergarbeiter ihre eigenen Angelegenheiten so blindlings dem fremden Machtgebot? Hören wir!

1) In *Krankheitsfällen* erhalten sie ärztliche Behandlung und eine wöchentliche Unterstützung, in den Kohlenwerken I. zum Dritttheil ihres Lohnes, in III. zur Hälfte des Lohnes, in II. und IV. zur Hälfte, resp. $\frac{1}{2}$ 15 u. $\frac{1}{4}$ des Lohnes, wenn die Krankheit durch Unfälle während der Arbeit verschuldet ist. 2) *Invaliden* erhalten eine Pension, je nach der Dauer des Dienstalters, also auch ihrer Beiträge zur Knappschaftskasse, von $\frac{1}{20}$ bis $\frac{1}{2}$ der letzterverdienten Löhne. 3) Bei dem *Todesfall* eines Mitglieds erhält seine Wittwe eine Unterstützung von $\frac{1}{5}$ bis $\frac{1}{4}$ der Pension, wozu ihr 20 Ehemann berechtigt war und ein winziges wöchentliches Almosen für jedes Kind. 4) *Begräbnißgelder* bei Todesfällen in der Familie.

Der erlauchte Prinz und die erleuchteten Capitalisten, welche diese Statuten entwarfen, und die väterliche Regierung, welche sie bestätigte, schulden der Welt die Lösung einer Aufgabe: Wenn ein Bergarbeiter bei 25 dem vollen Durchschnittslohn von $2\frac{1}{4}$ Thlr. per Woche halb verhungert, wie kann er leben mit einer Pension von z.B. $\frac{1}{20}$ dieses Lohnes, sage 4 Sgr. per Woche?

Die zarte Rücksicht der Statuten für das Capitalinteresse leuchtet hell aus der Behandlung der Minenunfälle. Mit Ausnahme der Werke II. und 30 IV. wird keine Extraunterstützung gewährt, wenn Krankheit oder Tod durch Unfälle im „Dienst“ verursacht wird. *In keinem einzigen Fall wird die Pension erhöht*, wenn die *Invalidität* Folge von Minenunfällen ist. Der Grund ist sehr einfach. Dieser Posten würde die Kassenausgabe bedenklich schwollen und sehr bald auch dem blödesten Auge die Natur der 35 capitalherrlichen *Geschenke* verrathen.

Die von den sächsischen Capitalisten oktroyirten Statuten unterscheiden sich von Louis Bonaparte's oktroyirter Constitution dadurch, daß die letztere stets noch auf den krönenden Abschluß harrt, während die ersten ihn bereits besitzen, und zwar in folgendem, allen gemeinsamen 40 Artikel:

Karl Marx

„Jeder Arbeiter, der die Dienste des Vereins, sei es freiwillig, sei es gezwungen, verläßt, tritt dadurch aus der Knappschaft aus und verliert alle Rechte und Ansprüche sowohl an die Kasse derselben, als an das von ihm selbst eingezahlte Geld.“

Also ein Mann, der 30 Jahre in einem Kohlenwerke gearbeitet und zur Knappschaftskasse beigesteuert hat, verliert alle, so theuer erkauften Pensionsansprüche, sobald ihn der Capitalist zu entlassen beliebt. Dieser Artikel verwandelt den Lohnarbeiter in einen Leibeigenen - bindet ihn an die Scholle, setzt ihn widerstandslos der schnödesten Mißhandlung aus. Wenn er kein Liebhaber von Fußtritten ist, wenn er sich wehrt gegen 10 Herabdrückung des Lohnes auf den Hungerpunkt, wenn er willkürliche Geldstrafen zu zahlen [sich] weigert, wenn er gar auf amtliche Prüfung der Maße und Gewichte dringt - er erhält stets dieselbe eintönige Antwort: Pack Dich, aber Deine Kassenbeiträge und Deine Kassenansprüche gehen nicht mit auf die Reise! 15

Es scheint paradox, von Leuten in so verworfener Lage männliche Unabhängigkeit und Selbstachtung zu erwarten. Dennoch zählen diese Bergarbeiter, zu ihrer Ehre sei es gesagt, unter den Vorkämpfern der deutschen Arbeiterklasse. Ihre Meister beginnen daher eine große Unruhe zu fühlen, trotz des ungeheuren Halts, den ihnen die jetzige Organisation der Knappschaftsvereine bietet. Das jüngste und gemeinste ihrer Statuten (III., es datirt von 1862) enthält folgenden grotesken Vorbehalt gegen Strikes und Combination: „Jedes Knappschaftsmitglied hat mit dem ihm nach der Lohnordnung zufallenden Lohne stets zufrieden zu sein, zu gemeinschaftlichen, die Erzwingung einer Erhöhung seines Einkorn- 20 mens bezweckenden Handlungen sich niemals herzugeben, geschweige dergleichen durch Verführung seiner Kameraden zu veranlassen.“ - Warum haben die Lykurge des Niederwürschnitz-Kirchberger Steinkohlen-Aktienvereins, die Herrn B. Krüger, F. W. Schwamkrug und F. W. Richter, nicht auch zu beschließen geruht, daß von nun an jeder Kohlenkäufer 25 mit ihren höchsteigenhändig festgesetzten Kohlenpreisen „stets zufrieden zu sein hat“? Dies schlägt denn doch den „beschränkten Unterthanen-verstand“ des Herrn von Rochow.

In Folge der Agitation unter den Bergarbeitern ist neulich *ein provisorischer Statutenentwurf* zur Vereinigung der Knappschaften aller sächsischen Kohlenwerke veröffentlicht worden (Zwickau, 1869). Er ist das Werk eines Arbeitercomités unter dem Vorsitz des Herrn J. G. Dinter. Die Hauptpunkte sind: 1) Alle Knappschaften sind in eine gemeinsame Knappschaft zu vereinen. 2) Mitglieder bewahren ihre Ansprüche, so lange sie in Deutschland wohnen und ihre Beiträge zahlen. 3) Eine Generalversammlung aller erwachsenen Mitglieder bildet die höchste Au- 35 40

Übersetzung des Berichts von Friedrich Engels über die Knappschaftsvereine

torität. Sie ernennt einen vollziehenden Ausschuß u. s. w. 4) Die Beiträge der Meister zur Knappschaftskasse sollen die Hälfte der von ihren Arbeitern gezahlten Beiträge erreichen.

Dieser Entwurf drückt keineswegs die Ansicht der intelligentesten 5 sächsischen Bergarbeiter aus. Er kommt vielmehr von einer Sektion, welche reformiren möchte mit Erlaubniß des Capitals. Er trägt den Stempel des Unpraktischen auf der Stirne. Welche naive Unterstellung, in der That, daß die Capitalisten, bisher unbeschränkte Herrscher über die Knappschaftsvereine, ihre Gewalt an eine demokratische Generalver-

10 Sammlung von Arbeitern abtreten und trotzdem Beiträge zahlen werden!

Das Grundübel besteht grade darin, daß *die Capitalisten überhaupt beitragen*. So lange dies dauert, ist ihnen die Leitung der Knappschaftskasse und des Knappschaftsvereins nicht zu entziehen. Um wirkliche Arbeitergesellschaften zu sein, müssen die Knappschaftsvereine aus- 15 schließlich auf Arbeiterbeiträgen beruhen. So nur können sie sich in Trade's Unions verwandeln, welche individuelle Arbeiter vor der Willkür individueller Meister schützen. Die unbedeutenden und zweideutigen Vortheile, welche die Capitalistenbeiträge bieten, können sie je den Zu- stand der Leibeigenschaft aufwiegen, wozu sie den Arbeiter zurückdrän- 20 gen? Mögen die sächsischen Bergleute stets bedenken: - was er immer zur Knappschaftskasse zahle, der Capitalist erspart eben so viel und mehr am Arbeitslohn. Gesellschaften dieser Art haben die eigenthümliche Wir- kung, das Gesetz der Nachfrage und Zufuhr zum ausschließlichen Vortheil des Capitalisten zu suspendiren. In andern Worten: durch den ungewöhn- 25 liehen Halt, den sie dem Capital auf individuelle Arbeiter geben, drücken sie die Löhne selbst unter ihre gewöhnliche Durchschnittshöhe herab.

Aber sollen die Arbeiter denn die existirenden Kassen - versteht sich nach Abfindung erworbener Rechte - den Capitalisten schenken? Diese Frage kann nur gerichtlich gelöst werden. Trotz königlich obrigkeitlicher 30 Bestätigung schlagen gewisse Artikel der Statuten den allgemein gültigen Prinzipien über Verträge ins Gesicht. Unter allen Umständen jedoch bleibt die Scheidung des Geldes der Arbeiter vom Geld der Capitalisten die unerlässliche Vorbedingung zu jeder Reform der Knappschaftsvereine.

Die Beiträge der sächsischen Kohlenwerkbesitzer zu den Knapp- 35 schaftskassen enthalten das unfreiwillige Eingeständniß, daß das Capital bis zu einem gewissen Punkt haftbar ist für die Unfälle, die den Lohnarbeiter während seiner Arbeitsfunktion, in der Arbeitsstätte, an Leib oder Leben gefährden. Statt aber, wie es jetzt geschieht, diese Haftbarkeit zum Vorwand eines erweiterten Kapitaldespotismus machen zu lassen, ge- 40 ziemt es den Arbeitern, für die gesetzliche Regelung der Haftbarkeit zu agitieren.

Karl Marx
The General Council of the
International Working Men's Association
to the Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste

||[I]|| London 9 March. 1869.

The General Council of the
International Workingmen's Association to the
International Alliance of the Socialiste Démocratie.
(l'Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste) 5

Citizens,

According to Art. I of its Statutes, the International Workingmen's Association admits "all working men's societies ... aiming at the same end; viz., the protection, advancement, and *complete emancipation of the working classes*".

10

Since the various sections of workingmen in the same country, and the working classes in different countries, are placed under different circumstances and have attained to different degrees of development, it seems almost necessary that their theoretical notions, which reflect the real movement, should also diverge.

15

The community of action, however, called into life by the Intern. W. Ass., the exchange of ideas facilitated by the public organs of the different national sections, and the direct debates at the General Congresses are sure by and by to engender a common theoretical programme.

Consequently, it belongs not to the functions of the General Council to 20 subject the programme of the Alliance to a critical examination. We have not to inquire whether, yes or no, it be a true scientific expression of the working class movement. All we have to ask, is, whether its *general tendency* does not run against the *general tendency* of the Int. W. Ass.— viz., *the complete emancipation of the working class?*

25

One phrase in your programme lies open to this objection. It occurs Art. 2: « Elle (l'Alliance) veut avant tout *l'égalisation* politique, économique et sociale des classes. » ("The Alliance aims above all at the political, economical, and social *equalisation* ... of *classes*."

p

The General Council to Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste

The "égalisation des classes", literally interpreted, comes to the "Harmony of Capital and Labour" ("l'harmonie du capital et du travail") so persistently preached by the Bourgeoissocialists. It is not the logically impossible "equalisation of classes", but the historically necessary super-
5 seding "abolition of classes" (abolition of classes), this true secret of the Proletarian movement, which forms the great aim of the Int. W. Ass.

Considering, however, the context, in which that phrase "égalisation des classes" occurs, it seems to be a mere slip of the pen, and the General Council feels confident that you will be anxious to remove from your
10 programme an expression which offers such a dangerous misunderstanding.

Except the single case of an infringement upon its general tendency, it suits the *principles* of the Int. W. Ass. to let every section freely shape its own theoretical programme. There exists, therefore, no obstacle to the
15 transformation of the sections of the Alliance into sections of the Int. W. Ass. J

I[2]I The dissolution of the Alliance, and the entrance of its sections into the I.W. A once settled, it would, according to our regulations, become necessary to inform the General Council of the residence and the numerical strength of each new section. |

Karl Marx
Le Conseil Général de l'Association Internationale
des Travailleurs au Bureau Central de l'Alliance
de la Démocratie Socialiste. Circulaire du 9 mars 1869

Londres, 9 Mars. 1869.

**Le Conseil Général de l'Assoc. Intern, des
Travailleurs au Bureau Central de l'Alliance
de la Démocratie Socialiste.**

Citoyens.

5

D'après l'article I de nos statuts l'Assoc. Int. des Trav. admet toutes les sociétés ouvrières aspirant au même but, savoir : « la Protection, le Progrès et *l'émancipation complète de la classe ouvrière.* »

Comme les sections de la classe ouvrière dans les divers pays et les classes ouvrières dans les divers pays, se trouvent placées dans des cir- 10 constances très diverses, et sont actuellement arrivées à des divers degrés de développement, il s'ensuit nécessairement que leurs opinions théoriques, qui reflètent le mouvement réel, soient aussi divergentes.

Cependant, la communauté d'action, initiée par l'Ass. Int. des Trav., l'échange des idées facilité par les organes publics des différentes sections 15 nationales, et les discussions directes aux Congrès Généraux, ne manqueront pas d'engendrer graduellement un programme théorique commun.

Ainsi, il serait en dehors des fonctions du Conseil Général de faire un examen critique du programme de l'Alliance. Nous n'avons pas à re- 20 chercher si, oui ou non, c'est une expression adéquate du mouvement prolétaire. Pour nous, il s'agit seulement de savoir s'il ne contient rien de contraire à la *tendance générale* de l'Ass. Int. des Tr. - c'est-à-dire à *l'émancipation complète de la classe ouvrière* ?

Il y a une phrase dans votre programme qui de ce point de vue fait 25 défaut. Elle se trouve art. 2 : « Elle (L'Alliance) veut avant tout *l'égalité*

Le Conseil Général au Bureau Central de l'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste

sation politique, économique et sociale des *classes*. » L'égalisation des classes, interprétée littéralement, aboutit à « l'harmonie du capital et du travail », si importunément prêchée par les socialistes bourgeois. Ce n'est pas *l'égalisation des classes*, - contresens logique, impossible à réaliser, 5 mais au contraire *l'abolition des classes*, ce véritable secret du mouvement du prolétaire, qui forme le grand but de l'Association Int. des Trav.

Cependant, considérant le contexte dans lequel cette phrase « Egalisation des classes » se trouve, elle semble s'y être glissée comme une simple erreur de plume et le Conseil Général ne doute pas que vous 10 voudrez bien éliminer de votre programme une phrase prêtant à des malentendus si dangereux.

A la réserve des cas où la tendance générale de l'Ass. Int. des Trav. serait froissée, il correspond à ses *principes*, de laisser chaque section formuler librement son programme théorique. Il n'existe donc pas d'ob- 15 stacle pour la conversion des sections de l'Alliance en sections de l'Association Int. des Trav.

Si la dissolution de l'Alliance et l'entrée des sections dans l'Ass. Int. des Trav. étaient définitivement décidées, il deviendrait nécessaire, d'après nos règlements, d'informer le Conseil Général sur la résidence et la force 20 numérique de chaque nouvelle section.

Karl Marx
The Belgian Massacres.
Address of the General Council of the International
Working Men's Association to the workmen of Europe
and the United States

|[i]| The Belgian Massacres.
To the Workmen of Europe and the United States.

There passes hardly a week in England without strikes—and strikes upon a grand scale. If, on such occasions, the Government was to let its soldiers loose upon the Working Class, this land of strikes would become a land of massacres, but not for many a week. After a few such physical force experiments, the powers that be would be nowhere. In the United States, too, the number and scale of strikes have continued to increase during the last few years, and even sometimes assumed a riotous character. But no blood was spilt. In some of the great military states of continental Europe, the era of strikes may be dated from the end of the American civil war. But here, again, no blood was spilt. There exists but one country in the civilised world where every strike is eagerly and joyously turned into a pretext for the official massacre of the Working Class. That country of single blessedness is *Belgium!* the model state of continental constitutionalism, the snug, well-hedged, little paradise of the landlord, the capitalist, and the priest. The earth performs not more surely its yearly revolution than the Belgian Government its yearly Working Men's massacre. The massacre of this year does not differ from last year's massacre, but by the ghastlier number of its victims, the more hideous ferocity of an otherwise ridiculous army, the noisier jubilation of the clerical and capitalist press, and the intensified frivolity of the pretexts put forward by the Governmental butchers.

It is now proved, even by the involuntary evidence of the capitalist press, that the quite legitimate strike of the puddlers in the Cockerill Ironworks, at Seraing, was only converted into a riot by a strong posse of cavalry and gendarmerie suddenly launched upon that place in order to provoke the people. From the 9th to the 12th of April these stout warriors

The Belgian Massacres

not only recklessly charged with sabre and bayonet the unarmed workmen, they indiscriminately killed and wounded harmless passers by, forcibly broke into private houses, and even amused themselves with repeated furious onslaughts on the travellers pent up in the Seraing Railway Station. When these days of horror had passed away, it became bruited about that Mr. Kamp, the mayor of Seraing, was an agent of the Cockerill Joint Stock Company, that the Belgian Home Minister, a certain Mr. Pirmez, was the largest shareholder in a neighbouring colliery also on strike, and that His Royal Highness, the Prince of Flanders, had invested 1,500,000 francs in the Cockerill concern. Hence people jump to the truly strange conclusion that the Seraing massacre was a sort of joint stock company *coup d'état*, quietly plotted between the firm Cockerill and the Belgian Home Minister, for the simple purpose of striking terror unto their disaffected subjects. This calumny, however, was soon after 15 victoriously refuted by the later events occurring in Le Borinage, a colliery district where the Belgian Home Minister, the said Mr. Pirmez, seems not to be a leading capitalist. An almost general strike having broken out amongst the miners of that district, numerous troops were concentrated, who opened their campaign at Frameries by a fusillade, 20 which killed nine and grievously wounded twenty miners, *after* which little preliminary exploit the riot act, singulary enough styled in French "les sommations préalables" was read, and then the butchery proceeded with. I

[2] Some politicians trace these incredible deeds to motives of a sublime patriotism. While just negotiating on some ticklish points with their French neighbour, the Belgian government, they say, were bound in duty to show off the heroism of their army. Hence that scientific division of arms, displaying, first, the irresistible impetuosity of the Belgian cavalry at Seraing, and then the steady vigour of the Belgian infantry at Frameries. To frighten the foreigner, what means more infallible than such homely battles, which one does not know how to lose, and such domestic battle fields, where the hundreds of workmen killed, mutilated, and made prisoners, shed so glorious a lustre upon those invulnerable warriors, who, all of them, to a man, get off with their skins safe.

35 Other politicians, on the contrary, suspect the Belgian ministers to be sold to the Tuileries, and to periodically enact these horrible scenes of a mock civil war, with the deliberate aim of affording Louis Bonaparte a pretext for saving society in Belgium as he has saved it in France. But was Ex-Governor Eyre ever accused of having organized the negro massacre at Jamaica in order to wrest that island from England and play it into the hands of the United States? No doubt the Belgian ministers are

excellent patriots of the Eyre pattern. As he was the unscrupulous tool of the West Indian planter, they are the unscrupulous tools of the Belgian capitalist.

The Belgian capitalist has won fair fame in the world by his eccentric passion for what he calls, *the liberty of labour (la liberté du travail)*. So 5 fond is he of the liberty of his hands to labour for him all the hours of their life, without exemption of age or sex, that he has always indignantly repulsed any factory law encroaching upon that liberty. He shudders at the very idea that a common workman should be wicked enough to claim any higher destiny than that of enriching his master and natural superior, 10 He wants his workman not only to remain a miserable drudge, overworked and underpaid, but, like every other slaveholder, he wants him to be a cringing, servile, broken-hearted, morally prostrate, religiously humble drudge. Hence his frantic fury at strikes. With him, a strike is a blasphemy, a slave's revolt, the signal of a social cataclysm. Put, now, into 15 the hands of such men—cruel from sheer cowardice—the undivided, uncontrolled, absolute sway of the state power, as is actually the case in Belgium, and you will no longer wonder to find the sabre, the bayonet, and the musket working in that country as legitimate and normal instruments for keeping wages down and screwing profits up. But, in point 20 of fact, what other earthly purpose could a Belgian army serve? When, by the dictation of official Europe, Belgium was declared a *neutral country*, it ought, as a matter of course, have been forbidden the costly luxury of an army, save, perhaps, a handful of soldiers, just sufficient to mount the royal guard and parade at a royal puppet-show. Yet, within its 25 536 square leagues of territory, Belgium harbours an army greater than that of the United Kingdom or the United States. The field service of this neutralised army is fatally computed by the number of its *razzias* upon the working class.

It will easily be understood that the International Working 30 Men's Association was no welcome guest in Belgium. Excommunicated by the priest, calumniated by the respectable press, it came soon to loggerheads with the Government. The latter tried hard to get rid of it by making it responsible for the Charleroy Colliery strikes of 1867-68, strikes wound up, after the invariable Belgian rule, by official massacres, 35 followed by the judicial prosecution of the victims. Not only was this cabal baffled, but the Association took active steps, resulting in a verdict of Not Guilty for the Charleroy miners, and, consequently, in a verdict of Guilty against the Government itself. Fretting at this defeat, the Belgian ministers gave vent to their spleen by fierce denunciations from 40 the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies, against the International

The Belgian Massacres

Working Men's Association, [3] and pompously declared they should never allow its General Congress to meet at Brussels. In the teeth of their menaces the Congress met at Brussels. But now at last the International is to succumb before the 536 square leagues of Belgian Omnipotence. Its culpable complicity during the recent events has been proved beyond the possibility of doubt. The emissaries of the Brussels Central Committee for Belgium and some of the Local Committees stand convicted of several flagrant crimes. In the first instance, they have tried hard to calm the excitement of the workmen on strike, and warn them off the Government traps. In some localities they have actually prevented the effusion of blood. And last, not least, these ill-boding emissaries observed on the spot, verified by witnesses, noted carefully down and publicly denounced the sanguinary vagaries of the defenders of order. By the simple process of imprisonment they were at once converted from the accusers into the accused. Then the domiciles of the members of the Brussels Committee were brutally invaded, all their papers seized, and some of them arrested on the charge of belonging to an association "founded for the purpose of attempting the lives and properties of individuals". In other words, they were impeached of belonging to an Association of Thugs, commonly styled the International Working Men's Association. Hunted on by the raving capucinades of the clerical and the savage howls of the capitalist press, this swaggering pygmy government is decidedly anxious to drown itself in a morass of ridicule, after having weltered in a sea of blood.

Already the Belgian Central Committee at Brussels has announced its intention to institute and afterwards publish the results of, a full inquiry into the massacres of Seraing and Le Borinage. We will circulate their revelations all over the world, in order to open the eyes of the world on the pet fanfaronade of the Belgian capitalist: *La liberté, pour faire le tour du monde, n'a pas besoin de passer par ici (la Belgique).*⁴⁰

Perhaps, the Belgian government flatters itself that having, after the revolutions of 1848⁹, gained a respite of life by becoming the police agent of all the reactionary governments of the continent, it may now again avert imminent danger by conspicuously playing the gendarme of capital against labour. This, however, is a serious mistake. Instead of delaying, they will thus only hasten the catastrophe. By making Belgium a bye-word and a nick-name with the popular masses all over the world, they will remove the last obstacle in the way of the despots bent upon wiping that country's name off the map of Europe.

40 *⁴ Liberty in travelling round the world has no need of passing through Belgium.

Karl Marx

The General Council of the International Working Men's Association hereby calls upon the workmen of Europe and the United States to open monetary subscriptions for alleviating the sufferings of the widows, wives and children of the Belgian victims, and also for the expenses incident upon the legal defence of the arrested workmen, and the 5 inquiry proposed by the Brussels Committee.

By order of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association,

R. APPLEGARTH, <i>Chairman</i>	
R. SHAW, <i>Secretary for America.</i>	10
BERNARD, <i>Secretary for Belgium.</i>	
EUGENE DUPONT, <i>Secretary for France.</i>	
KARL MARX, <i>Secretary for Germany.</i>	
JULES JOHANNARD, <i>Secretary for Italy.</i>	
A. ZABICKI, <i>Secretary for Poland.</i>	15
H. JUNG, <i>Secretary for Switzerland.</i>	
COWELL STEPNEY, <i>Treasurer.</i>	
J.G. ECCARIUS, <i>Secretary to the General Council.</i>	

London, May 4th, 1869.

All Contributions for the victims of the Belgian massacre to be sent to 20 the Office of the General Council, 256, High Holborn, London, W.C. |

Karl Marx
Les massacres en Belgique.
Manifeste du Conseil Général à tous les membres
de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs

Les Massacres en Belgique. Manifeste du Conseil général de Londres.

A tous les membres de l'Association internationale des travailleurs.

Il ne se passe pas de semaine en Angleterre sans grèves, et grèves sur une grande échelle. Si à ces occasions le gouvernement lançait ses troupiers sur les prolétaires, ce pays des grèves se transformerait en pays des massacres; mais après quelques expériences de cette sorte, les pouvoirs établis auraient disparu.

Dans les Etats-Unis aussi, les grèves ont continué à s'agrandir pendant 10 ces derniers ans, et ont même souvent dégénéré en démonstrations turbulentes. Mais pas une goutte de sang n'a été répandue.

Dans quelques-uns des grands Etats militaires de l'Europe continentale, l'ère des grèves date à peu près de la fin de la guerre civile en Amérique. Ici encore elles se passent sans effusion de sang.

15 Il n'y a qu'un seul pays dans le monde civilisé où l'on saisit avidement et joyeusement le prétexte des grèves pour assassiner les ouvriers. Ce pays unique est la Belgique, le pays modèle du constitutionalisme continental, le paradis au petit pied du seigneur de la terre, du capitaliste et du prêtre. La terre ne fait pas plus sûrement sa révolution annuelle, que le 20 gouvernement belge son massacre annuel. Le massacre de cette année ne diffère du massacre de l'an passé que par le nombre plus grand des victimes, la licence plus hideuse de la soldatesque, la jubilation plus bruyante de la presse cléricale et capitaliste, et la frivolité plus effrontée des prétextes mis en avant par les bouchers officiels.

25 Il est maintenant constaté, et cela par les indiscretions mêmes de la presse bourgeoise, que la grève parfaitement légitime des ouvriers puddleurs et chauffeurs de la fabrique de fer de la Société Cockerill, à Seraing,

Karl Marx

fut convertie en émeute par la cavalerie, l'infanterie et la gendarmerie, perfidement jetées sur ce point pour provoquer le peuple. Du 9 jusqu'au 12 avril, ces guerriers vaillants, armés de pied en cap, assassinaient des ouvriers sans armes, tuaient et blessaient des passants, envahissaient des maisons privées, et se divertissaient même à faire des charges forcenées 5 sur les voyageurs claquemurés dans la gare du chemin de fer.

Ces jours de carnage passés, on s'est souvenu que des personnages haut placés en Belgique étaient actionnaires de la société Cockerill, et que certaines autorités communales étaient en même temps agents de la même société. De ces faits, d'aucuns ont voulu tirer la conclusion vrai- 10 ment étrange : que le massacre de Seraing aurait été une sorte de coup d'état financier, sagement concerté dans le simple but de porter la terreur au milieu des esclaves mécontents. Cette calomnie a été cependant victorieusement réfutée par les événements ultérieurs survenus dans le district du Borinage, où ces personnages, à ce qu'il paraît, n'ont pas daigné 15 placer leur argent. Une grève presque générale ayant éclaté dans ce district, le gouvernement y concentra ses troupes fidèles. Elles ouvrirent la campagne à Frameries par une fusillade, tuant sept ouvriers mineurs et en blessant grièvement vingt autres, lequel petit exploit préliminaire fut suivi par les sommations préalables, et, après les sommations, la bou- 20 chérie allait de nouveau son train.

Il y a aussi des gens politiques qui s'obstinent à trouver des motifs de haut patriotisme pour ces actes incroyables. Comme on était en délicatesse avec le Gaulois, le devoir du gouvernement belge, disent-ils, était tout tracé. A tout prix il devait donner des preuves incontestables de 25 l'héroïsme de son armée à lui. A cet effet, cette division savante des armes étalait l'impétuosité irrésistible de la cavalerie belge à Seraing et la vigueur tenace de l'infanterie belge à Frameries. Pour faire peur à l'étranger, quel moyen plus infaillible que ces grandes-batailles ... qu'on ne saurait pas perdre, et ces champs de combats où les centaines d'ouvriers 30 mutilés, tués ou faits prisonniers, jettent un lustre si singulier sur ces guerriers invulnérables, dont aucun ne fut tué, ni même sérieusement incommodé. Ah ! nous oublions qu'un garde champêtre, représentant lui aussi la force publique, succomba ou faillit succomber à la suite d'une balle reçue non d'un gréviste, mais d'un troupier. 35

Il y a d'autres gens non moins politiques, mais d'une opinion contraire, qui nous donnent à entendre qu'il pourrait bien se faire que des hommes d'état belges fussent de connivence avec les Tuileries et ne fissent jouer périodiquement ces horribles scènes de guerre civile qu'afin de donner à Louis Bonaparte le prétexte de sauver la société en Belgique, comme il l'a 40 sauvé en France. Mais a-t-on jamais soupçonné l'ex-gouverneur Eyre

Les massacres en Belgique

d'avoir organisé le massacre des nègres de la Jamaïque pour faire tomber cette île dans les mains du Yankee ? Pas de doute ! Les hommes d'Etat belges sont aussi excellents patriotes que l'ex-gouverneur Eyre. Comme Eyre était l'instrument impitoyable des planteurs, ils sont l'instrument impitoyable du capitaliste.

Le capitaliste belge s'est fait une grande renommée par son amour exagéré de la liberté du travail. Il est si jaloux de la liberté de ses ouvriers de travailler pour lui pendant toutes les heures de leur vie, sans exception d'âge ou de sexe, qu'il a toujours repoussé avec emportement les lois de 10 fabrique limitant la journée de travail, introduites dans les pays les plus arriérés. Il frémit à la seule idée qu'un ouvrier vulgaire soit assez pervers pour aspirer à une destinée plus élevée que celle d'enrichir son maître, son supérieur naturel. D'après ses vues, l'ouvrier doit non-seulement toujours rester un souffre-douleur, excédé de travail et réduit au minimum 15 de salaire; mais il le veut encore servile, abattu, humble de cœur, à plat ventre devant le maître et le contre-maître. De là sa haine féroce contre les grèves. Pour lui une grève est un blasphème, la révolte de l'esclave, le signal du cataclysme social. Placez maintenant dans les mains de ce capitaliste trembleur, cruel par lâcheté, le maniement indivis, sans contrôle, 20 absolu, des pouvoirs publics, ce qui est le cas en Belgique, et vous cesserez de vous étonner que, dans ce pays, le sabre, la baïonnette et le fusil fonctionnent légitimement et régulièrement comme des machines pour baisser les salaires et éléver les profits. Et, après tout, à quel autre but terrestre pourrait servir une armée belge ? Quand l'Europe officielle 25 constituait la Belgique en *pays neutre*, il aurait été du simple sens commun de lui interdire le luxe dispendieux d'une armée, à l'exception près d'une poignée de soldats de parade indispensables comme joujou royal. Mais, dans les 2500 lieues carrées de son territoire, la Belgique héberge actuellement une armée plus grande que celle de l'Angleterre ou celle des 30 Etats-Unis. Les services de campagne de cette armée neutralisée se comparent fatallement par le nombre de ses expéditions à l'intérieur.

On comprend de prime abord que *Y Association internationale des Travailleurs* ne soit pas la bienvenue en Belgique. Excommuniée par les prêtres, dénigrée par la presse bourgeoise, elle vint bientôt aux prises avec 35 le gouvernement qui cherchait à la rendre responsable pour les grèves des mineurs en 1868-69, grèves aboutissant, selon la règle invariable dans ce pays, à des massacres suivis de poursuites judiciaires. L'association déjoua non-seulement la cabale gouvernementale, mais son intervention active se montra dans l'acquittement des mineurs inculpés, et, par conséquent, dans la condamnation du gouvernement belge par un jury belge. Puis les ministres d'invectiver *Y Association* dans la chambre basse et de 40

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déclarer pompeusement qu'ils ne permettraient jamais la réunion de son Congrès général à Bruxelles. En dépit de ces menaces, le Congrès général s'est tenu à Bruxelles.

Mais, après tout, l'Internationale doit enfin succomber devant l'omnipotence aux 2500 lieues carrées. Sa coupable complicité dans les événements récents est mise hors de doute. Les émissaires du comité central de Bruxelles et d'autres comités locaux ont été surpris en flagrant délit : En premier lieu, ils ont fait de leur mieux pour calmer l'excitation des ouvriers en grève et les avertir sur les pièges qui leur étaient tendus. En quelques localités ils ont actuellement prévenu l'effusion du sang. Enfin 5 ces émissaires de mauvais augure ont observé sur le champ, vérifié par des témoins, transcrit dans les protocoles et publiquement dénoncé les énormités fantaisistes des défenseurs de l'ordre. Par le simple procédé de leur arrestation, le gouvernement les a transformés d'accusateurs en accusés. Puis, les domiciles des membres du comité central de Bruxelles 10 ayant été brutalement envahis et toutes leurs correspondances saisies, on a arrêté quelques « meneurs », sous la charge « *d'association dans le but d'attenter aux personnes et aux propriétés* » ! En un mot, on les accuse d'appartenir à une *association de Thugs*, c'est-à-dire à *Y Association internationale des travailleurs* ! Aiguillonné par les capucinades de la presse 15 cléricale et les hurlements de la presse capitaliste, ce gouvernement pygmée va décidément se noyer dans le ridicule, après avoir nagé dans le sang.

Déjà le comité central de Bruxelles a annoncé sa résolution d'instituer et de publier une enquête complète sur les massacres de Seraing et du 25 Borinage. Nous, de notre part, nous ferons circuler ses révélations dans tous les pays et dans toutes les langues, afin d'ouvrir les yeux de tout le monde sur cette fanfaronnade de la bourgeoisie belge : « Pour faire le tour du monde, la liberté n'a pas besoin de passer par chez nous », c'est-à-dire par la Belgique.

Le gouvernement belge se flatte peut être que, puisqu'il obtint, après les révoltes de 1848⁹, un sursis de vie comme l'agent de police de tous les gouvernements réactionnaires, il pourra encore échapper à des dangers imminents en se posant comme le gendarme du capital contre le travail. Qu'il se détrompe. Il va accélérer sa chute au lieu de la retarder. 35 En faisant maudire le nom de la Belgique par les masses populaires de tous les pays, il invite les despotes de l'Europe à effacer ce nom maudit de la carte de l'Europe.

Le Conseil général de *Y Association internationale des Travailleurs* prie tous les membres de l'Association, en Europe et dans les Etats-Unis, de 40 faire des collectes pour soulager les souffrances des veuves, femmes, en-

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fants de leurs ouvriers massacrés, ainsi que pour contribuer aux frais soit de la défense des ouvriers arrêtés, soit de l'enquête proposée par le comité central de Bruxelles.

Au nom du Conseil général de l'Association internationale des Travailleurs:

- 5 R. APPLEGARTH, président de la séance.
R. SHAW, secrétaire pour l'Amérique.
KARL MARX, secrétaire pour l'Allemagne.
BERNARD, secrétaire pour la Belgique.
EUG. DUPONT, secrétaire pour la France.
10 JULES JOHANNARD, secrétaire pour l'Italie.
A. ZABICKI, secrétaire pour la Pologne.
H. JUNG, secrétaire pour la Suisse.
COWELL STEPNEY, trésorier.
J.G. ECCARIUS, secrétaire du Conseil général.
15 Londres, 4 mai 1869.
Bureau du Conseil général : 256, High Holborn. W. C. Londres.
N. B. - Ce manifeste a été tiré en anglais à plusieurs milliers d'exemplaires pour l'Angleterre et les Etats-Unis. Il sera traduit dans les différentes langues de l'Europe.

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Karl Marx
Vorwort zur zweiten Ausgabe von
„Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte“

|[iii]| Vorwort.

Mein zu früh verstorbener Freund *Joseph Weydemeyer** beabsichtigte vom 1. Januar 1852 an eine politische Wochenschrift in New-York herauszugeben. Er forderte mich auf, für dieselbe die Geschichte des coup d'état zu liefern. Ich schrieb ihm daher wöchentlich bis Mitte Februar Artikel unter dem Titel: „Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte“. Unterdeß war Weydemeyer's ursprünglicher Plan gescheitert. Dagegen veröffentlichte er im Frühling 1852 eine Monatsschrift: „Die Revolution“, deren zweites Heft aus meinem „Achtzehnten Brumaire“ besteht. Einige hundert Exemplare davon fanden damals den Weg nach Deutschland, ohne jedoch in den eigentlichen Buchhandel zu kommen. Ein äußerst radikal thuender deutscher Buchhändler, dem ich den Vertrieb anbot, antwortete mit wahrhaft sittlichem Entsetzen über solch „zeitwidrige Zumuthung“. |

|IV| Man ersieht aus diesen Angaben, daß die vorliegende Schrift unter dem unmittelbaren Druck der Ereignisse entstand und ihr historisches Material nicht über den Monat Februar (1852) hinausreicht. Ihre jetzige Wiederveröffentlichung ist theils buchhändlerischer Nachfrage, theils dem Andringen meiner Freunde in Deutschland geschuldet.

Von den Schriften, welche ungefähr gleichzeitig mit der meinigen denselben Gegenstand behandelten, sind nur zwei bemerkenswerth: *Victor Hugo's: „Napoleon le Petit“* und *Proudhon's: „Coup d'Etat“*. |

Victor Hugo beschränkt sich auf bittere und geistreiche Invekitive gegen den verantwortlichen Herausgeber des Staatsstreichs. Das Ereigniß selbst erscheint bei ihm wie ein Blitz aus heitner Luft. Er sieht darin nur die Gewaltthat eines einzelnen Individuums. Er merkt nicht, daß er dies

* Während des amerikanischen Bürgerkriegs Militärikommandant des Distrikts von St. Louis.



Vorwort zur zweiten Ausgabe von „Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte“

Individuum groß statt klein macht, indem er ihm eine persönliche Gewalt der Initiative zuschreibt, wie sie beispiellos in der Weltgeschichte dastehen würde. Proudhon seinerseits sucht den Staatsstreich als Resultat einer vorhergegangenen geschichtlichen Entwicklung darzustellen. Unter 5 der Hand verwandelt sich ihm jedoch die geschichtliche Konstruktion des Staatsstreichs in eine geschichtliche Apologie des Staatsstreichshelden. Er verfällt so in den Fehler unserer sogenannten *objektiven* Geschichtsschreiber. Ich weise dagegen nach, wie der *Klassenkampf* in Frankreich Umstände und Verhältnisse schuf, welche einer mittelmäßigen und gro-10 tesken Personage das Spiel der Heldenrolle ermöglichten, j

[V] Eine Umarbeitung der vorliegenden Schrift hätte sie ihrer eigen-thümlichen Färbung beraubt. Ich habe mich daher auf bloße Korrektur von Druckfehlern beschränkt und auf Wegstreichung jetzt nicht mehr verständlicher Anspielungen.

15 Der Schlußsatz meiner Schrift: „Aber wenn der Kaisermantel endlich auf die Schultern Louis Bonaparte's fällt, wird das eherne Standbild Napoleon's von der Höhe der Vendomesäule herabstürzen“, hat sich bereits erfüllt.

Oberst Charras eröffnete den Angriff auf den Napoleon-Kultus in sei-20 nem Werke über den Feldzug von 1815. Seitdem, und namentlich in den letzten Jahren, hat die französische Literatur mit den Waffen der Geschichtsforschung, der Kritik, der Satyre und des Witzes der Napoleon-Legende den Garaus gemacht. Außerhalb Frankreichs ward dieser gewaltsame Bruch mit dem traditionellen Volksglauben, diese ungeheure 25 geistige Revolution, wenig beachtet und noch weniger begriffen.

Schließlich hoffe ich, daß meine Schrift zur Beseitigung der jetzt na-mentlich in Deutschland landläufigen Schulphrase vom sogenannten *Cä-sarismus* beitragen wird. Bei dieser oberflächlichen geschichtlichen Ana-logie vergißt man die Hauptsache, daß nämlich im alten Rom der 30 Klassenkampf nur innerhalb einer privilegierten Minorität spielte, zwi-schen den freien Reichen und den freien Armen, während die große pro-duktive Masse der Bevölkerung, die Sklaven, das bloß passive Piédestal für jene Kämpfer bildete. Man vergißt *Sismondi*'s bedeutenden Aus-spruch: Das römische Proletariat lebte auf Kosten der Gesellschaft, wäh-35 rend die moderne [VI] Gesellschaft auf Kosten des Proletariats lebt. Bei so gänzlicher Verschiedenheit zwischen den materiellen, ökonomischen Bedingungen des antiken und des modernen Klassenkampfs können auch seine politischen Ausgebürtungen nicht mehr mit einander gemein ha-ben als der Erzbischof von Canterbury mit dem Hohenpriester Samuel.

Karl Marx
Report of the General Council
of the International Working Men's Association
on the right of inheritance

Report of the General Council.

I.—The right of inheritance is only of social import, in so far as it leaves to the heir the power which the deceased wielded *during his lifetime*, viz., *the power of transferring to himself*, by means of his property, the *produce of other people's labour*. For instance, land gives the living proprietor the power to transfer to himself, under the name of rent, without any equivalent, the produce of other people's labour. Capital gives him the power to do the same under the name of profit and interest. The property in public funds gives him the power to live without labour upon other people's labour, &c. 10

Inheritance does not create that power of transferring the produce of one man's labour into another man's pocket—it only relates to the change in the individuals who yield that power. Like all other civil legislation, the laws of inheritance are not the *cause*, but the *effect*, the *juridical consequence* of the *existing economical organization of society*, based 15 upon private property in the means of production, that is to say, in land, raw material, machinery, &c. In the same way the right of inheritance in the slave is not the cause of slavery, but, on the contrary, slavery is the cause of inheritance in slaves.

II.—What we have to grapple with, is the cause and not the effect, the 20 economical basis—not its juridical superstructure. Suppose the means of production transformed from private into social property, then the right of inheritance—(so far as it is of any social importance)—would die of itself, because a man only leaves after his death what he possessed during his lifetime. Our great aim must, therefore, be to supersede those institutions which give to some people, *during their lifetime*, the economical power of transferring to themselves the fruits of the labour of the many. Where 25 the state of society is far enough advanced, and the working class possesses

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sufficient power to abrogate such institutions, they must do so in a *direct way*. For instance, by doing away with the public debt, they get of course, at the same time, rid of the inheritance in public funds. On the other hand, if they do not possess the power to abolish the public debt, it would be a 5 foolish attempt to abolish the right of inheritance in public funds.

The *disappearance of the right of inheritance* will be the natural result of a social change superseding private property in the means of production; but the *abolition of the right of inheritance* can never be the *starting point* of such a social transformation.

10 3. It was one of the great errors committed about 40 years since by the disciples of St. Simon, to treat the *right of inheritance*, not as the *legal effect*, but as the economical cause of the present social organization. This did not at all prevent them from perpetuating in their system of society private property in land, and the other means of production. Of 15 course elective and life-long proprietors, they thought, might exist as elective kings have existed.

To proclaim the abolition of the *right of inheritance* as the *starting point* of the social revolution, would only tend to lead the working class away from the true point of attack against present society. It would be as 20 absurd a thing as to abolish the laws of contract between buyer and seller, while continuing the present state of exchange of commodities.

It would be a thing false in theory, and reactionary in practice.

4. In treating of the laws of inheritance, we necessarily suppose that *private property* in the means of production continues to exist. If it did no 25 longer exist amongst the living, it could not be transferred from them, and by them, after their death. All measures, in regard to the right of inheritance, can therefore only *relate* to a state of *social transition*, where, on the one hand, the present economical base of society is not yet transformed, but where, on the other hand, the working masses have gathered 30 strength enough to *enforce transitory measures* calculated to bring about an ultimate radical change of society.

Considered from this standpoint, changes of the laws of inheritance form only part of a *great many other transitory measures* tending to the same end.

35 These transitory measures, as to inheritance, can only be:—

(a) Extension of the inheritance duties already existing in many states, and the application of the funds hence derived to purposes of social emancipation.

(b) Limitation of the testamentary right of inheritance, which—as dis- 40 tinguished from the *intestate or family right of inheritance*—appears an arbitrary and superstitious exaggeration even of the principles of private property themselves.

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Report of the General Council to the
Fourth Annual Congress of the
International Working Men's Association

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To the Fourth Annual Congress of the
International Working Men's Association.

Citizens,

The delegates of the different sections will give you detailed reports on 5 the progress of our Association in their respective countries. The report of your general council will mainly relate to the guerilla fights between capital and labour—we mean the strikes which during the last year have perturbed the continent of Europe, and were said to have sprung neither from the misery of the labourer nor from the despotism of the capitalist, 10 but from the secret intrigues of our Association.

A few weeks after the meeting of our last Congress, a memorable strike on the part of the ribbon-weavers and silk-dyers occurred in Basle, a place which to our days has conserved much of the features of a mediæval town with its local traditions, its narrow prejudices, its purse-proud 15 patricians, and its patriarchal rule of the employer over the employed. Still, a few years ago a Basle manufacturer boasted to an English secretary of embassy, that "the position of the master and the man was on a better footing here than in England," that "in Switzerland the operative who leaves a good master for better wages would be *despised* by his own 20 *fellow-workmen*," and that "our advantage lies principally in the length of the working time and the moderation of the wages." You see, *patriarchalism*, as modified by modern influences, comes to this—that the master is good, and that his wages are bad, that the labourer feels like a mediaeval vassal, and is exploited like a modern wages-slave. 25

That patriarchalism may further be appreciated from an official Swiss inquiry into the factory employment of children and the state of the

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primary public schools. It was ascertained that "the Basle school atmosphere is the worst in the world, that while in the free air carbonic acid forms only 4 parts of 10,000, and in closed rooms should not exceed 10 parts, it rose in Basle common schools to 20-81 parts in the forenoon, 5 and to 53-94 in the afternoon." Thereupon a member of the Basle Great Council, Mr. Thurneysen, coolly replied, "Don't allow yourselves to be frightened. The parents have passed through schoolrooms as bad as the present ones, and yet they have escaped with their skins safe."

It will now be understood that an economical revolt on the part of the 10 Basle workmen could not but mark an epoch in the social history of Switzerland. Nothing more characteristic than the starting-point of the movement. There existed an old custom for the ribbon-weavers to have a few hours' holiday on Michaelmas. The weavers claiming this small privilege at the usual time in the factory of Messrs. Dubary and Sons, one of 15 the masters declared, in a harsh voice and with imperious gesticulation, "Whoever leaves the factory will be dismissed at once and for ever." Finding their protestations in vain, 104 out of 172 weavers left the workshop without, however, believing in their definite dismissal, since master and men were bound by written contract to give a fourteen days' notice 20 to quit. On their return the next morning they found the factory surrounded by gendarmes, keeping off the yesterday's rebels, with whom all their comrades now made common cause. Being thus suddenly thrown out of work, the weavers with their families were simultaneously ejected from the cottages they rented from their employers, who, into the bar- 25 gain, sent circular letters round to the shopkeepers to debar the houseless ones from all credit for victuals. The struggle thus begun lasted from the 9th of November, 1868, to the spring of 1869. The limits of our report do not allow us to enter upon its details. It suffices to state that it originated in a capricious and spiteful act of capitalist despotism, in a cruel lock- 30 out, which led to strikes, from [8] time to time interrupted by compromises, again and again broken on the part of the masters, and that it culminated in the vain attempt of the Basle "High and Honourable State Council", to intimidate the working people by military measures and a quasi state of siege.

35 During their sedition the workmen were supported by the International Working Men's Association. But that was not all. That society the masters said had first smuggled the modern spirit of rebellion into the good old town of Basle. To again expel that mischievous intruder from Basle became, therefore, their great pre-occupation. Hard they tried, 40 though in vain, to enforce the withdrawal from it as a condition of peace, upon their subjects. Getting generally worsted in their war with the Inter-

national they vented their spleen in strange pranks. Owning some industrial branch establishments at Lörrach, in Baden, these republicans induced the grand-ducal official to suppress the International section at that place, a measure which, however, was soon after rescinded by the Baden Government. The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, a paper of 5 world-wide circulation, presuming to report on the Basle events in an impartial spirit, the angry worthies threatened it in foolish letters with the withdrawal of their subscriptions. To London they expressly sent a messenger on the fantastic errand of ascertaining the dimensions of the International general "treasury-box". Orthodox Christians as they are, if they 10 had lived at the time of nascent Christianity, they would, above all things, have spied into St. Paul's banking accounts at Rome.

Their clumsily savage proceedings brought down upon them some ironical lessons of worldly wisdom on the part of the Geneva capitalist organs. Yet, a few months later, the uncouth Basle vestrymen might have 15 returned the compliment with usurious interest to the Geneva men of the world.

In the month of March there broke out in Geneva a buildings' trade strike, and a compositors' strike, both bodies being affiliated to the International. The builders' strike was provoked by the masters setting aside a 20 convention solemnly entered upon with their workmen a year ago. The compositors' strike was but the winding-up of a ten years' quarrel which the men had during all that time in vain tried to settle by five consecutive commissions. As in Basle, the masters transformed at once their private feuds with their men into a state crusade against the International Working Men's Association. 25

The Geneva State Council dispatched policemen to receive at the railway-stations, and sequester from all contact with the strikers, such foreign workmen as the masters might contrive to inveigle from abroad. It allowed the "Jeunesse Dorée", the hopeful loafers of "La Jeune 30 Suisse", armed with revolvers, to assault in the streets and places of public resort, workmen and workwomen. It launched its own police ruffians on the working people on different occasions, and signally on the 24th May, when it enacted at Geneva, on a small scale, the Paris scenes which Raspail has branded as "Les orgies infernales des casse-têtes". 35 When the Geneva workmen passed in public meeting an address to the State Council, calling upon it to inquire into these infernal police orgies, the State Council replied by a sneering rebuke. It evidently wanted, at the behest of its capitalist superiors, to madden the Geneva people into an *erneute*, to stamp that *erneute* out by the armed force, to sweep the International from the Swiss soil, and to subject the workmen to a Decembrist 40

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regime. This scheme was baffled by the energetic action and moderating influence of our Geneva Federal committee. The masters had at last to give way.

And now listen to some of the invectives of the Geneva capitalists and 5 their press-gang against the International. In public meeting they passed an address to the State Council, where the following phrase occurs: "The International Committee at Geneva ruins the Canton of Geneva by *decrees sent from London and Paris*; it wants here to suppress all industry and all labour." One of their journals stated, "That the leaders of the 10 International were secret agents of the Emperor, who, at the opportune moment, were very likely to turn out public accusers against this little Switzerland of ours."

And this on the part of the men who had just shown themselves so eager to transplant at a moment's notice the Decembrist regime to the 15 Swiss soil, on the part of financial magnates, the real rulers of Geneva and other Swiss towns, whom [9] all Europe knows to have long since been converted from citizens of the Swiss republic into mere feudatories of the French Credit Mobilier and other International swindling associations.

20 The massacres by which the Belgian Government did answer in April last to the strikes of the puddlers at Seraing and the coalminers of Borinage, have been fully exposed in the address of the General Council to the workmen of Europe and the United States. We considered this address the more urgent since, with that constitutional model government, 25 such working men's massacres are not an accident, but an institution. The horrid military drama was succeeded by a judicial farce. In the proceedings against our Belgian general committee at Brussels, whose domiciles were brutally broken in by the police, and many of whose members were placed under secret arrest, the judge of instruction finds the letter of 30 a workman, asking for 500 "*Internationales*", and he at once jumps to the conclusion that 500 fighting-men were to be dispatched to the scene of action. The 500 "*Internationales*" were 500 copies of the *Internationale*, the weekly organ of our Brussels Committee.

A telegram to Paris by a member of the International, ordering a 35 certain quantity of powder, is raked up. After a prolonged research, the dangerous substance is really laid hand on at Brussels. It is powder for killing vermin. Last, not least, the Belgian police flattered itself, in one of its domiciliary visits, to have got at that phantom treasure which haunts the great mind of the continental capitalist, viz.: the International treasury, the main stock of which is safely hoarded at London, but whose offsets travel continually to all the continental seats of the Association.

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The Belgian official inquirer thought it buried in a certain strong box, hidden in a dark place. He gets at it, opens it forcibly, and there was found—some pieces of coal. Perhaps, if touched by the hand of the police, the pure International gold turns at once into coal.

Of the strikes that, in December, 1868, infested several French cotton districts, the most important was that at Sotteville-lès-Rouen. The manufacturers of the Department de la Somme had not long ago met at Amiens, in order to consult how they might undersell the English manufacturers in the English market itself. Having made sure that, besides protective duties, the comparative lowness of French wages had till now mainly enabled them to defend France from English cottons, they naturally inferred that a still further lowering of French wages would allow them to invade England with French cottons. The French cotton-workers, they did not doubt, would feel proud at the idea of defraying the expenses of a war of conquest which their masters had so patriotically resolved to wage on the other side of the channel. Soon after it was bruited about that the cotton manufacturers of Rouen and its environs had, in secret conclave, agreed upon the same line of policy. Then an important reduction of wages was suddenly proclaimed at Sotteville-lès-Rouen, and then for the first time the Normand weavers rose against the encroachments of capital. They acted under the stir of the moment. Neither had they before formed a trades union nor provided for any means of resistance. In their distress they appealed to the International committee at Rouen, which found for them some immediate aid from the workmen of Rouen, the neighbouring districts, and Paris. Towards the end of December, 1868, the general council was applied to by the Rouen Committee, at a moment of utmost distress throughout the English cotton districts, of unparalleled misery in London, and a general depression in all branches of British industry. This state of things has continued in England to this moment. Despite such highly unfavourable circumstances, the general council thought that the peculiar character of the Rouen conflict would stir the English workmen to action. This was a great opportunity to show the capitalists that their international industrial warfare, carried on by screwing wages down now in this country, now in that, would be checked at last by the international union of the working classes. To our appeal the English workmen replied at once by a first contribution to Rouen, and the London Trades Council resolved to summon, in unison with the general council, a metropolitan monster meeting on behalf of their Normand brethren. These proceedings were stopped by the news of the sudden cessation of the Sotteville strike. The miscarriage of that economical revolt was largely compensated for by its

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moral results. It enlisted the Normand cotton-workers into the revolutionary army of labour, it gave rise to the birth of trades-| |10|unions at Rouen, Elboeuf, Darnetal, and the environs; and it sealed anew the bond of fraternity between the English and French working classes.

5 During the winter and spring of 1869 the propaganda of our Association in France was paralysed, consequent upon the violent dissolution of our Paris section in 1868, the police chicaneries in the departments, and the absorbing interest of the French general elections.

The elections once over, numerous strikes exploded in the Loire mining districts, at Lyons, and many other places. The economical facts revealed during these struggles between masters and men, struck the public eye like so many dissolving views of the high-coloured fancy pictures of working class prosperity under the auspices of the Second Empire. The claims of redress on the part of the workmen were of so moderate a character, and so urgent a nature that, after some show of angry resistance, they had to be conceded, one and all. The only strange feature about those strikes was their sudden explosion after a seeming lull, and the rapid succession in which they followed each other. Still, the reason of all this was simple and palpable. Having, during the elections, successively tried their hands against their public despot, the workmen were naturally led to try them after the elections against their private despots. In one word, the elections had stirred their animal spirits. The governmental press, of course, paid as it is to misstate and misinterpret unpleasant facts, traced these events to a secret *mot d'ordre* from the London General Council, which, they said, sent their emissaries, from place to place to teach the otherwise highly satisfied French workmen that it was a bad thing to be overworked, underpaid, and brutally treated. A French police organ, published at London, the "*International*"—(see its number of August 3)—has condescended to reveal to the world the secret motives of our deleterious activity. "The strangest feature", it says, "is that the strikes were ordered to break out in such countries where misery is far from making itself felt. These unexpected explosions, occurring so opportunely for certain neighbours of ours, who had first to apprehend war, make many people ask themselves whether these strikes took not place on the request of some foreign Machiavelli, who had known how to win the good graces of this all-powerful association." At the very moment when this French police print impeached us of embarrassing the French government by strikes at home, in order to disembarrass Count Bismarck from war abroad, a Prussian paper accused us of embarrassing the Northern German Bund with strikes, in order to crush German industry for the benefit of foreign manufactures.

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The relations of the International to the French strikes we shall illustrate by two cases of a typical character. In the one case, the strike of St. Etienne and the following massacre at Ricamarie, the French Government itself will no longer dare to pretend that the International had anything whatever to do with it. In the Lyons case, it was not the International that threw the workmen into strikes, but, on the contrary, it was the strikes that threw the workmen into the International. 5

The miners of St. Etienne, Rive-de-Giers, and Firminy had calmly, but firmly, requested the managers of the mining companies to reduce the working day, numbering 12 hours hard underground labour, and revise 10 the wages tariff. Failing in their attempt at a conciliatory settlement, they struck on the 11th of June. For them it was of course a vital question to secure the co-operation of the miners that had not yet turned out to combine with them. To prevent this, the managers of the mining companies requested and got from the Prefect of the Loire a forest of bay- 15 onets. On the 12th of June, the strikers found the coal pits under strong military guard. To make sure of the zeal of the soldiers thus lent to them by the government, the mining companies paid each soldier a franc daily. The soldiers paid the companies back by catching, on the 16th June, about 60 miners eager to get at a conversation with their brethren in the 20 coalpits. These prisoners were in the afternoon of the same day escorted to St. Etienne by a detachment (150 men), of the fourth regiment of the line. Before these stout warriors set out, an engineer of the Dorian mines distributed them 60 bottles of brandy, telling them at the same time, they ought to have a sharp eye on their prisoners' gang, these miners being 25 savages, barbarians, ticket-of-leave men. What with the brandy, and what with ||11| the sermon, a bloody collision was thus prepared for. Followed on their march by a crowd of miners, with their wives and children, surrounded by them on a narrow defile on the heights of the Moncel, Quartier Ricamarie, requested to surrender the prisoners, and, 30 on their refusal, attacked by a volley of stones, the soldiers, without any preliminary warning, fired with their chassepots pell-mell into the crowd, killing 15 persons, amongst whom were 2 women and an infant, and dangerously wounding a considerable number. The tortures of the wounded were horrible. One of the sufferers was a poor girl of 12 years, 35 Jenny Petit, whose name will live immortal in the annals of the working-class martyrology. Struck by two balls from behind, one of which lodged in her leg, while the other passed through her back, broke her arm, and escaped through her right shoulder. "Le chasse-pot avait encore fait merveille."

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This time, however, the government was not long in finding out that it had committed not only a crime, but a blunder. It was not hailed as the saviour of society by the middle class. The whole municipal council of St. Etienne tendered its resignation in a document, denouncing the scoundrelism of the troops, and insisting upon their removal from the town. The French press rung with cries of horror! Even such conservative prints as the *Moniteur Universel* opened subscriptions for the victims. The government *had* to remove the odious regiment from St. Etienne.

Under such difficult circumstances, it was a luminous idea to sacrifice 10 on the altar of public indignation a scapegoat always at hand, the International Working Men's Association. At the judicial trial of the so-called rioters, the act of accusation divided them into 10 categories, very ingeniously shading their respective darkness of guilt. The first class, the most deeply tinged, consisted of workmen more particularly suspected to have 15 obeyed some secret *mot d'ordre* from abroad, given out by the International. The evidence was, of course, overwhelming, as the following short extract from a French paper will show:— "The interrogatory of the witnesses did not allow '*neatly*' to establish the participation of the International Association. The witnesses affirm *only* the presence, at the head of 20 the bands, of some *unknown* people, wearing white frocks and caps. *None of the unknown ones have been arrested, or appear in the dock.* To the question: do you *believe* in the intervention of the International Association? a witness replies: I *believe* it, but *without any proofs whatever!*"

Shortly after the Ricamarie massacres, the dance of economical revolts 25 was opened at Lyons by the silk-winders, most of them females. In their distress they appealed to the International, which, mainly by its members in France and Switzerland, helped them to carry the day. Despite all attempts at police intimidation, they publicly proclaimed their adhesion to our Society, and entered it formally by paying the statutory contributions to the general council. At Lyons, as before at Rouen, the female workers played a noble and prominent part in the movement. Other Lyons trades have since followed in the track of the silk-winders. Some 30 10,000 new members were thus gained for us in a few weeks amongst that heroic population which more than thirty years ago inscribed upon its 35 banner the watchword of the modern Proletariat: "Vivre en travaillant ou mourir en combattant!"

Meanwhile the French Government continues its petty tribulations against the International. At Marseilles our members were forbidden meeting for the election of a delegate to Basle. The same paltry trick was 40 played in other towns. But the workmen on the Continent, as elsewhere, begin at last to understand that the surest way to get one's natural rights is to exercise them at one's personal risk.

The Austrian workmen, and especially those of Vienna, although entering their class movement only after the events of 1866, have at once occupied a vantage-ground. They marched at once under the banners of socialism and the International, which by their delegates at the recent Eisenach congress, they have now joined *en masse*. 5

If anywhere, the liberal middle-class has exhibited in Austria its selfish instincts, its mental inferiority, and its petty spite against the working class. Their ministry, seeing the empire distracted and threatened by an internecine struggle of races and nationalities, pounces upon the workmen who alone proclaim the fraternity of all races and nationalities. The 10 middle-class itself, which has won its new position not by any ||12| heroism of its own, but only by the signal disaster of the Austrian army, hardly able as it is, and knows itself to be, to defend its new conquests from the attacks of the dynasty, the aristocracy, and the clerical party, nevertheless wastes its best energies in the mean attempt to debar the 15 working class from the rights of combination, public meeting, free press and free thought. In Austria, as in all other states of continental Europe, the International has supplanted the ci-devant *spectre-rouge*. When, on the 13th of July, a workmen's massacre on a small scale was enacted at Brunn the Cottonopolis of Moravia, the event was traced to the secret 20 instigations of the International, whose agents, however, were unfortunately invested with the rare gift of rendering themselves invisible. When some leaders of the Vienna work-people figured before the judicial bench, the public accuser stigmatized them as tools of the foreigner. Only, to show how conscientiously he had studied the matter, he com- 25 mitted the little error of confounding the middle-class League of Peace and Liberty with the working men's International Association.

If the workmen's movement was thus harassed in Cis-Leithanian Austria, it has been recklessly prosecuted in Hungary. On this point the most reliable reports from Pesth and Presburg have reached the general 30 council. One example of the treatment of the Hungarian workmen by the public authorities may suffice. Herr von Wenckheim, the Hungarian Home Minister, was just staying at Vienna on public business. Having for months been interdicted from public meetings and even from entertainments destined for the collection of the funds of a sick club, the 35 Presburg workmen sent at last delegates to Vienna, then and there to lay their grievances before the illustrious Herr von Wenckheim. Puffing and blowing his cigar, the illustrious one received them with the bullying apostrophe, "Are you workmen? Do you work hard? For nothing else you have to care. You do not want public clubs; and if you dabble in 40 politics, we shall know what measures to take against you. I shall do

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nothing for you. Let the workmen grumble to their heart's content!" To the question of the workmen, whether the good pleasure of the police was still to rule uppermost, the liberal minister replied: "Yes, under my responsibility." After a somewhat prolonged but useless explanation the 5 workmen left the minister telling him, "Since state matters influence the workmen's condition, the workmen must occupy themselves with politics, and they will certainly do so."

In Prussia and the rest of Germany, the past year was distinguished by the formation of trades' unions all over the country. At the recent Eise-
10 nach Congress the delegates of 150,000 German workmen, from Ger-
many proper, Austria, and Switzerland, have organized a new democrat-
ic social party, with a programme literally embodying the leading
principles of our statutes. Debarred by law from forming sections of our
association, they have, nevertheless, formally entered it by resolving to
15 take individual cards of membership from the General Council. At its
congress at Barmen, the Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein has also
re-affirmed its adhesion to the principles of our association, but simulta-
neously declared the Prussian law forbade them joining us.

New branches of our association have sprung up at Naples, in Spain,
20 and in Holland.

At Barcelona a Spanish, and at Amsterdam a Dutch organ of our
association is now being issued.

The laurels plucked by the Belgian government on the glorious bat-
tlegrounds of Seraing and Frameries seem really to have roused the angry
25 jealousy of the Great Powers. No wonder, then, that *England* also had
this year to boast a workman's massacre of its own. The Welsh coalmin-
ers, at Leeswood Great Pit, near Mold, in Denbighshire, had received
sudden notice of a reduction of wages by the manager of those works,
whom, long since, they had reason to consider a most incorrigible petty
30 oppressor. Consequently, they collected aid from the neighbouring col-
lieries, and, besides assaulting him, attacked his house, and carried all his
furniture to the railway station, these wretched men fancying in their
childish ignorance thus to get rid of him for good and all. Proceedings
were of course taken against the rioters; but one of them was rescued by
35 a mob of 1,000 men, and conveyed out of the town. On the 28th May, two
of the ringleaders were to be taken before the magistrates of Mold by
policemen under the escort of a detachment of the 4th ||13| Regiment of
the line, "The King's Own". A crowd of miners, trying to rescue the
40 prisoners, and, on the resistance of the police and the soldiers, showering
stones at them, the soldiers—without any previous warning—returned
the shower of stones by a shower of bullets from their breechloaders

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(Snider fusils). Five persons, two of them females, were killed, and a great many wounded. So far there is much analogy between the Mold and the Ricamarie massacres, but here it ceases. In France, the soldiers were only responsible to their commander. In England, they had to pass through a coroner's jury inquest; but this coroner was a deaf and daft old fool, who had to receive the witnesses' evidence through an ear trumpet, and the Welsh jury, who backed him, were a narrowly prejudiced class jury. They declared the massacre "Justifiable Homicide".
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In France, the rioters were sentenced from 3 to 18 months' imprisonment, and soon after, amnestied. In England, they were condemned to 10 years' penal servitude! In France, the whole press resounded with cries of indignation against the troops. In England, the press was all smiles for the soldiers, and all frowns for their victims! Still the English workmen have gained much by losing a great and dangerous illusion. Till now they fancied to have their lives protected by the formality of the Riot Act, and 15 the subordination of the military to the civil authorities. They know now, from the official declaration of Mr. Bruce, the liberal Home Minister, in the House of Commons—Firstly, that without going through the pre-military process of reading the Riot Act, any country magistrate, some foxhunter or parson, has the right to order the troops to fire on what he 20 may please to consider a riotous mob; and, secondly, that the soldier may give fire on his own hook, on the plea of self-defence. The liberal Minister forgot to add that, under these circumstances, every man ought to be at public expense, with a breechloader, in self-defence against the soldier.

The following resolution was passed at the recent General Congress of 25 the English Trades Unions at Birmingham:—"That as local organizations of labour have almost disappeared before organizations of a national character, so we believe the extension of the principle of free trade, which induces between nations such a competition that the interest of the workman is liable to be lost sight of and sacrificed in the fierce international 30 race between capitalists, demands that such organizations should be still further extended and made international. And as the International Working Men's Association endeavours to consolidate and extend the interests of the toiling masses, which are everywhere identical, this Congress heartily recommends that Association to the support of the working men of the United Kingdom, especially of all organized bodies, and strongly urges them to become affiliated to that body, believing that the realization of its principles would also conclude to lasting peace between the nations of the earth."
35

During last May, a war between the United States and England seemed eminent. Your General Council, therefore, sent an address to Mr.
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Sylvis, the President of the American National Labour Union, calling on the United States' working class to command peace where their would-be masters shouted war. The sudden death of Mr. Sylvis, that valiant champion of our cause, will justify us in concluding this report, as an homage
5 to his memory, by his reply to our letter:—"Your favour of the 12th instant, with address enclosed, reached me yesterday. I am very happy to receive such kindly words from our fellow-working men across the water: our cause is a common one. It is war between poverty and wealth: labour occupies the same low condition, and capital is the same tyrant in all
10 parts of the world. Therefore I say our cause is a common one. I, in behalf of the working people of the United States, extend to you, and through you to those you represent, and to all the down-trodden and oppressed sons and daughters of toil in Europe, the right hand of fellowship. Go a-head in the good work you have undertaken, until the most
15 glorious success crowns your efforts. That is our determination. Our late war resulted in the building up of the most infamous monied aristocracy on the face of the earth. This monied power is fast eating up the substance of the people. We have made war upon it, and we mean to win. If we can, we will win through the ballot-box: if not, then we will resort to
20 sterner means. A little blood-letting is sometimes necessary in desperate cases."

By order of the Council,
R. Applegarth, Chairman
Cowell Stepney, Treasurer
J. George Eccarius, General Secretary. |

Karl Marx
Bericht des Generalrats der Internationalen
Arbeiter-Assoziation an den vierten allgemeinen
Kongreß in Basel

III Bericht des Generalraths der Internationalen Arbeiter-Association an den IV. allgemeinen Congreß in Basel. |

[3] Die Delegirten der verschiedenen Sektionen werden Euch ausführliche Berichte abstatten über den Fortschritt unserer Association in ihren resp. Ländern. Der Bericht Eures Generalrathes bezieht sich hauptsächlich auf die Guerillagefechte zwischen Kapital und Arbeit, wir meinen die Strikes, welche im vergangenen Jahre den Kontinent von Europa beunruhigt haben und von denen man behauptet, sie seien weder aus dem Elend des Arbeiters entsprungen, noch aus dem Despotismus des Kapitalisten, sondern aus den geheimen Intrigen unserer Association.

Einige Wochen nach Abhaltung unseres letzten Congresses brach unter den Bandwebern und Seidenfärbern in Basel ein denkwürdiger Strike aus. Basel ist ein Platz, der bis auf unsre Tage viele Züge einer mittelalterlichen Stadt mit ihren lokalen Ueberlieferungen, ihren engen Vorurtheilen, ihren börsenstolzen Patriziern und ihrem patriarchalischen Verhältniß zwischen Arbeitgeber und Arbeiter bewahrt hat. Noch vor wenigen Jahren prahlte ein Basler Fabrikant gegenüber einem englischen Gesandtschafts-Sekretär, daß „die wechselseitige Stellung von Meister und Leuten hier ungleich günstiger sei als in England“, daß „in der Schweiz ein Arbeiter, der einen guten Meister für bessere Löhne verließe, von seinen eigenen Mitarbeitern verachtet werden würde“ und daß „unsrer Vortheil England gegenüber hauptsächlich in der langen Arbeitszeit und den mäßigen Löhnen besteht.“ Man sieht, das patriarchalische Regime in seiner durch moderne Einflüsse veränderten Gestalt kommt darauf hinaus, daß der Meister gut und sein Arbeitslohn schlecht ist, daß der Arbeiter wie ein mittelalterlicher Vasall fühlt und wie ein moderner Lohnsklave schanzt.

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Diesen Patriarchalismus mag man ferner beurtheilen aus einer offiziellen schweizerischen Untersuchung über den Kinderverbrauch in den Fabriken und den Zustand der öffentlichen Elementarschulen. Es stellte sich heraus, daß „die Basler Schul| |4|atmosphäre die schlechteste in der 5 Welt ist, daß, während in freier Luft die Kohlensäure 4 Theile auf 10 000 bildet und in geschlossenen Räumen 10 Theile nicht überschreiten sollte, sie in den Basler gewöhnlichen Schulen auf 20-81 Theile des Vormittags und auf 53-94 Theile des Nachmittags steigt.“ Hierauf bemerkte ein 10 Mitglied des Basler Großen Rethes, Herr Thurneisen, sehr kühl: „Laßt Euch nicht schrecken. Die Eltern haben in ebenso schlechten Schulräumen gesessen als jetzt die Kinder, und dennoch sind sie mit heiler Haut davon gekommen.“

Man wird nun sofort verstehen, daß eine ökonomische Revolte Seitens der Basler Arbeiter Epoche in der sozialen Geschichte der Schweiz 15 macht. Nichts ist charakteristischer als der Ausgangspunkt dieser Bewegung! In Basel haben die Arbeiter nach altem Gebrauch am letzten Tage der Spätjahrmesse '/4 Tag Feierstunden. Als nun am 9. November 1868 die Arbeiter der Bandfabrike Debary und Söhne denselben wie gewohnt in Anspruch nahmen, erklärte ihnen einer der Fabrikherren in barschem 20 Ton und mit gebieterischer Miene: „Wer weggehe und nicht fortarbeite, sei sogleich und für immer entlassen.“ Nach einigen vergeblichen Protestationen verließen 104 von 172 Weibern sofort die Fabrike. Sie glaubten jedoch nicht an die definitive Entlassung, weil gegenseitige vierzehntägige Aufkündigungsfrist durch schriftlichen Vertrag bedingt war. Bei ihrer 25 Rückkehr am nächsten Morgen fanden sie die Fabrik mit Gendarmen umstellt, welche die Rebellen ausschlössen. Auch die Weber, welche den '/4 Tag nicht gefeiert hatten, wollten nun ebenfalls nicht eintreten. Das allgemeine Lösungswort war: „Alle oder Keiner.“

So plötzlich arbeitslos gemacht, wurden die Weber mit ihren Familien 30 zugleich aus den Wohnungen herausgeworfen, welche sie von ihren Fabrikanten gemietet. Letztere sandten zugleich Rundschreiben an Metzger, Bäcker, Krämer, den Aufständigen allen Kredit für Lebensmittel abzuschneiden. Der so eröffnete Kampf währte vom 9. November 1868 bis Frühling 1869. Die Grenzen unseres Berichts erlauben uns nicht, auf 35 weitere Details einzugehen. Genug, die Bewegung entsprang aus einem frivolgehässigen Akt kapitalistischer Despotie, aus einem grausamen Lockout, mündete in Strikes, von Zeit zu Zeit unterbrochen durch Kompromisse, wieder und wieder verletzt durch die Meister, und gipfelte in dem vergeblichen Versuch des hochmächtigen Basler Großen Rethes, die 40 Arbeiter durch militärische Maßregeln und eine Art von Belagerungszustand einzuschüchtern.

Während dieses Aufstands wurden die Arbeiter unterstützt durch die *Internationale Arbeiter-Association*. Diese Gesellschaft hatte nach der Meinung der Meister den modernen ||5| Rebellengeist zuerst in die gute alte Reichsstadt Basel eingeschmuggelt. Diesen frechen Eindringling wieder aus Basel herauszuwerfen, wurde nun das Ziel ihres Strebens. Sie 5 versuchten, den Austritt aus der Gesellschaft ihren Unterthanen als Friedensbedingung aufzuherrschen. Jedoch umsonst. Als sie überhaupt in dem Krieg mit der *Internationalen* den Kürzeren zogen, machten sie ihrer Übeln Laune in possirlichen Sprüngen Luft. Diese Republikaner, welche größere Fabriken in dem Basel nahe gelegenen badischen Grenzorte Lör- 10 räch besitzen, bewogen den dortigen Amtmann, unsere dortige Sektion aufzulösen, eine Maßregel, die jedoch bald wieder von der badischen Regierung zurückgenommen wurde. Als die „Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung“ sich herausnahm, unparteiisch über die Basler Ereignisse zu berichten, drohte die „Ehrbarkeit“ in närrischen Briefen mit Abonne- 15 mentskündigung. Nach London sandten sie einen Emissär mit dem phantastischen Auftrag, die Dimensionen der internationalen Generalgeldkiste auszumessen. Hätten diese guten orthodoxen Christen in den ersten Zeiten des Christenthums gelebt, sie hätten vor Allem des Apostel Paulus Bankkredit zu Rom nachgespäht. 20

Ihr unbeholfen barbarisches Verfahren zog ihnen einige ironische Vorlesungen über Weltweisheit von Seiten der Genfer Kapitalisten zu. Einige Monate später hatten die Basler Pfahlbürger die Genugthuung mit Wucherzins den Genfer Weltmännern zurückzahlen zu können.

Im Monat März brachen in Genf 2 Strikes aus, auf Seite der Bauar- 25 beiter und der Setzer, deren beide Gesellschaften Sektionen der *Internationalen* bilden. Der Strike der Bauarbeiter wurde provocirt durch die Meister, welche den das vorige Jahr mit ihren Arbeitern feierlich abgeschlossenen Vertrag brachen. Der Setzerstrike war das letzte Wort eines 10jährigen Streits, den die Arbeiter vergeblich durch 5 auf einander fol- 30 gende Kommissionen zu schlichten versucht hatten. Wie in Basel verwandelten die Meister sofort ihre Privatfeinde mit den Arbeitern in einen Kreuzzug der Staatsgewalt gegen die *Internationale Arbeiter-Association*.

Der Genfer Staatsrath verwandte Polizeidiener, um aus der Ferne durch die Meister importierte Arbeiter an der Eisenbahn-Station abzu- 35 holen und von aller Berührung mit den Strikers abzuschließen. Er erlaubte der Genfer *jeunesse dorée*, mit Revolvern bewaffnet, Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen auf den Straßen und anderen öffentlichen Plätzen zu überfallen. Er schleuderte seine eignen Polizeihalunken bei verschiedenen Gelegenheiten auf die Arbeiter und namentlich am 24. Mai, wo zu Genf, 40 auf kleiner Stufenleiter, die Pariser Scenen aufgeführt werden, welche

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Ras| |6|pail gebrandmarkt hat als „*les orgies infernales des casse-têtes*“. Als die Genfer Arbeiter in öffentlicher Versammlung eine Adresse an den Staatsrath beschlossen, worin eine Untersuchung über diese infernalen Polizeiorgien verlangt wird, wies der Staatsrath ihr Gesuch schnöde zurück. Man beabsichtigte offenbar die Genfer Arbeiter zu einer Erneute aufzustacheln, die Erneute gewaltsam niederzustampfen, die *Internationalen* vom Schweizer Boden wegzufegen und die Proletarier einem December regime zu unterwerfen. Der Plan ward vereitelt durch die energetischen Maßregeln und den mäßigenden Einfluß unseres Schweizer-10 Föderal-Komites. Die Meister hatten schließlich nachzugeben.

Hört nun einige der Invektiven der Genfer Kapitalisten und ihrer Preßbande gegen die *Internationalen!* In öffentlicher Versammlung erließen sie eine Adresse an den Staatsrath, worin es unter anderm heißt: „Man ruinirt den Kanton Genf durch Décrète von London und Paris, man will 15 hier alle Arbeit und alle Industrie unterdrücken.“ Und ein Schweizerblatt druckte, die Leiter der *Internationalen* seien „Geheimagenten des Kaisers Napoleon, die im gelegenen Augenblick als öffentliche Ankläger gegen unsre kleine Schweiz auftreten werden.“

Und dies von Seite derselben Herren, die sich ebenso eifrig gezeigt, das 20 Decemberregime auf den Schweizerboden zu verpflanzen; von Seiten jener Finanzenagenten, welche Genf wie andre Schweizerstädte beherrschen und von denen ganz Europa weiß, daß sie sich seit langem aus Bürgern der Schweizer-Republik in Lohnsträger des *crédit mobilier* und andern *internationalen Schwindelassocationen* verwandelt haben!

25 Die Metzeleien, wodurch die Belgische Regierung im Monat April auf die Strikes der Puddlers zu Seraing und der Kohlengräber der Borinage antwortete, wurden ausführlich biosgelegt in einer Adresse des Generalraths an die Arbeiter Europa's und der Vereinigten Staaten. Wir betrachteten eine solche Adresse um so dringender, als in diesem konstitutionellen Musterstaat ein Arbeitermassacre kein Zufall, sondern eine Institution ist. Dem abscheulichen Militärdrama folgte auf dem Fuß die gerichtliche Farce. In seinen Untersuchungen gegen unser Belgisches General-Komité zu Brüssel, dessen Wohnungen brutal von der Polizei überfallen und dessen Mitglieder theilweise arretirt wurden, fand der 30 35 Untersuchungsrichter den Brief eines Arbeiters, der „500 *Internationale*“ verschreibt. Er schließt sofort, man verlange 500 Klopffechter nach dem Kampfplatz. Die 500 *Internationalen* waren 500 Exemplare der »*Internationale*«, des Wochenorgans des Brüsseler Komités. Er stiebert dann ein ||7| Telegramm nach Paris auf, worin eine gewisse Quantität Pulver 40 verlangt wird. Nach langer Haussuchung wird die gefährliche Substanz in Brüssel entdeckt. Es war Rattenpulver. Schließlich schmeichelt sich die

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Belgische Polizei, das Schatzgespenst gepackt zu haben, welches im Hirn der continentalen Kapitalisten spukt, dessen Hauptstock in London lagert und wovon Ableger beständig über die See nach allen Centraisitzen unserer Gesellschaft spedirt werden. Der Belgische officielle Forscher wähnt es versteckt in einer eisernen Kiste in einem finstern Winkel. Seine 5 Scherzen stürzen auf die Kiste los, erbrechen sie gewaltsam und finden - ein paar Stücke Kohle. Vielleicht, berührt von Polizeihand verwandelt sich das reine internationale Gold sofort in Kohle.

Von den Strikes, die im December 1868 verschiedene Sitze der französischen Baumwollenindustrie heimsuchten, war der wichtigste der in 10 *Sotteville-lès-Rouen*. Die Fabrikanten des Departements der Somme hatten nicht lange vorher eine Zusammenkunft zu Amiens, um zu berathen, wie sie ihre englischen Rivalen auf dem englischen Markt selbst unterkaufen (*undersell*) könnten. Man war darüber einig, daß neben den Zöllen, die verhältnismäßige Niedrigkeit des Arbeitslohns Frankreich haupt- 15 sächlich gegen englische Baumwoll-Waaren geschützt habe. Man schloß natürlich, daß eine noch größere Senkung des Arbeitslohns erlauben würde, England mit französischen Baumwoll-Waaren zu überfallen. Man zweifelte keinen Augenblick, daß die französischen Baumwollarbeiter stolz darauf sein würden, die Kosten eines Eroberungskriegs zu bestrei- 20 ten, den ihre patriotischen Meister auf der andern Seite des Kanals zu führen beschlossen. Kurz nachher verlautete, daß die Fabrikanten von Rouen und Umgegend in geheimem Conclave ein ähnliches Uebereinkommen getroffen. Bald darauf fand plötzlich eine bedeutende Lohnherabsetzung statt in *Sotteville-lès-Rouen*, und nun erhoben sich die Nor- 25 männischen Weber zum ersten Mal gegen die Uebergriffe des Kapitals. Sie handelten in der Aufregung des Augenblicks. Sie hatten weder vorher *trades-unions* gebildet, noch für Widerstandsmittel irgend einer Art gesorgt. In ihrer Verlegenheit appellirten sie an das International-Komité zu *Rouen*, welches ihnen die erste nothwendige Hülfe von den Arbeitern 30 *Rouen's*, der Nachbarorte und von Paris verschaffte. Gegen Ende December wandte sich das Rouener-Komité an den Generalrath, in einem Augenblick äußerster Noth in den englischen Sitzen der Baumwollindustrie, beispiellosen Elends in London und allgemeinen Drucks in allen Produktionszweigen. Dieser Zustand dauert bis zu diesem Augenblick in 35 England fort. Trotz so durchaus ungünstiger Umstände ||8| glaubte der Generalrath, daß der eigenthümliche Charakter des Rouener Konflikts die Englischen Arbeiter zu besondern Anstrengungen aufstacheln würde. Es war dies eine große Gelegenheit, den Kapitalisten zu beweisen, daß ihr internationaler Industrie-Krieg, geführt durch Niederschrauben des Ar- 40 beitslohns, bald in diesem Lande, bald in jenem sich endlich brechen

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werde an der internationalen Vereinigung der Arbeiterklassen. Die englischen Arbeiter antworteten unserm Aufruf sofort durch einen ersten Beitrag für Rouen und der Londoner Generalrath der *trades-unions* beschloß mit uns zusammen ein *monstre meeting* zu Gunsten der normän-
5 nischen Brüder zu berufen. Die Nachricht vom plötzlichen Aufhören des Sottevillestikes verhinderte weiteres Vorgehen.

Für den materiellen Fehlschlag dieser ökonomischen Revolte ent-
schädigten große moralische Resultate. Sie warb die Normannischen Baumwoll-Arbeiter für die revolutionäre Armee der Arbeit, gab den An-
10 stoß zur Stiftung von trade-unions zu Rouen, Elboeuf, Darnetal u.s.w., und besiegelte von Neuem den Bruderbund zwischen englischen und französischen Arbeiterklassen. Während des Winters und Frühlings 1869 blieb unsre Propaganda in Frankreich gelähmt durch die 1868 erfolgte Unterdrückung uns'res Pariser Comités, die Polizeischikanen in den De-
15 partements und das überwältigende Interesse der allgemeinen Wahlen.

Die Wahlen waren kaum vorüber, als zahlreiche Strikes ausbrachen in den Minendistrikten der Loire, zu Lyon und an vielen andern Plätzen. Die starkgefärberten Phantasiegemälde von der Prosperität der Arbeiter unter dem zweiten Kaiserreich verschwammen wie Nebelbilder vor den
20 ökonomischen Thatsachen, welche diese Kämpfe zwischen den Kapita-
listen und Arbeitern an's Licht brachten. Die Forderungen der Arbeiter waren so bescheiden und so unabweisbar, daß sie nach einigen oft scham-
losen Versuchen des Widerstands alle eingeräumt werden mußten. Es war durchaus nichts Auffallendes an diesen Strikes außer ihrer plötzlichen
25 Explosion nach scheinbarer Windstille, und die Geschwindigkeit, womit sie Schlag auf Schlag einander folgten. Dennoch war die Ursache davon handgreiflich einfach. Während den Wahlen hatten die Arbeiter sich mit Erfolg aufgelehnt wider ihren öffentlichen Despoten. Was natürlicher als sich nach den Wahlen aufzulehnen gegen ihre Privat-Despoten?

30 Die Wahlen hatten die Geister in Bewegung gesetzt. Es ist in der Ord-
nung, daß die Regierungsresse, bezahlt wie sie ist für Verfälschung der Thatsachen, den Schlüssel fand in den geheimen Commandoworten des Londoner General-Raths, der seine Emissaire von Ort zu Ort schicke um den vorher ganz und gar ||9| zufrieden gestellten französischen Arbeitern
35 das Geheimniß zu offenbaren, daß es ein böses Ding ist, überarbeitet, unterzahlt und brutal behandelt zu werden. Ein französisches Polizeior-
gan, welches in London erscheint, *l'International*, enthüllt der Welt in seiner Nummer vom 3. August die geheime Triebfeder unsrer heilosen Thätigkeit.

40 „Das Sonderbarste," sagt es, „ist, daß den Strikes verordnet wurde in solchen Ländern auszubrechen, wo das Elend noch weit davon entfernt

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ist, sich fühlbar zu machen. Diese unerwarteten Explosionen kamen so außerordentlich gelegen für einen gewissen Nachbar Frankreichs, der gerade Krieg zu befürchten hatte, daß viele Leute sich fragen, ob diese Strikes nicht vorfielen auf Verlangen eines auswärtigen Macchiavelli, der sich die Gunst dieser allmächtigen Gesellschaft zu erringen wußte." Zur selben Zeit, wo dieser französische Polizeiwich uns anklagte, die französische Regierung zu Haus mit Strikes zu belästigen, um dem Grafen Bismarck die Last eines auswärtigen Kriegs abzuwälzen, deutete ein Rheinpreußisches Fabrikantenblatt an, wir erschütterten den Norddeutschen Bund mit Strikes, um die deutsche Industrie zum Vortheil fremder 10 Fabrikanten lahm zu legen.

Die Verhältnisse der *Internationalen* zu den französischen Strikes werden wir nun beleuchten an zwei Fällen von einem typischen Charakter. In dem einen Fall, dem Strike von St-Etienne und dem folgenden Massakre bei Ricamarie, wird die französische Regierung selbst nicht mehr 15 wagen irgend eine Einmischung der *Internationalen* zu behaupten.

In den Ereignissen zu Lyon war es *nicht* die *Internationale*, welche die Arbeiter in Strikes warf, sondern umgekehrt die Strikes, welche die Arbeiter in die Arme der Internationalen warfen.

Die Kohlenarbeiter von *St-Etienne*, *Rive-de-Giers* und *Fumery* hatten 20 ruhig aber fest von den Direktoren der Minencompagnien eine Revision des Lohntarifs und eine Beschränkung des Arbeitstages verlangt, der 12 volle Stunden harter, unterirdischer Arbeit zählte. Erfolglos in ihrem Versuch eines gütlichen Vergleichs erklärten sie einen Strike, am 11. Juni. Es war für sie natürlich eine Lebensfrage die Cooperation ihrer Kämeraden zu sichern, die noch fort arbeiteten. Um dies zu verhindern, verlangten und erhielten die Direktoren vom Präfekten der Loire einen Wald von Bajonetten. Am 12. Juni fanden die Strikers die Kohlengruben unter starker, militärischer Besetzung. Um sich des Eifers der Soldaten, welche die Regierung ihnen so lieh, zu versichern, zahlten die Minencom- 30 pagnien jedem Soldaten täglich 1 Franken per Kopf. Die Soldaten zahlten den Com||10|pagnien zurück durch Einfangung von ungefähr 60 Kohlengräbern, welche zu ihren Kameraden in den Gruben vorzudringen suchten. Diese Gefangenen wurden am Nachmittag desselben Tags nach St-Etienne escortiert durch 150 Mann vom vierten Linien-Regiment. Vor 35 dem Aufbruch der tapfern Krieger vertheilte ein Ingenieur der Compagnie Dorian 60 Flaschen Cognac unter sie und legte ihnen eindringlich ans Herz ein scharfes Auge auf die Gefangenen zu haben. Diese Bergleute seien Wilde, Barbaren, entlassene Galeerensträflinge. Durch den Brandtwein und die Predigt war eine blutige Collision eingeleitet. Auf 40 ihrem Marsch, gefolgt von einem Haufen Kohlenarbeiter mit Frauen und

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Kindern, umringt von denselben in einem Engpaß auf den Höhen des Moncel, Quartier Ricamarie, angegangen die Gefangenen auszuliefern, auf ihre Weigerung mit einem Steinhagel angegriffen, feuerten die Soldaten ohne vorläufige Warnung mitten in den enggedrängten Haufen, 5 tödteten 15 Personen, darunter 2 Weiber und einen Säugling, und verwundeten eine große Menge. Die Torturen der Verwundeten waren furchtbar, unter ihnen befand sich ein armes Mädchen von 12 Jahren, *Jenny Petit*, deren Name unsterblich in der Martyrologie der Arbeiterklasse leben wird. Sie ward von hinten getroffen von zwei Kugeln, wovon 10 die eine in der Lende fest sitzen blieb, die andre den Rücken durchflog, den Arm zerbrach und durch die rechte Schulter herausfuhr. « *Les chasssepots avaient encore fait merveille.* »

Diesmal fand jedoch die Regierung bald aus, daß sie nicht nur ein Verbrechen, sondern einen Fehler begangen. Sie wurde nicht von der 15 Mittelklasse als Gesellschaftsretter begrüßt. Der Municipalrath von St-Etienne gab seine Entlassung in Masse in einem Dokument, worin er die Soldateska der Unmenschlichkeit zieh und die Verlegung des Regiments von der Stadt forderte. Die französische Presse brach in einen Schrei des Entsetzens aus. Selbst solche conservativen Blätter wie der *moniteur universel* sammelten, für die Opfer. Die Regierung hatte das gehässige Regiment von St-Etienne zu entfernen.

Unter diesen schwierigen Umständen war es ein lichter Einfall, einen Sündenbock auf dem Altar der öffentlichen Entrüstung zu opfern, - die *Internationale Arbeiterassociation*. Bei den Gerichtsverhandlungen gegen 25 die angeblichen Aufrührer theilte der Anklageakt sie in 10 Categorien, die Grade ihrer Schuld sehr kunstreich schattirend. Die erste Klasse, die dunkelste, bestand aus 5 Arbeitern, besonders des Verdachts verdächtig ihr geheimes Losungswort von außen, von der *Internationalen* erhalten zu haben. Die Beweise waren natürlich überwältigend, wie der folgende 30 Auszug aus einer französischen Gerichts|| 11 Leitung zeigt: „Das Zeugenverhör hat nicht erlaubt die Theilnahme der Internationalen Association genau festzusetzen.“

Die Zeugen versichern *nur*, daß sich an der Spitze der Banden *Unbekannte* befanden, mit weißen Kitteln und Mützen. Aber *keiner dieser 35 Unbekannten* ist arretirt worden *und keiner sitzt auf der Anklagebank*. Auf die Frage, glauben Sie an die Einmischung der Internationalen Association? antwortete ein Zeuge: Ich *glaube daran, aber ich habe durchaus keine Beweise.*"

Kurz nach dem Ricamarie-Massacre ward der Tanz der ökonomischen 40 Revolten zu Lyon eröffnet durch die Seidenhaspier, meist weiblichen Geschlechts. In ihrer Noth appellirten sie an die Internationale, die na-

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mentlich durch ihre Mitglieder in Frankreich und der Schweiz zum Sieg verhalf. Trotz aller Einschüchterungsversuche der Polizei erklärten sie öffentlich ihren Anschluß an unsre Gesellschaft und traten ihr formell bei, durch Zahlung der statutenmäßigen Beiträge an den General-Rath. Zu Lyon wie vorher zu Rouen spielten die *Arbeiterinnen* eine hochherzige 5 und hervorragende Rolle.

Andre Geschäftszweige von Lyon folgten den Seidenhasplern auf dem Fuß nach. So gewann unsre Gesellschaft in wenigen Wochen mehr als 10 000 neue Anhänger in dieser heroischen Bevölkerung, welche vor mehr als 30 Jahren das Losungswort des modernen Proletariats auf ihr 10 Banner schrieb: « *vivre en travaillant ou mourir en combattant* » (arbeitend leben, oder kämpfend sterben).

Unterdeß fuhr die französische Regierung fort mit ihren kleinlichen Quängeleien gegen die *Internationale*. Zu Marseille verbot sie unsren Mitgliedern zusammenzukommen zu der Wahl eines Delegirten für den 15 Basler Congreß. Derselbe Streich ward in andern Städten wiederholt, aber die Arbeiter des Continents, wie anderswo, beginnen endlich einzusehen, daß man seine natürlichen Rechte am sichersten erwirbt, wenn man sie ohne Erlaubniß ausübt, jeder auf seine persönliche Gefahr.

Die Arbeiter Oestreichs, besonders Wiens, nehmen bereits den Vor- 20 dergrund ein, obgleich sie erst nach den Ereignissen von 1866 in die Bewegung eintraten. Sie sammelten sich sofort unter der Fahne des Socialismus und der *Internationalen*, in welche sie massenhaft durch ihre Delegirten an dem neulichen Eisenacher Congreß eintraten. Wenn irgendwo, hat die liberale Mittelklasse in Oestreich ihre selbstischen In- 25 stinkte, ihre geistige Inferiorität und ihren kleinlichen Groll gegen die Arbeiterklasse zur Schau gestellt. Ihr Ministerium, welches das Reich zerrissen und bedroht sieht durch den Racen- und Nationalitäten-Kampf ||12| verfolgt die Arbeiter, welche allein die Verbrüderung aller Racen und Nationalitäten proklamiren. Die Mittelklasse selbst, welche 30 ihre neue Stellung nicht ihrem eigenen Heroismus, sondern ausschließlich den Unglücksfällen der österreichischen Armee verdankt, welche kaum im Stande ist, wie sie selbst weiß, ihre neuen Errungenschaften wider die Angriffe der Dynastie, der Aristokratie und des Clerus zu vertheidigen, diese Mittelklasse vergeudet nichts desto weniger ihre Kräfte in dem elen- 35 den Versuch die Arbeiterklasse auszuschließen vom Recht der Coalition, der öffentlichen Meetings und der Presse.

In Oestreich, wie in allen andern continentalen Staaten, hat die *Internationale* das weiland *rothe Gespenst* verdrängt. Als am 13. Juli ein Arbeitermassakre auf kleinem Maßstab zu Brünn, der Baumwollhaupt- 40 Stadt Mährens, aufgeführt wurde, erklärte man das Ereigniß durch die

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geheimen Aufhetzungen der *Internationalen*, deren Agenten jedoch im Besitz der Nebelkappe sind, die sie unsichtbar macht. Als einige Wiener Volksführer vor Gericht standen, brandmarkte der öffentliche Ankläger sie als Agenten des Auslands. Zum Beweis seiner tiefen Sachkenntniß
5 beging er nur den kleinen Irrthum, die *bürgerliche Freiheits- und Friedens-*
ligue von Bern mit der proletarischen *Internationalen* zu verwechseln.

Wird die Arbeiterbewegung so in dem cisleithanischen Oestreich verfolgt, so wird sie offen und schamlos gehetzt in *Ungarn*. Ueber diesen Punkt liegen dem Generalrath die zuverlässigsten Berichte von Pesth und
10 Preßburg vor. Ein Beispiel der Behandlung der ungarischen Arbeiter Seitens der Behörden genüge. Herr von Wenkheim, königlicher Minister des Innern in Ungarn, befand sich gerade bei der ungarischen Delegation in Wien.

Die *Preßburger* Arbeiter, welche seit Monaten keine Versammlungen
15 mehr abhalten dürfen, und denen sogar untersagt wurde, ein Fest zu veranstalten, dessen Reinertrag dem Gründungsfonds einer Krankenkasse zufallen sollte, sandten vor einigen Tagen mehrere Arbeiter, darunter den bekannten Agitator Niemtzik nach Wien, um bei dem Herrn Minister des Innern Beschwerde zu führen. Es kostete Mühe, Zutritt zu dem
20 hohen Herrn zu erhalten, und als sich endlich das ministerielle Zimmer öffnete, wurden die Arbeiter von dem Minister in einer allem Anstände widersprechenden Weise empfangen: „*Sind Sie Arbeiter? Arbeiten Sie fleißig?*“ fragte der Minister, indem er die dampfende Cigarre im Mund herumdrehte, „*nun weiter haben Sie sich um nichts zu bekümmern, Sie*
25 *brauchen keine Vereine, und wenn Sie Politik treiben, so werden wir Mittel dagegen wissen. Ich werde gar ||13| nichts für Sie thun. Mögen die Arbeiter immerhin murren!*“ Auf die Frage, ob also Alles der Willkür der Behörden überlassen bleibe, antwortete der Minister: „*Ja, unter meiner Verantwortung.*“ Nach langen vergeblichen Auseinandersetzungen verließen die
30 Arbeiter endlich den Minister mit der Erklärung: „*Da die staatlichen Verhältnisse die Lage der Arbeiter bedingen, so müssen sich die Arbeiter mit Politik beschäftigen, und sie werden es thun.*“

In *Preußen* und dem übrigen Deutschland zeichnete sich das vergangene Jahr aus durch die Bildung von trades-unions über das ganze Land.
35 Auf dem neulichen Congreß zu Eisenach stifteten die Delegirten von mehr als 150 000 Arbeitern vom eigentlichen Deutschland, Oestreich und der Schweiz, eine neue social-demokratische Partei mit einem Programm, dem die leitenden Principien unserer Statuten wörtlich einverleibt sind. Durch das Gesetz verhindert, förmliche Sektionen unserer Association zu
40 bilden, beschlossen sie individuelle Mitgliedschaftskarten vom Generalrath zu nehmen.

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Neue Zweige der Association haben sich in Neapel, Spanien und Holland gebildet. In Barcelona und Amsterdam werden Wochenorgane ausgegeben.

Die Lorbeeren der Belgischen Regierung auf den glorreichen Schlachtfeldern von Seraing und Frameries scheinen den Schlaf unserer Großmächte zu stören. Kein Wunder denn, daß auch England dieses Jahr sich seines Arbeitermassacres zu rühmen hat. Den welschen Kohlengräbern bei dem Leeswood Great Pit in der Nähe von Mold in Denbighshire wurde plötzlich Notiz einer Lohnverkürzung gegeben durch den Verwalter des Bergwerks, der ihnen seit langem als ein kleiner und unverbesserlicher Tyrann verhaft war. Sie sammelten Leute von den benachbarten Werken, verjagten ihn aus seinem Hause, schlepten alle seine Möbel zur nächsten Eisenbahnstation. Diese Unglücklichen wählten in ihrer kindischen Unwissenheit auf diese Weise ihn für immer los zu werden. Am 28. Mai wurden 2 Führer zum Gericht nach Mold von der Polizei und unter der Eskorte einer Abtheilung des 4. Infanterie-Regiments "*the kings own*", transportiert. Unterwegs suchte ein Haufen von Kohlengräbern sie zu befreien. Auf den Widerstand der Polizei und der Soldaten hagelte es Steine auf sie. Ohne vorläufige Warnung erwiderten die Soldaten den Steinhagel mit einem Kugelhagel von ihren Hinterladern. Fünf Personen, darunter zwei Frauen und ein Kind, wurden getötet und eine große Menge verwundet. Bis hierin existiert große Analogie zwischen den Massakres von Mold und Ricamarie, von ||14| da hört sie auf. In Frankreich waren die Soldaten nur ihren Kommandanten verantwortlich, in England hatten sie durch das Fegfeuer einer Coroner's jury zu passieren, aber der Coroner war ein tauber, halb versimpelter alter Mann, dem die Zeugenaussagen durch eine Ohrentrompete eingetrichert werden mußten und die Welsche Jury war eine engerherzig vorurtheilsvolle Klassenjury. Sie erklärten den Mord für „erlaubten Todtschlag“. In Frankreich wurden die Aufrührer zu Gefängnißstrafe von 3 bis zu 18 Monaten verurtheilt und bald darauf amnestiert, in England wurden sie zu 10 Jahren Zwangsarbeit mit Eisen verurtheilt.

In der ganzen französischen Presse *ein Wuthschrei* gegen die Truppen. In England hatte die Presse nur Schmunzeln für die Soldaten und nur Runzeln für ihre Opfer. Dennoch haben die englischen Arbeiter viel gewonnen durch den Verlust einer großen und gefährlichen Illusion. Bis jetzt glaubten sie sich mehr oder minder beschützt durch die Formalität der Riotacts und die Unterordnung des Militärs unter die Civilbehörde. Sie sind nun eines Bessern belehrt. Herr *Bruce*, der liberale Minister des Innern, erklärte im Hause der Gemeinen, jeder Magistrat, der erste beste Fuchsjäger oder Pfaffe, könne ohne vorherige Verlesung der Riotacts auf

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ihm aufrührerisch scheinende Haufen feuern lassen. Zweitens aber könnten die Soldaten auch auf eigene Faust feuern unter dem Vorwande der Selbstverteidigung. Der liberale Minister vergaß hinzuzufügen, daß unter so bewandten Umständen Jedermann auf Staatskosten mit einem 5 Hinterlader bewaffnet werden müßte zu seiner Selbstverteidigung gegen die Soldaten.

Der folgende Beschuß wurde am 30. August auf dem allgemeinen Kongreß der *Trades-Union* zu Birmingham verfaßt:

„In Anbetracht, daß die lokale Organisation der Arbeit fast ver-
10 schwunden ist vor einer Organisation mit nationalem Charakter; daß die Ausdehnung des Prinzips des Freihandels eine solche Konkurrenz der Kapitalisten hervorruft, daß in dieser internationalen Hetzjagd das Interesse des Arbeiters aus dem Gesicht verloren und aufgeopfert wird; daß die Arbeiterorganisation noch weiter ausgedehnt und international ge-
15 macht werden muß; in Anbetracht ferner, daß die *Internationale Arbeiterassocation* die gemeinsame Vertretung der Arbeiterinteressen be-
zweckt und daß die Interessen der Arbeiterklassen überall *identisch* sind,
empfiehlt dieser Congreß jene Association herzlich der Unterstützung der
Arbeiter des Vereinigten Königreichs und namentlich den organisierten
20 Arbeiterkörpern und geht sie aufs dringendste an, sich mit jener Association zu affilieren. Der Congreß ist zugleich überzeugt, daß die Ver-
wirklichung der Prinzipien der ||15| Internationalen zum dauernden Frieden unter den Nationen der Erde führen wird.“

Letzten Mai drohte Krieg zwischen den Vereinigten Staaten und Eng-
25 land. Euer Generalrath sandte daher eine Adresse an Herrn Sylvis, den
Präsidenten der amerikanischen *National-Labour-Union*, worin er die
amerikanische Arbeiterklasse aufrief, gegenüber dem Kriegsgeschrei der
herrschenden Klasse Frieden zu kommandiren.

Der plötzliche Tod des Herrn Sylvis, dieses tapfern Vorkämpfers unsrer
30 Sache, berechtigt, zur Erinnerung an ihn, unsern Bericht mit seinem Ant-
wortschreiben zu schließen:

„Philadelphia, 26. Mai 1869.

Ihre Adresse vom 12. Mai habe ich gestern empfangen. Ich bin sehr
glücklich, solche herzliche Worte von unsrer Arbeitergenossen jenseits
35 des Oceans zu erhalten. Unsere Sache ist eine gemeinschaftliche: Es ist
der Krieg zwischen Armuth und Reichthum. Die Arbeit nimmt überall
dieselbe niedrige Stellung ein und das Kapital ist derselbe Tyrann in allen
Theilen der Welt. Darum sage ich: Unsere Sache ist eine gemeinsame. Ich
40 reiche Euch im Namen der Arbeiterklassen der Vereinigten Staaten die
Hand der Kameradschaft. Ich reiche sie durch Euch allen denen, die Ihr
repräsentirt, und allen niedergetretenen und unterdrückten Söhnen und

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Töchtern der Mühsal in Europa. Geht voran in dem guten Werk, das Ihr unternommen habt, bis der glorreichste Erfolg Eure Anstrengungen krönt. Das ist auch unser Entschluß. Unser letzter Krieg hat resultirt in dem Aufbau der infamsten Geldaristokratie auf dem Antlitz der Erde. Diese Geldmacht zehrt das Mark des Volkes aus. Wir haben ihr den Krieg erklärt und fühlen uns des Sieges gewiß. Wenn möglich, wollen wir durch Stimmzettel siegen, wenn nicht, müssen wir zu ernstern Mitteln greifen. Ein kleiner Aderlaß ist manchmal notwendig in verzweifelten Fällen."

Im Auftrag des Generalraths:

Robert Applegarth, Vorsitzender

Cowell Stepney, Kassirer

J. George Eccarius, General-Sekretär.

London, den 1. September 1869.

Office: 256, High Holborn, W.C.



Karl Marx

Circulaire du Conseil Général de l'Association
Internationale des Travailleurs au Conseil Fédéral
de la Suisse Romande du 1 janvier 1870

|i| Le Conseil Général au Conseil Fédéral de la Suisse Romande.

Dans sa séance extraordinaire du 1 Janvier 1870 le *Conseil Général* a résolu:

- 5 1) Nous lisons dans « *l'Egalité* » No. du 11 Décembre 1869:
« il est certain qu'il (Le Conseil Général) néglige des choses extrêmement importantes ... Nous les (les *obligations* du Conseil Général) lui rappelons avec l'article premier du règlement etc »; « Le Conseil Général est *obligé* d'exécuter les résolutions du Congrès »... « Nous aurions assez 10 de questions à poser au Conseil Général pour que ses réponses constituent un assez long bulletin. Elles viendront plus tard. » ... « En attendant etc. »...

Le Conseil Général ne connaît pas d'article, soit dans les statuts ||2| soit dans les règlements, qui *l'obligeât* d'entrer en correspondance ou en position lémitique avec *L'Egalité* ou de faire des « réponses » aux « questions » des journaux.

Ce n'est que le *Conseil Fédéral* de la Suisse Romande qui, vis-à-vis du Conseil Général, représente les branches de la Suisse Romande. Lorsque le Conseil Fédéral Romand nous adressera des demandes ou des réprimandes par la seule voie légitime, c'est à dire par son *secrétaire*, le Conseil Général sera toujours prêt à y répondre. Mais le *Conseil Fédéral Romand* n'a le droit ni *d'abdiquer* ses fonctions dans les mains de « *l'Egalité* » et du « *Progrès* », ni de laisser ces journaux *usurper* ses fonctions.

Généralement parlant, la correspondance du conseil général avec les 25 comités nationaux et locaux ne pourrait pas être publiée sans porter grand préjudice pour l'intérêt général de l'Association. Donc, si les autres||3| organes de l'Internationale imitaient le « *Progrès* » et « *l'Egalité* », le Conseil général se trouverait placé dans l'alternative, ou de se discré-

diter devant le public en se taisant ou de violer ses devoirs en répondant publiquement.

L'Egalité se joint au *Progrès* (journal qui n'est pas envoyé au Conseil Général) pour inviter le « *Travail* » (journal parisien qui jusqu'ici ne s'est pas déclaré organe de l'*Internationale* et qui n'est pas envoyé au Conseil Général) de faire sommation au Conseil Général. C'est presque une ligue du bien public. | 5

|4| 2) Maintenant en admettant que les questions posées par l'*Egalité* procèdent du Conseil Fédéral Romand, nous allons répondre, toutefois sous la réserve que de telles questions ne nous soient plus communiquées 10 de cette façon.

3) *Question du Bulletin:* Dans les résolutions du Congrès de ||5| Lausanne insérées dans les règlements, il est prescrit que les comités nationaux enverront au Conseil Général des *documents* sur le mouvement proléttaire et qu'ensuite le Conseil Général publiera un bulletin dans les 15 différentes langues aussi souvent que ses moyens le lui permettront ("As often as its means permit, the General Council shall publish a report, etc.").

L'Obligation du Conseil Général était donc liée à des *conditions* qui n'ont jamais été remplies. Même l'Enquête statistique, ordonnée par les 20 statuts, décidée par des Congrès Généraux consécutifs, annuellement demandée par le Conseil Général, n'a jamais été faite. Aucun document n'a été remis au Conseil Général. Quant aux *moyens*, ||6| le Conseil Général aurait depuis long-temps cessé d'exister sans les contributions « régionales » de l'Angleterre et sans les sacrifices personnels de ses membres. 25

Ainsi, le règlement, passé au Congrès de Lausanne, a été une lettre morte. Quant au Congrès de Bâle, il n'a pas discuté l'*exécution* de ce règlement existant, il a discuté l'opportunité d'un bulletin à faire et il n'a pris aucune résolution (voir le *rapport allemand* imprimé à [Bâle] sous les yeux du Congrès). 30

Du reste le Conseil Général croit que le but primitif du bulletin est en ce moment parfaitement rempli par les différents organes de Y*Internationale* ||7| publiés dans les différentes langues et s'échangeant entre eux. Il serait absurde de faire par des bulletins coûteux ce qui se fait déjà sans frais. De l'autre côté, un bulletin qui publierait ce qui ne se dit pas dans 35 les organes de Y*Internationale* ne servirait qu'à admettre nos ennemis dans les coulisses.

4) *Question de la séparation du Conseil Général d'avec le Conseil Régional pour l'Angleterre.*

Longtemps avant la fondation de l'« *Egalité* » cette proposition se faisait périodiquement au sein même du Conseil Général par un ou deux de 40

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ses membres anglais. Elle a toujours été rejetée presque unanimement. Quoique *Yinitiative* révolutionnaire partira probablement de la France, l'Angleterre seule peut servir de *levier* ||8| pour une Révolution sérieusement économique. C'est le seul pays où il n'y a plus de paysans et où la propriété foncière est concentrée en peu de mains. C'est le seul pays où la forme capitaliste, - c'est-à-dire le travail combiné sur une grande échelle sous des maîtres capitalistes - s'est emparée de presque toute la production. C'est le seul pays où la grande majorité de la population consiste en ouvriers salariés (wages labourers). C'est le seul pays où la lutte des classes et l'organisation de la classe ouvrière par des *Trades-Unions* ont acquis un certain degré de maturité et d'universalité. A cause de sa domination sur le marché du monde, c'est le seul pays où chaque révolution dans les faits économiques doit immédiatement réagir sur tout le monde. |
|9| Si le landlordisme et le capitalisme ont leur siège classique, dans ce pays, par contre coup, les *conditions matérielles* de leur destruction sont le plus mûries. Le Conseil Général étant placé à présent dans la position heureuse *d'avoir la main directement sur ce grand levier de la révolution prolétariaire*, quelle folie, nous dirions presque quel crime de le laisser tomber dans les mains purement anglaises !

20 Les Anglais ont toute la matière nécessaire à la révolution sociale. Ce qui leur manque, c'est *Yesprit généralisateur* et la *passion révolutionnaire*. C'est seulement le Conseil Général qui y peut suppléer, qui peut ainsi accélérer le mouvement vraiment révolutionnaire dans ce pays et par conséquent *partout*. Les grands effets que nous avons déjà produits dans ce sens, sont attestés par les journaux les plus intelligents et les mieux accrédités auprès des classes dominantes, comme p.e. la *Pall Mall Gazette*, le *Saturday Review*, le *Spectator* et le *Fortnightly Review* pour ne pas parler des membres soi-disant radicaux des *Commons* et des *Lords*, qui, il y a peu de temps, exerçaient encore une grande influence sur les leaders des ouvriers anglais. Ils nous accusent publiquement d'avoir empoisonné et presque éteint *l'esprit anglais* de la classe ouvrière et de l'avoir poussée dans le socialisme révolutionnaire.

La seule manière de produire ce changement, c'est en agissant comme *Conseil Général de l'Association Internationale*. Comme Conseil Général nous ||11| pouvons initier les mesures (p.e. la fondation de la *Land and Labour League*) qui, plus tard se produisent dans l'exécution devant le public comme des mouvements spontanés de la classe ouvrière anglaise.

Si un *Conseil Régional* était formé en dehors du *Conseil Général* quels seraient les effets immédiats?

40 Placé entre le Conseil Général et le Conseil Général des Trade-Unions, le Conseil Régional n'aurait aucune autorité. De l'autre côté, le *Conseil*

Général de l'Internationale perdrat le maniement du grand levier. Si à l'action sérieuse et souterraine nous aimions à substituer l'éclat des tréteaux, nous aurions peut-être commis la faute de répondre publiquement à la question de l'Egalité, pourquoi ||12| le Conseil Général subit ce « cumul si fâcheux » de fonctions !

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L'Angleterre ne doit pas être simplement traitée comme un pays auprès des autres pays. Elle doit être traitée comme la métropole du capital.

5) *Question sur la Résolution du Conseil Général à propos de l'amnistie Irlandaise.*

Si l'Angleterre est le bulwark du landlordisme et du capitalisme euro- péens, le seul point où on peut frapper le grand coup contre l'Angleterre officielle, c'est l'Irlande. En premier lieu, l'Irlande est le bulwark du landlordisme anglais. S'il tombait en Irlande, il tomberait en Angleterre. En Irlande l'opération est cent fois plus facile, parce que la lutte économique y est exclusivement concentrée sur la propriété foncière, parce que cette lutte y est en même ||13| temps nationale, et parce que le peuple y est plus révolutionnaire et plus exaspéré qu'en Angleterre. Le Landlordisme en Irlande se maintient exclusivement par l'armée anglaise. Du moment que l'union forcée entre les deux pays viendrait à cesser, une révolution sociale, quoique dans des formes arriérées, éclaterait immédiatement. Le landlordisme anglais ne perdrait pas seulement une grande source de ses richesses, mais encore sa plus grande force morale, c'est à dire, celle de représenter la domination de l'Angleterre sur l'Irlande. De l'autre côté, en maintenant le pouvoir de ses Landlords en Irlande, le prolétariat anglais les rend invulnérables dans l'Angleterre elle-même.

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En deuxième lieu, la bourgeoisie anglaise n'a pas ||14| seulement exploité la misère irlandaise pour rabaisser par Yimmigration forcée des pauvres Irlandais la classe ouvrière en Angleterre. Mais elle a en outre divisé le prolétariat en deux camps hostiles. Le feu révolutionnaire de l'ouvrier Celte ne se combine pas avec la nature solide, mais lente de 30 l'ouvrier Anglo-Saxon, il y a au contraire, dans tous les grands centres industriels de l'Angleterre un antagonisme profond entre le prolétaire irlandais et le prolétaire anglais. L'ouvrier anglais vulgaire traite l'ouvrier irlandais comme un compétiteur qui déprime les salaires et le standard of life. Il sent pour lui des antipathies nationales et religieuses. Il le regarde à 35 peu près comme les poor whites des Etats méridionaux de l'Améri||15| que du Nord regardaient les esclaves noirs. Cet antagonisme parmi les prolétaires de l'Angleterre est artificiellement nourri et entretenu par la bourgeoisie. Elle sait que cette scission est le véritable secret du maintien de son pouvoir.

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Encore cet antagonisme se reproduit au de là de l'Atlantique. Les Irlandais, chassés de leur sol natal par des bœufs et des moutons, se retrouvent dans l'Amérique du Nord où ils constituent une portion formidable et toujours croissante de la population.

5 Leur seule pensée, leur seule passion, c'est la haine de l'Angleterre. Le gouvernement anglais et le gouvernement américain (c'est-à-dire les classes qu'ils représentent) alimentent ces passions pour éterniser la lutte souterraine entre les Etats-Unis ||16| et l'Angleterre c'est ainsi qu'ils empêchent l'alliance sincère et sérieuse, par conséquent l'émancipation des 10 classes ouvrières des deux côtés de l'Atlantique.

Encore, l'Irlande est le seul prétexte du gouvernement anglais pour entretenir une *grande armée permanente* qui, en cas de besoin, comme cela s'est vu, est lancée sur les ouvriers anglais après avoir fait ses études soldatesques en Irlande.

15 Enfin, ce que nous a montré l'ancienne Rome sur une échelle monstrueuse, se répète en Angleterre de nos jours. Le peuple qui subjugue un autre peuple se forge ses propres chaînes.

Donc la position de l'Association Internationale vis-à-vis de la question Irlandaise est très nette. Son premier besoin est de pousser la||17| 20 révolution sociale en Angleterre. A cet effet il faut frapper le grand coup en Irlande.

Les résolutions du Conseil Général sur l'amnistie irlandaise ne servent qu'à introduire d'autres résolutions qui affirmeront que, abstraction faite de toute justice internationale, c'est une condition *préliminaire* de l'*émancipation de la classe ouvrière anglaise*, de transformer la présente *Union forcée* (c'est-à-dire l'esclavage de l'Irlande) en *Confédération égale et libre*, s'il se peut, en *Séparation complète*, s'il le faut. /

||22|| Les difficultés et même les dangers personnels que le conseil général encourt, en se plaçant sur ce terrain, peuvent se juger par les 30 manœuvres du Bee Hive. Ce journal a supprimé dans le compte rendu de nos séances nos résolutions et même le fait que nous nous occupions de la question irlandaise. Ainsi le conseil a été obligé de faire imprimer ces résolutions, pour les envoyer à toutes les trades Unions. |

/18/ Du reste les doctrines ||19| naïves de *Y Egalité* et du *Progrès* sur la 35 connexion ou plutôt la non-connexion entre le mouvement social et le mouvement politique n'ont jamais, à ce que nous sachions, été canonisées par aucun de nos Congrès Internationaux. Elles sont contraires à nos statuts. On y lit: « That the *economical emancipation* of the working classes is therefore the great end to which *every political movement* ought 40 to be subordinate as a means. »

Karl Marx

Ces mots - « *as a means* », « *comme moyen* » ont été supprimés dans la traduction française faite en 1864 par le comité de Paris. Interpellé par le Conseil Général, le comité de Paris s'excusa pour les ||20| misères de sa situation politique. /

||21|| Il y a d'autres mutilations du texte authentique. Le premier considérant des statuts est ainsi conçu : « *The struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means ... a struggle ... for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class rule.* » 5

La traduction parisienne reproduit les « droits et devoirs égaux », c'est-à-dire la phrase générale, qui se trouve à peu près *dans tous les manifestes démocratiques* depuis un siècle et qui a un sens différent dans la bouche des différentes classes, mais elle supprime la chose concrète, « *the abolition of all class rule* » (l'*abolition des classes*). 10

Encore dans le deuxième considérant des statuts on lit: « *That the economical subjection of the man of labour to the monopoliser of the means of labour, that is the sources of life etc.* » 15

La traduction parisienne met « *capital* » au lieu de « *the means of labour, that is the sources of life* », expression qui inclut la terre aussi bien que les autres moyens du travail.

Du reste, le texte primitif et authentique a été restauré dans la traduction française publiée à Bruxelles par la Rive Gauche (1866) et imprimée comme pamphlet. / 20

/20/ 6) Question Liebknecht-Schweitzer.

L'Egalité dit :

« *Ces deux groupes sont de l'Internationale.* » 25

C'est faux. Le groupe d'Eisenach (que le Progrès et YEgalité veulent bien transformer en groupe du citoyen Liebknecht) appartient à l'*Internationale*. Le groupe de Schweitzer n'y appartient pas. \

/[21]/ Schweitzer a même longuement expliqué dans son journal (le Social-Démocrate) pourquoi l'*organisation Lassallienne* ne pourrait s'en-glober dans Y*Internationale* sans se détruire elle-même - sans le savoir il a dit la vérité. Son organisation factice de secte est opposée à l'*organisation historique et spontanée de la classe ouvrière*. 30

Le Progrès et YEgalité ont sommé le Conseil Général de donner publiquement son « *avis* » sur les différents personnels de Liebknecht et Schweitzer. Comme le citoyen Johann Philipp Becker (qui est aussi bien calomnié dans le journal de Schweitzer que Liebknecht) est un des membres du comité de la rédaction de l'Egalité, il paraît vraiment étrange que ses éditeurs ne soient pas mieux informés sur les faits. Ils devraient savoir que Liebknecht, dans le Volksstaat, a publiquement invité Schweitzer à prendre le Conseil Gén. pour l'arbitre de leurs différents, et que Schweitzer non moins publiquement a répudié l'autorité du Conseil Général. 35 40

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Le Conseil Gén. de sa part n'a rien négligé pour mettre fin à ce scandale. Il a chargé son secrétaire pour l'Allemagne de correspondre avec Schweitzer, ce qui a été fait pendant deux années, mais toutes les tentatives du Conseil ont échoué grâce à la résolution bien prise de Schweitzer
5 de conserver à tout prix avec l'organisation de secte son pouvoir auto-crâte. C'est au Conseil Général à déterminer le moment favorable où son intervention *publique* dans cette querelle sera plus utile que nuisible.

7) Comme les accusations de *Y Egalité* sont publiques et pourraient être considérées comme émanant du Comité Romand de Genève, le Conseil
10 Gén. communiquera cette réponse à tous les comités correspondant avec lui.

Par ordre du Conseil Général. I

Karl Marx
Nécrologie de Robert Shaw

L'Internationale.
Nr. 53, 16. Januar 1870

Nécrologie

Le citoyen Robert Shaw, correspondant du Conseil Général de Londres pour l'Amérique du Nord, et un des fondateurs de l'Internationale, est mort cette semaine de phtisie pulmonaire.

C'était un des membres les plus actifs du Conseil. Cœur pur, caractère 5 de fer, tempérament impétueux, intelligence vraiment révolutionnaire, au-dessus de toute petitesse d'ambition ou d'intérêts personnels. Pauvre ouvrier, il savait toujours trouver un ouvrier plus pauvre que lui à secourir. Doux comme un enfant dans le commerce personnel, il rejeta avec hauteur toutes sortes de compromis dans sa vie publique. C'est principalement grâce à ses efforts continus que les *Trades-Unions* se sont raliées autour de nous. Mais cette œuvre même lui faisait beaucoup d'enemis implacables. Les *Trades-Unions* anglaises, toutes d'origine locale, toutes primitivement fondées dans la vue exclusive de maintenir les salaires, etc., étaient absolument plus ou moins affligées de l'étroitesse qui 15 caractérisait les corps de métier du moyen age. Il y avait un petit parti conservateur, qui voulait à tout prix conserver les bornes primitives de l'unionisme. Dès la fondation de l'Internationale, Shaw se fit le but de sa vie de briser ces chaînes volontaires, et de transformer les unions en des centres organisés de la Révolution proléttaire. Le succès couronna près- 20 que toujours ses efforts, mais aussi, dès ce moment, sa vie devenait une lutte terrible, dans laquelle sa faible santé devait succomber. Il était déjà mourant quand il partit pour le Congrès de Bruxelles (Septembre 1868). Après son retour, ses bons maîtres bourgeois le mirent au ban de tous leurs ateliers. Il laisse une femme et une fille dans la pauvreté, mais les 25 ouvriers anglais ne les laisseront pas sans ressources.

Friedrich Engels
Vorbemerkung zu „Der deutsche Bauernkrieg“ (1870)



3 | Vorbemerkung.

Die nachstehende Arbeit wurde im Sommer 1850, noch unter dem unmittelbaren Eindruck der eben vollendeten Contrerevolution in London geschrieben; sie erschien im 5. und 6. Heft der „Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung, politisch-ökonomische Revue, redigirt von Karl Marx, Hamburg 1850“. - Meine politischen Freunde in Deutschland wünschen ihren Wiederabdruck, und ich komme ihrem Wunsche nach, da sie, zu meinem Leidwesen, auch heute noch zeitgemäß ist.

Sie macht keinen Anspruch darauf, selbständig erforschtes Material zu liefern. Im Gegentheil, der gesammte auf die Baueraufstände und auf Thomas Münzer sich beziehende Stoff ist aus Zimmermann genommen. Sein Buch, obwohl hie und da lückenhaft, ist immer noch die beste Zusammenstellung des Thatsächlichen. Dabei hatte der alte Zimmermann Freude an seinem Gegenstand. Derselbe revolutionäre Instinkt, der hier überall für die unterdrückte Klasse auftritt, machte ihn später zu Einem der Besten auf der äußersten Linken in Frankfurt.

Wenn dagegen der Zimmermann'schen Darstellung der innere Zusammenhang fehlt, wenn es ihr nicht gelingt, die religiös-politischen Controversen (Streitfragen) jener Epoche als das Spiegelbild der gleichzeitigen Klassenkämpfe nachzuweisen; wenn sie in diesen Klassenkämpfen nur Unterdrücker und Unterdrückte, Böse und Gute, und den schließlichen Sieg der Bösen sieht; wenn ihre Einsicht in die gesellschaftlichen Zustände, die sowohl den Ausbruch wie den Ausgang des Kampfes bedingten, höchst mangelhaft ist, so war dies der Fehler der Zeit, in der das Buch entstand. Im Gegentheil, für seine Zeit ist es, eine rühmliche Ausnahme unter den deutschen idealistischen Geschichtswerken, noch sehr realistisch gehalten. |

Friedrich Engels

[4] Meine Darstellung versuchte, den geschichtlichen Verlauf des Kampfes nur in seinen Umrissen skizzirend, den Ursprung des Bauernkriegs, die Stellung der verschiedenen darin auftretenden Parteien, die politischen und religiösen Theorien, in denen diese Parteien über ihre Stellung sich klar zu werden suchen, endlich das Resultat des Kampfes 5 selbst mit Nothwendigkeit aus den historisch vorliegenden gesellschaftlichen Lebensbedingungen dieser Klassen zu erklären; also die damalige politische Verfassung Deutschlands, die Auflehnungen gegen sie, die politischen und religiösen Theorien der Zeit nachzuweisen, nicht als Ursachen, sondern als Resultate der Entwicklungsstufe, auf der sich damals in 10 Deutschland Ackerbau, Industrie, Land- und Wasserstraßen, Waaren- und Geldhandel befanden. Diese, die einzige materialistische Geschichtsanschauung, geht nicht von mir aus, sondern von Marx, und findet sich ebenfalls in seinen Arbeiten über die französische Revolution von 1848¹⁹ in derselben Revue und im „18. Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte“. 15

Die Parallele zwischen der deutschen Revolution von 1525 und der von 1848⁴⁹ lag zu nahe, um damals ganz von der Hand gewiesen zu werden. Neben der Gleichförmigkeit des Verlaufs, wo immer ein und dasselbe fürstliche Heer verschiedene Localaufstände nach einander niederschlug, neben der oft lächerlichen Ähnlichkeit des Auftretens der Städtebürger 20 in beiden Fällen, brach indeß doch auch der Unterschied klar und deutlich hervor:

„Wer profitierte von der Revolution von 1525? Die *Fürsten*. - Wer profitierte von der Revolution von 1848? Die *großen Fürsten*, Oestreich und Preußen. Hinter den kleinen Fürsten von 1525 standen, sie an sich ket- 25 tend durch die Steuer, die kleinen Spießbürger, hinter den großen Fürsten von 1848, hinter Oestreich und Preußen, sie rasch unterjochend durch die Staatsschuld, stehn die modernen großen Bourgeois. Und hinter den großen Bourgeois stehn die Proletarier.“

Es thut mir leid, sagen zu müssen, daß in diesem Satz der deutschen Bourgeoisie viel zu viel Ehre erwiesen wurde. Die Gelegenheit haben sie gehabt, sowohl in Oestreich wie in Preußen, die Monarchie „rasch durch die Staatsschuld zu unterjochen“; nie und nirgends ist diese Gelegenheit benutzt worden. |

[5] Oestreich ist durch den Krieg von 1866 der Bourgeoisie als Ge- 35 schenk in den Schoß gefallen. Aber sie versteht nicht zu herrschen, sie ist ohnmächtig und unfähig zu Allem. Nur Eins kann sie: gegen die Arbeiter wüthen, sobald diese sich regen. Sie bleibt nur noch am Ruder, weil die *Ungarn* sie brauchen.

Und in Preußen? Ja, die Staatsschuld hat sich allerdings reißend ver- 40 mehrt, das Deficit ist in Permanenz erklärt, die Staatsausgaben wachsen

Vorbemerkung zu „Der deutsche Bauernkrieg“ (1870)

von Jahr zu Jahr, die Bourgeois haben in der Kammer die Majorität, ohne sie können weder Steuern erhöht, noch Anleihen aufgenommen werden - aber wo ist ihre Macht über den Staat? Noch vor ein paar Monaten, als wieder ein Deficit vorlag, hatten sie die beste Position. Sie 5 konnten bei nur *einiger* Ausdauer hübsche Concessionen erzwingen. Was thun sie? Sie sehen es als eine genügende Concession an, daß die Regierung *ihrn erlaubt*, ihr an 9 Millionen, nicht für *ein Jahr*, nein *jährlich* und für alle Folgezeit zu Füßen zu legen.

Ich will die armen „Nationalliberalen“ in der Kammer nicht mehr ta-10 dein, als sie verdienen. Ich weiß, sie sind von denen, die hinter ihnen stehn, von der Masse der Bourgeoisie im Stich gelassen. Diese Masse *will* nicht herrschen. Sie hat 1848 noch immer in den Knochen.

Weshalb die deutsche Bourgeoisie diese merkwürdige Feigheit entwickelt, darüber unten.

15 Im Uebrigen hat sich obiger Satz vollständig bestätigt. Seit 1850 immer entschiedeneres Zurücktreten der Kleinstaaten, die nur noch als Hebel für preußische oder österreichische Intrigen dienen, immer heftigere Kämpfe zwischen Oestreich und Preußen um die Alleinherrschaft, endlich die gewaltsame Auseinandersetzung von 1866, wonach Oestreich 20 seine eignen Provinzen behält, Preußen den ganzen Norden direkt oder indirekt unterwirft, und die drei Südweststaaten vorläufig an die Luft gesetzt werden.

Für die deutsche Arbeiterklasse ist bei dieser ganzen Haupt- und Staatsaktion nur dies von Bedeutung:

25 Erstens, daß die Arbeiter durch das allgemeine Stimmrecht die Macht erlangt haben, in der gesetzgebenden Versammlung sich direkt vertreten zu lassen.

Zweitens, daß Preußen mit gutem Beispiel vorangegangen ||6| ist und drei andre Kronen von Gottes Gnaden verschluckt hat. Daß es *nach* 30 dieser Prozedur noch dieselbe unbefleckte Krone von Gottes Gnaden besitzt, die es sich vorher zuschrieb, das glauben selbst die Nationalliberalen nicht.

Drittens, daß es in Deutschland nur noch *einen* ernsthaften Gegner der Revolution giebt - die preußische Regierung.

35 Und viertens, daß die Deutsch-Oestreicher sich jetzt endlich einmal die Frage vorlegen müssen, was sie sein wollen: Deutsche oder Oestreicher? wozu sie lieber halten wollen - zu Deutschland oder zu ihren außerdeutschen transleithanischen Anhängseln? Daß sie eins oder das andre aufgeben müssen, war schon lange selbstredend, ist aber immer von der klein-40 bürgerlichen Demokratie vertuscht worden.

Friedrich Engels

Was die sonstigen wichtigen Streitfragen von wegen 1866 betrifft, die seitdem bis zum Ueberdruß zwischen den „Nationalliberalen“ einerseits und der „Volkspartei“ andererseits verhandelt werden, so dürfte die Geschichte der nächsten Jahre beweisen, daß diese beiden Standpunkte sich nur deshalb so heftig befehdend, weil sie die entgegengesetzten Pole einer 5 und derselben Bornirtheit sind.

An den gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen Deutschlands hat das Jahr 1866 fast Nichts geändert. Die paar bürgerlichen Reformen, - gleiches Maß und Gewicht, Freizügigkeit, Gewerbefreiheit u.s.w., alles in den der Büroukratie angemessenen Schranken - erreichen noch nicht einmal 10 Das, was die Bourgeoisie anderer westeuropäischer Länder längst besitzt und lassen die Hauptchikane, das büroukratische Concessionswesen, unberührt. Für das Proletariat werden ohnehin alle Freizügigkeits-, Indigenats-, Paßaufhebungs- und andre Gesetze durch die landläufige Polizeipraxis ganz illusorisch gemacht. 15

Was viel wichtiger ist als die Haupt- und Staatsaktion von 1866, das ist die Hebung der Industrie und des Handels, der Eisenbahnen, Telegraphen und oceanischen Dampfschiffahrt in Deutschland seit 1848. So weit dieser Fortschritt auch hinter dem gleichzeitig in England, selbst in Frankreich gemachten zurücksteht, für Deutschland ist er unerhört und 20 hat in zwanzig Jahren mehr geleistet, als sonst ein ganzes Jahrhundert that. Deutschland ist erst jetzt ernstlich und unwiderruflich in den *Welt-handel* hineingezogen worden. Die ||7| Kapitalien der Industriellen haben sich rasch vermehrt, die gesellschaftliche Stellung der Bourgeoisie hat sich dem entsprechend gehoben. Das sicherste Kennzeichen industrieller 25 Blüthe, der *Schwindel*, hat sich in reichem Maße eingestellt und Grafen und Herzöge an seinen Triumphwagen gekettet. Deutsches Kapital baut jetzt russische und rumänische Eisenbahnen - möge ihm die Erde leicht sein! - statt daß noch vor fünfzehn Jahren deutsche Bahnen bei englischen Unternehmern betteln gingen. Wie ist es da möglich, daß die Bour- 30 geoisie sich nicht auch politisch die Herrschaft erobert hat, daß sie sich so feig gegen die Regierung benimmt?

Die deutsche Bourgeoisie hat das Unglück, daß sie nach beliebter deutscher Manier zu spät kommt. Ihre Blüthezeit fällt in eine Periode, wo die Bourgeoisie der andern westeuropäischen Länder politisch schon im Nie- 35 dergang begriffen ist. In England hat die Bourgeoisie ihren eigentlichen Repräsentanten, Bright, nicht anders in die Regierung bringen können, als durch eine Ausdehnung des Stimmrechts, die in ihren Folgen der ganzen Bourgeoisherrschaft ein Ende machen muß. In Frankreich, wo die Bourgeoisie als solche, als Gesamtklasse, nur zwei Jahre, 1849 und 40 1850, unter der Republik geherrscht hat, konnte sie ihre soziale Existenz



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nur fristen, indem sie ihre politische Herrschaft an Louis Bonaparte und die Armee abtrat. Und bei der so unendlich gesteigerten Wechselwirkung der drei fortgeschrittensten europäischen Länder ist es heutzutage nicht mehr möglich, daß in Deutschland die Bourgeoisie sich die politische
5 Herrschaft gemüthlich einrichtet, wenn diese sich in England und Frankreich überlebt hat.

Es ist eine Eigenthümlichkeit gerade der Bourgeoisie gegenüber allen früheren herrschenden Klassen: in ihrer Entwicklung giebt es einen Wendepunkt, von dem an jede weitere Steigerung ihrer Machtmittel, vorab
10 also ihrer Kapitalien, nur dazu beiträgt, sie zur politischen Herrschaft mehr und mehr unfähig zu machen. „*Hinter den großen Bourgeois steht die Proletarier.*“ In demselben Maß, wie die Bourgeoisie ihre Industrie, ihren Handel und ihre Verkehrsmittel entwickelt, in demselben Maß erzeugt sie Proletariat. Und an einem gewissen Punkt - der nicht überall
15 gleichzeitig oder auf gleicher Entwicklungsstufe einzutreten braucht - beginnt sie zu merken, daß dieser ihr proletarischer Doppelgänger ihr über den Kopf wächst. Von dem Augenblick an verliert sie die Kraft zur ausschließlichen politischen Herrschaft; sie sieht sich um nach Bundesgenossen, mit denen sie, je nach Umständen, ihre Herrschaft theilt, oder
20 denen sie sie ganz abtritt.

In Deutschland ist dieser Wendepunkt für die Bourgeoisie bereits 1848 eingetreten. Und zwar erschrak die deutsche Bourgeoisie damals nicht so sehr vor dem deutschen, wie vor dem französischen Proletariat. Die Pariser Junischlacht 1848 zeigte ihr, was sie zu erwarten habe; das deutsche
25 Proletariat war gerade erregt genug, um ihr zu beweisen, daß auch hier die Saat für dieselbe Ernte schon im Boden stecke; und von dem Tage an war der politischen Aktion der Bourgeoisie die Spitze abgebrochen. Sie suchte Bundesgenossen, sie verhandelte sich an sie um jeden Preis - und sie ist auch heute noch keinen Schritt weiter.

30 Diese Bundesgenossen sind sämmtlich reactionärer Natur. Da ist das Königthum mit seiner Armee und seiner Bureaucratie, da ist der große Feudaladel, da sind die kleinen Krautjunker, da sind selbst die Pfaffen. Mit allen diesen hat die Bourgeoisie paktirt und vereinbart, nur um ihre liebe Haut zu wahren, bis ihr endlich Nichts mehr zu schachern blieb.
35 Und je mehr das Proletariat sich entwickelte, je mehr es anfing sich als Klasse zu fühlen, als Klasse zu handeln, desto schwachmüthiger wurden die Bourgeois. Als die wunderbar schlechte Strategie der Preußen bei Sadowa über die, wunderbarer Weise noch schlechtere, der Oestreicher siegte, da war es schwer zu sagen, wer froher aufatmmete - der preußische.
40 sehe Bourgeois, der bei Sadowa mitgeschlagen war, oder der österreichische.

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Unsre großen Bürger handeln 1870 noch grade so wie die Mittelbürger von 1525 gehandelt haben. Was die Kleinbürger, Handwerksmeister und Krämer betrifft, so werden sie sich immer gleich bleiben. Sie hoffen in das Großbürgerthum sich emporzuschwindeln, sie fürchten ins Proletariat hinabgestoßen zu werden. Zwischen Furcht und Hoffnung werden sie, 5 während des Kampfes, ihre werthe Haut salviren und nach dem Kampf sich dem Sieger anschließen. Das ist ihre Natur.

Mit dem Aufschwung der Industrie seit 1848 hat Schritt gehalten die soziale und politische Aktion des Proletariats. Die ||9| Rolle, die die deutschen Arbeiter heute in ihren Gewerkvereinen, Genossenschaften, politischen Vereinen und Versammlungen, bei den Wahlen und im sogenannten Reichstag spielen, beweist allein, welche Umwälzung Deutschland in den letzten zwanzig Jahren unvermerkt erlitten hat. Es gereicht den deutschen Arbeitern zur höchsten Ehre, daß *sie allein* es durchgesetzt haben, Arbeiter und Vertreter der Arbeiter in's Parlament zu schicken, während 15 weder Franzosen noch Engländer dies bis jetzt fertig brachten.

Aber auch das Proletariat ist der Parallel mit 1525 noch nicht entwachsen. Die ausschließlich und lebenslänglich auf den Arbeitslohn angewiesene Klasse bildet noch immer bei Weitem nicht die Mehrzahl des deutschen Volkes. Sie ist also auch auf Bundesgenossen angewiesen. Und 20 diese können nur gesucht werden unter den Kleinbürgern, unter dem Lumpenproletariat der Städte, unter den kleinen Bauern und den Ackerbautaglöhnnern.

Von den *Kleinbürgern* haben wir schon gesprochen. Sie sind höchst unzuverlässig, ausgenommen wenn man gesiegt hat, dann ist ihr Geschrei 25 in den Bierkneipen unermeßlich. Trotzdem giebt es unter ihnen sehr gute Elemente, die sich den Arbeitern von selbst anschließen.

Das *Lumpenproletariat*, dieser Abhub der verkommenen Subjecte aller Klassen, der sein Hauptquartier in den großen Städten aufschlägt, ist von allen möglichen Bundesgenossen der schlimmste. Dies Gesindel ist ab- 30 solut käuflich und absolut zudringlich. Wenn die französischen Arbeiter bei jeder Revolution an die Häuser schrieben: Mort aux voleurs! Tod den Dieben! und auch manche erschossen, so geschah das nicht aus Begeisterung für das Eigenthum, sondern in der richtigen Erkenntniß, daß man vor Allem sich diese Bande vom Hals halten müsse. Jeder Arbeiterführer, 35 der diese Lumpen als Garde verwendet oder sich auf sie stützt, beweist sich schon dadurch als Verräther an der Bewegung.

Die *kleinen Bauern* - denn die größeren gehören zur Bourgeoisie - sind verschiedener Art. Entweder sind sie *Feudalbauern* und haben dem gnädigen Herrn noch Frondienste zu leisten. Nachdem die Bourgeoisie ver- 40 säumt hat, was ihre Schuldigkeit war, diese Leute von der Fronknecht-

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schaft zu ||10| erlösen, wird es nicht schwer sein, sie zu überzeugen, daß sie nur noch von der Arbeiterklasse Erlösung zu erwarten haben.

Oder sie sind *Pächter*. In diesem Fall existiert meist dasselbe Verhältniß wie in Irland. Die Pacht ist so hoch getrieben, daß der Bauer mit seiner 5 Familie bei Mittelernten nur eben knapp leben kann, bei schlechten Ernten fast verhungert, die Pacht nicht zahlen kann und dadurch ganz von der Gnade des Grundbesitzers abhängig wird. Für solche Leute thut die Bourgeoisie nur dann etwas, wenn sie dazu gezwungen wird. Von wem sollen sie Heil erwarten, außer von den Arbeitern?

10 Bleiben die Bauern, welche ihren *eigenen kleinen Grundbesitz* bewirtschaften. Diese sind meistens so mit Hypotheken belastet, daß sie vom Wucherer ebenso abhängen, wie die Pächter vom Grundherrn. Auch ihnen bleibt nur ein knapper und noch dazu wegen der guten und schlechten Jahre äußerst unsicherer Arbeitslohn. Sie können am allerwenigsten 15 von der Bourgeoisie etwas erwarten, denn sie werden ja grade von den Bourgeois, den wuchernden Kapitalisten ausgesogen. Aber sie hängen meist sehr an ihrem Eigenthum, obwohl es in Wirklichkeit nicht ihnen gehört, sondern dem Wucherer. Dennoch wird ihnen beizubringen sein, daß sie nur dann vom Wucherer befreit werden können, wenn eine vom 20 Volk abhängige Regierung die sämmtlichen Hypothekenschulden in eine Schuld an den Staat verwandelt und dadurch den Zinsfuß erniedrigt. Und dies kann nur die Arbeiterklasse durchsetzen.

Ueberau wo mittlerer und großer Grundbesitz herrscht, machen die Ackerbautaglöhner die zahlreichste Klasse auf dem Lande aus. Dies ist in 25 ganz Nord- und Ostdeutschland der Fall, und hier finden die Industriearbeiter der Städte ihre *zahlreichsten und natürlichsten Bundesgenossen*. Wie der Kapitalist dem industriellen Arbeiter, so steht der Grundbesitzer oder Großpächter dem Ackerbautaglöhner gegenüber. Dieselben Maßregeln, die dem Einen helfen, müssen auch dem Andern helfen. Die industriellen Arbeiter können sich nur befreien, wenn sie das Kapital der Bourgeois, d.h. die Rohprodukte, Maschinen und Werkzeuge, und Lebensmittel, welche zur Produktion erforderlich sind, in das Eigenthum der Gesellschaft, d.h. in ihr eignes, von ihnen gemeinsam benutztes verwandeln. Ebenso können die Landarbeiter nur aus ihrem ||11| scheußlichen Elend erlöst werden, wenn vor allem ihr Hauptarbeitsgegenstand, das Land selbst, dem Privatbesitz der großen Bauern und noch größeren Feudalherren entzogen und in gesellschaftliches Eigenthum verwandelt, und von Genossenschaften von Landarbeitern für ihre gemeinsame Rechnung bebaut wird. Und hier kommen wir auf den berühmten Be-40 schluf des Baseler internationalen Arbeiterkongresses: daß die Gesellschaft das Interesse habe, das Grundeigenthum in gemeinsames, natio-

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nales Eigenthum zu verwandeln. Dieser Beschuß ist gefaßt worden hauptsächlich für die Länder, wo großes Grundeigenthum und, damit zusammenhängend, Bewirthschaftung großer Güter besteht, und auf diesen großen Gütern Ein Herr und viele Taglöhner. Dieser Zustand ist aber im Ganzen und Großen in Deutschland noch immer vorherrschend, und 5 daher war der Beschuß, nächst England, *grade für Deutschland höchst zeitgemäß*. Das Ackerbauproletariat, die Landtaglöhner - das ist die Klasse, aus der sich die Armeen der Fürsten der großen Masse nach rekrutiren. Das ist die Klasse, die jetzt die große Menge der Feudalherren und Junker kraft des allgemeinen Stimmrechts ins Parlament schickt; das 10 ist aber auch die Klasse, die den industriellen Arbeitern der Städte am nächsten steht, die mit ihnen dieselben Lebensbedingungen theilt, die sogar noch tiefer im Elend steckt als sie. Diese Klasse, die ohnmächtig ist, weil sie zersplittet und zerstreut ist, deren verborgene Macht Regierung und Adel so gut kennen, daß sie absichtlich die Schulen verkommen 15 lassen, damit sie nur ja unwissend bleibe, diese Klasse lebendig zu machen und in die Bewegung hinein zu ziehen, das ist die nächste, dringendste Aufgabe der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung. Von dem Tage an, wo die Masse der Landtaglöhner ihre eigenen Interessen verstehen gelernt hat, von dem Tage an ist eine reaktionäre, feudale, bürokratische oder bür- 20 gerliche Regierung in Deutschland unmöglich. - |

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Le gouvernement anglais et les prisonniers fénians

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Le gouvernement anglais et les prisonniers fénians.

Londres, le 21 février 1870.

Le silence qu'on observe dans la presse européenne sur les infamies commises par ce gouvernement oligarcho bourgeois, est dû à différentes raisons. D'abord le gouvernement anglais est *riche*, et la presse, comme vous le savez, est *immaculée*. Puis, le gouvernement anglais est le gouvernement modèle, reconnu comme tel par les landlords, par les capitalistes du continent et même par Garibaldi (voir son livre) : donc il ne faut pas médire de ce gouvernement idéal. Enfin, les républicains français ont l'esprit assez étroit et assez égoïste, pour réservier toutes leurs colères pour l'empire. Ce serait un crime de lèse-phrases que d'informer leurs compatriotes que *dans le pays de la liberté bourgeoise*, on punit par 20 ans de travaux forcés ce qui, *dans le pays des casernes*, se punit par 6 mois de prison. Ci-joints quelques détails extraits des journaux anglais, sur les traitements infligés aux prisonniers fénians :

MULCAHY, sous éditeur du Journal *The Irish People* (Le Peuple Irlandais), condamné comme ayant pris part à la conspiration féniane, a été, à Dartmoor, attelé à une charrette chargée de pierres, avec un collier en fer au cou.

O'DONOVAN, ROSSA propriétaire de *Y Irish People*, a été, durant 35 jours, plongé dans un noir cachot, avec les mains enchaînées derrière son dos, nuit et jour. On ne le déliait même pas pour prendre sa nourriture, maigre potage qu'on laissait pour lui sur le sol de la prison.

KICKHAM, l'un des éditeurs de *Y Irish People*, quoiqu'il ne put se servir de son bras droit, par suite d'un abcès, fut contraint de s'asseoir avec ses compagnons de prison, sur un tas de décombres, et au milieu des

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brouillards et du froid de novembre, de casser des pierres et des briques de la main gauche. Il retournait la nuit à sa cellule, et n'avait pour toute nourriture que 6 onces de pain et une pinte d'eau chaude.

O'LEARY, un vieillard de soixante à soixante-dix ans, étant en prison, fut mis durant trois semaines au pain et à l'eau, parce qu'il ne voulait pas renoncer au *paganisme* (c'est ainsi, paraît-il, qu'un geôlier désigne la libre-pensée), et devenir ou papiste, ou protestant, ou presbytérien, ou même quaker, ou enfin embrasser une des nombreuses religions auxquelles le gouverneur de la prison laissait le choix au payen irlandais. 5

MARTIN H. CAREY, est incarcéré dans une maison de fous, à Mill-Bank. Le silence et les autres mauvais traitements qui lui ont été infligés, lui ont fait perdre la raison. 10

Le colonel RICHARD BURKE n'est pas dans un meilleur état. Un de ses amis écrit que sa raison est affectée, sa mémoire perdue et que ses allures, ses manières et son langage dénotent un insensé. 15

Les prisonniers politiques sont traînés d'une prison à l'autre, comme s'ils étaient des bêtes féroces. On leur impose la société des plus vils coquins ; on les oblige à nettoyer les ustensiles qui ont servi à ces misérables ; à porter les chemises et les flanelles de ces criminels, dont beaucoup sont affligés des maladies les plus dégoûtantes, et à se baigner dans l'eau qui leur a servi. Tous ces criminels pouvaient causer avec les visiteurs jusqu'à l'arrivée des fénians à Portland. La cage de visite fut instituée pour les prisonniers fénians. Elle consiste en trois compartiments séparés par d'épais treillages en fer ; le geôlier occupe le compartiment central, et le prisonnier et ses amis ne peuvent se voir qu'à travers cette double rangée de barreaux. 20

Dans les docks, il est des prisonniers qui mangent toutes les limaces, et les grenouilles sont considérées comme des friandises à Chatam. Le général Thomas Burke déclare qu'il ne fut pas surpris de voir une souris morte flotter dans la soupe. Les condamnés disent que ce fut un malheureux jour pour eux que celui où l'on envoya les fénians dans les prisons. (Ce régime est devenu beaucoup plus dur.) 30

J'ajouterais quelques mots aux extraits ci-joints :

L'année passée, M. Bruce, ministre de l'intérieur, grand libéral, grand policier, grand propriétaire de mines dans le pays de Galles, exploitateur farouche du travail, était interpellé sur les mauvais traitements infligés aux prisonniers fénians, et spécialement à O'Donovan Rossa. D'abord, il nia tout ; puis, il fut forcé d'avouer. Alors, M. Moore, membre irlandais 35

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de la Chambre des communes, demande une enquête sur ces faits. Elle fut nettement refusée par ce *ministère radical*, dont le demi-saint (il a été publiquement comparé à Jésus-Christ), M. Gladstone, est le chef et le vieux démagogue bourgeois, John Bright, un des membres les plus influents.

Dans ces derniers temps, les bruits sur les mauvais traitements ayant été renouvelés, plusieurs membres du Parlement demandèrent au ministre Bruce la permission d'aller visiter les prisonniers *pour pouvoir constater la fausseté de ces bruits*. M. Bruce refusa la permission, parce que, dit-il, les 10 directeurs des prisons craignent que les prisonniers soient trop excités par des visites de cette sorte.

La semaine passée, le ministre de l'intérieur était encore interpellé. On lui demanda s'il était vrai qu'O'Donovan Rossa, depuis sa nomination de député pour Tipperary, fût puni corporellement (c'est-à-dire à coups de 15 fouet) ; M. le ministre affirma qu'il ne l'avait pas été depuis 1868 (c'était avouer, par conséquent, que durant 2 à 3 ans on avait donné le fouet à un prisonnier politique).

Je vous envoie également des extraits (nous les publierons dans notre prochain numéro) ayant trait à Michael Terbert, fénian, condamné 20 comme tel aux travaux forcés, et subissant sa peine au Spike-Island-Convict-Prison, comté de Cork, Irlande. Vous verrez que le coroner (magistrat instructeur) lui-même attribue sa mort aux tortures infligées. Cette enquête a eu lieu la semaine passée.

Dans le cours de deux ans *plus de vingt* ouvriers fénians sont morts ou 25 tombés en aliénation mentale, grâce à la philanthropie de ces bons bourgeois, flanqués de ces bons landlords.

Vous savez probablement que la presse anglaise professe une horreur pudique pour les abominables lois de sûreté générale qui embellissent la belle France. Eh ! bien, les lois de sûreté générale forment - quelques 30 courts intervalles exceptés - la Charte de l'Irlande. Depuis 1793, à tout propos, le gouvernement anglais suspend régulièrement et périodiquement en Irlande *Y habeas corpus bill* (loi qui garantit la liberté individuelle), et en réalité, toute loi, excepté celle de la force brutale. De cette manière, des milliers d'hommes ont été séquestrés en Irlande, comme 35 *suspects d'être suspects de fénianisme*, sans avoir jamais été jugés ni traduits devant un tribunal, ni même accusés. Le gouvernement anglais, non content de les priver de leur liberté, les a fait torturer de la manière la plus sauvage. En voici un exemple :

Une des prisons où les suspects fénians ont été ensevelis est le *Montjoy Prison*, à Dublin. L'inspecteur de cette prison, Murray, est une canaille atroce. Il maltraitait les prisonniers d'une manière si sauvage, que plu-

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sieurs d'entre eux devinrent fous. Le médecin de la prison, O'Donnell, un homme excellent (qui a joué aussi un rôle honorable dans l'enquête sur la mort de Michael Terbert) écrivit pendant plusieurs mois des lettres de protestation, qu'il adressa d'abord à Murray lui-même. Comme Murray n'y répondait pas, il adressa des lettres de dénonciation aux autorités 5 supérieures ; mais Murray, en geôlier expert, intercepta les lettres.

Enfin, O'Donnell s'adressa directement à lord Mayo, alors vice-roi d'Irlande. C'était au temps où les TORIES (Derby-Disraeli) se trouvaient au pouvoir. Quel fut le résultat de ses démarches ? Les documents relatifs à cette affaire furent publiés par ordre du Parlement, et... le docteur 10 O'Donnell fut destitué !!! Quant à Murray, il garda sa place.

Arrive alors le ministère soi-disant radical de Gladstone, du tendre, de l'onctueux, du magnanime Gladstone, qui, devant toute l'Europe, a versé des larmes si chaudes et si sincères sur le sort de Poërio et d'autres bourgeois maltraités par le roi Bomba. Que fit cette idole de la bourgeoisie 15 progressive ? En même temps qu'il insultait les Irlandais par ses réponses insolentes à leurs demandes d'amnistie, il confirma non-seulement le monstre Murray dans ses fonctions ; mais, pour témoigner sa satisfaction particulière, il joignit à son poste de geôlier en chef, une grasse sinécure ! Voilà l'apôtre de la philanthropie bourgeoise ! 20

Mais il s'agit de jeter [de] la poudre aux yeux du public : il faut avoir l'air de faire quelque chose pour l'Irlande, et l'on annonce avec grand fracas une loi pour régler la question de la terre (LANDBILL). Mais tout cela n'est qu'une imposture dans le but final d'en imposer à l'Europe, de capter les juges et les avocats irlandais par la perspective de procès in- 25 terminables entre landlords et fermiers, de se concilier les landlords par la promesse de subventions monétaires de la part de l'Etat, et de leurrer les fermiers plus riches par quelques demi-concessions.

Dans la longue introduction à son discours grandiloquent et confus, Gladstone confesse que même les lois « bénévoles » que l'Angleterre 30 libérale a octroyées depuis cent ans à l'Irlande, ont toujours abouti à la détérioration du pays. Et après cette confession naïve, le même homme persiste à torturer les hommes qui veulent couper court à cette législation malfaisante et imbécile.

Le gouvernement anglais et les prisonniers fénians

L'Internationale.
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Le gouvernement anglais et les prisonniers fénians. (2^{me} Article).

Nous publions ci-après, d'après un journal anglais, les résultats de l'enquête sur la mort de Michael Terbert, prisonnier fénian, décédé à la 5 prison de Spike-Island par suite de mauvais traitements.

Le jeudi, 17 février, M. John Moore, *coroner*, pour le district de Midleton, a fait une enquête à la prison de Spike-Island, au sujet d'un condamné nommé Michael Terbert, qui était mort à l'hôpital.

Peter Hay, gouverneur de la prison, fut appelé le premier. Voici quelle 10 fut sa déposition :

Le défunt Michaël Terbert est entré dans cette prison en juin 1866 ; je ne sais quelle était sa santé à cette époque ; il avait été condamné le 12 janvier à 7 ans de prison ; il y a quelque temps, il parut mal portant, car il appert par un des livres de la prison, qu'il fut délogé sur la recommandation des officiers médicaux, comme incapable de supporter le régime cellulaire. Le témoin détaille alors les fréquentes punitions infligées au défunt pour manquement à la discipline ; beaucoup, pour s'être servi d'un langage irrespectueux envers les officiers médicaux.

Jeremiah Hubert Kelly. Je me rappelle lorsque Michaël Terbert arriva ici, venant de la prison Mountjoy ; il fut alors établi qu'il était incapable de supporter le régime cellulaire ; un certificat à cet effet avait été signé par le docteur O'Donnell. Je le trouvai pourtant en bonne santé, et l'envoyai aux travaux. Je me rappelle qu'il fut à l'hôpital depuis le 31 janvier jusqu'au 6 février 1869 ; il souffrait alors d'une affection du cœur, et depuis ce temps, on ne l'employa plus aux travaux publics, mais on le fit travailler en chambre. Du 19 au 26 mars, il fut à l'hôpital pour sa maladie de cœur ; du 24 avril au 5 mai, pour crachement de sang ; du 19 mai au 1^{er} juin, du 21 au 22 juin, du 22 juillet au 15 août, pour sa maladie de cœur ; du 9 novembre au 13 décembre, pour débilité ; enfin il demeura en 30 dernier lieu à l'hôpital du 20 décembre au 8 février 1870, où il mourut d'hydropisie. Les premiers symptômes de cette maladie s'étaient montrés le 13 novembre, mais ils avaient disparu.

Je visite chaque jour les cellules, et je le vis de temps en temps en punition ; il est de mon devoir de remettre la punition, chaque fois que je 35 considère le prisonnier comme incapable de la supporter : c'est ce que je fis deux fois pour lui.

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- Comme médecin, pensez-vous que cinq jours au pain et à l'eau fût une punition excessive pour lui, nonobstant son état de santé à Mountjoy et ici ?

- Je ne le pense pas, le défunt avait un bon appétit, je ne pense pas que ces traitements aient occasionné l'hydropsie dont il est mort. 5

Martin O'Connell, pharmacien, résident à Spike-Island. Le témoin disait au docteur Kelly, en juillet dernier, que puisque Terbert souffrait d'une maladie de cœur il n'aurait pas dû être puni ; il considère que ces punitions ont exercé une fâcheuse influence sur la santé du prisonnier ; d'autant plus qu'il avait été rangé dans la classe des invalides les douze 10 derniers mois, et il n'aurait jamais pensé que l'on punit ainsi les invalides, s'il n'avait dû un jour visiter les cellules durant une absence du docteur Kelly ; il était certain, considérant l'état de santé du malade, que cinq jours de cellule feraient du tort à sa santé.

Le coroner s'élève alors énergiquement contre la conduite tenue envers 15 le prisonnier. Celui-ci se trouvait alternativement, dit-il, à l'hôpital ou en cellule.

Le jury rend la sentence suivante :

« Nous déclarons que Michael Terbert est mort à l'hôpital de la prison de Spike-Island, le 8 février 1870, d'hydropsie ; il était âgé de 36 ans et 20 célibataire. Nous devons exprimer de la façon la plus énergique notre totale désapprobation des punitions fréquentes de plusieurs jours de cellule, au pain et à l'eau, qui lui ont été infligées pendant son séjour à Spike-Island, où il a été envoyé en juin 1866, venant de la prison Mountjoy, parce que, d'après l'opinion du docteur O'Donnell, il ne pouvait 25 supporter le régime cellulaire ; et nous condamnons ces traitements. »

Friedrich Engels
Vorarbeiten und Entwürfe für das Buch
über die Geschichte Irlands

Friedrich Engels
Gliederung des Buches über die Geschichte Irlands

- 1) Naturbedingungen.
- 2) Alt-Irland
- 3) Englische Eroberung.
 - 1) Der erste Einfall
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 - a) Die Zeit der Kleinbauern 1801-1846.
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Gliederung des Kapitels „Altirland“

Alt Irland.

I. Quellen. 1) Die Alten. 2) die irische Literatur. Gebäude & Inschriften. 3) Auswärtige. Die Scandinavie!-. St. Bernhard, Giraldus. - 4) Die Späteren, besonders Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts

IIa Race & Sprache. Einwandlungssagen. Angaben der Alten. Was aus den Gesetzen, Giraldus & selbst den Späteren über irische Sitten zu sagen ist.

b Clanverfassung, Grundeigenthum, Gesetze,
lila. Einführung des Christenthums. Irische Missionare & Gelehrte. J.
Scotus Erigena 1
b. Dänenzeit etc. bis Invasion. Staatsordnung um diese Zeit.

Ad I.

Ad IIa Einwandlungssagen Senchus Mor. - Die Alten: Senchus Mor II, Gesch. & Beilage. Wakefield XII, 6 (Boate) Prendergast. Senchus Mor XI. Giraldus. - Spenser. Davies. Camden, Campion p.p. Ledwich. 1
b. Nennius Brittonum. Senchus Mor XI & Original?

Ad III Senchus Mor II 9 ff, & Original Chronologie. Gordon. Hegel Geschichte der Philosophie. - Danica.

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Entwurf der Kapitel „Naturbedingungen“ und „Altirland“
des Buches über die Geschichte Irlands

||[i]|| Naturbedingungen.

An der Nordwestecke Europas liegt das Land, dessen Geschichte uns beschäftigen wird, eine Insel von 1530 deutschen oder 32 500 englischen Quadratmeilen. Aber zwischen Irland und das übrige Europa legt sich 5 quer die dreimal so große Insel, die wir der Kürze halber gewöhnlich England nennen; sie umfaßt Irland von Nord, Ost und Südost her vollständig, und läßt ihm nur in der Richtung nach Spanien, Westfrankreich und Amerika freien Ausblick.

Der Kanal zwischen beiden Inseln, an den schmälsten Stellen im Süden 10 50-70, an einer Stelle im Norden 13, an einer andern 22 engl. Meilen breit, erlaubte im Norden schon vor dem 5^{ten} Jahrhundert den irischen Scoten die Einwanderung in die Nebeninsel und die Begründung des schottischen Reichs. Im Süden war er zu breit für die Boote der Iren und Briten, und ein ernsthaftes Hinderniß selbst für die flachbodigen Küsten-15 fahrzeuge der Römer. Als aber Friesen, Angeln & Sachsen, & nach ihnen Skandinavier, mit ihren Kielfahrzeugen sich aufs hohe Meer, außer Sicht des Landes, wagen durften, war dieser Kanal kein Hinderniß mehr; Irland verfiel den Raubzügen der Skandinavier, und lag den Engländern als offne Beute da. Sobald die Normannen in England eine kräftige, 20 einheitliche Regierung hergestellt, machte sich der Einfluß der größeren Nachbarinsel geltend - in damaliger Zeit hieß dies: Eroberungskrieg.

Folgte dann, im Verlauf des Kriegs, eine Periode, wo England die Herrschaft auf dem Meer errang, so war dadurch die Möglichkeit erfolg-25 reicher, fremder Einmischung ausgeschlossen.

Wurde endlich die ganze größere Insel zu Einem Staat vereinigt, so mußte dieser danach streben, auch Irland sich vollständig zu assimiliren.

Gelang diese Assimilation, so gehört der ganze Verlauf der Geschichte an. Er verfällt ihrem Urtheil, aber rückgängig zu machen ist er nicht

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mehr. Gelang aber die Assimilation, nach siebenhundert Jahren des Kampfs, *nicht*; wurde vielmehr jede neue Welle von Eindringlingen, die Irland eine nach der andern überschwemmte, von *Irland* assimiliert; sind die Irländer auch heute noch ebensowenig zu Engländern, „Westbriten“, wie man's nennt, geworden wie die Polen nach nur hundertjähriger Unterdrückung zu Westrussen; ist der Kampf noch immer nicht ausgekämpft, und keine Aussicht da, daß er ausgekämpft werde anders als durch die Ausrottung der unterdrückten Race - so werden alle geographischen Vorwände in der Welt nicht hinreichen, den Beruf Englands zur Eroberung Irlands zu beweisen. 10

Um die Bodenbeschaffenheit des heutigen Irlands zu verstehen müssen wir weit zurückgreifen, nämlich bis auf die Epoche wo die sogenannte Kohlenformation gebildet wurde.¹¹

Die Mitte von Irland, nördl. & südlich von der Linie Dublin-Galway, 15 bildet eine weite Ebene von der Meereshöhe von durchschnittlich 100 bis 300 Fuß. ||2| Diese Ebene, & sozusagen der Grundplan von ganz Irland wird gebildet durch die massenhafte Kalksteinschicht, die die mittlere Lage der Kohlenformation bildet (Kohlenkalk, carboniferous Limestone), und [auf] welcher die kohlenhaltigen Schichten (das eigentliche 20 Kohlengebirge, coal measures) in England & anderswo unmittelbar aufliegen.

Im Süden wie im Norden wird diese Ebene umringt von einem Gebirgskranz, der sich meist der Küste anschließt, und fast ausnahmslos aus älteren Gebirgsformationen besteht, die den Kalkstein durchbrochen haben: Granit, Glimmerschiefer, cambrische, cambo-silurische, obere silurische, devonische und der untersten Schicht der Kohlenformation angehörige Thonschiefer und Sandsteine, reich an Kupfer & Blei, außerdem etwas Gold, Silber, Zinn, Zink, Eisen, Kobalt, Spiegelglanz & Mangan enthaltend. 30

Nur an wenigen Stellen erhebt sich der Kalkstein selbst zu Bergen: mitten in der Ebene, in Queen's County bis zu 600 Fuß & im Westen, an der Südküste der Bucht von Galway, bis zu etwas über 1000 Fuß (Burren Hills).

¹¹ Wo nicht anders angegeben, sind die hier angeführten geologischen Daten genommen aus: 35 J. Beete Jukes, The Student's Manual of Geology. New Edition. Edinburgh 1862. Jukes war Lokalvorstand der geologischen Aufnahme Irlands und ist daher für dies Terrain, das er auch besonders ausführlich behandelt, erste Autorität.

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An mehreren Stellen in der südlichen Hälfte der Kalksteinebene finden sich vereinzelte Gebirge von 700-1000 Fuß Meereshöhe & beträchtlichem Umfang, die von den kohlenhaltigen Schichten gebildet werden. Sie liegen in Mulden der Kalksteinfläche, aus der sie sich als Plateau mit ziemlich steilen Rändern erheben. „Die Abfälle dieser weit von einander entfernten Striche Kohlengebirge sind sich so ähnlich, & die Schichten aus denen sie bestehen, so vollständig identisch, daß man absolut nicht umhin kann anzunehmen, daß sie früher in zusammenhängenden Lagen über das ganze Zwischenland verbreitet waren, obwohl sie jetzt 60-80 Meilen von einander entfernt sind. Diese Ansicht wird noch besonders dadurch bestärkt, daß zwischen den noch übrigen Kohlenfeldern sich hier & da kleine vereinzelte Hügel finden, deren Spitze ebenfalls aus Kohlengebirge besteht, & daß überall, wo die Kalksteinebene sich unter das Niveau der gegenwärtigen Oberfläche senkt, die Vertiefung ausgefüllt ist durch die niedrigsten Schichten des Kohlengebirgs.“ (Jukes p. 286)

Noch andre Umstände, die für uns hier zu sehr ins Detail gehn, & die man bei Jukes p. 286-89 nachlesen kann, machen zur Gewißheit, daß, wie Jukes sagt, die ganze irische Centraiebene durch Denudation entstanden ist; so daß, nachdem das Kohlengebirge [β] und die oberen Kalkstein-Ablagerungen - eine Durchschnittsdicke von mindestens 2-3000, vielleicht 5-6000 Fuß Gestein - weggespült, nun hauptsächlich die unteren Schichten des Kalks zu Tage treten. Selbst auf dem höchsten Grat der Burren Hills, Grafschaft Clare, die aus purem Kalkstein bestehen & 1000 Fuß hoch sind, fand Jukes (p. 513) noch einen kleinen Aufwurf von Kohlengebirge.

Es bleiben demnach im Süden Irlands immer noch einige nicht unbedeutende Striche welche dem Kohlengebirge angehören; darunter aber findet sich nur an einzelnen kleinen Stellen Kohle in hinreichender Dicke um den Bergbau zu lohnen. Zudem ist die Kohle selbst anthracitisch, d.h. sie enthält wenig Wasserstoff & ist, ohne Zusatz, nicht zu allen industriellen Zwecken verwendbar.

Im Norden Irlands kommen auch mehrere nicht sehr ausgedehnte Kohlenfelder vor, deren Kohle bituminös, d.h. wasserstoffreiche gewöhnliche Steinkohle ist, & deren Lagerung nicht ganz mit der der südlicheren Kohlenbezirke stimmt. Daß aber auch hier dieselbe Wegspülung des Kohlengebirgs stattgefunden, geht daraus hervor, daß große Stücke Kohle, begleitet von, derselben Schichtenordnung angehörigem, Sandstein & blauem Lehm, auf der Oberfläche des südöstlich eines solchen Kohlenfelds nach Belturbet & Mohill zu gelegenen Kalksteinthals gefunden werden. Häufig ist man beim Brunnengraben im Drift in dieser Gegend auf große Blöcke Kohle gestoßen, & in einigen Fällen waren die

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Kohlenmassen so bedeutend daß man glaubte, tieferes Ausschachten müsse auf ein Kohlenlager führen. (Kane, Industrial Resources of Ireland, 2^{te} Ausg. Dublin 1845. p. 265.)

Man sieht, das Pech Irlands ist uralt; es hebt an unmittelbar nach Ablagerung des Kohlengebirgs. Ein Land, dessen Kohlenlager weggespült sind, dicht neben einem größeren kohlenreichen Land gelegen, war gleichsam schon durch Naturbeschuß, diesem, dem künftigen Industrieland gegenüber, auf lange Zeit hinaus zur Rolle des Bauernlands verurtheilt. Das Urtheil, vor Millionen Jahren gefällt, wurde vollstreckt erst in diesem Jahrhundert. Wir werden übrigens später sehn, wie die Engländer 10 der Natur unter die Arme gegriffen und fast jeden Keim irischer Industrie sofort gewaltsam zertreten haben.

Jüngere, sekundäre & tertiäre Ablagerungen kommen fast nur im Nordosten vor; uns interessiren dabei hauptsächlich die Keuperschichten in der Gegend von Belfast, die bis zu 200 Fuß Dicke mehr oder weniger reines Steinsalz enthalten (Jukes p. 554), & die Kreide, die die ganze Grafschaft Antrim bedeckt, selbst aber wieder von einer Basaltlage überdeckt wird. Im Ganzen & Großen ist die geologische Entwicklungs geschichte Irlands unterbrochen vom Ende der Kohlenformation an bis auf die Eiszeit.

Man weiß, daß nach dem Ende der tertiären Epoche eine Zeit eintrat, wo die Flachlande der mittleren Breiten Europas unter die Meeresfläche versunken waren & wo eine so kalte Temperatur in Europa herrschte, daß die Thäler der noch hervorragenden Berginseln bis an den Meeresspiegel hinab von Gletschern ausgefüllt waren. Die von diesen Gletschern abgelösten Eisberge trugen ||4 große & kleine, von den Bergen abgelöste Steinblöcke ins Meer hinaus, bis das Eis schmolz & die Blöcke & was sonst Erdiges vom Eise mitgenommen war, zu Boden fiel; ein Prozeß, der an den Küsten der Polarregionen noch täglich vorgeht.

Zur Eiszeit war auch Irland mit Ausnahme der Bergkuppen unter den Meeresspiegel versenkt. Das Maximum der Senkung mag nicht überall gleich gewesen sein, doch darf man es im Durchschnitt auf 1000 Fuß unter die jetzige Höhe annehmen; die Granitgebirge südlich von Dublin müssen bis über 1200 Fuß gesunken sein.

Eine Senkung von nur 500 Fuß ließe von Irland nur die Gebirge übrig welche dann als Inseln in zwei halbkreisförmigen Gruppen um einen breiten, von Dublin nach Galway laufenden Sund herumliegen würden. Eine noch tiefere Senkung würde die Inseln nur verkleinern & ihre Zahl vermindern, bis bei 2000 Fuß Senkung nur noch die äußersten Bergkuppen aus dem Wasser ragen würden.²¹ Während die Senkung langsam vor sich geht,

²¹ Von den 32 509 engl. Quadratmeilen Irlands liegen zwischen dem Meeresspiegel & 250

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ging, müssen die Kalkstein-Ebene wie die Bergflanken noch von manchem darüber liegenden älteren Gestein reingefegt worden sein; dann folgte die Ablagerung des, der Eiszeit eigenthümlichen „Drift“ auf dem ganzen, vom Wasser bedeckten Gebiet. Die Produkte der Verwitterung
5 der Berginseln, sowie die feinzerriebenen Gesteintheilchen welche bei der Ausschürfung der Thäler durch die in ihnen sich langsam aber wuchtig fortschiebenden Gletscher abfielen, Erde, Sand, Kies, Steine, glattgeschliffene Blöcke im Eise selbst, scharfkantige auf seiner Oberfläche, Alles Das wurde von den am Strand sich los lösenden Eisbergen hinaus
10 getragen ins Meer und fiel dort nach & nach zu Boden. Die hierdurch gebildete Schicht besteht je nach Umständen aus Lehm (vom Thonschiefer herrührend), Sand (von Quarz & Granit herrührend), Kalkkies (vom Kalkgebirge geliefert), Mergel (wo fein zerkleinerter Kalk dem Lehm beigemengt) oder aus Mischungen aller dieser Bestandtheile; in allen
15 Fällen aber enthält sie eine Menge größerer oder kleinerer bald abgerundeter, bald scharfkantiger Steine, bis zu jenen kolossalen erratischen Blöcken hinauf die in Irland noch häufiger vorkommen als in der norddeutschen Ebene oder zwischen Alpen & Jura.

Bei der nachher erfolgten Wiedererhebung des Bodens aus dem Meer
20 erhielt diese neugebildete Oberfläche, im Rauhen wenigstens, ihre heutige Gestaltung. In Irland scheint dabei nur ||5| wenig Wegspülung stattgefunden zu haben; mit wenig Ausnahmen bedeckt der Drift, in dickerer oder dünnerer Lage, das ganze ebne Land, zieht sich in den Gebirgen alle Thäler hinan, & findet sich auch noch häufig hoch an den Bergflanken
25 hinauf. Die darin vorkommenden Steine sind meistens Kalk, weshalb die ganze Schicht hier gewöhnlich den Namen Kalksteinkies (Limestone gravel) trägt. Auch große Blöcke Kalkstein sind über das ganze niedere Land massenhaft zerstreut, fast in jedem Felde einer oder mehrere; in der Nähe der Berge finden sich selbstredend neben dem Kalkstein auch die
30 von ihnen herrührenden Lokalgesteine, namentlich der Granit, in großer Menge. Der Granit von der nördlichen Seite der Bucht von Galway kommt in der Ebene nach Südosten bis an die Galton-Berge hin häufig, bis nach Mallow (Grafschaft Cork) vereinzelt vor.

Der Norden des Landes ist, bis zur gleichen Meereshöhe, ebenso mit
35 Drift bedeckt wie die Centraiebene; der Süden hat, zwischen den verschiedenen mehr oder weniger parallelen Gebirgsreihen die ihn durchziehen, eine ähnliche, von Lokalgesteinen meist silurischer Formation herführende Ablagerung aufzuweisen die namentlich im Thal des Flesk u. Laune bei Killarney massenhaft auftritt.

40 Fuß Meereshöhe 13 243; von 251-500 Fuß: 11 797; 501-1000 Fuß: 5798; 1001-2000 Fuß:
1589; 2001 Fuß & darüber: 82 Quadratmeilen.

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Die Gletscherspuren an den Berghängen & auf den Talsohlen Irlands sind namentlich im Südwesten sehr häufig und unverkennbar. Schärfer ausgeprägte Eisspuren aller Art, als bei Killarney (im Black Valley und im Gap of Dunloe), erinnere ich mich nur im Oberhasli und hie und da in Schweden gesehen zu haben.

5

Die Erhebung des Bodens, während oder nach der Eiszeit, scheint so stark gewesen zu sein, daß Britannien eine Zeitlang nicht nur mit dem Kontinent, sondern auch mit Irland durch trocknes Land verbunden war. Wenigstens nur so scheint die Gleichheit der Fauna dieser Länder zu erklären. Von großen ausgestorbenen Säugetieren hat Irland mit dem 10 Continent gemein: das Mammuth, den irischen Riesenhirsch, den Höhlenbären, eine Renthierart usw. In der That würde eine Erhebung von weniger als 240 Fuß über das gegenwärtige Niveau hinreichen um Irland & Schottland, & eine von weniger als 360 Fuß, um Irland & Wales durch breite Landrücken zu verbinden.^{a)} Daß seit der Eiszeit Irland einmal ein 15 höheres Niveau eingenommen als jetzt, wird bewiesen durch die an der ganzen Küste vorkommenden unterseeischen Torfmoore mit aufrechtstehenden Baumstümpfen & Wurzeln, die in jeder Beziehung identisch sind mit den untersten Schichten der benachbarten binnennländischen Torfmoore.

20

Der Boden Irlands, soweit er für den Ackerbau in Betracht kommt, wird demnach fast ausschließlich gebildet vom „Drift“ der Eisperiode, der hier, Dank seiner Herkunft ||6| von Schiefer & Kalkgestein, nicht jener öde Sand ist, mit dem die schottischen, skandinavischen und finnländischen 25 Granate einen so großen Theil Norddeutschlands zugedeckt haben, sondern ein äußerst fruchtbare leichter Lehmboden. Die Mannichfaltigkeit der Gesteine, die ihren Abfall an diesen Boden abgegeben haben und noch abgeben, versorgte ihn mit einer entsprechenden Mannichfaltigkeit der für die Vegetation erforderlichen mineralischen Bestandtheile; und 30 wenn einer derselben, der Kalk, in der Ackerkrume selbst häufig abwesend ist, so finden sich doch überall kleinere & größere Kalkblöcke in Menge - vom unterliegenden Kalkfels abgesehn - so daß er mit Leichtigkeit zugesetzt werden kann.

Als der bekannte englische Agronom Arthur Young in den siebziger 35 Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts Irland bereiste, wußte er nicht, worüber er mehr erstaunen sollte: über die natürliche Fruchtbarkeit des Bodens,

^{a)} Siehe Karte I5.a, Stielers Handatlas 1868. Diese Karte, sowie No. 15.d für Irland speciell, gibt eine sehr anschauliche Darstellung der Terraingestaltung.

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oder über dessen barbarische Behandlung durch die Bauern. „Ein leichter, trockner, weicher, sandiger Lehmboden“ herrscht vor, wo das Land überhaupt gut ist. Im „goldnen Thal“ von Tipperary, und auch anderswo, fand er „denselben sandigen röthlichen Lehm den ich schon be-
5 schrieben habe, unvergleichliches Land für den Ackerbau“. Von da in der Richtung auf Clonmel „den ganzen Weg, durch denselben üppigen Strich rothen sandigen Lehms den ich so oft erwähnt habe; ich untersuchte ihn in verschiedenen Feldern und fand, daß er von außerordentlicher Fruchtbarkeit war, und so schönes Rübenland wie ich je gesehn.“ Ferner: „Das
10 reichtragende Land erstreckt sich von Charleville, am Fuß der Berge, bis Tipperary (Stadt), über Kilfenann, eine Linie von 25 Meilen Länge, und in der Breite von Ardpatick bis 4 Meilen vor Limerick - 16 Meilen.“ - „Der üppigste Boden ist in den ‚Corcasses‘ am Flusse Maigue, bei Adare, ein Strich 5 Meilen lang und 2 Meilen breit bis an den Shannon hinun-
15 ter ... wenn dies Land umgepflügt wird, so säet man zuerst Hafer und erhält 20 Fässer (zu 14 Stone, = 196 U das Faß) oder 40 gewöhnliche Fässer per Acre, und dies gilt für keine besonders reichliche Ernte; man fährt fort mit Hafer 10-12 Jahre ohne Unterbrechung, bis die Ernten magerer werden; dann säet man einmal Bohnen, und dadurch wird der
20 Boden so aufgefrischt, daß man wieder zehn Ernten Hafer hintereinander aus ihm herausschlagen kann; die Bohnen ertragen sehr gut. Hat man je von solchen Barbaren gehört?“ - Ferner, bei Castle Oliver, Grafschaft Limerick: „Der beste Boden hierzulande ist am Fuß der Gebirge; es ist ein üppiger, weicher, krümelnder, fauliger, sandiger Lehm, anderthalb
25 bis drei Fuß dick, von röthlich brauner Farbe. Es ist trocknes Land, und würde sich vortrefflich eignen für Rüben, gelbe Rüben, Kohl, in einem Wort für irgend etwas. Alles in Allem halte ich ihn für den fruchtbarsten Boden den ich je gesehn; er ist für jeden erdenklichen Zweck brauchbar. Man kann den größten Ochsen darauf mästen, aber dieser Boden ist auch
30 ebenso gut für Schafe, für den Ackerbau, für Rüben, für Weizen, für Bohnen, für irgend etwas. Man muß den Boden selbst untersuchen, ehe man glauben kann, daß ein Land von so bettelhaftem Aussehn so reich und fruchtbar sein kann.“ - Am Blackwater-Fluß ||7| bei Mallow „sind flache Striche, bis zu *U Meile breit, wo das Gras überall ausgezeichnet
35 schön steht. Es ist der prächtigste Sandboden, den ich je gesehn, roth-bräunlich, und, wenn umgepflügt, würde er die reichlichsten Ernten in der Welt geben. Er ist fünf Fuß dick, und obwohl man ihn in gute Ziegel umbrennen kann, ist es doch vollkommener Sand. Die Ufer dieses Flusses, von der Quelle bis zum Meer, sind gleich merkwürdig wegen ihrer
40 landschaftlichen Schönheit wie wegen ihrer Fruchtbarkeit.“ - „Krümeln-der, sandiger Lehm, trocken aber fruchtbar, ist sehr häufig & macht den

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besten Boden im Lande aus für Ackerbau wie für Schafe. Tipperary & Roscommon sind besonders reich daran. Am fruchtbarsten von allen sind die Ochsentriften von Limerick & am Ufer des Shannon, in Clare, die sogenannten Corcasses ... Sand, so häufig in England, & noch häufiger durch ganz Spanien, Frankreich, Deutschland & Polen - durchweg 5 von Gibraltar bis Petersburg - findet sich in Irland nirgends außer an schmalen Dünenstreifen an der Küste. Auch habe ich nirgendwo von Kreideboden je etwas gesehen oder gehört.^a

Young's Urtheil über den Boden Irlands faßt sich in folgenden Sätzen zusammen: „Wenn ich die Kennzeichen eines ausgezeichneten Bodens an- 10 geben sollte, so würde ich sagen: *der* Boden, auf dem man einen Ochsen mästen und ebensogut eine gute Rübenernte erzielen kann. Nebenbei gesagt, fällt mir wenig oder gar kein solches Land in England ein, in Irland dagegen ist es nicht ungewöhnlich.“ (II, 271.) „Die natürliche Fruchtbarkeit, Acre gegen Acre gerechnet, ist entschieden zu Gunsten 15 Irlands.“ (II, 2¹¹ Abth., p. 3.) - „Soweit ich über den Boden der Beiden Königreiche urtheilen kann, verdient der von Irland bei weitem den Vor- rang.“ (II, 2¹² Abth., 12.)

1808-10 bereiste Edward *Wakefield*, ein ebenfalls mit der Agronomie vertrauter Engländer, Irland und legte die Resultate seiner Beobachtungen in einem sehr werthvollen Werk nieder.^b Seine Bemerkungen sind besser geordnet, übersichtlicher und vollständiger als die in Young's Reisewerk; im Ganzen aber stimmen Beide.

Wakefield findet in der Bodenbeschaffenheit Irlands im Ganzen wenig Verschiedenheit. Sand kommt nur an der Küste vor (er ist so selten im 25 Innern, daß große Mengen Seesand ins Innere verfahren werden um den Torf- & Lehmboden damit zu verbessern), Kreideboden ist unbekannt (die Kreide in Antrim ist wie schon erwähnt, mit einer Basaltschicht bedeckt, deren Verwitterungsprodukte eine äußerst fruchtbare Ackerkrume abgeben - Kreide liefert in England den schlechtensten Boden), 30 „und zähen Kleiboden, wie man ihn in Oxfordshire, in einigen Theilen von Essex, und im ganzen oberen Suffolk findet, habe ich in Irland nie finden können“. Die Iren nennen jeden lehmigen Boden Klei (clay); es möge wohl den richtigen Klei auch in Irland geben, aber jedenfalls nicht an der Oberfläche wie in einigen Theilen Englands. Kalkstein oder Kalk- 35 geröll finde sich fast überall; „Kalkstein ist ein nützlicher Artikel und läßt sich in eine Quelle des Reichthums verwandeln, die immer mit Vorteil

^a A Tour in Ireland, by Arthur Young. 3 vols. London 177 . Obige Stellen finden sich Band II, pp. 28, 135, 143, 154, 165 & II, II. Abth., 4.

^b An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political. By Edward Wakefield. London 1812. 40 2 vols, in 4°.

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anzuwenden ist.“ Berge & Torfmoore reduzieren freilich die fruchtbare Oberfläche bedeutend. Im Norden sei wenig fruchtbare Land; doch auch hier finden sich in jeder Grafschaft äußerst üppige Thäler, & selbst im äußersten Donegal, unter den wildesten Bergen, traf Wakefield uner-
5 wartet einen sehr reichtragenden Strich. Der starke Flachsbau im Norden allein sei schon ein genügendes Anzeichen von Fruchtbarkeit, da diese Pflanze in armem Boden nie gedeiht. - „Ein großer Theil des Bodens in Irland trägt einen üppigen Graswuchs, der ziemlich dicht auf dem Kalkfelsen aufsitzt. Ich habe Ochsen von vierzehn Zentnern gesehn, die sich
10 rasch mästeten auf einem Boden ||8| der nur wenige Zoll tief war, und auf dem, selbst in der nassesten Jahreszeit, ein Pferdehuf keinen Eindruck zurückließ. Dies ist eine Seite des reichen Bodens von Irland, er findet sich in ganz Roscommon, in einigen Theilen von Galway, Clare pp. Andre Gegenden wieder weisen den reichsten Lehmboden auf, den ich je
15 durch einen Pflug umgestürzt sah; dies ist der Fall besonders in ganz Meath. Wo solcher Boden vorkommt, da ist seine Fruchtbarkeit so augenscheinlich, daß es Einem dünkt, die Natur habe vorgehabt, die Einwohner für ihr plumpes Cultursystem zu entschädigen. - An den Ufern des Shannon & Fergus ist das Land wieder von andrer Art, aber gleich
20 ergiebig, obwohl die Oberfläche fast wie ein Sumpf aussieht. Diese Gegenden heißen die ‚Caucasses‘ (so schreibt Wakefield im Gegensatz zu Young); der Unterboden ist ein feiner blauer, von der See abgelagerter Lehm, der gleiche Eigenschaften mit der Ackerkrume zu haben scheint; denn dieser Boden ist durch kein, noch so tiefes, Pflügen zu ruiniren. - In
25 den Grafschaften Limerick u. Tipperary kommt wieder eine andre Art reichen Bodens vor: ein dunkler, krümelnder, trockner, sandiger Lehm, der mehrere Jahre hintereinander Korn tragen würde, hielte man ihn nur rein von Unkraut. Er eignet sich gleich gut für Ackerland oder Viehtrift, und, wie ich zu behaupten wage, selten wird ihm ein Jahr zu naß oder ein
30 Sommer zu trocken sein. Die Ergiebigkeit dieses Bodens erklärt sich zum Theil daraus daß der Regen Bodentheile von den Höhen abreißt & im Thal ablagert. Der Unterboden ist kalkig, so daß der allerbeste Dünger bereits von unten dem ganzen Strich einverleibt ist, ohne den Bauern irgendwelche Arbeit zu machen.“ (I, p. 79, 80.)
35 Wenn ein zäherer Lehm, in nicht sehr dicker Lage, dem Kalkfels unmittelbar aufliegt, so taugt das Land zum Ackerbau nicht, & trägt nur elende Ernten Korn; aber es gibt vortreffliche Schafweiden ab, die es immer mehr verbessern, ein dichtes Gras, vermischt mit weißem Klee &
.....erzeugen. (I, p. 80.)
40 Im Westen, namentlich in Mayo, kommen nach Dr. Beaufort¹⁶¹ viele Turloughs vor - größere oder kleinere flache Stellen, die, ohne sichtbare
¹⁶¹ Beaufort, Reverend. Dr., Memoir of a Map of Ireland. 1792. p. 75, 76. Citirt bei Wakefield I, p. 36.

Verbindung mit Bächen oder Flüssen, im Winter sich mit Wasser bedecken, das im Sommer durch unterirdische Spalten der Kalkfelsen abfließt & einen üppigen, festen Weideboden hinterlässt.

„Außer den Caucasses, fährt Wakefield fort, findet sich der beste Boden in Irland in den Grafschaften Tipperary, Limerick, Roscommon, 5 Longford & Meath. In Longford gibt es ein Pachtgut (Granard Kill) das acht Kartoffelernten nacheinander ohne Dünger hervorgebracht hat. Einige Theile von Cork sind ungewöhnlich fruchtbar, und im Ganzen kann man sagen daß Irland Boden von ausgezeichneter Qualität besitzt, obgleich ich nicht so weit gehen kann wie manche Schriftsteller die der 10 Ansicht sind daß er, Acre gegen Acre gerechnet, entschieden besser sei als der von England.“ (I, p. 81.) Letztere Bemerkung, die gegen Young gerichtet ist, beruht auf einem Mißverständniß des oben citirten Youngschen Ausspruchs. Young sagt nicht, daß der Boden Irlands ||9| ergiebiger sei als der Englands, Beide genommen in ihrem jetzigen Culturstande, der 15 natürlich in England weit höher ist; Young sagt nur daß die *natürliche* Fruchtbarkeit des Bodens in Irland größer sei als in England, & dies bestreitet Wakefield nicht geradezu.

Ein schottischer Agronom, Herr *Caird*, wurde nach der letzten Hungersnot 1849 vom Ministerium Sir Robert Peel's nach Irland geschickt, 20 um über Mittel zur Hebung des dortigen Ackerbaus zu berichten. In einer bald darauf veröffentlichten Schrift über den Westen von Irland - nächst dem äußersten Nordwesten der schlechteste Theil des Landes - heißt es:

„Ich war sehr erstaunt, einen so großen Strich schönes, fruchtbare 25 Land vorzufinden. Das Innere des Landes ist sehr eben & im Allgemeinen steinig & trocken; der Boden trocken & krümelnd. Die Feuchtigkeit des Klimas erzeugt eine sehr beständige Vegetation die ihre Vortheile & Nachtheile hat. Sie ist vortheilhaft für Gras & Grünbau⁷⁾, bedingt aber auch bedeutende & anhaltende Anstrengung um das Unkraut niederzu- 30 halten. Der Überfluß an Kalk allerorts, sowohl im Felsen selbst wie in der Gestalt von Sand & Geröll unter der Oberfläche, ist von größtem Werth.“ Caird bestätigt ebenfalls, daß die ganze Grafschaft West Meath aus dem schönsten Weideland besteht. Von der Gegend nördlich von Lough Corrib (Grafschaft Mayo) heißt es: „Der größte Theil (einer Farm 35 von 500 Acres) ist das schönste Mastland für Schafe & Rindvieh, trockenes, krümelndes, wellenförmiges Land, alles auf dem Kalkfelsen. Die Felder, üppiges angewurzeltes Gras, sind besser als irgend etwas was wir,

⁷⁾ Grünbau (green crops) umfaßt alle künstlichen Futterkräuter, Rüben aller Art & Kartoffeln; Alles was nicht Korn, nicht Gras, & nicht Gartenbau ist.

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kleine Fleckchen ausgenommen, in irgend einem Theil von Schottland haben, soviel ich mich wenigstens erinnere. Die besten Stellen dieses Bodens sind *zu gut für den Pflug*, doch könnte ungefähr die Hälfte mit Vortheil als Ackerland verwandt werden ... Die Schnelligkeit womit der Boden auf diesem Untergrund von Kalkfels sich erholt, & von selbst, ohne daß irgend etwas gesät wird, sich wieder in Weideland verwandelt, ist sehr merkwürdig.⁸¹

Hören wir schließlich noch eine französische Autorität:⁹¹

„Von den beiden Abtheilungen Irlands umfaßt die eine, der Nordwesten, den vierten Theil der Insel, nämlich ganz Connaught mit den angrenzenden Grafschaften Donegal, Clare & Kerry. [10] Sie gleicht Wales und selbst, in ihren schlimmsten Strichen, den schottischen Hochlanden. Hier sind wieder 2 Millionen Hectaren wildes Land, deren schauerlicher Anblick die irische Redensart erzeugt hat: Geh zur Hölle oder nach Connaught!¹⁰¹ Die andre, südöstliche und weit größere Abtheilung, umfaßt Leinster, Ulster & Munster, oder ungefähr 6 Mill. Hectaren. Sie ist dem eigentlichen England an natürlicher Fruchtbarkeit *mindestens gleich*. Doch ist der Boden sich nicht überall gleich; die feuchten Niederschläge sind dort noch größer als in England. Große Torfmoore bedecken etwa Vm der Oberfläche; mehr als ein andres Zehntel besteht aus Seen & Bergen. Aus den 8 Millionen Hectaren in Irland sind nur fünf Millionen angebaut.“ (p. 9. 10.) - „Selbst die Engländer geben zu daß Irland, was den Boden betrifft, England überlegen ist. Von den obigen 8 Mill. Hectaren nehmen Felsgebirg, Seen & Torfmoor ungefähr 2 Mill, ein; 2 Mill. mehr sind ziemlich schlechtes Land. Der Rest, also etwa die Hälfte des ganzen Landes, ist prächtiges Land mit kalkigem Untergrund - was will man sich Besseres wünschen?“ (p. 343.)

Man sieht, alle Autoritäten stimmen dahin ein, daß der Boden Irlands sowohl nach seinen chemischen Bestandtheilen, wie nach seiner mechanischen Zusammensetzung, alle Elemente der Fruchtbarkeit in ungewöhnlichem Maße vereinigt. Die Extreme - zäher, undurchdringlicher Klei der kein Wasser durchläßt, und loser Sand der es keine Stunde behält fehlen ganz. Dagegen hat Irland einen andern Nachtheil. Während die Berge meist an der Küste liegen, sind die Wasserscheiden zwischen den verschiedenen Flußbecken im Innern meist sehr niedrig. Die Flüsse

⁸¹ Caird, The Plantation Scheme, or the West of Ireland as a field for investment. Edinburgh 1850. Herr Caird schrieb 1850-51 in die Times Reiseberichte über den Zustand des Ackerbaus in den Hauptgrafschaften Englands. Obige Stellen finden sich pp. 6, 17-18, 121.

⁹¹ Léonce de Lavergne, Rural Economy of England. Scotland & Ireland. Translated from the French. Edinburgh 1855.

¹⁰¹ Die Redensart, wie sich zeigen wird, verdankt ihren Ursprung nicht den dunklen Bergen von Connaught sondern der dunkelsten Periode der ganzen irischen Geschichte.

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sind nicht im Stande, das sämmtliche Regenwasser zum Meer abzuführen, & so entstehen im Innern, besonders an den Wasserscheiden, ausgedehnte Torfmoore. In der Ebene allein sind 1 576 000 Acres mit Torfmoor bedeckt. Es sind meist Einsenkungen oder Mulden des Terrains, großentheils frühere flache Seebecken, die allmählig mit Moos & Sumpfpflanzen bewachsen & von deren abgestorbenen Resten ausgefüllt worden sind. Sie dienen, wie unsre norddeutschen Moore, nur zum Torfstechen; die Kultur kann sich unter dem jetzigen Ackerbausystem nur langsam ihrer Ränder bemächtigen. Der Boden dieser alten Seebecken ist überall Mergel, der seinen Kalkgehalt (von 5-90% schwankend) von den Schalen der Süßwassermuscheln des Sees empfangen hat. Jedes dieser Torfmoore enthält also das Material zu seiner Urbarmachung in seinem eignen Schoß. Außerdem sind die meisten derselben reich an Eisenstein. - Neben diesen Mooren der Ebene finden sich noch 1 254 000 Acres Bergmoor, eine Frucht der Entwaldung in einem feuchten Klima, und eine eigenthümliche Schönheit der britischen Inseln. Überall, wo hier flache oder schwachgewölbte Kuppen entwaldet worden - was im 17^{ten} und der ersten Hälfte des 18^{ten} Jahrhunderts massenweise geschah, um die Eisenwerke mit Holzkohle zu versorgen - bildete sich unter dem Einfluß des Regens & der Nebel ein Überzug von Torf, der später, wo die Verhältnisse günstig waren, an den Hängen sich fortsetzte. Der ganze Rücken der Gebirgskette, die Nordengland von Nord nach Süd bis gegen Derby hin durchschneidet, ist mit solchen Mooren bedeckt; und wo auf der Karte von Irland ||1| größere Gebirgsgruppen verzeichnet sind, da findet sich auch Bergmoor im Überfluß. Die Torfmoore Irlands sind aber an sich keineswegs für den Ackerbau hoffnungslos verloren; wir werden vielmehr seiner Zeit sehn, welch reiche Früchte ein Theil sowohl von ihnen, wie der von Lavergne verächtlich behandelten 2 Mill. Hectaren (= 5 Mill. Acres) „ziemlich schlechten Landes“ bei geeigneter Behandlung zu tragen im Stande ist.

30

Das Klima Irlands wird bestimmt durch seine Lage. Der Golfstrom und die vorherrschenden Südwestwinde führen ihm Wärme zu, & bedingen milde Winter und frische Sommer. Im Südwesten dauert der Sommer bis tief in den October hinein, der hier nach Wakefield (I, 221) vorzugsweise 35 als Monat des Seebades gilt. Frost ist selten & von kurzer Dauer, Schnee bleibt in der Ebene fast nie liegen. An den nach Südwesten offenen, nach Norden geschützten Buchten von Kerry & Cork herrscht den ganzen Winter durch Frühlingswetter; dort & an manchen andern Stellen gedeiht die Myrthe im Freien (Wakefield führt ein Beispiel an wo sie auf einem 40

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Landsitz zu Bäumen von 16 Fuß Höhe heranwuchs & zu Stallbesen verwandt wurde, I, p. 55), und Lorbeer, Arbutus & andre immergrüne Pflanzen wachsen zu hohen Bäumen empor. Noch zu Wakefields Zeiten ließen im Süden die Bauern ihre Kartoffeln den ganzen Winter durch im Freien, ohne daß sie ihnen seit 1740 je verfroren wären. Dagegen erleidet Irland auch den ersten heftigen Niederschlag der schweren atlantischen Regenwolken. Die durchschnittliche Regenmenge von Irland beträgt mindestens 35 Zoll, bedeutend mehr als der Durchschnitt von England, doch sicher weniger als der Durchschnitt von Lancashire und Cheshire, und kaum mehr als der von ganz Westengland. Trotzdem ist das Klima Irlands entschieden angenehmer als das englische. Der bleierne Himmel, der in England so oft tagelang ununterbrochen forttröpfelt, wird dort meist ersetzt durch einen kontinentalen Aprilhimmel; die frischen Seewinde treiben die Wolken rasch & unerwartet herbei, aber auch eben so rasch wieder vorüber, wenn sie nicht sofort in scharfen Schauern herabkommen. Und selbst tagelanger Regen, wie er im Spätherbst vorkommt, hat nicht den chronischen Anstrich wie in England. Das Wetter, wie die Bewohner, hat einen akuteren Charakter, es bewegt sich in schärferen, unvermittelten Gegensätzen; der Himmel ist wie ein irisches Frauen gesicht. Regen und Sonnenschein folgen sich auch da plötzlich und unerwartet, aber für die graue englische Langeweile ist kein Platz.

Den ältesten Bericht über das irische Klima gibt uns der Römer *Pomponius Mela* (*de situ orbis*) im ersten Jahrhundert unsrer Zeitrechnung, wie folgt: „Jenseits Britanniens liegt Juverna, ihm an Ausdehnung beinahe gleich, aber sonst ihm ähnlich; von länglicher Gestalt, von einem, dem Reifen der Saaten ungünstigen Himmel; dafür aber strotzt es von üppigem und süßem Gras, so daß ein gar kleiner [12] Theil des Tages genügt, damit das Vieh sich sättige, und wenn man es nicht von der Weide fortnimmt, so birst es vom übermäßigen Fressen.“

„Caeli ad maturanda semina iniqui, verum adeo luxuriosa herbis non laetis modo, sed etiam dulcibus!“ In modernes Englisch übersetzt, finden wir diese Stelle unter Andern bei Herrn *Goldwin Smith*, Professor der Geschichte weiland in Oxford und jetzt in Cornell University, Amerika. Er erzählt uns, es sei schwer, in einem großen Theil von Irland, eine Weizenernte einzuhimsen und fährt fort: „Irlands natürlicher Weg zu kommerzieller Prosperität scheint der zu sein, mit den Produkten seiner Weiden, mit Vieh, Butter usw. - die Bevölkerung Englands zu versorgen.“¹¹

¹¹ Goldwin Smith. *Irish History and Irish Character*. Oxford and London, 1861. - Man weiß nicht was man an dieser, die englische Politik gegenüber Irland unter der Maske der

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Von Mela bis auf Goldwin Smith, und bis heute, wie oft ist die Behauptung wiederholt worden - seit 1846 namentlich von dem lärmenden Chor der irischen Grundbesitzer daß Irland durch sein Klima verurtheilt sei, nicht Irländer mit Brot, sondern Engländer mit Fleisch & Butter zu versorgen, und daß deßhalb die Bestimmung des irischen Volks sei, 5 über den Ocean gebracht zu werden, damit Raum werde in Irland für Kühe und Schafe!

Man sieht, die Feststellung des Tatbestands über das irische Klima ist die Lösung einer politischen Tagesfrage. Und zwar geht uns hier das Klima nur insofern an, als es für den Ackerbau von Bedeutung ist. Die 10 Beobachtungen regenmessender Naturforscher sind, bei dem jetzigen lückenhaften Stand der Beobachtungen, für unsren Zweck nur von sekundärem Werth; es kommt nicht sowohl darauf an, *wieviel Regen fällt*, sondern weit mehr, *wie & wann* er fällt. Die Urtheile der Agronomen fallen hier vor Allem ins Gewicht. 15

Arthur Young hält Irland für entschieden feuchter als England; daher komme die erstaunliche Neigung des Bodens, Gras zu produziren. Er spricht von Fällen, wo Rüben- & Stoppelland, ungepflügt gelassen, den nächsten Sommer eine reichliche Heuernte gab, Dinge, wovon in England kein Beispiel vorkommt. Er erwähnt ferner, daß der irische Weizen 20 viel leichter ist als der trocknerer Länder; die Felder sind voll Gras und Unkraut selbst unter der besten Kultur, und die Ernten sind so naß & so mühsam einzubringen daß der Ertrag sehr darunter leidet. (Young, Tour, II p. 100.)

Gleichzeitig aber macht er darauf aufmerksam, daß der Boden in 25 Irland dieser Feuchtigkeit des Klimas entgegenwirkt. Der Boden ist | 13| überall steinig, & läßt daher Wasser leichter durch. „Zäher, steiniger, fester Lehm (loam), schwer zu bearbeiten, ist in Irland nicht ungewöhnlich, aber er ist ganz verschieden vom englischen Klei (clay). Wenn so viel Regen fielet auf den Klei Englands (eine Bodenart die in Irland selten & 30 nie ohne viel Steine vorkommt) wie auf die Felsen der Schwesterinsel, so könnten diese Striche nicht bebaut werden. Hier aber sind die Felsen mit Grün bekleidet, & wo sie aus Kalk bestehen, tragen sie, auf einer nur dünnen Schicht Humus, den weichsten & schönsten Rasen von der Welt.“ (II, 2^{te} Abth. p 3, 4.) 35

Der Kalkfels ist bekanntlich überall voller Risse & Spalten, die das überflüssige Wasser rasch durchlassen. -

„Objectivität“ rechtfertigenden Schrift mehr bewundern soll, die Unwissenheit des Professors der Geschichte oder die Heuchelei des liberalen Bourgeois. Wir treffen Beide noch wieder. 40

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Wakefield widmet dem Klima ein sehr ausführliches Kapitel, worin er alle früheren Beobachtungen bis auf seine Zeit herab zusammenstellt. Dr. Boate (*Natural History of Ireland*, 1645) beschreibt die Winter als mild, 3-4 Fröste jährlich, die selten mehr als 2-3 Tage anhalten, der Liffey bei 5 Dublin friere in 10-12 Jahren kaum einmal zu. Der März sei meist trocken & schön, darauf aber falle viel Regen; selten gebe es im Sommer 2-3 ganz trockne Tage hintereinander; im Spätherbst sei es dann wieder schön. Sehr trockne Sommer seien selten, die Theurung werde nie durch Dürre, sondern meist durch Nässe veranlaßt. In der Ebene gebe es wenig 10 Schnee, sodaß das Vieh das ganze Jahr im Freien bleibe. Doch zuweilen komme auch ein Schneejahr vor wie 1635, wo dann die Leute Mühe hätten ihr Vieh unterzubringen. (Wakefield I, 216 ff.)

Im Anfange des vorigen Jahrhunderts machte Dr. Rutty (*Natural History of the County of Dublin*) genaue meteorologische Beobachtungen 15 die sich über die fünfzig Jahre von 1716-65 erstrecken. Während dieser ganzen Zeit verhielten sich die Süd- & Westwinde zu den Nord- & Ostwinden wie 73:37 (10 878 S. & W. gegen 6329 N. & O.). Herrschende Winde waren West & Südwest, nach ihnen kam Nordwest & Südost, am seltensten Nordost & Ost. Im Sommer, Herbst & Winter herrschten West 20 & Südwest vor; Ost ist am häufigsten im Frühjahr & Sommer, wo er doppelt so oft vorkommt wie im Herbst & Winter, Nordost kommt meist im Frühjahr vor, ebenfalls doppelt so häufig wie im Herbst & Winter. Infolge dessen sei die Temperatur gleichmäßiger, die Winter milder, die Sommer kühler als in London, dagegen die Luft feuchter. Selbst im Sommer saugen Salz, Zucker, Mehl usw. Feuchtigkeit aus der Luft ein, & das Korn müsse in Backöfen getrocknet werden, was in *einigen Theilen* von 25 England nicht vorkomme. (Wakefield I, p. 172-81.)

Rutty konnte damals das irische Klima nur mit dem von London vergleichen, das, wie in ganz Ostengland, allerdings trockener ist. Hätte ihm 30 aber Material über West- & besonders Nordwestengland zur Verfügung gestanden, so würde er gefunden haben, daß seine Beschreibung des irischen Klimas, die Vertheilung der Winde über das Jahr, die nassen Sommer, in denen Zucker, Salz pp. in ungeheizten Räumen zerfallen, ganz auf diesen Landstrich paßt, nur daß dieser im Winter kälter ist. |

35 [14] Über den meteorologischen Charakter der Jahreszeiten hat Rutty ebenfalls Listen geführt. In den erwähnten 50 Jahren gab es 16 kalte, späte oder zu trockne Frühjahre; etwas mehr als in London. Ferner 22 heiße & trockne, 24 nasse, 4 veränderliche Sommer; etwas feuchter als in London, wo die Zahl der trocknen oder der nassen Sommer gleich- 40 kommt; - ferner 16 schöne, 12 nasse, 22 veränderliche Herbste, wieder etwas feuchter & veränderlicher als in London; & 13 frostige, 14 nasse, & 23 milde Winter, was bedeutend feuchter & milder ist als in London.

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Nach den Regenmessungen im botanischen Garten in Dublin während der zehn Jahre 1802-1811 kam in dieser Zeit auf jeden Monat folgende Gesamtregenmenge in Zollen: Dezember 27,31; Juli 24,15; November 23,49; August 22,47; September 22,27; Januar 21,67; October 20,12; Mai 19,50; März 14,69; April 13,54; Februar 12,32; Juni 12,07; Durchschnitt 5 per Jahr 23,36. (Wakefield I p. 191.) Diese zehn Jahre sind ausnahmsweise trocken; Kane (Industrial Resources p. 73) gibt den Durchschnitt von 6 Jahren in Dublin auf 30,87 Zoll, & Symons (English Rain Fall) den von 1860-62 auf 29,79 Zoll an. Wie wenig aber, bei den rasch vorübergehenden, bloß lokalen Regenschauern Irlands dergleichen Messungen 10 bedeuten, wenn sie sich nicht über eine lange Reihe von Jahren erstrecken & an sehr vielen Stationen vorgenommen werden, beweist U.A. die That-sache daß von drei Stationen in Dublin selbst die eine 24,63, die andre 28,04, die dritte 30,18 Zoll als Regenmenge für 1862 erhielt. Die Durchschnitts-Regenmenge von 12 Stationen in allen Theilen Irlands (von 15 25,45 auf 51,44 Zoll variirend) betrug nach Symons in den Jahren 1860-62 nicht ganz 39 Zoll.

Dr. Patterson sagt in seinem Buch über das Klima Irlands: „Die Häufigkeit unsrer Regenschauer, nicht aber die Regenmenge selbst, hat die beliebte Vorstellung von der Nässe unsres Klimas erzeugt... Zuweilen 20 wird im Frühjahr die Aussaat etwas durch nasses Wetter verzögert, aber unsre Frühjahre sind so oft kalt & spät, daß frühe Aussaat hierzulande nicht immer räthlich ist. Wenn im Sommer & Herbst häufige Schauer unsre Heu- & Kornernten riskant machen, so würden Wachsamkeit & Fleiß in solchen Nothfällen ebenso erfolgreich sein wie sie es in England 25 bei den dortigen ‚schleunigen‘ Ernten (catching harvests) sind, & verbesserte Kultur würde dafür sorgen daß die Aussaat die Bemühungen des Landmanns unterstützte.“¹²¹

In Londonderry wechselte die Zahl der regenfreien Tage in den 10 Jahren 1791-1802 von 113 auf 148 im Jahr; Durchschnitt über 126. In 30 Belfast stellte sich derselbe Durchschnitt heraus. In Dublin variirte die Zahl von 168 auf 205, Durchschnitt 179. (Patterson, ibid.)

Nach Wakefields Angabe fallen die Ernten in Irland wie folgt: Weizen, meist im September, seltener im August, selten im October; Gerste, meist etwas später als Weizen, & Hafer, ungefähr eine Woche später als Gerste, 35 also schon öfter im October. Wakefield, der nach langen Untersuchungen zu dem Resultat kommt, daß das Material für eine *wissenschaftliche* Schilderung des irischen Klimas noch lange nicht genüge, äußert sich nirgends dahin, daß es dem ||15| Kornbau ernstliche Schwierigkeiten in

¹²¹ Dr. W. Patterson, An Essay on the Climate of Ireland. Dublin 1804, p. 164.

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den Weg lege. Er findet vielmehr, wie sich zeigen wird, daß die Verluste bei nassen Erntezeiten durch ganz andere Ursachen bedingt werden, und sagt ausdrücklich: „Der Boden Irlands ist so fruchtbar, das Klima so günstig, daß unter einem geeigneten Ackerbausystem die Insel nicht nur 5 hinreichend Korn zu ihrem eignen Gebrauch hervorbringen wird, sondern auch noch einen reichlichen Überschuß, der zu allen Zeiten wo es noth thut, für die Bedürfnisse Englands dienen könnte.“ (II, p. 61.)

Damals freilich - 1812 - lag England im Krieg mit aller Welt in Europa & Amerika, und die Korneinfuhr war sehr erschwert; Korn war erstes 10 Bedürfniß. Jetzt liefern Amerika, Rumänien, Rußland & Deutschland Korn genug, und es handelt sich vielmehr um wohlfeiles Fleisch. Und daher taugt jetzt das Klima in Irland nicht mehr zum Ackerbau.

Der Anbau von Korn ist in Irland uralt. In den ältesten irischen Gesetzen die lange vor Ankunft der Engländer niedergeschrieben wurden, 15 ist der „Sack Weizen“ bereits ein bestimmtes Werthmaß; in den Leistungen der Untergebenen an die Stammhäupter & sonstigen Häuptlinge kommt Weizen, Gerstenmalz, & Hafermehl fast regelmäßig in bestimmt vorgeschriften Quantitäten vor.¹³¹

Nach der englischen Invasion verminderte sich unter den fortwährenden 20 Kämpfen der Kornbau, ohne doch je ganz aufzuhören; von 1660 an bis 1725 nahm er wieder zu, von da bis gegen 1780 wieder ab; von 1780-1846 wurde, neben vorwiegendem Kartoffelbau, wieder mehr Korn gesät, & seit 1846 sind Korn & Kartoffeln stetig dem Vordringen der Viehweide gewichen. Wenn das Klima nicht für den Kornbau geeignet 25 ist, würde er über tausend Jahre sich gehalten haben?

Allerdings gibt es Striche in Irland, die wegen des in der Nähe der Berge stets häufiger fallenden Regens zum Weizenbau sich weniger eignen - besonders im Süden & Westen. Neben guten Jahren kommen dort oft Reihen nasser Sommer vor wie 1860-62, die dem Weizen viel Schaden 30 thun. Aber Weizen ist nicht das Hauptkorn Irlands, & Wakefield beklagt sich sogar darüber daß aus Mangel an Absatzmärkten viel zu wenig davon gebaut werde; einen andern Markt dafür, als die nächste Mühle, gab es nicht; Gerste wurde ebenfalls fast nur für die heimlichen Branntweinbrennereien (die sich der Versteuerung entzogen) gebaut. Das Hauptkorn 35 in Irland war & ist Hafer, von dem 1810 mindestens zehnmal soviel

¹³¹ Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland. - *Senchus Moë*. - 2 vols. Dublin, printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, & published by Alexander Thom (London, Longmans) 1865 & 1869. Siehe Band II, p. 239-251. Der Werth eines Sacks Weizen war = 1 screpall (denarius) von 20-24 Gran Silber; der Werth des screpalls ist von Dr. Petrie, Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, anterior to the Anglo-Norman invasion, Dublin 1845, 4°, pag. 212-19, festgestellt.

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gebaut wurde wie von allen andern Kornarten zusammen; und da die Haferernte später ist als die von Weizen & Gerste, fällt sie häufiger in das, besonders im Süden, meist schöne Wetter von Ende September und October. Und Hafer kann zudem schon tüchtig Regen vertragen.

Wir haben schon oben gesehn daß das Klima Irlands, was ||16| Regenmenge & Verteilung des Regenfalls auf die Jahreszeiten angeht, mit dem des nordwestlichen Englands fast ganz stimmt. Der Regenfall in den Bergen von Cumberland, & Westmoreland & Nord-Lancashire ist weit höher als in irgend einer mir bekannten Station Irlands (in Coniston 96,03, in Windermere 75,02 Zoll, Durchschnitt von 1860-62), und doch wird dort 10 Heu gemacht & Hafer gebaut. In denselben Jahren varierte die Regenmenge im südlichen Lancashire von 25,11 in Liverpool auf 59,13 in Bolton, Durchschnitt aller Beobachtungen etwa 40 Zoll; in Cheshire von 33,02 auf 43,40, Durchschnitt aller Beobachtungen etwa 37 Zoll. In Irland war sie in denselben Jahren, wie wir sahen, nicht ganz 39 Zoll. (Alle 15 Zahlen aus Symons.) In beiden Grafschaften wird Korn aller Art, namentlich Weizen, gebaut; Cheshire trieb bis zur letzten Rinderpest-Epidemie allerdings vorwiegend Viehzucht & Milchwirtschaft, aber seitdem das Vieh großenteils weggestorben, paßt das Klima auf ein Mal ganz vortrefflich für Weizen. Wäre die Rinderpest nach Irland gekommen & 20 hätte dort ebenso arge Verwüstungen angerichtet wie in Cheshire, so würde man uns jetzt, statt des natürlichen Berufs Irlands zur Viehweide, die Stelle aus Wakefield vorpredigen, wonach Irland zur Kornkammer Englands bestimmt ist.

Sieht man sich die Sache unbefangen an, unbeirrt von dem interessir- 25 ten Geschrei irischer Grundbesitzer und englischer Bourgeois, so wird man finden daß Irland Striche hat die nach Boden & Klima mehr zu Viehzucht, andre die mehr zum Ackerbau, & noch andre - die große Mehrzahl - die zu Beidem gleich geeignet sind; wie das eben allerorts stattfindet. Verglichen mit England, ist Irland der Viehzucht im Ganzen 30 günstiger; aber verglichen mit Frankreich, ist England ebenfalls der Viehzucht günstiger. Geht daraus hervor daß ganz England in Viehweide verwandelt, daß die ganze ackerbauende Bevölkerung in die Fabrikstädte oder nach Amerika gesandt werden muß - einige wenige Hirten ausgenommen - um Platz zu machen für Vieh, das als Zahlung für Seiden- 35 Stoffe & Weine nach Frankreich zu wandern hat? Aber das ist ganz das-selbe was irische Grundeigenthümer, die ihre Grundrente steigern, und englische Bourgeois, die ihre Arbeitslöhne herabdrücken wollen, für Irland verlangen; Goldwin Smith hat es deutlich genug gesagt. Und dabei würde die soziale Revolution, die in einer solchen Verwandlung von Ak- 40 kerland in Viehweide einbegriffen ist, in Irland weit gewaltiger sein als in

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England. In England, wo große Kultur vorherrscht & die Ackerknechte schon großentheils durch Maschinen ersetzt sind, würde sie bedeuten die Verpfanzung von höchstens einer Million, in Irland, wo die kleine & selbst die Spatenkultur vorherrscht, würde sie bedeuten die Verpfanzung 5 von vier Millionen, die Ausrottung des irischen Volks.

Man sieht, selbst Naturthatsachen werden, zwischen England & Irland, zu nationalen Streitpunkten. Man sieht aber auch, wie die öffentliche ||17| Meinung der in England herrschenden Klasse - und diese allein macht sich auf dem Continent hörbar - mit der Mode & dem Interesse 10 wechselt. Heute braucht England rasch & sicher Korn - & Irland ist zum Weizenbau wie geschaffen; morgen braucht England Fleisch - Irland taugt nur zur Viehweide; die fünf Millionen Irländer schlagen durch ihre bloße Existenz allen Gesetzen der politischen Oekonomie ins Gesicht, sie müssen fort, sie mögen sehn, wo sie bleiben! |

15 | i8 | Alt-Irland.

Die Schriftsteller des griechischen & römischen Alterthums, sowie die Kirchenväter, geben nur sehr wenig Aufschluß über Irland.

Dafür existirt eine noch immer ziemlich reichhaltige einheimische Literatur, trotz der vielen, in den Kriegen des 16. & 17. Jahrhunderts verlorengangenen irischen Schriften. Sie enthält Gedichte, Grammatiken, Glossarien, Annalen und andre historische Schriften, & Rechtsbücher. Mit sehr wenig Ausnahmen jedoch existirt diese ganze Literatur, die die Periode mindestens vom 8.^{ten} bis zum 17.^{ten} Jahrhundert umfaßt, nur im Manuscript. Für die irische Sprache hat der Buchdruck erst seit wenig 25 Jahren existirt, erst seit der Zeit wo sie auszusterben begann. Das reiche Material ist also nur zum allergeringsten Theil zugänglich.

Unter den Annalen sind die wichtigsten die des Abts *Tigernach* (gestorben 1088), die von *Ulster* & vor Allem die der *vier Magister*. Diese letzteren wurden 1632-36 unter Leitung von Michael O'Clery, einem 30 Franziskanermönch, mit Hülfe von drei andern Seanchaidhes (Alterthumsforschern) im Kloster Donegal nach Materialien zusammengestellt, die jetzt fast alle verloren sind. Sie sind nach der noch existirenden Originalhandschrift aus Donegal in kritischer Ausgabe mit englischer Übersetzung herausgegeben von O'Donovan 1856.^(13a) Die früheren Ausgaben 35 von Dr. Charles O'Conor (der erste Theil der IV Mag., die Annalen von Ulster pp.) sind im Text & Übersetzung unzuverlässig.

^(13a) Annala Rioghachta Eireann. Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters. Edited, with an English Translation, by Dr. John O'Donovan. 2nd edit. Dublin 1856. 7 vols in 4°.

Den Anfang der meisten dieser Annalen macht die mythische Vorgeschichte Irlands; die Grundlage bilden alte Volkssagen, die von Dichtern des 9. & 10.^{en} Jahrhunderts ins Unendliche ausgesponnen & von Mönchschronisten dann in gehörige chronologische Ordnung gebracht wurden. So fangen die Annalen der IV Mag. an mit dem Jahre der Welt 2242, wo 5 *Ceasair*, eine Enkelin Noahs, 40 Tage vor der Sündfluth, in Irland gelandet sei; so werden von Andern die Vorfahren der Scoten, der letzten Einwanderer nach Irland, in directer Genealogie von Japhet abgeleitet & mit Moses, mit den Aegyptern & Phöniziern in Verbindung gebracht, wie auch von unsrern mittelalterlichen Chronisten die Vorfahren deutscher 10 Stämme mit Troja, Aeneas, oder Alexander dem Großen. Die IV Mag. widmen diesem Gefabel (in dem das einzig werthvolle Element, die wirkliche alte Volkssage, bis jetzt nicht zu unterscheiden ist) nur ein paar Seiten; die Annalen von Ulster lassen es ganz aus; schon Tigernach erklärt mit einer für seine Zeit wunderbaren kritischen Kühnheit, daß alle 15 Denkmäler der Scoten vor König Cimbaoth (angeblich 300 Jahre vor Chr.) unsicher seien. Aber als Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts neues nationales Leben in Irland erwachte, & damit neues Interesse an der irischen Literatur und Geschichte, da galten grade diese Mönchsfaseln für deren wertvollsten Bestandtheil. Mit acht celtischem Enthusiasmus & mit 20 spezifisch irischer Naivität wurde der Glaube an diese Histörchen zu einem wesentlichen Bestandtheil des nationalen Patriotismus erklärt; was der superklugen englischen gelehrten Welt - deren eigne Leistungen in der philologischen und historischen Kritik der übrigen Welt ja rühmlich genug bekannt sind - natürlich den erwünschten Vorwand bot, alles Iri- 25 sehe als baaren Unsinn beiseite zu werfen.¹¹⁴"

Seit den dreißiger Jahren dieses Jahrhunderts ist indeß ein bei weitem kritischerer Geist über Irland gekommen, namentlich durch Petrie & O'Donovan. Pétries bereits angeführte Untersuchungen beweisen die vollständigste Einstimmung der erhaltenen ältesten Inschriften seit dem 30 6. & 7.^{en} Jahrhundert, mit den Annalen; & O'Donovan ist der Ansicht daß diese schon vom zweiten & dritten Jahrhundert unsrer Zeitrechnung

¹¹⁴⁾ Eins der naivsten Produkte jener Zeit sind: *The Chronicles of Eri. being the History of the Gaal Sciot Iber, or the Irish People, translated from the original manuscripts in the Phoenician dialect of the Scythian Language*, by O'Connor. London 1822. 2 vols. Der 35 phönizische Dialekt der scythischen Sprache ist natürlich das celtische Irisch und das Originalmanuscript eine beliebige Verschronik. Der Herausgeber ist Arthur O'Connor, Exilirter von 1798, Onkel des späteren Führers der englischen Chartisten, Feargus O'Connor, angeblicher Nachkomme der alten O'Connors, Könige von Connaught, und gewissermaßen 40 irischer Kronprätendent. Vor dem Titel steht sein Portrait, ein hübsches, joviales, irisches Gesicht, seinem Neffen Feargus frappant ähnlich, mit der rechten Hand eine Krone fassend. Darunter: O'Connor - clear-rige, head of his race, and O'Connor, chief of the prostrate people of his nation: „Soumis, pas vaincus.“

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anfangen, historische Tathsachen zu berichten. Für uns kann es ziemlich gleichgültig sein, ob die Glaubwürdigkeit der Annalen einige hundert Jahre früher oder später beginnt, denn leider sind sie für unsern Zweck) |19| in jener Zeit fast ganz unfruchtbar. Sie enthalten kurze trockne Notizen von Todesfällen, Thronbesteigungen, Kriegen, Schlachten, Erdbeben, Seuchen, skandinavischen Raubzügen, aber wenig, was auf das soziale Leben des Volks Bezug hat. Wäre die gesammte juristische Literatur Irlands herausgegeben, so würden sie ganz andre Bedeutung bekommen; manche trockne Notiz würde durch erklärende Stellen der Rechtsbücher 10 neues Leben erhalten.

Diese Rechtsbücher, die sehr zahlreich sind, erwarten aber ebenfalls fast alle noch die Zeit, wo sie das Licht der Welt erblicken sollen. Auf Andringen mehrerer irischer Alterthumsforscher willigte die englische Regierung 1852 ein, eine Commission zur Herausgabe der alten Gesetze 15 und Institutionen Irlands zu ernennen. Aber wie? Die Commission bestand aus drei Lords (die nie fehlen dürfen wo es Staatsgelder zu verzehren gibt), drei Juristen höchsten Rangs, drei protestantischen Geistlichen, ferner dem Dr. Petrie & einem Offizier, Chef der Vermessung Irlands. Von allen diesen Herren konnten nur Dr. Petrie und zwei Geistliche, Dr. 20 Graves (jetzt protest. Bischof von Limerick) und Dr. Todd den Anspruch erheben, von der Aufgabe der Commission irgend etwas zu verstehn, & von diesen sind Petrie und Todd seitdem verstorben. Die Kommission erhielt den Auftrag, die Abschrift, Übersetzung, und Herausgabe der alten irischen Handschriften juristischen Inhalts besorgen zu lassen & da- 25 für die nöthigen Leute anzustellen. Sie stellte dafür die beiden besten Leute an, die zu haben waren: Dr. O'Donovan und Professor O'Curry, die eine Menge Manuskripte copirten & im ersten Entwurf übersetzten; ehe indeß etwas zur Herausgabe fertig war, starben Beide. Ihre Nachfolger, Dr. Hancock und Prof. O'Mahony, haben dann die Arbeit soweit 30 fortgeführt, daß bis jetzt die bereits angeführten zwei Bände erschienen sind, enthaltend den Senchus Mor. Von den Mitgliedern der Commission haben, nach dem Eingeständniß der Herausgeber, nur zwei, Graves und Todd, durch irgend welche Annotationen zu den Correcturbogen sich an der Arbeit betheiligt; der Offizier, Sir Th. Larcom, stellte den Heraus- 35 gebaren, Behufs der Verification von Ortsnamen, die Originalkarten der Aufnahme von Irland zur Verfügung; Dr. Petrie starb bald; die übrigen Herren beschränkten ihre Tätigkeit darauf, ihr Gehalt während 18 Jahren gewissenhaft einzuziehen.

Dies ist die Art in der in England, & mehr noch in dem von England 40 beherrschten Irland, öffentliche Arbeiten ausgeführt werden. Ohne Job-

berei¹⁵¹ geht es nicht ab. Keinem öffentlichen Interesse darf genügt werden, ohne daß dabei eine hübsche Summe oder einige fette Sinecuren für Lords und Regierungs-Proteges abfallen. Mit dem Geld das die ganz überflüssige Commission verzehrt hat, hätte man in Deutschland die sämmtliche ungedruckte historische Literatur gedruckt - & besser. 5

Der Senchus Mor ist bis jetzt unsre Hauptquelle für die altirischen Zustände. Er ist eine Sammlung alter Rechtsbestimmungen, die nach der - später verfaßten - Einleitung auf Veranlassung St. Patricks zusammengestellt & durch seinen Beirath mit dem sich in Irland rasch ausbreitenden Christenthum ||20| in Einklang gebracht wurde. Der Oberkönig von 10 Irland Laeghaire (428-58 nach den Annalen [der] IV Mag.), die Unter-könige Core von Munster und Daire, wahrscheinlich ein Fürst in Ulster, ferner drei Bischöfe: St. Patrick, St. Benignus & St. Cairnech, endlich drei Rechtgelehrte, Dubthach, Fergus & Rossa sollen die „Commission“ gebildet haben die das Buch zusammenstellte, und die ihre Arbeit sicher 15 wohlfeiler that als die jetzige, die es bloß herauszugeben hat. Die IV Mag. geben das Jahr 438 als das der Abfassung an.

Der Text selbst beruht offenbar auf uralten heidnischen Materialien. Die ältesten Rechtsformeln darin sind alle in Versen abgefaßt, mit bestimmtem Metrum, und dem s.g. Einklang, einer Art Alliteration oder 20 vielmehr Consonanten-Assonanz die der irischen Dichtkunst eigenthümlich ist, & häufig in vollen Reim übergeht. Da es feststeht, daß alte irische Rechtsbücher aus dem s.g. fenischen Dialekt (Bérla Feini), der Sprache des fünften Jahrhunderts, im 14^{ten} Jahrhundert in das damals geläufige Irisch übertragen wurden (Vorrede [T. I] p. XXXVI & passim) so erklärt 25 es sich daß auch im Senchus Mor an manchen Stellen das Metrum mehr oder weniger verwischt ist, es tritt aber nebst gelegentlichen Reimen & stark einklingenden Stellen noch oft genug hervor, um dem Text einen gewissen rhythmischen Fall zu geben. Schon das Lesen der Übersetzung genügt meist um die Versformeln aufzufinden. Dazwischen aber sind 30 dann auch, namentlich in der letzten Hälfte, eine Menge Stellen unzweifelhafter Prosa; während die Versformeln sicher uralt & traditionell überliefert sind, scheinen diese prosaischen Einschiebel von den Compilatoren des Buchs herzurühren. Der Senchus Mor wird übrigens in dem, dem König & Bischof von Cashel Cormac zugeschrieben, im 9. oder 10. 35 Jahrhundert verfaßten Glossar mehrmals citirt, und er ist unzweifelhaft lange vor der englischen Invasion niedergeschrieben.

¹⁵¹ Jobberei, jobbery, nennt man in England die Benutzung von Staatsämtern zum eignen Privatvortheil oder zu dem von Verwandten & Freunden, deßgleichen Verwendung von Staatsgeldern zu indirecter Bestechung in Parteizwecken. Die einzelne Handlung heißt job. 40 Die englische Kolonie in Irland ist das Haupttreibhaus aller Jobberei.

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Zu diesem Text nun enthalten sämmtliche Handschriften (die älteste scheint aus dem Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts oder älter zu sein) eine Reihe von meist übereinstimmenden Wort-Glossen & längeren commentirenden Noten. Die Glossen sind ganz im Geist der alten Glos-
5 sare, Wortspiele vertreten die Stelle der Etymologie & Wörterklärung; die Anmerkungen sind von sehr verschiedenem Werth, oft arg entstellt & vielfach wenigstens ohne Kenntniß der übrigen Rechtsbücher unver-
ständlich. Das Alter Beider ist ungewiß; der größte Theil ist aber wahr-
scheinlich jünger als die englische Invasion. Da sie indeß nur sehr wenig
10 Spuren einer, über den Text hinausgehenden, Rechtsentwicklung aufzei-
gen, & auch diese nur in genauerer Feststellung des Details, so ist der größere, rein erklärende Theil mit einiger Diskretion unbedingt als Quelle
auch für die ältere Zeit zu benutzen.

Der Senchus Mor enthält: 1) das Pfändungsrecht, d.h. so ziemlich das
15 ganze Rechtsverfahren 2) das Recht der Geiseln, die bei Streitigkeiten
von Leuten verschiedner Territorien gestellt wurden; 3) das Recht be-
treffend Saerrath und Daerrath (s. unten) & 4) das Familienrecht. Wir
erlangen dadurch viele werthvolle Aufschlüsse über das gesellschaftliche
Leben jener Zeit; solange aber noch eine Menge Ausdrücke nicht erklärt,
20 & die übrigen Manuskripte nicht veröffentlicht sind, bleibt Manches dun-
kel.

Außer der Literatur geben uns noch die erhaltenen Baudenkmäler, |
|21| Kirchen, Rundthürme, Befestigungen, Inschriften, Aufklärung über
den Zustand des Volks vor der Ankunft der Engländer. -

25 Von auswärtigen Quellen haben wir nur einige Stellen über Irland in
scandinavischen Sagas, und das Leben des Heiligen Malachias von St.
Bernhard zu erwähnen, welche wenig Ausbeute geben, & kommen dann
sofort zu dem ersten Engländer der aus eigner Kenntniß über Irland
schreibt.

30 Sylvester Gerald Barry genannt *Giraldus Cambrensis*, Archidiakonus
von Brecknock, war ein Enkel der galanten Nesta, Tochter von Rhys ap
Tewdwr Fürst von Südwales, der Maitresse Heinrichs I von England, &
der Stammutter fast aller normannischen Haupteute die zur ersten Er-
oberung von Irland mitwirkten. Er ging 1185 mit Johann (später „ohne
35 Land“) nach Irland, und schrieb in den folgenden Jahren, zuerst: *To-*
pographia Hibernica, eine Beschreibung des Landes & der Einwohner,
sodann: *Hibernia Expugnata*, die hochgefärzte Geschichte der ersten In-
vasionen. Hier geht uns hauptsächlich das erstere Werk an. In einem
höchst prätentiösen Latein geschrieben, erfüllt mit dem tollsten Wunder-
40 glauben und allen kirchlichen & nationalen Vorurtheilen der Zeit & der

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Race des eitlen Verfassers, ist das Buch dennoch als erster, einigermaßen ausführlicher Bericht eines Ausländers von hoher Wichtigkeit.¹⁶⁾

Von jetzt an werden die anglonormännischen Quellen über Irland natürlich reichlicher; gering aber bleibt die Ausbeute für die Kenntniß der sozialen Zustände des unabhängig gebliebenen Theils der Insel, woraus 5 Rückschlüsse auf den alten Zustand gemacht werden könnten. Erst gegen Ende des 16.^{en} Jahrhunderts, als Irland zuerst systematisch & vollständig unterworfen wurde, erhalten wir ausführlichere, natürlich stark englisch gefärbte Berichte über die wirkliche Lebenslage des irischen Volks. Wir werden später finden daß im Lauf der seit der ersten Invasion verflossen- 10 senen 400 Jahre der Zustand des Volks sich nur wenig, und das nicht zum Bessern, verändert hatte. Aber eben deßwegen sind diese neueren Schriften - Hanmer, Campion, Spencer, Davies, Camden, Moryson U.A., die wir noch öfter werden zu Rate ziehen müssen, eine unsrer Hauptquellen für eine fünfhundert Jahre ältere Periode, und eine unumgängliche, sehr 15 erwünschte Ergänzung der dürftigen Originalquellen.

Die mythische Vorgeschichte Irlands erzählt von einer Reihe Einwanderungen die nach einander stattfanden & meist mit Unterwerfung der Insel unter die neuen Einwanderer endigten. Die drei letzten sind: die der Fir- 20 bolgs, die der Tuatha-de-Dananns, & die der Milesier oder Scoten, welche letztere von Spanien gekommen sein sollen. Die landläufige irische Geschichtsschreibung verwandelt die Firbolgs (fir = irisch fear, das lat. vir, gothisch vair, Mann) ohne Weiteres ||2| in Belgier, die Tuatha-de- 25 Dananns (tuatha irisch Volk, Landstrich, gothisch thiuda) je nach Bedürfniß in griechische Danaer oder germanische Dänen. O'Donovan ist der Ansicht daß wenigstens den genannten Einwanderungen etwas Historisches zugrunde liegt. In den Annalen kommt vor beim Jahre 10 n. Chr. ein Aufstand der Aitheach Tuatha (übersetzt im 17. Jahrhundert von Lynch, einem guten Kenner der alten Sprache, mit: plebeiorum hominum 30 gens), also eine Plebejer-Revolution wobei der ganze Adel (Saorchlann) erschlagen wurde. Dies deutet auf die Herrschaft scotischer Eroberer über ältere Einwohner. Aus Volksmärchen über die Tuatha-de-Dananns schließt O'Donovan daß diese, die der spätere Volksglaube in Elfen des Waldgebirgs verwandelt, noch bis ins zweite oder dritte Jahrhundert unserer Zeitrechnung sich in einzelnen Berggegenden erhalten haben. 35

¹⁶⁾ Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, ed. J. S. Brewer. London, Longmans, 1863. - Eine (schwache) englische Übersetzung der historischen Werke, worunter auch obige zwei Schriften (The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis) kam heraus 1863 in London bei Bohn.

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Daß die Iren ein Mischvolk waren, schon ehe die Engländer sich in Massen unter ihnen niederließen, ist unzweifelhaft. Wie noch jetzt, war schon im zwölften Jahrhundert der vorherrschende Typus hellhaarig. Giraldus (Top. Hib. III, 26) sagt von zwei Fremden, sie hätten langes gelbes Haar gehabt wie die Iren. Trotzdem finden sich noch jetzt, besonders im Westen, zwei gänzlich verschiedene Typen schwarzhaariger Leute; der eine groß, wohlgebaut, mit schönen Gesichtszügen & krausem Haar, Leute von denen man meint man sei ihnen schon einmal in den italiäischen Alpen oder der Lombardei begegnet; dieser Typus kommt meist im Südwesten vor. Der andre, unersetzt & kurz von Körperbau, mit grobem, schlachtem, schwarzem Haar, plattgedrücktem, fast negerhaftem Gesicht, findet sich häufiger in Connaught. Huxley schreibt dies dunkelhaarige Element in der ursprünglich hellhaarigen celtischen Bevölkerung iberischer (d.h. baskischer) Beimischung zu, was wenigstens theilweise richtig sein wird. Zur Zeit indeß, wo die Iren in der Geschichte mit Bestimmtheit auftauchen, sind sie ein homogenes Volk mit celtischer Sprache geworden, & wir finden nirgends mehr fremde Elemente, ausgenommen die erkämpften & erhandelten Sklaven, großenteils Angelsachsen.

Die Mittheilungen der alten Klassiker über dies Volk lauten nicht sehr erbaulich. Diodor erzählt daß diejenigen Briten, welche die Iris (oder Irin? es steht der Accusativ Ἰπω) genannte Insel bewohnen, Menschen essen. Ausführlicher ist Strabo: „über welches Land (Jerne) wir nichts Gewisses zu sagen haben, außer daß die Bewohner wilder sind als die Briten, da sie Menschenfresser und Vielfresser (ἱονταφάγοι, nach anderer Lesart яо-Γιփаяол, Krautesser) sind, und es für ehrbar halten, ihre verstorbenen Eltern zu essen, und öffentlich mit den Frauen Anderer, mit ihren Müttern und Schwestern fleischlichen Umgang zu haben.“ Die patriotische irische Geschichtsschreibung hat sich nicht wenig über diese angeblichen Verläumdungen entrüstet. Neuerer Forschung blieb es vorbehalten, die Menschenfresserei, & namentlich das Verzehren der Eltern, als eine Durchgangsstufe wahrscheinlich aller Völker nachzuweisen. Vielleicht gereicht es den Iren zum Trost zu erfahren, daß die Vorfahren der jetzigen Berliner noch volle tausend Jahre ||B| später derselben praktischen Anschauung huldigten: „Aber Weletabi, die in Germania sizzent, tie wir 35 Wilze heizzēn, die ne scament (schämen) sich nicht ze chedenne (zu gestehen) da3 sie iro parentes mit mēren rehte ezzen sulin danne die wurme.“ (Notker, citirt in Jacob Grimms Rechtsalterthümern, p. 488.) Und unter der englischen Herrschaft werden wir das Verzehren von Menschenfleisch in Irland noch mehr als ein Mal wiederkehren sehn. Was die 40 den Iren vorgeworfne Phanerogamic um mich eines Ausdrucks Fouriers zu bedienen, betrifft, so kamen solche Dinge bei allen wilden Völkern

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vor, wie viel mehr bei den ganz besonders galanten Celten. Interessant ist zu sehn, daß die Insel schon damals den heutigen einheimischen Namen trug; Iris, Irin und Jerne sind identisch mit Eire, Erinn, wie denn auch schon Ptolemäus den heutigen Namen der Hauptstadt Dublin, Eblana (mit richtigem Accent "E&A,ocvoc) kannte. Es ist dies um so merkwürdiger, 5 als die irischen Celten diese Stadt von jeher mit einem andern Namen, Athcliath, belegt haben, & Duibhlinn - der schwarze Pfuhl - bei ihnen Name einer Stelle des Flusses Liffey ist.

Außerdem finden wir noch in *Plinius'* Naturgeschichte, IV, 16 folgende Stelle: „Dorthin (nach Hibernia) fahren die Briten in Booten aus Weidenzweigen, über welche Thierfelle zusammengenährt sind.“ Und später sagt *Soliniis* von den Iren selbst: „Sie befahren die See zwischen Hibernia & Britannia in Booten aus Weidenzweigen, welche sie mit einem Überzug von Rinderhäuten bedecken.“ (C. Jul. *Solini Cosmographia*. c. 25.) Im Jahr 1810 fand Wakefield daß an der ganzen Westküste von Irland „keine 10 andern Boote vorkamen, als solche die aus einem hölzernen Rahmen bestanden, der mit einer Pferde- oder Ochsenhaut überzogen war“. Diese Boote seien von verschiedner Form, je nach der Gegend, aber Alle zeichnen sich durch ihre ungemeine Leichtigkeit aus, sodaß selten ein Unglück damit vorkomme. Für die hohe See taugen sie natürlich nicht, 20 weßhalb die Fischerei hier auch nur in den Buchten & zwischen den Inseln betrieben werden könne. In Malbay, Grafschaft Clare, sah Wakefield solche Boote, die 15 Fuß lang, 5 Fuß breit & 2 Fuß tief waren; zu einem derselben wurden zwei Kuhhäute verwandt, die Haare nach innen, die Außenseite getheert; es war für zwei Ruderer eingerichtet. Ein solches 25 Boot kostete ca. 30 Schillinge. (Wakefield II p. 97.) - Statt Weidengeflecht Holzrahmen - Welch ein Fortschritt in 1800 Jahren, & nach bei nahe siebenhundertjähriger civilisatorischer Bearbeitung durch das erste Seevolk der Welt!

Im Übrigen zeigen sich doch auch bald einige Symptome von Fortschritt. Unter König Cormac Ulfadha, der in die zweite Hälfte des dritten Jahrhunderts gesetzt wird, soll dessen Schwiegersohn Finn Mac Cumhal die irische Miliz - die Fianna Eirionn^[17] - neu organisirt haben, wahrscheinlich nach dem Muster der römischen Legion mit Unterscheidung von leichten und Linientruppen; alle späteren irischen Heere, über die wir 35 Details haben, unterscheiden Kerne, leichte und galloglas, schwere oder Linien-Infanterie. Die Heldentaten dieses Finn wurden in vielen alten Liedern besungen wovon manche noch existiren; sie, und, vielleicht einige

^[17] Feine, Fenier, ist im ganzen Senchus Mor der Name der irischen Nation. Feinechus, Fenchus, Gesetz der Fenier, steht oft, entweder für Senchus oder für ein andres, verlorenes 40 Gesetzbuch. Zugleich bezeichnet feine, grad feine, die plebs, die unterste freie Volksklasse.

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wenige schottisch-gälische Traditionen, bilden die Grundlage des Macpherson'schen Ossian (irisch Oisin, Sohn Finns) in denen Finn als Fingal erscheint & die Scene nach Schottland verlegt ist. Im irischen Volksmund lebt Finn fort als Finn MacCumhaill (Mac Caul), ein Riese, dem fast in 5 jeder Localität der Insel irgend ein wunderbares Kraftstück zugeschrieben wird.

Das Christenthum muß schon früh in Irland, wenigstens an der Ostküste ||24| Eingang gefunden haben. Anders ist nicht zu erklären, daß schon lange vor Patricius so viele Irländer eine bedeutende Rolle in der 10 Kirchengeschichte spielen. Pelagius der Ketzer gilt gewöhnlich für einen Waliser Mönch aus Bangor; es gab aber auch ein irisches uraltes Kloster Bangor oder vielmehr Banchor bei Carrickfergus, und daß er hiehergehört, beweist Hieronymus der ihn „dumm und von scotschem Brei schwerfällig (scotorum pultibus praegravatus)“ nennt. Es ist die erste 15 Erwähnung des irischen Hafermehlbreis (irisch lite, angloirisich stirabout) der schon damals, wie noch später bis zur Einführung der Kartoffel, und dann neben ihr, die Hauptnahrung des irischen Volks war. Des Pelagius Hauptschüler Cölestius und Albinus waren ebenfalls Scoten, d.h. Irländer. Cölestius schrieb, wie Gennadius erzählt, aus seinem Kloster drei 20 ausführliche Briefe an seine Eltern, woraus hervorgeht, daß im vierten Jahrhundert die Buchstabenschrift in Irland bekannt war.

In allen Schriften des früheren Mittelalters heißen die Iren Scoten, und das Land Scotia; wir finden diese Bezeichnung bei Claudian, Isidor, Beda, dem Geographen von Ravenna, Eginhard und noch bei Alfred dem 25 Großen: Hibernia, das wir Schottland nennen (Igbernia the ve Scotland hatadh). Das heutige Schottland hieß mit fremdem Namen Caledonia, mit einheimischem Alba, Albania; die Übertragung des Namens Scotia, Schottland, auf die Nordspitze der östlichen Insel fand erst im elften Jahrhundert statt. Die erste größere Einwanderung irischer Scoten nach 30 Alba soll in die Mitte des dritten Jahrhunderts fallen; Ammianus Marcellinus kennt sie dort schon im Jahre 360. Die Einwanderung geschah auf dem kürzesten Seeweg, von Antrim nach der Halbinsel Kintyre; noch Nennius erwähnt ausdrücklich daß die Briten, die damals das ganze schottische Niederland bis an den Clyde und Forth innehattent, durch die 35 Scoten von Westen, durch die Picten von Norden her angegriffen worden seien. Auch die siebente der altwalisischen historischen Triaden erzählt, daß die Gwyddyl Ffichti (s. unten) von Irland über das nordmännische Meer (Môr Llychlin) nach Alban kamen & sich an der Küste dieses Meeres niederließen. Daß das Meer zwischen Schottland & den Hebriden 40 nordmännisches heißt, beweist nebenbei daß diese Triade jünger ist als die nordmänische Eroberung der Hebriden. Um das Jahr 500 kamen

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von Neuem größere Schaaren Scoten herüber, die allmählig ein eignes, sowohl von Irland wie von den Picten unabhängiges Königreich bildeten, & endlich unter Kenneth Mac Alpine im 9^{ten} Jahrhundert die Picten unterwarfen & das Reich herstellten, auf das etwa 150 Jahre später, wohl zuerst durch die Nordmänner, der Name Schottland, Scotia, sich übertrug. 5

Im fünften und sechsten Jahrhundert werden in altwalisischen Quellen (Nennius, die Triaden) Einfälle der Gwyddyl Ffichti oder gälischen Picten nach Wales erwähnt, die allgemein als Einfälle von irischen Scoten gedeutet werden. Gwyddyl ist walisische Form für Gavidheal, mit welchem Namen die Iren sich selbst bezeichnen. Woher die Bezeichnung Picten kommt, mögen andre untersuchen. 10

Im zweiten Viertel des fünften Jahrhunderts wurde durch Patricius (irisch Patrick, Patraic, da die Celten das c nach altrömischer Weise immer wie K aussprechen) das Christenthum ohne gewaltsame Erschütterungen zur Herrschaft gebracht. Der Verkehr mit Britannien, der schon lange bestanden, wurde um diese Zeit ebenfalls lebhafter; es kamen Baumeister & Bauhandwerker herüber die den Iren, die bisher nur *losen* Steinbau gekannt hatten, den Mörtelbau beibrachten; daß dieser vom 7^{ten} bis 12^{ten} Jahrhundert nur bei kirchlichen Gebäuden ||25| vorkommt, 20 beweist hinlänglich, daß seine Einführung mit der des Christenthums zusammenhängt, und ferner, daß von jetzt an die Geistlichkeit, die Vertreterin ausländischer Bildung, sich in ihrem intellektuellen Entwicklungsgang vollständig vom Volk trennte. Während das Volk gar keine oder doch nur äußerst langsame soziale Fortschritte machte, entwickelte 25 sich innerhalb der Geistlichkeit bald eine literarische Bildung die für die damalige Zeit außerordentlich war, und nach damaliger Manier sich zumeist in dem Eifer für Heidenbekehrung und Klösterbegründung äußerte. Columba bekehrte die britischen Scoten & die Picten, Gallus (der Stifter von St. Gallen) und Fridolin die Allemannen, Kilian die Mainfranken, Virgilius die Salzburger, alle Fünf waren Iren; die Angelsachsen wurden ebenfalls hauptsächlich durch irische Missionare zum Christenthum gebracht. Daneben aber galt Irland in ganz Europa als Pflanzschule der Gelehrsamkeit, so sehr daß Karl der Große einen irischen Mönch Albinus nach Pavia als Lehrer berief, wo ihm später ein anderer 30 Ire, Dungal, folgte. Der bedeutendste Mann aus der großen Anzahl für ihre Zeit wichtiger aber jetzt meist vergessener irischer Gelehrten war der Vater oder, wie Erdmann ihn nennt, der Carolus Magnus der mittelalterlichen Philosophie - *Johannes Scotus Erigena*. „Er war der erste, mit dem nun eine wahrhafte Philosophie beginnt“, sagt Hegel von ihm. Er 35 allein, von allen Westeuropäern des neunten Jahrhunderts, verstand Griech-

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chisch und knüpfte, durch seine Übersetzung der dem Dionysius Areopagita zugeschriebenen Schriften, wieder an an den letzten Ausläufer der alten Philosophie, die alexandrinisch-neuplatonische Schule. Seine Lehre war von großer Kühnheit für seine Zeit; er leugnet die Ewigkeit der

5 Verdammnis, selbst für den Teufel, und streift hart an den Pantheismus an; die gleichzeitige Orthodoxie ließ es daher auch nicht an Verlästerungen fehlen. Es dauerte volle zwei Jahrhunderte, bis die von Erigena begründete Wissenschaft in Anselm von Canterbury einen Fortbildner fand.^[18]

- 10 Ehe diese Entwicklung höherer Bildung aber auf das Volk zurückwirken konnte, wurde sie unterbrochen durch die Raubzüge der Nordmänner. Diese Raubzüge, die den Hauptstapelartikel des skandinavischen, besonders dänischen Patriotismus bilden, kamen zu spät, und gingen von zu kleinen Völkern aus, als daß sie in Eroberungen, Colonisationen &
- 15 Staatenbildungen auf großem Maßstab hätten ausmünden können, wie dies bei den früheren Einfällen der Germanen der Fall gewesen. Der Vortheil für die geschichtliche Entwicklung, den sie hinterlassen haben, ist verschwindend klein gegen die ungeheuren & selbst für Skandinavien fruchtlosen Störungen die sie angerichtet.
- 20 Irland war um das Ende des achten Jahrhunderts weit davon entfernt, von einer ||26| einigen Nation bewohnt zu sein. Ein Oberkönigthum der ganzen Insel existierte nur zum Schein, und auch das bei Weitem nicht immer. Die Provinzialkönige, deren Zahl & Landbesitz fortwährend wechselte, bekriegten sich unter einander, und die kleineren Territorial-
- 25 fürsten hatten ebenfalls ihre Privatfehden. Im Ganzen aber scheint in diesen inneren Kämpfen ein gewisser Comment geherrscht zu haben, der die Verwüstungen in bestimmte Grenzen bannte, sodaß das Land darunter nicht zu sehr litt. Aber es sollte anders werden. 795, einige Jahre nach der ersten Heimsuchung Englands durch dasselbe Räubervolk, landeten
- 30 Nordmänner auf der Insel Rathlin an der Küste von Antrim & brannten alles nieder; 798 landeten sie bei Dublin & werden seitdem fast jährlich in den Annalen erwähnt, als Heiden, Fremde, Seeräuber, nie ohne den Zusatz losccadh (Niederbrennung) eines oder mehrerer Orte. Ihre Niederlassungen auf den Orkneys, Shetlands und den Hebriden (Süderinseln,
- 35 Sudhreyjar der altnordischen Sagas), dienten ihnen als Operationsbasis gegen Irland wie gegen das spätere Schottland & gegen England. Um die

^[18]¹ Näheres über Erigenas Doktrin & Werke in Erdmann, Grundriß der Gesch. der Phil. 2. Aufl. Berlin 1869, I. Bd., p. 2A\-\1. - Erigena, der übrigens kein Geistlicher war, zeigt schon acht irischen kecken Witz. Als bei Tisch der ihm gegenüber sitzende Karl der Kahle König von Frankreich ihn fragt, wie groß der Abstand sei von einem Scoten (Scot) bis zu einem Dummkopf (sot), antwortete Erigena: Die Breite eines Tisches.

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Mitte des neunten Jahrhunderts waren sie im Besitz Dublins¹¹⁹⁾¹ das sie nach Giraldus erst in eine ordentliche Stadt umbauten, wie er ihnen auch die Erbauung von Waterford und Limerick zuschreibt. Der Name Waterford selbst ist nur die, hier sinnlose Anglisirung des altnordischen Vedhrafiördhr was entweder Sturmbucht (Wetterföhre) oder Widderbucht bedeutet. Erstes Bedürfnis für die Nordmänner, sobald sie sich im Lande niederließen, war natürlich der Besitz befestigter Hafenstädte; die Bevölkerung dieser Städte blieb noch lange skandinavisch, hatte sich aber im zwölften Jahrhundert längst den Iren in Sprache & Sitte assimiliert. Die Zwistigkeiten der irischen Fürsten unter einander erleichterten 5 den Nordmännern die Ausplünderung & Niederlassung, & selbst die zeitweilige Eroberung der ganzen Insel ungemein. Wie sehr Irland den Skandinaviern selbst als eins ihrer regelmäßigen Beuteländer galt, zeigt der um das Jahr 1000 verfaßte angebliche Sterbegesang Ragnar Lodbröks im Schlangenthurm König Ella's von Northumberland, das Kräkumäl. In 15 diesem Lied rafft sich die altheidnische Wildheit gleichsam zum letzten Mal zusammen, & unter dem Vorwand König Ragnars Heldenthalen zu besingen, werden vielmehr die Raubzüge des gesammten nordischen Volks, im eignen Lande wie an den Küsten von Dünamünde bis Flandern, Schottland (das hier schon Skotland heißt, vielleicht zum ersten 20 Mal) und Irland kurz geschildert. Von Irland heißt es: |

|27| Wir schlugen drein mit Schwertern, häuften hoch Erschlagne,
Froh ward des Wolfes Bruder der Atzung durch Wuthkampf;
Eisen traf auf Erzschild; nicht ließ Irlands Herrscher,
Marstein, Mangel leiden den Mordwolf noch den Adler;
Ward im Vedhrafiördhr Walopfer gegeben den Raben. -
Wir schlugen drein mit Schwertern, Morgens ein Spiel anhüben,
Lustgen Kampf vor Lindiseyri, mit Landsfürsten dreien;
Freuten sch nicht viele, daß heil von dort sie flohen;
Falk kämpft um's Fleisch mit Wolfe, Wolfsrachen fraß Manchen, 30
Stromweis floß im Streite am Strand Blut der Iren.¹²⁰⁾¹

¹¹⁹⁾¹ Die Angabe Snorris in der Haraldsaga, daß Harald Härfagr's Söhne Thorgils & Frodi zuerst von allen Nordmännern Dublin besessen hätten - also mindestens 50 Jahre später als angegeben, steht mit den sämtlichen für diese Zeit unbezweifelten, irischen Nachrichten im Widerspruch. Snorri verwechselt offenbar Thorgils, den Sohn Harald Härfagre, mit den 35 unten erwähnten Thorgils = Turgesius.

¹²⁰⁾¹ Hiuggu ver medh hiörvi, hverr là thverr of annann;
gladhr vardh géra brödhír getu vidh soknar laeti,
lét ei örн né ylgi, sá er Irlandi styrðhi,
(mot vardh málms ok rítar) Marsteinn konungr fasta;
vardh í Vedhra firdhi valtafn gefit hrafni.
Hiuggu ver medh hiörvi, hádhnum sudhr at morni 40

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Bereits in der ersten Hälfte des neunten Jahrhunderts gelang es einem nordmännischen Viking, Thorgils, von den Iren Turgesius genannt, sich ganz Irland zu unterwerfen, aber mit seinem Tode 844 fiel auch sein Reich auseinander & die Nordmänner wurden vertrieben. Die Invasionen 5 und Kämpfe dauern fort, mit wechselndem Erfolg, bis endlich im Anfang des 11^{ten} Jahrhunderts der Nationalheld Irlands, Brian Borumha, ursprünglich nur König eines Theils von Munster, sich zum Beherrschenden von ganz Irland aufschwingt und den mit konzentrierter Macht in Irland einfallenden Nordmännern am 23. April (Karfreitag) 1014 bei Clontarf 10 (dicht bei Dublin) die Entscheidungsschlacht liefert, wodurch die Macht der Eindringlinge für immer gebrochen wird.

Die Nordmänner, die sich in Irland niedergelassen hatten, und von denen Leinster abhängig war (der König von Leinster Maelmordha, war 999 durch ihre Hilfe auf den Thron gekommen & seitdem durch sie 15 darauf erhalten worden) sandten, in Voraussicht des bevorstehenden Entscheidungskampfs, Boten aus nach den Süderinseln und Orkneys, nach Dänemark & Norwegen, um Zuzug zu bewirken, der auch reichlich ankam. Die Nialssaga erzählt wie Jarl Sigurd Laudrisson sich auf den Orkneys zum Auszug rüstete, wie Thorstein Siduhallsson, Hrafn der R-20 the und Erlinger von Straumey mit ihm fuhren, wie er am Palmsonntag mit allem seinem Heer nach Dublin (Durflin) kam: „Da war auch gekommen Brödhir mit allem seinem Heer. Brödhir erprobte durch Zauberei wie der Kampf gehen würde; und so ging die Antwort: Wenn am Freitag gefochten würde, daß Brian der König fallen werde und den Sieg 25 haben; und wenn ||28| früher gefochten würde, so würden alle fallen die gegen ihn wären; da sagte Brödhir daß nicht eher gekämpft werden sollte als am Freitag.“

Über die Schlacht selbst liegen uns zwei Versionen vor, die der irischen Annalen, und die skandinavische der Nialssaga. Nach dieser letzteren 30 „kam König Brian mit all seinem Heer gegen die Burg (Dublin); am Freitag fuhr das Heer (der Nordmänner) heraus aus der Burg und beide Heere wurden geordnet. Brödhir war in einem Heerflügel und König Sigtrygg (nach den Ann. Inisfall, der König der Dubliner Nordmänner)

leik fyrit Lindiseyri vidh lofdhúnga threnna;
35 fárr átti thví fagna (fell margr i gyn úlfí,
haukr sleit hold medh vargi), at hann heill thadhan kaemi;
Ira blödh i oegi aerit féll um skaeru.

Vedhrafiördhr ist wie gesagt Waterford: ob Lindiseyri irgendwo aufgefunden, ist mir unbekannt. Keinesfalls bedeutet es Leinster wie Johnstone übersetzt; das eyri (sandige 40 Landzunge, dänisch öre) weist auf eine ganz bestimmte Lokalität hin. Valtafn kann auch heißen Falkenfutter, & wird hier meist so übersetzt, da aber der Rabe Odhins heiliger Vogel ist, so spielt das Wort offenbar in beiden Bedeutungen.

war im andern. Nun ist zu sagen von König Brian daß er am Freitag nicht schlagen wollte, und es war aufgeschlagen um ihn eine Schildburg und sein Heer war davor aufgestellt. Ulf Hraeda war in dem Flügel dem Brödhir gegenüberstand; und in dem andern Flügel war Ospak und seine Söhne, da wo Sigtrygg gegenüberstand; und im Centrum war Kerthialfadh und wurde vor ihm die Fahne getragen." Als der Kampf losging, wurde Brödhir von Ulf Hraeda in einen Wald gejagt, wo er Schutz fand; Jarl Sigurd hatte harten Stand gegen Kerthialfadh der bis zur Fahne drang und den Fahnenträger erschlug, sowie den nächsten der die Fahne ergriff; da weigerten sich alle die Fahne zu tragen, und Jarl Sigurd nahm die Fahne von der Stange und verbarg sie zwischen seinen Kleidern. Bald darauf wurde er von einem Speer durchschossen, & damit scheint auch sein Heerhaufe geschlagen. Inzwischen war Ospak den Nordmännern in den Rücken gefallen & warf Sigtryggs Heerflügel nach hartem Kampf. „Da ging die Flucht los in allen Schaaren. Thorstein Siduhallsson machte 15 Halt als die andern flohen, und band seinen Schuhriemen; da fragte ihn Kerthialfadh warum er nicht lief wie die andern? Da sagte Thorstein: o ich komme doch heut Abend nicht heim, ich bin zu Hause draußen in Island. Und Kerthialfadh gab ihm Frieden." - Brödhir sah nun aus seinem Versteck daß Brians Heer die Fliehenden verfolgte, und daß wenige 20 Leute bei der Schildburg geblieben waren. Da lief er aus dem Walde, brach durch die Schildburg und erschlug den König (Brian, 88 Jahre alt, war selbstredend nicht mehr imstande, sich am Kampf zu betheiligen & war im Lager geblieben). „Da rief Brödhir laut: Das kann jetzt Mann dem Manne erzählen daß Brödhir Brian gefällt hat." Aber die Verfolger 25 kehrten zurück, umzingelten Brödhir und griffen ihn lebendig. „Ulf Hraeda schnitt ihm den Bauch auf und führte ihn um eine Eiche und wickelte so seine Därme aus ihm heraus um den Baumstamm, und starb er nicht bis sie alle aus ihm herausgehaspelt waren, und Brödhirs Leute wurden alle erschlagen." 30

Nach den Annalen von Inisfallen war das nordmännische Heer in drei Haufen getheilt; der erste bestand aus den Dubliner Nordmännern, nebst 1000 norwegischen Zuzüglern, die alle in langen Panzerhemden geharnischt waren; der zweite aus den irischen Hülfsstruppen von Leinster, unter König Maelmordha; der dritte aus dem Zuzug von den Inseln und 35 Skandinavien, unter Bruadhair dem Chef der Flotte die sie hergetragen, und Lodar, dem Jarl der Orkneys. Diesen gegenüber formirte Brian sein Heer ebenfalls in drei Haufen; die Namen der Führer stimmen aber nicht mit denen der Nialssaga. Der Schlachtbericht selbst ist unbedeutend; kürzer und klarer ist der der vier Magister, welcher hier folgt: 40

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„A.D. 1013 (steht in Folge eines constanten Fehlers für 1014). Die Ausländer von ganz Westeuropa versammelten sich gegen Brian und Maelseachlainn ||2| (gewöhnlich Malachy genannt, König von Meath unter Brians Oberhoheit) und sie nahmen mit sich zehn hundert Mann in 5 Panzerhemden. Eine heftige, wütende, gewaltige und böse Schlacht wurde zwischen ihnen gefochten, deren Gleichen nicht gefunden wurde in jener Zeit, zu Cluaintarbh (Ochsenwiese, jetzt Clontarf) gerade auf den Freitag vor Ostern. In dieser Schlacht wurden erschlagen Brian, 88 Jahre alt, Murchadh sein Sohn, 63 Jahre alt, Conaing sein Neffe, Toirdhealbhach sein Enkel, ... (folgen eine Menge Namen). Die (feindlichen) Truppen wurden endlich geworfen von der Tulcainn bis Athcliath (Dublin), durch Maelseachlainn, durch heftigen Kampf, Tapferkeit & Dreinschlägen auf die Fremden und Leinsterleute; und da fiel Maelmordha, Sohn Murchads, des Sohnes Finns, König von Leinster ... und es waren außerdem noch ungezählte Todte unter denen von Leinster. Auch wurden erschlagen Dubhgall, Sohn Amhlaebhs (gewöhnlich Anlaf oder Olaf genannt) und Gillaciarain der Sohn Gluniairns, zwei Unterführer (tanaisi) der Fremden, Sichfrith der Sohn Lodars, Jarl der Orkneys (iarla insi h-Orc), Brodar, Anführer derer von Dänemark, der der Mann war 10 eher Brian erschlug. Die zehn hundert Mann in Panzerhemden wurden zusammen gehauen und mindestens 3000 der Fremden wurden da erschlagen.“

Die Nialssaga wurde etwa hundert Jahre nach der Schlacht in Island niedergeschrieben; die irischen Annalen beruhen, wenigstens zum Theil, 25 auf gleichzeitigen Berichten. Beide Quellen sind vollständig unabhängig voneinander; beide stimmen nicht nur in den Hauptsachen, sie ergänzen sich auch gegenseitig. Wer Brödhir und Sigtrygg waren, erfahren wir erst aus den irischen Annalen. Sigurd Laudrisson heißt dort Sichfrith der Sohn Lodars; Sigfrith ist nämlich die richtige angelsächsische Form des 30 altnordischen Namens Sigurd, und die skandinavischen Namen kommen in Irland - auf Münzen sowohl wie in den Annalen - meist nicht in altnordischer sondern in angelsächsischer Form vor. Die Namen der Unterführer Brians sind in der Nialssaga dem skandinavischen Organ mundgerecht gemacht; der eine, Ulf Hraeda, ist sogar ganz altnordisch, 35 doch wäre es gewagt, wie Einige thun, daraus den Schluß zu ziehn daß auch Brian Nordmänner in seinem Heer gehabt. Ospak und auch Kerthialfadhl scheinen celtische Namen; letzterer vielleicht aus dem bei den IV Mag. genannten Toirdhealbhach entstellt? Das Datum - der Freitag nach Palmsonntag bei den Einen, der Freitag vor Ostern bei den Andern 40 - stimmt genau, ebenso der Ort der Schlacht; obwohl er in der Nialssaga Kantaraburg (sonst = Canterbury) heißt, wird er ausdrücklich dicht vor

die Thore von Dublin gelegt. Den Verlauf der Schlacht beschreiben die IV Mag. am genauesten: Die Nordmänner werden von der Ebene von Clontarf, wo sie Briens Heer angriffen, über die Tolka, einen kleinen Fluß, der dicht vor der Nordseite von Dublin vorbeifließt, nach der Stadt hineingeworfen. Daß Brödhir den König Brian erschlug, wissen Beide; die näheren Angaben finden sich nur in der nordischen Quelle.

Man sieht, unsre Nachrichten über diese Schlacht sind, in Anbetracht der Barbarei jener Zeit, ziemlich ausführlich und authentisch; es wird sich |30| nicht manche Schlacht des elften Jahrhunderts auffinden lassen, über die wir so bestimmte & einstimmende Berichte von beiden Parteien haben. Das verhindert den Herrn Professor Goldwin Smith nicht, sie als einen „schattenhaften (shadowy) Konflikt“ zu beschreiben. (I.e. p. 48). Im Kopf des Herrn Professors nehmen die robustesten Thatsachen allerdings sehr häufig eine „schattenhafte“ Gestalt an.

Nach der Niederlage von Clontarf werden die nordmännischen Raubzüge seltner & weniger gefährlich; bald kommen die Dubliner Nordmänner unter die Botmäßigkeit der benachbarten irischen Fürsten & verschmelzen in einer oder zwei Generationen mit den Eingeborenen. Als einzige Entschädigung für ihre Verwüstungen lassen die Skandinavier den Iren drei oder vier Städte, und die Anfänge eines handeltreibenden Bürgertums zurück. 15 20

Je weiter wir in der Geschichte zurückgehn, desto mehr verschwinden die Kennzeichen wodurch Völker desselben Stammes sich von einander unterscheiden. Einerseits liegt dies in der Natur der Quellen, die im Verhältniß des höheren Alters dürftiger werden und sich auf das Wesentlichste beschränken, andererseits aber auch in der Entwicklung der Völker selbst. Die einzelnen Zweige des Stammes standen sich um so näher, glichen einander um so mehr, je weniger sie vom Urstamm selbst abstonden. Mit vollem Recht hat Jacob Grimm stets alle Nachrichten, von den römischen Historikern die den Cimbernzug beschrieben, bis auf Adam von Bremen & Saxo Grammaticus, alle Literaturdenkmäler von Beowulf und Hildebrandslied bis auf die Edden und Sagas, alle Rechtsbücher von den leges barbarorum bis auf die altdänischen & altschwedischen Gesetze und die deutschen Weisthümer, als gleich werthvolle Quellen für deutsehen Nationalcharacter, deutsche Sitten & Rechtsverhältnisse behandelt. Der specielle Charakterzug mag nur lokale Bedeutung haben, der Character der sich in ihm spiegelt, ist dem ganzen Stamme gemein; und je älter die Quellen, desto mehr schwinden die lokalen Unterschiede. 30 35

Entwurf der Kapitel „Naturbedingungen“ und „Altirland“

Wie Skandinavier und Deutsche im siebenten & achten Jahrhundert sich weniger unterschieden als heute, so müssen auch irische Celten & gallische Celten ursprünglich einander ähnlicher gewesen sein als heutige Irländer & Franzosen sind. Wir dürfen uns daher nicht wundern wenn wir in Casars Schilderung der Gallier eine Menge Züge finden die Giraldus zwölf Jahrhunderte später wieder den Iren zuschreibt & die wir noch heute, trotz aller Beimischung germanischen Bluts, im irischen Nationalcharacter wiederfinden.

es .

Karl Marx
..Confidentielle Mittheilung"
an den Braunschweiger Ausschuß
der Sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei

|i| Confidentielle Mittheilung.

Der Russe Bakunine (obgleich ich ihn seit 1843 kenne, übergehe ich hier alles nicht absolut zum Verständniß des Folgenden Nöthige) hatte kurz nach Stiftung der „Internationalen“ eine Zusammenkunft mit Marx zu London. Letzter nahm ihn dort in die Gesellschaft auf, für welche 5 Bakunin nach besten Kräften zu wirken versprach. B. reiste nach Italien, erhielt dort von Marx die provisorischen Statuten u. „Adresse an die arbeitenden Klassen“ zugeschickt, antwortete „sehr enthusiastisch“, that nichts. Nach Jahren, worin man nichts von ihm hört, taucht er wieder in der Schweiz auf. Dort schließt er sich nicht an die „Internationale“, son- 10 dem an die „Ligue de la Paix et de la Liberté“. Nach dem Congreß dieser Friedensligue (Genf 1867) bringt B. sich in den Vollziehungsausschuß derselben, findet hier jedoch Gegner, die ihm nicht nur keinen „diktatorischen“ Einfluß erlauben, sondern ihn als „russisch verdächtig“ überwachen. Kurz nach dem Brüssler Congreß (September 1868) der Interna- 15 tionale, hält die Friedensligue ihren Congreß zu Bern. Dießmal tritt B. als fire brand auf und - was en passant zu bemerken - hielt seine Denunciation der occidentalen Bourgeoisie in dem Ton, worin die moskowitischen Optimisten die westliche Civilisation - zur Beschönigung ihrer eignen Barbarei - anzugreifen pflegen. Er schlägt eine Reihe von Be- 20 Schlüssen vor, die *an sich abgeschmackt*, darauf berechnet sind, den bürgerlichen Cretins Schrecken einzujagen und Herrn Bakunine erlauben mit éclat aus der Friedensligue aus- u. in die „Internationale“ einzutreten. Es genügt zu sagen, daß sein dem Berner Congreß vorgeschlagnes Pro- 25 gramm solche Absurditäten enthält wie die „Gleichheit“ der „Klassen“, „Abschaffung des Erbrechts als Anfang der social. Revolution“ etc. - gedankenlose Schwätzereien, ein Rosenkranz von hohlen Einfällen, die schauerlich zu sein prätendiren, kurz eine insipide Improvisation, die blos



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Karl Marx: „Confidentielle Mittheilung“ an den Braunschweiger Ausschuß der Sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei.
Erste Seite (RGASPI, Sign. f. 1, op. 1, d. 2623)

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auf einen gewissen Tageseffekt berechnet war. Die Freunde B's in Paris (wo ein Russe Mitherausgeber der *Revue Positiviste*) und London zeigen der Welt den Austritt B's aus der Friedensligue als un événement an u. künden sein groteskes Programm - diese Olla Podrida abgeschloßner Ge-
5 meinplätze - als etwas wunderlich Grauses und Originelles an.

B. war unterdeß in die „Branche Romande“ der *Internationalen* (zu Genf) eingetreten. Es hatte Jahre gekostet, bis er sich zu diesem Schritt entschloß. Aber es kostete noch keine Tage, bevor Herr Bakunin be-
schloß, die *Intern.* umzuwälzen u. sie in *sein* Instrument zu verwandeln.

- 10 Hinter dem Rücken des Londoner Generalraths - dieser wurde erst unterrichtet, nachdem alles anscheinlich *fertig* war - bildete er die sog. „Alliance des Démocrates Socialistes“. Das Programm dieser Gesellschaft war kein andres als das von B. dem Berner Friedenscongrès vorgelegte. Die Gesellschaft kündete sich damit also von vornherein an als |2| Pro-
15 pagandagesellschaft spezifisch B'scher Geheim-Weisheit u. B. selbst, einer der unwissendsten Menschen auf dem Feld der socialen Theorie, figurirt hier plötzlich als Sektenstifter. Das theoretische Programm dieser „Alliance“ war jedoch blosse Farce. Die ernste Seite lag in ihrer praktischen Organisation. Diese Gesellschaft sollte nämlich *international* sein, mit ih-
20 rem Centralcomité in Genf d. h. unter B's persönlicher Leitung. Zugleich aber sollte sie ein „integraler“ Bestandtheil der *Intern.* Arbeiterassocation sein. Ihre Branches sollten einerseits vertreten sein auf dem „nächsten Congrès“ der *Intern.* (zu Basel) u. zugleich ihren eignen Congrès neben dem andern in Separatsitzungen abhalten etc. etc.
25 Das Menschenmaterial, worüber B. zunächst verfügte, war die damalige Majorität des Comité Féderal Romand der „Intern.“ zu Genf. J. Ph. Becker, dessen Propagandaeifer zuweilen mit seinem Kopf durchbrennt, wurde vorgeschoben. In Italien u. Spanien hatte B. einige Alliirte.

Der Generalrath zu London war vollständig unterrichtet. Er ließ je-
30 doch Bakunine ruhig vorangehn bis zu dem Augenblick, wo letzter genöthigt war, durch J. Ph. Becker, die Statuten (nebst Programm) der „Alliance des Dém. Soc.“ dem Generalrath zur Genehmigung zukommen zu lassen. Darauf erfolgte ein weitläufig motivirter Bescheid - ganz „rich-
35 terlich“ und „objektiv“ gehalten, aber in seinen „Erwägungsgründen“ voller Ironie -, der damit schloß:

- „1) Der Generalrath läßt die ‚Alliance‘ nicht als Branche der *Intern.* zu.“
„2) Alle Paragraphen des Statuts der ‚Alliance‘, die sich auf ihr Ver-
hältniß zur *.Intern.*‘ beziehn, sind für null u. nichtig erklärt.“
40 In den Erwägungsgründen war klar u. schlagend bewiesen, daß die „Alliance“ nichts als eine Maschine zur Desorganisation der „Internationale“ sei.

Karl Marx

Dieser Schlag kam unvermutet. B. hatte bereits die „*Egalite*“ das Central Organ der französisch sprechenden Mitglieder der *Internationale* in der Schweiz, in *sein* Organ verwandelt, ausserdem zu *Locle* sich einen kleinen Privatmoniteur gestiftet - den *Progrès*. Der *Progrès* spielt bis heute noch diese Rolle unter Redaction eines fanatischen Anhängers B's, 5 eines gewissen „*Guillaume*“.

Nach mehrwöchentlichem Bedenken schickt endlich das Centralcomité der „Alliance“ - unter der Signatur Perron's, eines Genfers - Antwort-schreiben an den Generalrath. Die „Alliance“ will aus Eifer für die gute Sache *ihre selbständige Organisation aufopfern*, aber nur auf eine Bedin- 10 gung hin, nämlich auf Erklärung des Generalraths, daß er *ihre „radikalen“ Principien* anerkennt.

Der Generalrath antwortete: es sei nicht seine Funktion theoretisch über die Programme der verschiedenen Sectionen zu Gericht zu sitzen. Er habe nur zu sehn, daß in denselben *nichts direkt den Statuten u. ihrem Geist Widersprechendes* enthalten sei. Er müsse daher darauf bestehn, daß aus dem Programm der „Alliance“ die abgeschmackte Phrase über die „*egalite des classes*“ weggestrichen u. statt dessen „*abolition des classes*“ gesetzt werde (was auch geschah). Im übrigen könnten sie eintreten, nach Auflösung ihrer selbständigen intern. Organisation u. nachdem ||3| sie 20 (was notabene nie geschah) dem Generalrath eine Liste über ihre sämtliche Branches zugestellt.

Damit war dieser incident erledigt. Die *Alliance* löste sich *nominell* auf und blieb *factisch*, unter B's Leitung fortbestehn, der zugleich das Genfer „Comité Romand Fédéral“ der *Intern*, beherrschte. 25

Zu ihren bisherigen Organen kam noch die „*Confederation*“ zu Barcelona hinzu (nach dem Basler Congréß noch die *Eguaglià* zu Neapel).

B. suchte nun seinen Zweck - die *Internationale* in sein Privatwerkzeug zu verwandeln - auf andre Weise zu erreichen. Er ließ durch unser Genfer romanisches Comité dem Generalrath vorschlagen, die „*Erbschaftsfrage*“ 30 auf das Programm des Basler Congresses zu setzen. Der Generalrath ging darauf ein, um B. direkt auf den Kopf schlagen zu können. B's Plan war der: Indem der Basler Congréß die von B. zu Bern aufgestellten Princpien (!) annimmt, wird der Welt gezeigt, daß B. nicht zur „*Intern.*“, sondern die „*Intern.*“ zu B. übergetreten ist. Einfache Consequenz, der Londoner Generalrath (dessen Gegnerschaft gegen die Aufwärmung der vieillerie St. Simoniste dem B. bekannt war) muß abtreten u. der Basler Congréß wird den Generalrath nach Genf verlegen, d. h. die *Internationale* wird der Diktatur B. anheimfallen. 35

B. setzte eine völlige *Conspiracy* ins Werk, um sich die Majorität auf 40 dem Basler Congréß zu sichern. Sogar an falschen Vollmachten fehlte es

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nicht, wie die des Herrn Guillaume für Locle etc. B. selbst bettelte sich Vollmachten von Neapel u. Lyon. Verleumdungen aller Art gegen den Generalrath wurden ausgestreut. Den einen sagte man, das *élément bourgeois* wiege in ihm vor, den andern, er sei der Sitz des *communisme autoritaire* etc.

Das Resultat des Basler Congresses ist bekannt. B's Vorschläge drangen nicht durch u. der Generalrath blieb in London.

Der Aerger über diesen Fehlschlag - mit dessen Gelingen B. vielleicht allerlei Privatspekulationen verknüpft hatte in „seines Herzens Geist u. Empfindung“ - machte sich in gereizten Äusserungen der „*Egalité*“ u. des „*Progrès*“ Luft. Diese Blätter nahmen unterdeß mehr u. mehr die Form officieller Orakel an. Bald wurde diese, bald jene Schweizer Sektion der *Intern.* mit Bann belegt, weil sie gegen B's ausdrückliche Vorschrift sich an der politischen Bewegung beteiligt hatten etc. Endlich brach die lang verhaltne Wuth gegen den Generalrath offen aus. *Progrès* u. *Egalité* mokirten sich, griffen an, erklärten, der Generalrath erfüllte seine Pflichten nicht, z.B. in betreff des dreimonatlichen Bulletins; der Generalrath müsse sich der direkten Controlle über England entledigen u. neben sich ein englisches Central-Comite, das sich nur mit englischen Angelegenheiten [befasse], gründen lassen; die Beschlüsse des Generalraths über die gefangenen Fenier seien eine Ueberschreitung seiner Funktionen, da er sich nicht mit lokalpolitischen Fragen zu beschäftigen habe. Es wurde ferner in *Progrès* u. *Egalité* Partei für *Schweitzer* genommen u. der Generalrath kategorisch aufgefordert, sich officiell u. publique-
ment über die Frage Liebknecht-Schweitzer zu erklären. Das Journal „*Le Travail*“ (in Paris), worin die Pariser Freunde Schweitzers ihm günstige Artikel eingeschmuggelt, wurde darüber belobt von *Progrès* u. *Egalité* und in letzterer aufgefordert, gemeinsame Sache gegen den Generalrath zu machen.

30 Die Zeit war jetzt daher gekommen, wo eingeschritten werden mußte. Folgendes ist wörtliche Copie des Sendschreibens des Generalraths an das Genfer romanische Centraikomitee. Das Dokument zu lang, um es ins Deutsche zu übersetzen. /

[4/ Circulaire du Conseil Général de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs au Conseil Fédéral de la Suisse Romande du 1 janvier 1870 (S. 159-165). /10/]

/10/ Die französischen Comités (obgleich Bakunine stark in Lyon u. Marseille intriguirt u. einige junge Brauseköpfe gewonnen hatte) ebenso wie der *Conseil Gen. Belge* (Bruxelles) haben sich ganz einverstanden mit diesem Rescript des Generalraths erklärt.

Karl Marx

Die Abschrift für Genf (weil der Sekretär für die Schweiz, *Jung*, sehr beschäftigt war) wurde etwas verzögert. Sie kreuzte || 111 sich daher unterwegs mit einem officiellen Schreiben v. *Perret*, Secretair des Genfer romanischen Centralcomités, an den Generalrath.

Die Krise war nämlich in Genf vor Ankunft unsres Briefs ausgebrochen. Einige Redakteure der *Egalité* hatten sich der von Bák. diktirten Richtung widersetzt. Bakunine u. seine Anhänger (wovon 6 Redacteure der *Egalité*) wollten das Genfer Centralcomité zur Entlassung der Wider-spenstigen zwingen. Das Genfer Comité dagegen war längst die Despotie B's müde u. sah sich mit Unwillen durch ihn in Gegensatz zu den übrigen 10 deutschen Schweizer Comités, zu dem Generalrath etc. hineingezogen. Es bestätigte also umgekehrt die B. mißfälligen Redakteure der *Egalité*. Darauf gaben seine 6 Mann ihre Entlassung v. der Redaction indem sie dadurch das Blatt stillzusetzen glaubten. 5

In Antwort auf unsre Missive erklärt das Genfer Centralkomite, daß 15 die Angriffe der *Egalité* wider seinen Willen stattgefunden, daß es die in derselben gepredigte Politik nie gebilligt, daß das Blatt jetzt unter strenger Aufsicht des Comités redigirt wird u.s. w.

Bakunine zog sich darauf von Genf nach Tessin zurück. Er hat nur noch - was die Schweiz betrifft - im *Progrès* (Locle) seine Hand. 20

Bald darauf starb *Herzen*. Bakunine, der seit der Zeit, wo er als *Lenker der europ. Arbeiterbewegung* sich aufwerfen wollte, seinen alten Freund u. Patron *Herzen* verleugnet hatte, stieß sofort nach dessen Tod in die Lobesposaune. Warum? *Herzen*, trotz seines persönlichen Reichthums, ließ sich jährlich 25 000 frs. für Propaganda von der ihm befreundeten pseudosocialistischen, panslawistischen Partei in Rußland zahlen. Durch sein Lobesgeschrei hat Bakunin diese Gelder auf sich gelenkt und damit „die Erbschaft Herzens“ - malgré sa haine de l'héritage - pekuniär u. moralisch, sine beneficio inventarii, angetreten. 25

Gleichzeitig hat sich in Genf eine junge russische Refugee colony angesiedelt, flüchtige Studenten, die es wirklich ehrlich ||12| meinen u. ihre Ehrlichkeit dadurch beweisen, daß sie die *Bekämpfung des Panslawismus* als Hauptpunkt in ihr Programm aufgenommen. 30

Sie publiciren zu Genf ein Journal: „*La voix du peuple*“.

Sie haben vor about 2 Wochen sich nach London gewandt, ihre Statuten u. Programm eingesandt, Bestätigung zur Bildung einer russischen Branche verlangt. Ist gegeben worden. 35

In einem besondern Brief an Marx haben sie ihn ersucht, sie im Centralrath provisorisch zu repräsentieren. Dieß ditto acceptirt. Sie haben zugleich angezeigt - u. schienen sich deswegen bei Marx entschuldigen zu wollen, daß sie nächstens dem Bakunin öffentlich die Maske abreissen 40

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müßten, indem dieser Mensch *zweierlei ganz verschiedene Sprachen führe*, eine andre in Rußland, eine andre in Europa.

So wird das Spiel dieses höchst gefährlichen Intriquanten - wenigstens auf dem Terrain der *Internationalen* - bald ausgespielt sein. |

Friedrich Engels
An den Braunschweiger Ausschuß der
Sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei über
Kassenwesen und Wahlbewegung.
Brief vom 28. April 1870

Der Volksstaat.
Nr. 39, 14. Mai 1870

Sehr gefreut hat mich der detaillierte und präzise Kassenbericht. Es sind hier in England vor meinen Augen so viele Anläufe zu Arbeiter-Bewegungen und Organisationen an schlechter Kassenverwaltung und Rechnungsführung, und den darauf regelmäßig verdient oder unverdient erfolgenden Vorwürfen der Unterschlagung und so weiter zu Grunde 5 gegangen, daß ich mir in diesem Falle wohl ein kompetentes Urtheil über die Wichtigkeit dieses Punktes zutrauen darf. Die Arbeiter müssen sich jeden Pfennig abdarben und haben daher auch das vollste Anrecht, zu wissen, wohin jeder Pfennig geht, so lange sie eben noch keine *geheimen* Fonds brauchen und beischaßen. Und ich halte dies gerade in Deutschland 10 von der größten Wichtigkeit, seitdem auch dort die Ausbeutung der Arbeiter durch verlumpte Agitatoren auf die Tagesordnung gekommen ist. Es ist eine faule Ausrede, zu sagen, daß man durch Veröffentlichung solcher Kassenberichte dem Gegner die Schwäche der eigenen Partei verrät. Wenn die Gegner die Stärke einer Arbeiterpartei nach ihrer speziell 15 fisch schwachen Seite - den Kassenverhältnissen - beurtheilen wollen, so werden sie sich ohnehin stets verrechnen. Und der Schaden, den die Geheimhaltung dieser Dinge in den *eigenen* Reihen anrichtet, ist unendlich größer als der, der aus der Veröffentlichung erwachsen könnte. -

Bonhorst beklagt sich über die Stumpfheit der Arbeiter - ich finde 20 vielmehr, daß die Sache in Deutschland unverhofft flott vorangeht. Die einzelnen Erfolge wollen natürlich mühsam erkämpft sein und die das zu thun haben, denen geht die Sache immer zu langsam. Aber vergleichen Sie 1860 und 1870, und vergleichen Sie den jetzigen Stand der Dinge in Deutschland mit dem in Frankreich und England - bei dem Vorsprung, 25 den jene beiden Länder vor uns hatten! Die deutschen Arbeiter haben über ein halbes Dutzend Leute in das Parlament gebracht, die Franzosen und Engländer *keinen einzigen*. Darf ich mir dabei die Bemerkung erlaub-

An den Braunschweiger Ausschuß über Kassenwesen und Wahlbewegung

ben, daß *wir Alle* es *hier* für höchst wichtig halten, daß bei den Neuwahlen so viel Arbeiterkandidaten aufgestellt werden, wie möglich, und so viel durchgebracht werden, wie möglich?

Karl Marx
Beschluß des Generalrats
der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation
bezüglich der Londoner Zeitung „The Bee-Hive“

Der Volksstaat.
Nr. 38, 11. Mai 1870

Beschluß des Generalraths der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation bezüglich des „Beehive“.

In Erwägung,

- 1) daß die Internationalen Sektionen des Continents und der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika vom Generalrath der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation zum Abonnement auf den „Beehive“ als offizielles Organ des Generalraths und Repräsentanten der Arbeiterbewegung in der englischen Presse aufgefordert worden; 5
 - 2) daß der „Beehive“ nicht nur aus den offiziellen Berichten des Generalraths seinen Gönner mißliebige *Beschlüsse* ausgemerzt, sondern auch 10 durch Unterschlagung den Sinn und Inhalt einer Reihe von Sitzungen des Generalraths systematisch verfälscht hat;
 - 3) daß der „Beehive“, namentlich seit dem neulichen Wechsel seiner Eigenthümer, fortfährt, sich für das ausschließliche Organ der englischen Arbeiterklasse auszugeben, während er in der That in das Organ einer 15 Kapitalistenfraktion verwandelt ist, welche die proletarische Bewegung zu lenken und in ihrem eigenen Klassen- und Partei-Interesse auszubauen sucht;
- hat der *Generalrath der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation* in seiner Sitzung vom 26. April 1870 einstimmig beschlossen, jede Verbindung mit 20 dem „Beehive“ abzubrechen und diesen seinen Beschuß den Sektionen in England, in den Vereinigten Staaten und auf dem Continent öffentlich anzuseigen.

Im Auftrag des Generalraths der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation:

Karl Marx, Sekretär des Generalraths für Deutschland. 25
London, 3. Mai 1870.

Karl Marx
Déclaration du Conseil Général
de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs
« à l'occasion du dernier soi-disant complot »

e

La Marseillaise.
Nr. 138, 7. Mai 1870

**Association Internationale
Conseil général de Londres**
**Aux Membres de l'Association Internationale des
Travailleurs**

5

Londres, le 3 mai 1870

A l'occasion du dernier soi-disant complot, le gouvernement français a fait arrêter plusieurs membres des sections de Paris et de Lyon et insinué que l'Association internationale des travailleurs est complice de ce soi-disant complot.

- 10 D'après nos statuts, c'est certainement la mission spéciale de toutes nos branches, en Angleterre, aux Etats-Unis et sur le continent d'agir, non seulement, comme centres de l'organisation militante de la classe ouvrière, mais aussi d'aider dans leurs différents pays tous les mouvements politiques qui peuvent servir à *lémancipation économique du prolétariat*.
15 En même temps, ces statuts obligent toutes les sections de notre Association d'agir au grand jour. Si ces statuts n'étaient pas formels sur ce point-là, la nature même d'une association identifiée à la classe ouvrière exclurait toute idée de société secrète. Si la classe ouvrière, qui forme la grande masse des nations, qui crée toutes leurs richesses, et au nom de
20 laquelle tout pouvoir prétend régner, conspire, elle conspire publiquement comme le soleil contre les ténèbres.

Si les autres incidents du complot dénoncé par le gouvernement français sont *aussi faux et aussi dénués de fondements* que ses insinuations contre l'Association internationale, ce dernier complot se rangerà dignement auprès de ses deux prédecesseurs, de ridicule mémoire. Les me-

Karl Marx

sures violentes prises contre nos sections françaises ne sont évidemment que des manœuvres à l'intérieur de la politique plébiscitaire.

Au nom et pour ordre du conseil général de l'Association internationale des travailleurs:

R. Applegarth, président de la séance.
A. Sérraillier, secrétaire pour la Belgique et secrétaire suppléant pour l'Espagne.
J. Cohn, secrétaire pour le Danemark.
E. Dupont, secrétaire pour la France.
J. Agossa, secrétaire pour l'Italie.
Karl Marx, secrétaire pour l'Allemagne.
A. Zabizki, secrétaire pour la Pologne.
H. Jung, secrétaire pour la Suisse.
J.G. Eccarius, secrétaire pour le conseil général et les Etats Unis.
G. Harris, B. Lucraft, J. Mottershead, membres du comité financier.
J. Bora, J. Haies, W. Haies, F. Lessner, Odger, J. Weston, C. Murray, W. Townshend, J. Rühl, Karl Pfänder, G. Milner, membres du conseil général de l'Association internationale.

Pour copie conforme:

Eugène Dupont,

Secrétaire correspondant pour la France.

Karl Marx
Bekanntmachung des Generalrats
der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation
zur Einberufung des Jahreskongresses nach Mainz

Der Volksstaat.
Nr. 42, 25. Mai 1870

Bekanntmachung des Generalraths der
Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation.

In Erwägung,
daß der Basler Kongreß *Paris* zum Sitz des diesjährigen Kongresses
5 der *Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation* bestimmt hat;
daß bei Fortdauer der gegenwärtigen Wirtschaft in Frankreich der
Kongreß nicht in Paris tagen kann;
daß jedoch die Vorbereitungen für den Kongreß eine sofortige Be-
schlußnahme nöthig machen;
10 daß Artikel 3 der *Statuten* den Generalrath verpflichtet, „im Notfall
den vom Kongreß vorherbestimmten Platz der Zusammenkunft zu ver-
legen“;
daß deutsche Mitglieder der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation den
Generalrath eingeladen haben, den diesjährigen Kongreß in Deutschland
15 abzuhalten;
hat der Generalrath in seiner Sitzung vom 17. Mai einstimmig be-
schlossen, den diesjährigen Kongreß nach *Mainz* zu berufen und dort am
5. September 1870 zu eröffnen.

Im Auftrag und im Namen des Generalraths der
20 Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation:
Karl Marx, Sekretär des Generalraths für Deutschland.
London, 18. Mai 1870.

Karl Marx
Le Conseil Général de l'Association Internationale des
Travailleurs au Comité Fédéral Romand.
Résolution du 28 juin 1870

L'Egalité.
Nr. 26, 13. Juli 1870

Le Conseil général au Comité fédéral Romand.

Considérant

Que, quoiqu'une majorité de délégués au Congrès de la Chaux-de-Fonds, ait nommé un nouveau Comité fédéral romand, cette majorité 5 n'était que nominale ;

Que le Comité fédéral romand, à Genève, ayant toujours rempli ses obligations envers le Conseil général et envers l'Association internationale des Travailleurs, et s'étant toujours conforme aux Statuts de l'Association, le Conseil général n'a pas le droit de lui enlever son titre ; 10

Le Conseil général, dans son assemblée du 28 juin 1870, a unanimement résolu, que le Comité fédéral romand, siégeant à Genève, conserverait son titre, et que le Comité fédéral, siégeant à la Chaux-de-Fonds, adopterait tel autre titre local qu'il lui plairait d'adopter.

Au nom et par ordre du Conseil général de l'Association internationale 15 des Travailleurs,

H. Jung,
Secrétaire pour la Suisse.

Londres, le 29 juin 1870.

Prière aux journaux socialistes de reproduire cette décision.

20

Friedrich Engels
Vorwort zu einer Sammlung irischer Lieder

||[1]|| Von den irischen Volksmelodien sind einige uralt, andere in den letzten 3-400 Jahren entstanden, manche erst im vorigen Jahrhundert; besonders hat damals einer der letzten irischen Barden, Carolan, viel erfunden. Diese Barden oder Harfner Dichter, Componisten & Sänger in 5 einer Person - waren früher zahlreich, jeder irische Häuptling hatte den seinigen auf seiner Burg. Viele zogen auch als fahrende Sänger im Lande umher, verfolgt von den Engländern, die in ihnen, mit Recht, Hauptträger der nationalen, anti-englischen Tradition sahen. Die alten Lieder von den Siegen Finn MacCumhal's (den MacPherson unter dem Namen 10 Fingal in seinem, ganz auf diesen irischen Liedern beruhenden Ossian den Irländern abstahl & in einen Schotten verwandelte), von der Herrlichkeit des alten Königspalastes zu Tava, von den Heldenthaten König Brian Borumka's, die späteren Lieder von den Kämpfen irischer Häuptlinge gegen die Sassenach (Engländer) wurden von diesen Barden im 15 lebendigen Gedächtniß der Nation erhalten; die Thaten gleichzeitiger irischer Häuptlinge, im Kampf um ihre Unabhängigkeit, wurden von ihnen ebenso im Liede gefeiert. Als aber im siebenzehnten Jahrhundert durch Elisabeth, Jacob den Ersten, Oliver Cromwell & Wilhelm den Holländer das irische Volk vollständig niedergetreten, seines Landbesitzes zu Gun- 20 sten englischer Eindringlinge beraubt, geächtet und in eine Nation von Pariahs verwandelt war, wurden ||[2]|| die fahrenden Sänger ebenso gehetzt wie die katholischen Priester, und starben gegen Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts allmählig aus. Ihre Namen sind verschollen, von ihren Poesien sind nur Fragmente übrig geblieben; das schönste Vermächtniß das 25 sie ihrem geknechteten aber unbesiegten Volk hinterlassen haben, sind ihre Melodien.

Die Gedichte in irischer Sprache sind alle in vierzeiligen Strophen abgefaßt; es liegt daher den meisten, besonders den älteren Melodien immer, wenn auch oft etwas versteckt, dieser vierzeilige Rhythmus zu Grun-

Friedrich Engels

de, an den sich häufig ein Refrain oder ein Nachspiel auf der Harfe anschließt. Manche dieser alten Melodien sind noch jetzt, wo die irische Sprache im größten Theil von Irland nur noch von alten Leuten oder gar nicht mehr verstanden wird, nur unter ihrem irischen Namen oder Anfangsworten bekannt. Der größere, jüngere Theil hat aber schon englische Namen oder Textesworte. 5

Die Schwermuth die in den meisten dieser Melodien herrscht, ist auch heute noch der Ausdruck der nationalen Stimmung. Wie könnte es anders sein bei einem Volk dessen Herrscher immer neue, immer zeitgemäße Methoden der Unterdrückung erfinden? Die neueste, seit vierzig Jahren 10 eingeführte, seit zwanzig Jahren auf die Spitze getriebene Methode besteht in massenhafter Vertreibung der Irländer von Haus und Hof, und das ist in Irland ||[3]| gleichbedeutend mit Vertreibung aus dem Lande. Seit 1841 hat die Bevölkerung des Landes um dritthalb Millionen abgenommen, und sind über drei Millionen Irländer ausgewandert. Alles zum 15 Vortheil und auf Betreiben der großen Grundbesitzer englischer Abkunft. Wenn das noch dreißig Jahre so fortgeht, so gibt es Irländer nur noch in Amerika. I

Karl Marx

The lock-out of the building trades at Geneva.
Address of the General Council of the International
Working Men's Association to the working men
and women of Europe and the United States

The lock-out of the building trades at Geneva.

The General Council of the
International Working Men's Association
5 to the Working Men and Women of Europe
and the United States.

Fellow- Workers –

The Master Builders of Geneva have, after mature consideration, arrived at the conclusion that, "the entire Freedom of Labour" is best calculated to promote the happiness of the labouring poor. In order to secure this blessing to their workpeople, they resolved to carry into practice, on June 11th, a trick of English invention, viz., the Lock-out of upwards of 3000 mechanics till then in their employ.

Trade Unionism being of recent growth in Switzerland, the same masters builders of Geneva used to indignantly denounce it as an English importation. Two years ago, they taunted their men with a lack of Patriotism for trying to transplant on Swiss soil such an exotic plant as the limitation of the working day with fixed rates of wages per hour. They never doubted but there must be some keen mischief-mongers behind the scene, since their own native workmen, if left to themselves, would naturally like nothing better than drudging from twelve to fourteen hours a day for whatever pay the master might find it in his heart to allow. The deluded men, they publicly asserted, were acting under dictation from London and Paris, much the same as Swiss diplomatists are wont to obey the behests from St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Paris. However, the men were not to be cajoled, taunted, or intimidated into the persuasion that

limiting the daily hours of toil to ten, and fixing the rate of wages per hour was something derogatory to the dignity of a Free Citizen, nor could they by any provocation be inveigled into acts of violence affording the masters a plausible pretext for enforcing public repressive measures against the unions.

5

At last, in May, 1868, M. Camperio, the then Minister of justice and police, brought about an agreement that the hours of labour should be nine a day in winter, and eleven a day in summer, wages varying from forty-five to fifty centimes an hour. That agreement was signed in the presence of the Minister by both masters and men. In the spring of 1869 10 some masters refused to pay more wages for a day's labour of eleven hours, than they had paid during winter for nine hours. The matter was again compromised by making 45 centimes an hour, the uniform rate of wages for artisans in the building trade. Although clearly comprised in this settlement, the plasterers and painters had to toil away on the old 15 conditions because they were not then yet sufficiently organized to enforce the new ones. On the 15th of May last, they claimed to be put on a level with the other trades, and on the flat refusal of the masters, struck work the following week. On the 4th of June, the master builders resolved that if the plasterers and painters did not return to work on the 9th, the 20 whole of the building operatives should be locked out on the 11th. This menace was carried into effect. Not satisfied with having locked out the men, the masters publicly called upon the federal government to forcibly dissolve the union and expel the foreigners from Switzerland. Their benevolent and truly liberal attempts at restoring the freedom of labour, 25 were, however, baffled by a monster meeting, and a protest on the part of the Swiss non-building operatives.

The other Geneva trades have formed a committee to manage the affairs for the men locked-out. Some house owners who had contracted for new buildings with the master builders, considered the contracts 30 broken, and invited the men employed on them to continue the work as if nothing had happened. This proposal was at once accepted. Many single men are leaving Geneva as fast as they can. Still there remain some 2000 families deprived of their usual means of subsistence. The General Council of the International Working Men's Association, therefore calls upon 35 all honest working men and women, throughout the civilized world, to assist both by moral and material means the Geneva building trades in their just struggle against Capitalist despotism.

By order of the Council,

B. Lucraft, *Chairman*

40

John Weston, *Treasurer*

George Eccarius, *Gen. Sec.*

256, High Holborn, London, W.C., July 5th, 1870.

Karl Marx
Die Aussperrung der Bauarbeiter in Genf. Adresse
des Generalrats der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation

Die Aussperrung der Bauarbeiter in Genf
Der Generalrath der internationalen
Arbeiterassoziation
an die Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen
5 in Europa und den Vereinigten Staaten.

Mitarbeiter!

Die Genfer Baumeister sind, nach reiflicher Ueberlegung bei der Konklusion angelangt, daß „die unbeschränkte Freiheit der Arbeit“ am besten geeignet ist, das Glück der arbeitenden Bevölkerung zu befördern. Ihren 10 Arbeitern diese Segnung zu sichern, beschlossen sie am 11. Juni einen englischen Streich auszuführen, nämlich: sämmtliche Arbeiter die bis dahin bei ihnen in Arbeit gestanden, auszusperren.

Da das Gewerkevereinswesen erst in neuerer Zeit in der Schweiz Wurzel faßte, so pflegten dieselben Genfer Baumeister dasselbe mit der größten Entrüstung als eine englische Importation zu denunzieren. Vor zwei Jahren verhöhnten sie ihre Arbeiter wegen ihrem Mangel an Patriotismus, weil sie versuchten, ein so ausländisches Gewächs wie die Beschränkung der Arbeitszeit und die Fixirung des Arbeitslohnes auf den Schweizer Boden zu verpflanzen. Sie hegten nicht den geringsten Zweifel, 20 daß schlaue Unheilstifter ihre Hand im Spiel haben mußten da ihre eingeborenen Arbeiter aus eigenem Antrieb nichts natürlicher und angenehmer finden würden, als sich von 12-14 Stunden des Tags abzurackern, für was immer der Meister in seinem Herzen für gut finden möchte, als Bezahlung zu gewähren. Sie behaupteten öffentlich, daß die verblichenen 25 Arbeiter nur nach Vorschriften von London und Paris handelten, etwa wie die Schweizer Diplomaten gewohnt sind, den Geheißen von St.

Karl Marx

Petersburg, Berlin und Paris Folge zu leisten. Indessen ließen sich die Arbeiter weder durch Schmeicheleien, Verhöhungen oder Drohungen bereiten, daß die Beschränkung der Arbeitszeit auf zehn Stunden den Tag und die Fixirung des Arbeitslohns pro Stunde die Würde eines Schweizer Bürgers verletze, noch konnten sie durch Provokation in Frevelthaten 5 verwickelt werden, die den Baumeistern einen plausiblen Vorwand geliefert hätten, öffentliche Repressivmaßregeln gegen die Vereine durchzusetzen.

Endlich, im Mai 1868 brachte Herr Camperio, der damalige Minister der Justiz und der Polizei, eine Uebereinkunft zu Stande, nach welcher 10 die täglichen Arbeitsstunden auf 9 im Winter und 11 im Sommer beschränkt werden sollten, mit einer Abstufung des Arbeitslohns von 45-50 Cent, die Stunde. Jene Uebereinkunft wurde, im Beisein des Ministers, von den Baumeistern und Arbeitern unterzeichnet. Im Frühling 1869 weigerten sich mehrere Baumeister mehr für die 11 Stunden Arbeit des 15 Sommers zu bezahlen, als sie für 9 Stunden Winterarbeit bezahlt hatten. Es kam abermals zu einem Vergleich, 45 Cent, die Stunde ward für alle Zweige festgesetzt. Obgleich die Gypser und Anstreicher offenbar in diesen Verträgen einbegriffen waren, mußten sie unter vor 1868er Bedingungen fortarbeiten, weil sie nicht hinreichend organisirt waren, die neuen zu 20 erzwingen.

Am 15. Mai d.J. beanspruchten sie den andern Geschäften Vertragsgemäß, gleichgestellt zu werden, und da ihnen das schlechthin abgeschlagen wurde, legten sie die folgende Woche die Arbeit nieder. Am 4. Juni beschlossen die Baumeister „wenn die Gypser und Anstreicher 25 nicht bis zum 9. Juni, ohne Vorbehalt an ihre Arbeit zurückkehren, so werden am 11. Juni sämmtliche Bauarbeiter ausgesperrt.“ Diese Drohung wurde pünktlich ausgeführt. Nicht zufrieden mit der Aussperrung der Arbeiter, verlangten die Baumeister durch öffentliche Plakate von der Bundesregierung die gewaltsame Auflösung der internationalen Union, 30 und die Vertreibung der Fremden aus der Schweiz. Ihr wohlwollender und wahrhaft liberaler Versuch „*die unbeschränkte Freiheit der Arbeit*“ wiederherzustellen, scheiterte an einer Massenversammlung und einem Protest der Eingeborenen, nicht Bauarbeiter.

Die nicht bei der Bauarbeit beteiligten Genfer Gewerkschaften haben 35 einen Ausschuß ernannt, der die Angelegenheiten der Ausgesperrten verwaltet. Verschiedene, die mit den Baumeistern Kontrakte für Neubauten abgeschlossen hatten, hielten ihre Verbindlichkeit durch die Unterbrechung für beendigt und schlugen den Arbeitern vor, auf ihr Risiko fort zu arbeiten. Diese Vorschläge wurden ohne Bedenken angenommen. Die 40 ledigen Leute reisen ab so schnell sie können. Dennoch bleiben gegen 2000 Familien ihrer gewöhnlichen Existenzmittel beraubt. Der General-

George 8. 500 (6) F

Die Aussperrung der Bauarbeiter zu Genf.

Die Generalnach des Internationalen Arbeitsamtes
erachtet die die Bauarbeiter & Arbeiterinnen
von Genf an zu den Meisten Pionieren.

Mitarbeiter!

Die Genfer Gemeindeverwaltung, ungeschickt
ist die Arbeitssuchenden ausgenutzt
durch "die Arbeitsbeschaffung als Arbeit" am
Wand gepinnt ist das Glück des verbliebenen
Lebensunterhalt der bauarbeiter... Die Genfer Behörden bringt
Auszügung für jenen bauarbeiter, den man nicht
einen angestellten Arbeiter nennen kann, nicht:
später klappt die Behörde bei ihm in
Kontakt gebrachte und bringt einen.

Die durch Gewerkschaften zusammengebrachte
und in einem in der Schweiz. Der Hauptort für die
geöffneten Baulandkarten Genfer Gemeindeverwaltung
Talbot mit den genötigen Fortschreibung selbst nicht
angeführte Information zu demzumut. Wenn
zwei Personen aufgefunden sind, die aus Bauarbeiter waren
oder waren Menschen der Revolution, es mit dem
Werkzeugkasten eine sehr schlechte Aussicht ein.
Die Ausbildung der Bauarbeiter & Arbeiterinnen
der Bauarbeiter ist auf dem Pionierstande gewesen
bleiben. Die sagt mir nicht den genötigten Ansatz.

Karl Marx: Die Aussperrung der Bauarbeiter in Genf.
Erste Seite der mit Hilfe von Kohlepapier hergestellten handschriftlichen Kopie

4) Grosser Aufstand führt zu einem Frieden, der
nunmehr das ein Langzeitabkommen ist mit dem
gesamten Vermögen der Stadt Genf und den mit
dem Land verhandelten Prinzipien für die Bevölkerung
abzusichern und zu fördern. Diese Prinzipien sind
dass die Bevölkerung, trotz beständiger Verfolgungen
und Belästigungen des Regimes, nicht auf die Physik gestellt
wird und dass es eine soziale Sicherung und
Sozialhilfe geben muss. Ein solches Dokument
wurde als öffentlich für alle eröffnet. Damit
blieben gegen 2000 Familien ihre gesetzlichen
Rechte und Mittel gesichert. Das Gesetz über die Sozial-
hilfe basiert auf der Arbeit und dem Verdienst.
Die Arbeit ist die einzige Basis der
Sozialhilfe und die Arbeit ist die einzige Basis der
Sozialhilfe.

R. Lüger

2. Februar 1848

~~Original handschriftlich~~

256 11. 4. 1848

van 5. Febr. 1848.

Karl Marx: Die Aussperrung der Bauarbeiter in Genf.
Vierte Seite der mit Hilfe von Kohlepapier hergestellten handschriftlichen Kopie

Die Aussperrung der Bauarbeiter in Genf

rath fordert daher die Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen der zivilisierten Welt auf, den Genfer Bauarbeitern sowohl durch moralische, als materielle Mittel in ihrem Kampf gegen den kapitalistischen Despotismus Beistand zu leisten.

Im Auftrag des Generalraths der internationalen Arbeiterassoziation:

London, den 5. Juli 1870.

B. Lucraft, Vorsitzender.

John Weston, Kassirer.

J. George Eccarius, Generalsekretär.

Hermann Jung, Sekretär für die Schweiz.

256, High Holborn, London, W.C.

Karl Marx
Programmvorschlag des Generalrats für den
fünften Kongreß der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation

Der Volksstaat.
Nr. 65, 13. August 1870

Das vom Generalrath in seiner Sitzung vom 12. Juli beschlossene Programm für den nächsten Kongreß ist folgendes:

- 1) Über die Nothwendigkeit, die Staatsschulden abzuschaffen. Diskussion über Entschädigungsrecht.
- 2) Ueber den Zusammenhang zwischen der politischen Aktion und der sozialen Bewegung der Arbeiterklasse. (Unter dieser Rubrik fällt auch die Diskussion über „direkte Gesetzgebung“, welche der Basler Kongreß auf die Tagesordnung gesetzt hat.)
- 3) Praktische Mittel zur Verwandlung des Grundeigenthums in Gemeineigenthum. (Unter diese Rubrik fällt die Diskussion der vom belgischen Generalkomité vorgeschlagenen Frage: „Praktische Mittel zur Stiftung internationaler Sektionen unter den Landarbeitern und zur Herstellung der Solidarität zwischen dem ländlichen und dem industriellen Proletariat.“)
- 4) Verwandlung der Zettelbanken in Nationalbanken. 15
- 5) Die Bedingungen der genossenschaftlichen Produktion auf nationalem Maßstab.
- 6) Ueber die Pflicht der Arbeiterklassen aller Länder, zur Verfertigung einer allgemeinen Arbeiterstatistik zusammenzuwirken gemäß dem Beschlüsse des Genfer Kongresses von 1866. 20
- 7) Wiederaufnahme der Frage über die Mittel zur Unterdrückung des Kriegs.

London, 16. Juli 1870.

Im Namen des Generalraths der Internationalen Arbeiter-Association:

Karl Marx, Secretair für Deutschland.

25

Karl Marx
The General Council of the International Working
Men's Association on the War

The General Council
of the
International Workingmen's Association
ON THE WAR.

5 To the Members of the International Workingmen's
Association
in Europe and the United States.

In the inaugural Address of the International Workingmen's Association, of November, 1864, we said:— "If the emancipation of the working classes requires their fraternal concurrence, how are they to fulfil that great mission with a foreign policy in pursuit of criminal designs, playing upon national prejudices and squandering in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure?" We defined the foreign policy aimed at by the International in these words:— "Vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the laws paramount of the intercourse of nations."

No wonder that Louis Bonaparte, who usurped his power by exploiting the war of classes in France, and perpetuated it by periodical wars abroad, should from the first have treated the International as a dangerous foe. On the eve of the plebiscite he ordered a raid on the members of the Administrative Committees of the International Workingmen's Association throughout France, at Paris, Lyons, Rouen, Marseilles, Brest, &c, on the pretext that the International was a secret society dabbling in a complot for his assassination, a pretext soon after exposed in its full absurdity by his own judges. What was the real crime of the French



branches of the International? They told the French people publicly and emphatically that voting the plebiscite was voting despotism at home and war abroad. It has been, in fact, their work that in all the great towns, in all the industrial centres of France, the working class rose like one man to reject the plebiscite. Unfortunately, the balance was turned by the 5 heavy ignorance of the rural districts. The Stock Exchanges, the Cabinets, the ruling classes and the press of Europe celebrated the plebiscite as a signal victory of the French Emperor over the French working class; and it was the signal for the assassination, not of an individual, but of nations.

10

The war plot of July, 1870, is but an amended edition of the *coup d'état* of December, 1851. At first view the thing seemed so absurd that France would not believe in its real good earnest. It rather believed the deputy denouncing the ministerial war talk as a mere stock jobbing trick. When, on July 15th, war was at last officially announced to the *Corps Législatif*, 15 the whole opposition refused to vote the preliminary subsidies, even Thiers branded it as "detestable"; all the independent journals of Paris condemned it, and, wonderful to relate, the provincial press joined in almost unanimously.

Meanwhile, the Paris members of the International had again set to 20 work. In the *Réveil* of July 12th, they published their manifesto "to the workmen of all nations," from which we extract the following few passages:—

"Once more," they say, "on the pretext of European equilibrium, of national honour, the peace of the world is menaced by political ambitions. French, German, Spanish workmen! let our voices unite in one cry of reprobation against war! ... War for a question of preponderance or a dynasty, can, in the eyes of workmen, be nothing but a criminal absurdity. In answer to the warlike proclamations of those who exempt themselves from the impost of blood, and find in public misfortunes a source 25 of fresh speculations, we protest, we who want peace, labour, and liberty! ... Brothers in Germany! Our division would only result in the complete triumph of despotism on both sides of the Rhine. ... Workmen of all countries! whatever may for the present become of our common efforts, we, the members of the International Workingmen's Association, 30 who know of no frontiers, we send you as a pledge of indissoluble solidarity the good wishes and the salutations of the workmen of France."

This manifesto of our Paris section was followed by numerous similar French addresses, of which we can here only quote the declaration of Neuilly-sur-Seine, published in the *Marseillaise* of July 22nd:—"The war, 40 is it just?—No! The war, is it national?—No! It is merely dynastic. In the

The General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the War

name of humanity, of democracy, and the true interests of France, we adhere completely and energetically to the protestation of the International against the war."

These protestations expressed the true sentiments of the French working people, as was soon shown by a curious incident. *The Band of the 10th of December*, first organized under the presidency of Louis Bonaparte, having been masqueraded into *blouses* and let loose on the streets of Paris, there to perform the contortions of war fever, the real workmen of the Faubourgs came forward with public peace demonstrations so overwhelming that Pietri, the Prefect of Paris, thought it prudent to at once stop all further street politics, on the plea that the real Paris people had given sufficient vent to their pent up patriotism and exuberant war enthusiasm.

Whatever may be the incidents of Louis Bonaparte's war with Prussia, the death knell of the Second Empire has already sounded at Paris. It will end as it began, by a parody. But let us not forget that it is the Governments and the ruling classes of Europe who enabled Louis Bonaparte to play during eighteen years the ferocious farce of the *Restored Empire*.

On the German side, the war is a war of defence, but who put Germany to the necessity of defending herself? Who enabled Louis Bonaparte to wage war upon her? *Prussia!* It was Bismarck who conspired with that very same Louis Bonaparte for the purpose of crushing popular opposition at home, and annexing Germany to the Hohenzollern dynasty. If the battle of Sadowa had been lost instead of being won, French battalions would have overrun Germany as the allies of Prussia. After her victory did Prussia dream one moment of opposing a free Germany to an enslaved France? Just the contrary. While carefully preserving all the native beauties of her old system, she superadded all the tricks of the Second Empire, its real despotism and its mock democratism, its political shams and its financial jobs, its high-flown talk and its low legerdemains. The Bonapartist regime, which till then only flourished on one side of the Rhine, had now got its counterfeit on the other. From such a state of things, what else could result but *war*?

If the German working class allow the present war to lose its strictly defensive character and to degenerate into a war against the French people, victory or defeat will prove alike disastrous. All the miseries that befell Germany after her war of independence will revive with accumulated intensity.

The principles of the International are, however, too widely spread and too firmly rooted amongst the German working class to apprehend such a sad consummation. The voices of the French workmen have re-echoed

Karl Marx

from Germany. A mass meeting of workmen, held at Brunswick on July 16th, expressed its full concurrence with the Paris manifesto, spurned the idea of national antagonism to France, and wound up its resolutions with these words:— "We are enemies of all wars, but above all of dynastic wars. ... With deep sorrow and grief we are forced to undergo a defensive war as an unavoidable evil; but we call, at the same time, upon the whole German working class to render the recurrence of such an immense social misfortune impossible by vindicating for the peoples themselves the power to decide on peace and war, and making them masters of their own destinies." 5

At Chemnitz, a meeting of delegates, representing 50,000 Saxon workmen, adopted unanimously a resolution to this effect:—"In the name of the German democracy, and especially of the workmen forming the Democratic Socialist party, we declare the present war to be exclusively dynastic. ... We are happy to grasp the fraternal hand stretched out to us by the workmen of France. ... Mindful of the watchword of the International Workingmen's Association: *Proletarians of all countries, unite*, we shall never forget that the workmen of *all* countries are our friends and the despots of *all* countries our *enemies*."

The Berlin branch of the International has also replied to the Paris manifesto:—"We," they say, "join with heart and hand your protestation. ... Solemnly we promise that neither the sound of the trumpet, nor the roar of the cannon, neither victory nor defeat shall divert us from our common work for the union of the children of toil of all countries."

Be it so!

25

In the background of this suicidal strife looms the dark figure of Russia. It is an ominous sign that the signal for the present war should have been given at the moment when the Moscovite Government had just finished its strategic lines of railway and was already massing troops in the direction of the Pruth. Whatever sympathy the Germans may justly claim in a war of defence against Bonapartist aggression, they would forfeit at once by allowing the Prussian government to call for, or accept, the help of the Cossack. Let them remember that, after their war of independence against the first Napoleon, Germany lay for generations prostrate at the feet of the Czar.

35

The English working class stretch the hand of fellowship to the French and German working people. They feel deeply convinced that whatever turn the impending horrid war may take, the alliance of the working classes of all countries will ultimately kill war. The very fact that while official France and Germany are rushing into a fratricidal feud, the workmen of France and Germany send each other messages of peace and

The General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the War

goodwill; this great fact, unparalleled in the history of the past, opens the vista of a brighter future. It proves that in contrast to old society with its economical miseries and its political delirium, a new society is springing up whose International rule will be *Peace*, because its national ruler will be every where the same—*Labour!* The Pioneer of that new society is the International Workingmen's Association.

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Juli 23rd, 1870.

Friedrich Engels
Notes on the War. 1870/71

Friedrich Engels
Notes on the War.—I

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1703, 29. Juli 1870

Notes on the War.—I.

Scarcely a shot has been fired so far, and yet a first stage of the war has passed away, ending in disappointment to the French Emperor. A few observations on the political and military situation will render this evident.

It is now admitted on all hands that Louis Napoleon expected to be able to isolate the North German Confederation from the Southern States, and to take advantage of the disaffection existing in the newly annexed Prussian provinces. A rapid dash upon the Rhine with as large a force as could be collected, a passage of that river somewhere between Germersheim and Mayence, an advance in the direction of Frankfort and Wurzburg, might promise to effect this. The French would find themselves masters of the communications between North and South, and would compel Prussia to bring down to the Main, in hot haste, all available troops, whether ready or not, for a campaign. The whole process of mobilization in Prussia would be disturbed, and all the chances would be in favour of the invaders being able to defeat the Prussians in detail as they arrived from the various parts of the country. Not only political but also military reasons were in favour of such an attempt. The French cadre system admits of a far quicker concentration of say 120,000 to 150,000 men than the Prussian landwehr system. The French peace footing differs from the war footing merely by the number of men on furlough, and by the non-existence of depots, which are formed on the eve of marching out. But the Prussian peace footing includes less than one-third of the men who compose the war footing; and moreover, not only the men, but the officers also of these remaining two-thirds are in time of peace civilians. The mobilization of these immense numbers of men takes time; it is, moreover, a complicated process, which would be

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thrown into complete disorder by the sudden irruption of a hostile army. This is the reason why the war was so much *brusqué* by the Emperor. Unless he intended some such unexpected surprise, the hot language of Gramont, and the precipitate declaration of war would have been absurd.

5

But the sudden, violent outburst of German feeling put an end to any such plan. Louis Napoleon found himself face to face, not with King William "Annexander," but with the German nation. And, in that case, a dash across the Rhine, even with 120,000 to 150,000 men, was not to be thought of. Instead of a surprise, a regular campaign with all available 10 forces had to be undertaken. The guards, the armies of Paris and Lyons, and the corps of the camp at Chalons, which might have sufficed for the first purpose, were now barely sufficient to form the mere nucleus of the great army of invasion. And thus began the second phase of the war — that of preparation for a great campaign; and from that day the chances 15 of ultimate success for the Emperor began to decline.

Let us now compare the forces that are being got ready for mutual destruction; and to simplify matters, we will take the infantry only. The infantry is the arm which decides battles; any trifling balance of strength in cavalry and artillery, including mitrailleurs and other miracle-working 20 engines, will not count for much on either side.

France has 376 battalions of infantry (38 battalions of guards, 20 chasseurs, 300 line, 9 Zouaves, 9 Turcos, &c.) of eight companies each in time of peace. Each of the 300 line battalions, in time of war, leaves two companies behind to form a depot, and marches out with six companies 25 only. In the present instance, four of the six depot companies of each line regiment (of three battalions) are intended to expand into a fourth battalion by being filled up with men on furlough and with reserves. The remaining two companies appear to be intended as a depot, and may hereafter be formed into fifth battalions. But it will be certainly some 30 time, at least six weeks, before these fourth battalions will be so far organized as to be fit for the field; for the present they and the garde mobile can be counted as garrison troops only. Thus, for the first decisive battles, France has nothing available but the above 376 battalions.

Of these, the army of the Rhine, according to all we hear, comprises, in 35 the six army corps No. 1 to 6 and the Guards, 299 battalions. Including the seventh corps (General Montauban), which is supposed to be intended for the Baltic, the figure is given as high as 340 battalions, which would leave but 36 battalions to guard Algiers, the colonies, and the interior of France. From this it appears that France has sent every avail- 40 able battalion against Germany, and cannot increase her force by new

Notes on the War.—I

formations fit for the field before the beginning of September at the very earliest.

Now for the other side. The North German army consists of thirteen army corps, composed of 368 battalions of infantry, or, in round numbers, twenty-eight battalions per corps. Each battalion counts, on the peace footing, about 540, and on the war footing 1,000 men. On the order for the mobilization of the army being received, a few officers are told off in each regiment of three battalions for the formation of the fourth battalion. The reserve men are at once called in. They are men 10 who have served two to three years in the regiment, and remain liable to be called out until they are twenty-seven years of age. There are plenty of them to fill up the three field battalions and furnish a good stock towards the fourth battalion, which is completed by men from the landwehr. Thus the field battalions are ready to march in a few days, and the fourth 15 battalions can follow in four or five weeks afterwards. At the same time, for every line regiment a landwehr regiment of two battalions is formed out of the men between twenty-eight and thirty-six years of age, and as soon as they are ready the formation of the third landwehr battalions is taken in hand. The time required for all this, including the mobilization 20 of cavalry and artillery, is exactly thirteen days; and the first day of mobilization having been fixed for the 16th, everything is or should be ready to-day. At this moment, probably, North Germany has in the field 358 battalions of the line, and in garrison 198 battalions of the landwehr; to be reinforced, certainly not later than the second half of August, by 25 114 fourth battalions of the line and 93 third battalions of the landwehr. In all these troops there will scarcely be a man who has not passed through his regular time of service in the army. To these we must add the troops of Hesse Darmstadt, Baden, Wurtemberg, and Bavaria, 104 battalions of the line in all; but as the landwehr system in these States has 30 not yet had time to fully develop itself, there may be not more than seventy or eighty battalions available for the field.

The landwehr are principally intended for garrison duty, but in the war of 1866 a large portion marched out as a reserve army for the field. This will no doubt be done again.

35 Of the thirteen North German army corps ten are now on the Rhine, forming a total of 280 battalions; then the South Germans, say 70 battalions; grand total, 350 battalions. There remain available on the coast or as a reserve three army corps or 84 battalions. One corps, together with the landwehr, will be ample for the defence of the coast. The two remaining corps may be, for aught we know, on the road to the Rhine too. These troops can be reinforced by the 20th of August by at least 100

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fourth battalions and 40 to 50 landwehr battalions, men superior to the fourth battalions and gardes mobiles of the French, which mostly are composed of almost undrilled men. The fact is, France has not more than about 550,000 drilled men at her disposal, while North Germany alone has 950,000. And this is an advantage for Germany, which will tell more and more the longer decisive fighting is delayed, until it will reach its culminating point towards the end of September.

Under these circumstances, we need not be astonished at the news from Berlin that the German commanders hope to save German soil from the sufferings of war; in other words, that unless they are attacked soon they will attack themselves. How that attack, unless anticipated by Louis Napoleon, will be conducted is another question. Z.

Friedrich Engels
Notes on the War.—II

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1705, 1. August 1870

Notes on the War.—II.

On the morning of Friday, the 29th of July, the forward movement of the French army will have commenced. In which direction? A glance at the map will show it.

- 5 The valley of the Rhine, on the left bank, is closed in to the west by the mountain chain of the Vosges from Belfort to Kaiserslautern. North of this latter town the hills become more undulating, until they gradually merge in the plain near Mayence.

The valley of the Moselle in Rhenish Prussia forms a deep and winding 10 clough, which the river has worked out for itself through a plateau, which rises to the south of the valley into a considerable range called the Hochwald. As this range approaches the Rhine the plateau character becomes more predominant, until the last outlying hills meet the farthest spurs of the Vosges.

- 15 Neither the Vosges nor the Hochwald are absolutely impracticable for an army; both are crossed by several good high-roads, but neither are of that class of ground where armies of from 200,000 to 300,000 men could operate with advantage. The country between the two, however, forms a kind of broad gap, twenty-five to thirty miles in width, undulated 20 ground, traversed by numerous roads in all directions, and offering every facility to the movements of large armies. Moreover, the road from Metz to Mayence goes through this gap, and Mayence is the first important point on which the French will probably move.

Here, then, we have the line of operations prescribed by nature. In case 25 of a German invasion of France, both armies being prepared, the first great encounter must take place in the corner of Lorraine east of the Moselle and north of the railway from Nancy to Strasburg; so, with a French army advancing from the positions where it concentrated last

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week, the first important action will take place somewhere in this gap, or beyond it, under the walls of Mayence.

The French army was thus concentrated:—Three corps (the 3rd, 4th, and 5th) in a first line at Thionville, St. Avoid, and Bitche; two corps (the 1st and 2nd) in second line at Strasburg and Metz; and as a reserve, the 5 Guards at Nancy and the 6th corps at Chalons. During the last few days the second line was brought forward into the intervals of the first, the Guard was moved to Metz, Strasburg was abandoned to the mobile guard. Thus the whole body of the French forces was concentrated between Thionville and Bitche, that is, facing the entrance of the gap between the mountains. The natural conclusion from these premisses is that they intend marching into it.

Thus, the invasion will have commenced by occupying the passages of the Saar and the Blies; the next day's proceedings will probably be to occupy the line from Tholey to Homburg; then the line from Birkenfeld 15 to Landstuhl or Oberstein to Kaiserslautern, and so forth—that is to say, unless they are interrupted by an advance of the Germans. There will be, no doubt, flanking corps of both parties in the hills, and they, too, will come to blows; but for the real battle we must look to the ground just described.

20

Of the positions of the Germans we know nothing. We suppose, however, that their ground of concentration, if they intend to meet the enemy on the left bank of the Rhine, will be immediately in front of Mayence, that is, at the other end of the gap. If not, they will remain on the right bank, from Bingen to Mannheim, concentrating either above or below 25 Mayence as circumstances may require. As to Mayence, which in its old shape was open to bombardment by rifled artillery, the erection of a new line of detached forts, 4,000 to 5,000 yards from the ramparts of the town, seems to have made it pretty secure.

Everything points to the supposition that the Germans will be ready 30 and willing to advance not more than two or three days later than the French. In that case it will be a battle like Solferino—two armies deployed on their full front, marching to meet each other.

Much learned and over-skilful manoeuvring is not to be expected. With armies of such magnitude there is trouble enough to make them move 35 simply to the front according to the preconcerted plan. Whichever side attempts dangerous manœuvres may find itself crushed by the plain forward movement of the masses of the enemy long before these manœuvres can be developed.

Z.

Notes on the War.—II

A military work on the Rhine fortresses, by Herr von Widdern, is much talked of just now at Berlin. The author says that the Rhine from Bale to the Murg is not fortified at all, and that the only defence of South Germany and Austria against a French attack in that direction is the strong
5 fortress of Ulm, occupied since 1866 by a mixed force of Bavarians and Wurtembergers, amounting to 10,000 men. This force could in case of war be augmented to 25,000 men, and 25,000 more could be stationed in an entrenched camp within the walls of the fortress. Rastadt, which, it is expected, will present a formidable obstacle to the French advance, lies in
10 a valley through which runs the river Murg. The defences of the town consist of three large forts, which command the surrounding country, and are united by walls. The southern and western forts, called "Leopold" and "Frederick," are on the left bank of the Murg; the northern fort, called "Louis," on the right bank, where there is also an entrenched camp
15 capable of holding 25,000 men. Rastadt is four miles from the Rhine, and the intervening country is covered with woods, so that the fortress could not prevent an army from crossing at that point. The next fortress is Landau, which formerly consisted of three forts—one to the south, one to the east, and one to the north-west, separated from the town by mars-
20 hes on the banks of the little river Queich. The southern and eastern forts have been recently abandoned, and the only one kept in a state of defence is now the north-western. The most important and the best situated fortress in this district is Germersheim, on the banks of the Rhine. It commands a considerable stretch of the river on both sides, and practi-
25 cally closes it to an enemy as far as Mayence and Coblenz. It would greatly facilitate the advance of troops into the Rhine Palatinate, as two or three bridges might be thrown across the river, besides the floating bridge which already exists there, under cover of its guns. It would also form a basis of operations for the left wing of an army posted on the line
30 of the River Queich. Mayence, one of the most important of the Rhine fortresses, is commanded by some of the adjoining hills; this has rendered it necessary to multiply the fortifications in the town, and there is, in consequence, hardly room enough for a large garrison. The whole of the country between Mayence and Bingen is now strongly fortified, and be-
35 tween it and the mouth of the Main (on the opposite bank of the Rhine) there are three large entrenched camps. As to Coblenz, Herr von Wid-
dern says that it would require a force six times as large as the garrison to besiege it with any prospect of success. An enemy would probably begin the attack by opening fire on Fort Alexander from the hill known as the
40 Kuhkopf, where his troops would be sheltered by the woods. The author also describes the fortifications of Cologne and Wesel, but adds nothing to what is already known on the subject.

Friedrich Engels
Notes on the War.—III

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1706, 2. August 1870

Notes on the War.—III.

At last the plan of campaign of the Prussians begins to emerge from the dark. It will be recollect that, although immense transports of troops have taken place on the right bank of the Rhine, from the east towards the west and south-west, very little was heard of concentrations in the immediate vicinity of the menaced frontier. The fortresses received strong reinforcements from the nearest troops. At Saarbrücken, 500 men of the 40th Infantry and three squadrons of the 7th Lancers (both 8th corps) skirmished with the enemy; Bavarian chasseurs and Baden dragoons continued the line of outposts to the Rhine. But no large masses of troops appear to have been placed immediately in rear of this curtain formed by a few light troops. Artillery had never been mentioned in any of the skirmishes. Treves was quite empty of troops. On the other hand, we heard of large masses on the Belgian frontier; of 30,000 cavalry about Cologne (where the whole country on the left bank of the Rhine, to near Aix-la-Chapelle, abounds in forage); of 70,000 men before Mayence. All this seemed strange; it looked like an almost culpable distribution of troops, contrasted with the close concentration of the French within a couple of hours' march of the frontier. All at once, a few indications drop in from different quarters which seem to dispel the mystery. 20

The correspondent of the *Temps*, who had ventured as far as Treves, witnessed on the 25th and 26th the passage of a large body of troops of all arms through that city towards the line of the Saar. The weak garrison of Saarbrücken was considerably reinforced about the same time, probably from Coblenz, the headquarters of the 8th corps. The troops passing through Treves must have belonged to some other corps, coming from the north across the Eifel. Finally, from a private source we learn that the 7th army corps on the 27th was on its march from Aix-la-Chapelle, by Treves, to the frontier. 25

Notes on the War.—III

Here, then, we have at least three army corps, or about 100,000 men, thrown on the line of the Saar. Two of these are the 7th and 8th, both forming part of the Army of the North under General Steinmetz (7th, 8th, 9th and 10th corps). We may pretty safely assume that the whole of this 5 army is by this time concentrated between Saarburg and Saarbrücken. If the 30,000 cavalry (more or less) were really in the neighbourhood of Cologne, they too must have marched across the Eifel and the Moselle towards the Saar. The whole of these dispositions would indicate that the main attack of the Germans will be made with their right wing, through 10 the space between Metz and Saarlouis, towards the upper Nied valley. If the reserve cavalry *has* gone that way, this becomes a certainty.

This plan presupposes the concentration of the whole German army between the Vosges and the Moselle. The Army of the Centre (Prince Frederick Charles, with the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 12th corps) would have to take 15 up a position either adjoining the left flank of Steinmetz or behind him as a reserve. The Army of the South (the Crown Prince, with the 5th Corps, the Guards, and the South Germans) would form the left wing, somewhere about Zweibrücken. As to where all these troops are, and how they are to be transported to their positions, we know nothing. We only 20 know that the 3rd army corps began passing through Cologne southwards by the railway on the *left* bank of the Rhine. But we may assume that the same hand which traced the dispositions by which from 100,000 to 150,000 men were rapidly concentrated on the Saar from distant and apparently divergent points, will also have traced similar converging lines 25 of march for the rest of the army.

This is, indeed, a bold plan, and is likely to prove as effective as any that could be devised. It is intended for a battle in which the German left, from Zweibrücken to near Saarlouis, maintain a purely defensive fight; while their right, advancing from Saarlouis and west of it, supported by 30 the full reserves, attack the enemy in force and cut his communications with Metz by a flank movement of the whole of the reserve cavalry. If this plan succeeds, and the first great battle is won by the Germans, the French army risks not only being cut off from its nearest base—Metz and the Moselle—but also being driven to a position where the Germans will 35 be between it and Paris.

The Germans, having their communication with Coblenz and Cologne perfectly safe, can afford to risk a defeat in this position; such a defeat would not be nearly so disastrous in its consequences to them. Still it is a daring plan. It would be extremely difficult to get a defeated army, especially 40 daily the right wing, safe across the defiles of the Moselle and its tributaries. Many prisoners and a great portion of the artillery would un-

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doubtedly be lost, and the reforming of the army under shelter of the Rhine fortresses would take a long time. It would be folly to adopt such a plan unless General Moltke were perfectly certain to have such overwhelming strength at his command that victory was almost undoubted, and, moreover, unless he knew that the French were not in a position to fall upon his troops while still converging from all sides to the position selected for the First battle. Whether this is really the case we shall probably know very soon—perhaps to-morrow, even. 5

In the meantime it is well to remember that these strategic plans can never be relied upon for the full effect of what is expected from them. 10 There always occurs a hitch here and a hitch there; corps do not arrive at the exact moment when they are wanted; the enemy makes unexpected moves, or has taken unexpected precautions; and finally, hard, stubborn fighting, or the good sense of a general, often extricates the defeated army from the worst consequences a defeat can have—the loss of communications with its base. 15 Z.

Friedrich Engels
Notes on the War.—IV

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1710, 6. August 1870

Notes on the War.—IV.

On the 28th of July the Emperor reached Metz, and from the following morning he assumed the command of the Army of the Rhine. According to Napoleonic traditions, that date ought to have marked the beginning 5 of active operations; but a week has passed, and we have not yet heard that the Army of the Rhine, as a body, has moved. On the 30th the small Prussian force at Saarbrücken was enabled to repel a French reconnaissance. On the 2nd of August the second division (General Bataille) of the 10 2nd Army Corps (General Frossard) took the heights south of Saarbrücken and shelled the enemy out of the town, but without attempting to pass the river and to storm the heights which on its northern bank command the town. Thus the line of the Saar had not been forced by this attack. Since then no further news of a French advance has been received, and so far the advantage gained by the affair of the 2nd is almost 15 *nil*.

Now it can scarcely be doubted that when the Emperor left Paris for Metz his intention was to advance across the frontier at once. Had he done so he would have been able to disturb the enemy's arrangements very materially. On the 29th and 30th of July the German armies were still 20 very far from being concentrated. The South Germans were still converging by rail and march towards the bridges of the Rhine. The Prussian reserve cavalry was passing in endless files through Coblenz and Ehrenbreitstein, marching southwards. The 7th Corps was between Aix-la-Chapelle and Treves, far away from all railways. The 10th Corps was 25 leaving Hanover, and the Guards were leaving Berlin by rail. A resolute advance at that time could scarcely have failed to bring the French up to the outlying forts of Mayence, and to ensure them considerable advantages over the retiring columns of the Germans; perhaps even it might

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have enabled them to throw a bridge over the Rhine, and protect it by a bridgehead on the right bank. At all events, the war would have been carried into the enemy's country, and the moral effect upon the French troops must have been excellent.

Why, then, has no such forward movement taken place? For this good 5 reason, that, if the French soldiers were ready, their commissariat was not. We need not go by any of the rumours coming from the German side; we have the evidence of Captain Jeannerod, an old French officer, now correspondent of the *Temps* with the army. He distinctly states that the distribution of provisions for a campaign began on the 1st of August 10 only; that the troops were short of field flasks, cooking tins, and other camping utensils; that the meat was putrid and the bread often musty. It will be said, we fear, that so far the army of the Second Empire has been beaten by the Second Empire itself. Under a *régime* which has to yield bounties to its supporters by all the old regular established means of 15 jobbery, it cannot be expected that the system will stop at the intendance of the army. This war, according to M. Rouher's confession, was prepared long ago; the laying in of stores, especially equipments, was evidently one of the least conspicuous parts of the preparation; and yet at this very point such irregularities occur as to cause nearly a week's delay 20 at the most critical period of the campaign.

Now, this week's delay made all the difference to the Germans. It gave them time to bring their troops to the front and to mass them in the positions selected for them. Our readers are aware that we suppose the whole of the German forces to be by this time concentrated on the left 25 bank of the Rhine, more or less facing the French army. All public and private reports received since Tuesday, when we supplied the *Times* with all the opinion it ever had on the subject, and which this morning it swears is its own, tend to confirm this view. The three armies of Steinmetz, Prince Frederick Charles, and the Crown Prince represent a grand 30 total of thirteen army corps, or at least 430,000 to 450,000 men. The total forces opposed to them cannot much exceed, at a very liberal estimate, 330,000 to 350,000 drilled soldiers. If they are stronger, the excess must consist of undrilled and recently formed battalions. But the German forces are far from representing the total strength of Germany. Of field 35 troops alone there are three army corps (the 1st, 6th, and 11th) not included in the above estimate. Where they may be we do not know. We know that they have left their garrisons, and we have traced regiments of the 11th Corps to the left bank of the Rhine and the Bavarian Palatinate. We also know for certain that there are now in Hanover, Bremen, and neighbour- 40 hood no troops but landwehr. This would lead to the conclusion that the

greater part at least of these three corps had also been forwarded to the front, and in that case the numerical superiority of the Germans would be increased by from some forty to sixty thousand men. We should not be surprised if even a couple of landwehr divisions had been sent to take the field on the Saar; there are 210,000 men of the landwehr now quite ready, and 180,000 men in the fourth battalions, &c, of the line nearly ready, and some of these might be spared for the first decisive blow. Let no one suppose that these men exist, to any extent, on paper only. The mobilization of 1866 is there to prove that the thing has been done, and the present mobilization has again proved that there are more drilled men ready to march out than are wanted. The numbers look incredible; but even they do not exhaust the military strength of Germany.

Thus, at the end of the present week, the Emperor finds himself face to face with a numerically superior force. And if he was willing but unable to move forward last week, he may be both unable and unwilling to advance now. That he is not unaware of the strength of his opponents is hinted at by the report from Paris that 250,000 Prussians are massed between Saarlouis and Neuenkirchen. What there is between Neuenkirchen and Kaiserslautern the Parisian telleth not. It is therefore possible that the inactivity of the French army up to Thursday has been partly caused by a change in the plan of campaign; that instead of attacking, the French intend to remain on the defensive, and to take advantage of the greatly increased strength which breech-loaders and rifled artillery give to an army awaiting an attack in an entrenched position. But if this be resolved upon, it will be a very disappointing commencement of the campaign for the French. To sacrifice half Lorraine and Alsace without a pitched battle—and we doubt that any good position for such a large army can be found nearer the frontier than about Metz—is a serious undertaking for the Emperor.

Against such a move of the French the Germans would develop the plan explained before. They would attempt to entangle their opponents into a great battle before Metz could be reached; they would push forward between Saarlouis and Metz. They would try in all cases to outflank the French entrenched position, and to interrupt its communications towards the rear.

An army of 300,000 men requires a great deal of feeding, and could not afford to have its lines of supply interrupted even for a few days. Thus it might be forced to come out and fight in the open, and then the advantage of position would be lost. Whatever may be done, we may be certain that something must be done soon. Three-quarters of a million of men cannot long remain concentrated on a space of fifty miles square.

Friedrich Engels

The impossibility of feeding such bodies of men will compel either one side or the other to move.

To conclude. We repeat that we start from the supposition that both French and Germans have brought up every available man to the front to take part in the first great battle. In that case, our opinion still is that 5 the Germans will have a numerical superiority sufficient to ensure them the victory—barring great mistakes on their part. We are confirmed in this supposition by all reports, public and private. But it is manifest that all this does not amount to absolute certainty. We have to infer from indications which may be deceptive. We do not know what dispositions 10 may be taken even while we are writing; and it is impossible to forecast what blunders or what strokes of genius may be displayed by the commanders on either side.

Our last observations to-day shall be upon the storming of the lines of Wissembourg in Alsace by the Germans. The troops engaged on their 15 side belonged to the Prussian 5th and 11th, and Bavarian 2nd corps. We have thus direct confirmation not only of the 11th corps but of all the main forces of the Crown Prince being in the Palatinate. The regiment mentioned in the report as "the King's Grenadier Guards" is the 7th or 2nd West Prussian regiment of grenadiers, which, as well as the 50th regi- 20 ment, belongs to the 5th corps. The Prussian system is always to engage the whole of an army corps before troops from another corps are brought up. Now, here, troops from three corps, Prussians and Bavarians, are employed for a piece of work which one corps, at most, could have performed. This looks as if the presence of three corps menacing 25 Alsace was to be impressed upon the French. Moreover, an attack up the valley of the Rhine would be stopped by Strasburg, and a flank march through the Vosges would find the passes blocked by Bitche, Phalsbourg, Petite Pierre, little fortresses sufficient to stop the high roads. We expect that while three or four brigades of the three German corps attacked 30 Wissembourg, the mass of these corps would be marching by Landau and Pirmasens to Zweibrücken, while, if the first were successful, a couple of MacMahon's divisions would be marching in the opposite direction towards the Rhine. There they would be perfectly harmless, as any invasion of the Palatinate, in the plain, would be arrested by Landau and 35 Germersheim.

This affair at Wissembourg was evidently conducted with such a superiority of numbers as made success almost certain. Its moral effect, as the first serious engagement of the war, must necessarily be great, especially as the storming of an entrenched position is always considered a 40 difficult matter. That the Germans should have driven the French out of

Notes on the War.—IV

entrenched lines, at the point of the bayonet, in spite of rifled artillery, mitrailleurs, and Chassepôts, will tell on both armies. It is undoubtedly the first instance where the bayonet has been successful against the breech-loader, and on this account the action will remain memorable.

5 For this very reason it will derange Napoleon's plans. This is a piece of news which cannot be given to the French army even in a highly diluted form, unless accompanied by reports of success in other quarters. And it cannot be kept secret for more than twelve hours at most. We may expect, therefore, the Emperor will set his columns in motion to look out
10 for this success, and it will be wonderful if we do not soon have some account of French victories. But at the same time, probably, the Germans will move, and we shall have the heads of the opposite columns coming into contact at more places than one. To-day, or at latest tomorrow, ought to bring on the first general engagement.

Friedrich Engels
The Prussian victories

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1711, 8. August 1870

The Prussian victories.

The rapid action of the German Third Army throws more and more light upon Moltke's plans. The concentration of this army in the Palatinate must have taken place by the bridges of Mannheim and Germersheim, and perhaps by intermediate military pontoon bridges. Before entering 5 upon the roads across the Hardt from Landau and Neustadt westwards, the troops massed in the Rhine valley were available for an attack on the French right wing. Such an attack, with the superior forces in hand, and with Landau close to the rear, was perfectly safe, and might lead to great results. If it succeeded in drawing a considerable body of French troops 10 away from their main body into the Rhine valley, in defeating it and driving it up the valley towards Strasbourg, these forces would be out of the way for the general battle, while the German Third Army would still be in a position to take part in it, being so much nearer to the main body of the French. At any rate, an attack upon the French right would mis- 15 lead them if the chief German attack, as we still believe, in spite of the contrary opinion of a host of military and unmilitary quidnuncs, were intended to be made on the French left.

The sudden and successful attack upon Wissembourg shows that the Germans possessed information as to the positions of the French which 20 encouraged such a manœuvre. The French, in their haste for a *revanche*, ran headlong into the trap. Marshal MacMahon immediately concentrated his corps towards Wissembourg, and to complete this manœuvre he is reported to have required two days. But the Crown Prince was not likely to give him that time. He followed up his advantage at once, and atta- 25 eked him on Saturday near Woerth on the Sauer about fifteen miles south-west of Wissembourg. MacMahon's position is described by himself as a strong one. Nevertheless, by five o'clock in the afternoon he was

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XII.

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The Prussian victories.

The rapid action of the German Third Army throws more and more light upon MacMahon's plans. The concentration of this army in the Lauter district has been effected by the bridges of Landau and Grünsheim, and perhaps by intermediate military pontoon bridges. Before entering upon the roads across the Harz from Landau and Neustadt westwards, the troops massed in the Rhine valley were available for an attack on the French right wing. Such an attack with the superior forces in hand, and with Landau close to the rear, was perfectly safe, and might lead to great results. If it succeeded in drawing a considerable body of French troops away from their main body into the Rhine valley, in defeating it and driving it up the valley towards Strasbourg, it would cut off the road for the general battle, while the German Third Army would still be in a position to take part in it, being so much nearer to the main body of the French. At any rate, an attack upon the French right would mislead them if the chief German attack, as we still believe, in spite of the contrary opinion of a host of military and unmilitary quondam, were intended to be made on the French left.

The sudden and successful attack upon Wissembourg shows that the Germans possessed information as to the positions of the French which gave them such a manoeuvre. The French, in their haste to withdraw, fell into the trap. Marshal MACMAHON retreated with his corps towards Wissembourg, and immediately he was ordered to turn and repel two Prussian brigades. He was not likely to give him that time's advantage at once, and attacked him on the Saar, about fifteen miles south-west of Wissembourg. MACMAHON's position is described by himself

"...in the afternoon he reached the little town of Wissembourg, where he would have saved him from the attack of the Prussians, and maintained his connection with the mass of the army. It is later known, however, it appears that he has really reached that his headquarters are now at Saverne."

The corps sent to resist this German advance consisted of seven divisions of infantry, of whom we suppose at least five to have been engaged. It is possible that the whole of them may have come up successively during the fight, but were no more able to restore the balance than the successive Austrian brigades as they appeared on the battle-field of Magenta. At any rate, we may safely assume that from one-fifth to one-fourth of the total strength of the French army was defeated. The troops on the other side were, probably, the same whose advanced guard had won Wissembourg, the second Baden, the fifth and eleventh North German corps. Of these, the fifth consist of two Posen, five Silesian, and one Westphalian regiment, the eleventh of the Pomeranian, four Hesse-Cassel and Nassau, and three Thuringian regiments, so that troops of the most varied parts of Germany were engaged.

What surprises us most in these passages of arms is the strategical and tactical part played by each army. It is the very reverse of what, from tradition, might have been expected. The Germans advanced, and the French receded. The Germans act rapidly and in large masses, and they handle them well; the French own to having their troops, after a fortnight's contention, in such a dispersed state that they require two days to bring together two army corps. Consequently they are beaten in detail. They might be Austrians, to judge from the way they move their troops. How is this to be accounted for? Simply by the necessities of the Second Empire. The sting of Wissembourg was enough to arouse all Paris, and no doubt to distract the equanimity of the army too. A *reconvoi* must be sent. MACMAHON is sent at once with two corps to effect it; the movement is probably false, but a retreat must be made, and it is made with what effect we have seen. If Marshal MACMAHON cannot be strengthened so as to face the Crown Prince again, the latter, by a march of some fifteen miles to the southward, may seize the rail from Strasbourg to Nancy and push on to Nancy, turning by this move any line the French could hope to hold in advance of Metz. It is the dread of this, no doubt, that leads the French to abandon the Sarre district. Or, leaving the pursuit of MACMAHON to his advanced guard, he may file off to his right by the hills at once towards

Perthes and Zweibrücken, to effect a formal junction with the left of Prince FREDERICK CHARLES, who has all the while been somewhere between Mayence and Saarbrück, while the French persisted in sending him to Trèves. How the defeat of General FROSSARD's corps at Forbach, followed, as it seems, by the advance of the Prussians at St. Avoil yesterday, will affect his course we cannot determine.

If the Second Empire absolutely required a victory after Wissembourg, it now requires one, in a much higher degree, after Wörth and Forbach. If Wissembourg was enough to disarrange all previous plans with regard to the right wing, the battles of Saturday necessarily upset all arrangements made for the whole army. The French army has lost all initiative. Its movements are dictated less by military considerations than by political necessities. Here are 300,000 men almost within sight of the enemy. If their movements are to be ruled not by what is done in the enemy's camp, but by what happens to themselves, then they are half beaten already. Nobody, of course, can foretell with certainty the result of the general battle which is now impending if not going on; but this much we may say, that another week of such strategy as NAPOLEON III. has shown since Thursday is alone sufficient to destroy the best and largest army in the world.

The impression gained from the Prussian accounts of these battles will only be deepened by the telegrams from the Emperor NAPOLEON. At midnight on Saturday he sent off the bare facts:—"Marshal MACMAHON has lost a battle." General FROSSARD has been "unable to fall back." The hour after came the news that his communications with Marshal MACMAHON were interrupted. At six on Sunday morning the serious meaning of General FROSSARD's defeat was virtually acknowledged by the confession that it was sustained as far west of Saarbrück as Forbach, and the impossibility of immediately arresting the Prussian advance was further conceded in the announcement "the troops, which had found themselves divided, are concentrated on Metz." The next telegram is hard to interpret. "The retreat will be effected in good order." What retreat? Not Marshal MACMAHON's, for the communications with him were still interrupted. Not General FROSSARD's, for the Emperor goes on to say "There is no news from General FROSSARD." And if at 8.22 A.M. the Emperor could only speak in the future tense of a retreat to be effected by troops of whose position he knew nothing, what value must be assigned to the telegram of eight hours' earlier, in which he says, in the present tense, "the retreat is being effected in good order." All these later messages prolong the note struck in the "Tout peut se rétablir" of the first. The victories of the Prussians were too serious to allow of a resort to the tactics which the Emperor would naturally have adopted. He could not venture to make a direct frontal attack, and so had to effect the effect of it by a contemporaneous account of a later battle with a different result. It was impossible to spare the pride of the French people by disengaging from them that two of their armies had been worsted, and therefore the only resource left was to throw himself on the passionate desire to retrieve their losses which the news of similar disasters has before now generated in French hearts. Private telegrams, no doubt sketched out for the Empress and the Ministers, the line their final utterances were to take, or more probably the actual text of their respective proclamations, were suppressed, and sent from Metz. From both these sources either that the Emperor may be the temper of the French people every one in authority, from the Emperor downward, is deeply dispirited, than which of itself nothing could be more significant. Paris has been declared in a state of siege—*an indisputable indication of what may follow upon another Prussian victory*, and the Ministerial proclamation ends. "Let us fight with vigour, and the country will be saved." Saved, Frenchmen may perhaps ask themselves, from what? From an invasion unopposed by the Prussians in order to avert a French invasion of Germany?—the Prussians have been defeated, and a similar exhortation had come from Berlin, its meaning would have been clear, since every fresh victory of French arms would have meant a fresh annexation of German territory to France. But if the Prussian Government were well advised a French defeat will only mean that the attempt to prevent Prussia from pursuing her German policy undisturbed has failed, and we can hardly believe that the levy *en masse*, upon which the French Ministers are said to be deliberating, will be available for the renewal of an offensive war.

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The Prussian victories

driven out of it, and was supposed by the Crown Prince to be in full retreat upon Bitche. By this means he would have saved himself from being driven excentrically upon Strasburg, and maintained his communications with the mass of the army. By later French telegrams, however, it
5 appears that he has really retreated towards Nancy, and that his headquarters are now at Saverne.

The two French corps sent to resist this German advance consisted of seven divisions of infantry, of whom we suppose at least five to have been engaged. It is possible that the whole of them may have come up success-
10 sively during the fight, but were no more able to restore the balance than the successive Austrian brigades as they appeared on the battle-field of Magenta. At any rate, we may safely assume that from one-fifth to one-fourth of the total strength of the French was here defeated. The troops on the other side were probably the same whose advanced guard had
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The impression gained from the Prussian accounts of these battles will 20 only be deepened by the telegrams from the Emperor Napoleon. At midnight on Saturday he sent off the bare facts:— "Marshal MacMahon has lost a battle. General Frossard has been compelled to fall back." Three hours later came the news that his communications with Marshal MacMahon were interrupted. At six on Sunday morning the serious meaning 25 of General Frossard's defeat was virtually acknowledged by the confession that it was sustained as far west of Saarbrücken as Forbach, and the impossibility of immediately arresting the Prussian advance was further conceded in the announcement "the troops, which had found themselves divided, are concentrated on Metz." The next telegram is hard to inter- 30 prét. "The retreat will be effected in good order"? What retreat? Not Marshal MacMahon's, for the communications with him were still interrupted. Not General Frossard's, for the Emperor goes on to say, "There is no news from General Frossard." And if at 8.25 A.M. the Emperor could only speak in the future tense of a retreat to be effected by troops 35 of whose position he knew nothing, what value must be assigned to the telegram of eight hours' earlier, in which he says, in the present tense, "the retreat is being effected in good order." All these later messages prolong the note struck in the "Tout peut se rétablir" of the first. The victories of the Prussians were too serious to allow of a resort to the 40 tactics which the Emperor would naturally have adopted. He could not

The Prussian victories

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Friedrich Engels
Notes on the War.—V

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1712, 9. August 1870

Notes on the War.—V.

Saturday, the 6th of August, was the critical day for the first phase of the campaign. The first despatches from the German side, by their extreme modesty, rather hid than exposed the importance of the results gained on that day. It is only through the later and fuller accounts, and by some 5 rather awkward admissions in the French reports, that we are enabled to judge of the total change in the military situation accomplished on Saturday.

While MacMahon was defeated on the eastern slope of the Vosges, Frossard's three divisions, and at least one regiment of Bazaine's corps, 10 the 69th, in all forty-two battalions, were driven from the heights south of Saarbrücken and on beyond Forbach, by Kameke's division of the 7th (Westphalian), and the two divisions of Barnekow and Stülpnagel, of the 8th (Rhenish) Corps, in all thirty-seven battalions. As the German battalions are stronger, the numbers engaged appear to have been pretty equal, 15 but the French had the advantage of position. There were to the left of Frossard the seven infantry divisions of Bazaine and Ladmirault, and to his rear the two divisions of the Guards. With the exception of one regiment, as above stated, not a man of all these came up to support the unlucky Frossard. He had to fall back after a smart defeat, and is now in 20 full retreat upon Metz; and so are Bazaine, Ladmirault, and the Guards. The Germans are in pursuit and were on Sunday in St. Avoid, with all Lorraine open to them as far as Metz.

MacMahon, De Failly, and Canrobert, in the meantime, are retreating, not upon Bitche, as was at first stated, but upon Nancy, and Mac- 25 Mahon's head-quarters were on Sunday at Saverne. These three corps, therefore, are not only defeated, but also driven back in a direction divergent from the line of retreat of the rest of the army. The strategical

advantage aimed at in the attack of the Crown Prince, and explained by us yesterday, appears thus to have been attained, at least partially. While the Emperor retires due west, MacMahon goes much more towards the south, and will scarcely have reached Luneville at the time the other four 5 corps will be massed under the shelter of Metz. But from Sarreguemines to Luneville is only a few miles farther than from Saverne to Luneville. And it is not to be expected that, while Steinmetz follows up the Emperor and the Crown Prince tries to hold fast MacMahon in the defiles of the Vosges, Prince Frederick Charles, who was on Sunday at Bliescastel, with 10 his advanced guard somewhere near Sarreguemines, should look on quietly. The whole of Northern Lorraine is a splendid cavalry country, and Luneville in time of peace was always the head-quarters of a large portion of the French cavalry quartered in that neighbourhood. With the great superiority, both as to quantity and quality, in cavalry on the side 15 of the Germans, it is difficult to suppose that they will not at once launch large masses of that arm towards Luneville, intending to intercept the communications between MacMahon and the Emperor, destroy the railway bridges on the Strasburg-Nancy line, and, if possible, the bridges of the Meurthe. It is even possible that they may succeed in interposing a 20 body of infantry between the two separated bodies of the French army, compel MacMahon to retreat still farther south, and to take a still more circuitous route to restore his connection with the rest of the army. That something of that sort has already been done seems clear from the Emperor's admission that on Saturday his communications with MacMahon 25 were interrupted; and the fear of more serious consequences is ominously expressed in the report of a removal of the French head-quarters to Chalons being contemplated.

Four of the eight corps of the French army have thus been more or less completely defeated, and always in detail, while of one of them, the 30 seventh (Félix Douay), the whereabouts is quite unknown. The strategy which rendered possible such blunders is worthy of the Austrians in their most helpless times. It is not Napoleon, it is Beaulieu, Mack, Gyulai, and the like of them, we are reminded of. Imagine Frossard having to fight at Forbach all day, while to his left, and not more than ten miles or so from 35 the line of the Saar, seven divisions were looking on! This would be unaccountable, unless we suppose that there were facing them German forces sufficient to prevent them from either supporting Frossard or assisting him by an independent attack. And this, the only possible exculpation, is admissible only if, as we have always said, the decisive attack of 40 the Germans was intended to be made by their extreme right. The hasty retreat upon Metz again confirms this view; it looks uncommonly like a

timely attempt to withdraw from a position where the communications with Metz were already threatened. What German troops there may have been facing, and perhaps outflanking, Ladmirault and Bazaine, we do not know; but we must not forget that of Steinmetz's seven or more divisions only three have been engaged.

5

In the meantime another North German corps has turned up—the Sixth or Upper Silesian. It passed through Cologne last Thursday, and will now be either with Steinmetz or Frederick Charles, whom the Times persists in placing on the extreme right, at Treves, in the same number which contains the telegram that he has moved from Homburg to Blies-
10 castel. The superiority of the Germans, both as to numbers, morale, and strategical position, must now be such that, for a time, they may with impunity do almost anything they like. If the Emperor intends to keep his four army corps in the entrenched camp at Metz—and he has but the choice between that and an uninterrupted retreat upon Paris—that need
15 not stop the advance of the Germans any more than the attempt of Benedek, in 1866, to reassemble his army under shelter of Olmütz arrested the Prussian advance upon Vienna. Benedek! What a comparison for the conqueror of Magenta and Solferino! And yet it is more to the point than any other. Like Benedek, the Emperor had his troops massed in a
20 position from which he could move in any direction, and that a full fortnight before the enemy was concentrated. Like Benedek, Louis Napoleon managed to have corps after corps beaten in detail by superior numbers or superior generalship. But here, we are afraid, the likeness ceases. Benedek had, after a week of daily defeats, strength enough left
25 him for the supreme effort of Sadowa. To all appearances Napoleon has his troops separated, almost hopelessly, after two days' engagements, and cannot even afford to try a general action.

There will now, we suppose, be an end to the intended expedition of troops to the Baltic, if that was ever more than a feint. Every battalion
30 will be wanted on the eastern frontier. Out of the 376 battalions of the French army, 300 were in the six corps of the line and one of guards which we know stood between Metz and Strasburg. The seventh corps of the line (Douay) might have been sent either to the Baltic or to join the main army, which accounts for forty more. The rest, thirty-six battalions,
35 can hardly have been sufficient for Algeria and various other duties in the interior. What resources has the Emperor to draw upon for reinforcements? The 100 fourth battalions now in formation and the Garde Mobile. But both of these consist, the first mostly, the second altogether, of raw recruits. By what time the fourth battalions may be ready to march
40 we do not know; they will have to march whether ready or not. What the

Notes on the War.—V

Garde Mobile is at present we saw last week in the camp of Chalons. Both are good material for soldiers, no doubt, but not soldiers yet; not yet troops to withstand the shock of men who are becoming used to the taking of mitrailleurs. On the other hand, in about ten days, the Germans 5 will have 190,000 to 200,000 of the fourth battalions, &c, to draw upon — the flower of their army, besides at least an equal number of landwehr, all fit for duty in the field.

Friedrich Engels
Notes on the War. — VI

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1714, 11. August 1870

Notes on the War. — VI.

There is no doubt now that scarcely ever was there a war undertaken with such an utter disregard of the ordinary rules of prudence as the Napoleonic "military promenade to Berlin". A war for the Rhine was Napoleon's last and most telling card; but at the same time its failure 5 implied the downfall of the Second Empire. This was well understood in Germany. The constant expectation of a French war was one of the chief considerations which made very many Germans acquiesce in the changes effected in 1866. If Germany had been dismembered in one sense, it had been strengthened in another; the military organization of m North Germany gave a far greater guarantee of safety than that of the larger but sleepy old Confederation. This new military organization was calculated to place under arms, in organized battalions, squadrons, and batteries, in eleven days, 552,000 men of the line and 205,000 of the landwehr; and in a fortnight or three weeks more another 187,000 men 15 of the reserve (Ersatztruppen) fully fit to take the field. There was no mystery about this. The whole plan, showing the distribution of this force in the various corps, the districts from which each battalion, &c, was to be raised, had often been published. Moreover, the mobilization of 1866 had shown that this was not an organization existing on paper 20 only. Every man was duly registered; and it was well known that in the office of every district commander of the landwehr the orders for calling out each man were ready, and awaited but the filling up of the date. For the French Emperor, however, these enormous forces existed on paper only. The whole force he brought together to open the campaign 25 with were, at the outside, 360,000 men of the army of the Rhine, and 30,000 to 40,000 more for the Baltic expedition, say 400,000 men in all. With such a disproportion of numbers, and with the long time it takes

to get the French new formations (fourth battalions) ready for the field, his only hope of success was a sudden attack, while the Germans were still in the midst of their mobilization. We have seen how this opportunity slipped away; how even the second chance, that of a push forward 5 to the Rhine, was neglected; and we shall now point out another blunder.

The disposition of the French about the time of the declaration of war was excellent. It was evidently part and parcel of a long-considered plan of campaign. Three corps at Thionville, St. Avold, and Bitche in 10 the first line, immediately on the frontier; two corps at Metz and Strassburg, in a second line; two corps in reserve about Nancy, and an eighth corps at Belfort. With the aid of the railways, all these troops could be massed in a few days for an attack either across the Saar from Lorraine, or across the Rhine from Alsace, striking either north or east as 15 might be required. But this disposition was essentially one for attack. For defence it was absolutely faulty. The very first condition of a disposition of an army of defence is this: to have your advanced troops so far in front of your main body that you receive the news of the enemy's attack in time to concentrate your troops before he arrives upon you. 20 Suppose it takes you one day's march to get your wings to close on your centre, then your advanced guard should be at least one day's march in front of your centre. Now, here, the three corps of Ladmirault, Frossard, and De Failly, and afterwards a portion of MacMahon's too, were close upon the frontier, and yet spread upon a line from 25 Wissembourg to Sierck—at least ninety miles. To draw in the wings on the centre would have required fully two days' march; and yet, even when the Germans were known to be within a few miles in front, no steps were taken either to shorten the length of front, or to push forward advanced guards to such a distance as would secure timely advice 30 of an impending attack. Is it to be wondered at that the several corps were defeated by piecemeal?

Then came the blunder of posting one division of MacMahon's east of the Vosges, at Wissembourg, in a position inviting an attack with superior forces. Douay's defeat brought on MacMahon's next blunder in trying 35 to retrieve the fight east of the Vosges, thereby separating the right wing still more from the centre, and laying open his line of communications with it. While the right wing (MacMahon's, and portions at least of Failly's and Canrobert's corps) was crushed at Woerth, the centre (Frossard, and two divisions of Bazaine, as it now appears) were severely 40 beaten before Saarbrücken. The rest of the troops were too far away to come up to assistance. Ladmirault was still near Bouzonville, the rest of

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Bazaine's men and the Guards were about Boulay, the mass of Canrobert's troops turned up at Nancy, part of De Failly's were lost sight of completely, and Félix Douay, we now find, on the 1st of August, was at Altkirch, in the extreme south of Alsace, nearly 120 miles from the battle-field of Woerth, and probably with but imperfect means of railway conveyance. The whole arrangement indicates nothing but hesitation, indecision, vacillation, and that in the most decisive moment of the campaign. 5

And what idea were the soldiers allowed to have of their opponents? It was all very well for the Emperor at the last moment to tell his men that they would have to face "one of the best armies of Europe;" but that went for nothing after the lessons of contempt for the Prussians which had been driven into them for years. We cannot show this better than by the evidence of Captain Jeannerod, of the *Temps*, whom we have quoted before, and who left the army but three years ago. He was taken prisoner by the Prussians at the "baptism of fire" affair, and spent two days among them, during which time he saw the greater portion of their eighth army corps. He was astounded to find such a difference between his idea of them and the reality. This is his first impression on being brought to their camp:— 20

Once in the forest, there was a complete change. There were outposts under the trees, battalions massed along the roads; and let nobody try to deceive the public in a manner unworthy of our country and of our present circumstances: from the first step I had recognized the characters which announce an excellent army (*une belle et bonne armée*) as well as a nation powerfully organized for war. In what consisted these characteristics? In everything. The demeanour of the men, the subordination of their smallest movements to chiefs protected by a discipline far stronger than ours, the gaiety of some, the serious and determined look of others, the patriotism to which most of them gave vent, the thorough and constant zeal of the officers, and, above all, the moral worth—of which we may envy them—of the non-commissioned officers; that is what struck me at once, and what has never been from under my eyes from the two days I passed in the midst of that army and in that country where sign-boards placed from distance to distance, with the numbers of the local battalions of the landwehr, recall the effort of which it is capable in a moment of danger and of ambition. 30 35

On the German side it was quite different. The military qualities of the French were certainly not underrated. The concentration of German troops took place rapidly but cautiously. Every available man was brought to the front; and now, the first North German army corps hav- 40

Notes on the War.—VI

ing turned up at Saarbrücken in Prince Frederick Charles's army, it is certain that every man, horse, and gun of the 550,000 troops of the line has been brought to the front, there to be joined by the South Germans. And the effect of such an enormous numerical superiority has been, so far, increased by superior generalship.

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Notes on the War.—VII

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1716, 13. August 1870

Notes on the War.—VII.

The public have been waiting all this week for that great battle before Metz which a French bulletin described as impending; and yet not one of our military critics has thought fit to explain that this impending battle was nothing but a tub thrown out to that unruly whale, the people of Paris, to play with. A battle before Metz! Why should the French desire it? They have collected under shelter of that fortress four corps; they are trying to draw towards it some of Canrobert's four divisions; they may hope soon to learn that the remaining three corps, of MacMahon, De Failly, and Douay have reached the Moselle at Nancy and found shelter behind it. Why should they court a pitched battle before all their army is united again, when the forts of Metz protect them from an attack? And why should the Germans break their heads in an unprepared assault against these forts? If the whole French army was united under the ramparts of Metz, then the French might be expected to sally forth east of the Moselle and offer battle in front of their stronghold, but not till then. But that has yet to be accomplished, and it is still doubtful whether it ever will be.

On Sunday last MacMahon was compelled to leave Saverne, which was occupied the same night by the Germans. He had with him the remnants of his own corps, of one division (Conseil-Dumesnifs) of Douay's corps, and, besides, one division of De Failly's, which had covered his retreat. On the same evening the German First and Second Armies were in advance of Forbach and nearly in St. Avoid. Both these places are nearer to Nancy than Saverne; they are considerably nearer than Saverne to Pont-à-Mousson and Dieulouard, places on the Moselle between Nancy and Metz. Now, when the Germans must, as soon as possible, secure or construct a passage across that river, and that *above*

Metz (for various pretty evident reasons); when they are nearer to the river than MacMahon, and thus by hurrying on may prevent his reunion with Bazaine; when they have troops enough and to spare—is it not almost evident that they will attempt something of the sort? Their cav-
5 airy, as we predicted it would, is already scouring the whole of Northern Lorraine, and must have ere now come into contact with MacMahon's right; it had passed, on Wednesday, Gros-Tenquin, which is only about twenty-five miles from the direct road between Saverne and Nancy. They will, therefore, know perfectly where he is and operate accordingly, and
10 we shall soon learn at what point between Nancy (or, rather, Frouard) and Metz they have struck the Moselle.

This is the reason why we have not heard of any fights since last Saturday's. The soldiers' legs are doing all the work just now; it is a race between MacMahon and Frederick Charles, which of them shall first get
15 across the river. And if Frederick Charles should win this race, then we may expect the French to issue from Metz, not to offer battle in sight of its ramparts, but to defend the passage of the Moselle; which, indeed, may be done by an attack either on the right or the left bank. The two pontoon trains captured at Forbach may have to do duty very soon.

20 Of De Failly we hear nothing definite. It is, indeed, stated in a Metz bulletin that he has rejoined the army. But which? Bazaine's or Mac-
Mahon's? Evidently the latter, if there be any truth in the whole report; for between Bazaine and him were the heads of the German columns ever since he got lost. Douay's remaining two divisions—he was still on the
25 Swiss frontier, near Basel on the 4th of August—must, by the German advance upon Strasburg, be cut off from the rest of the army for the present; they can only rejoin it by Vesoul. Of Canrobert's troops we find, all at once, at least one division (Martimprey's) in Paris, facing, not the Germans, but the Republicans. The 25th, 26th, and 28th Regiments, which
30 belong to it, are mentioned as having been employed on Tuesday among the troops protecting the Corps Législatif. The rest should now be in Metz, raising the army there to fifteen divisions (infantry), three of which, however, are completely shattered by their defeat at Spichern.

As to Spichern, it is wrong to say that the French were in that engage-
35 ment crushed by superior numbers. We have now a tolerably full report of Generals Steinmetz and Alvensleben, which shows pretty clearly what troops were engaged on the German side. The attack was made by the 14th Division, supported by our old friends, the 40th Regiment—in all fifteen battalions. They alone, of infantry, fought for six hours against
40 the three divisions, or thirty-nine battalions, which Frossard brought up successively. When they were nearly crushed, but still held the heights of

Spicheren, which they had stormed in the beginning of the fight, the 5th Division of the 3rd or Brandenburg Corps came up, and at least three out of its four regiments took part in the fight—all in all, either twenty-four or twenty-seven battalions of Germans. They drove the French from their position, and it was only after the retreat had commenced that the 5 head of the 13th Division, which had turned the French right by the valley of the Rossel, reached the field of battle, fell upon Forbach, and turned an orderly retreat into a rout by cutting off the direct road to Metz. The Germans at the close of the fight had another division (the 6th) ready to engage, and, indeed, slightly engaged; but at the same time two French 10 divisions, Montaudon's and Castagny's (both of Bazaine's), had come up, and the 69th Regiment, which forms part of the latter, had suffered severely. Thus, if at Wissembourg and Woerth the French were crushed by superior masses, they were beaten by inferior numbers at Spichern. As to their common report that they were outnumbered, it is not to be 15 forgotten that individual soldiers in a battle cannot possibly judge of numbers, and that it is the common assertion of all beaten armies. Besides, it should not be forgotten that the solid qualities of the German army are only now beginning to be recognized. We have it officially from the French head-quarters that the German fire is much superior in steadi- 20 ness and precision to the French, and MacMahon insists that the French have no chance against the Germans in woods, because these latter know so much better how to take advantage of shelter. As to the cavalry, here is what Jeannerod says in Thursday's *Temps*:—"Their cavalry is much superior to ours, the privates are better mounted than many officers in 25 our army, and they ride better. ... I have seen one of their Cuirassier regiments which was something splendid. ... Their horses, moreover, are far less weighted than ours. The Cuirassiers I saw carried less weight on their big steeds than we do on our small Arabs and South of France horses." He also praises the great knowledge the officers have of the 30 ground, not only in their own country, but also in France. But no wonder. Every lieutenant is provided with excellent copies of the French ordnance maps, while the French officers are supplied only with a ridiculous map (*une carte dérisoire*) of the seat of war. And so forth. It would have been good for the French army if only one such sincere reporter had 35 been sent to Germany before the war.

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Notes on the War.—VIII

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1717, 15. August 1870

Notes on the War.—VIII.

Where is MacMahon? The German horses, in their raid up to the gates of Luneville and Nancy, appear not to have met with him; otherwise we should have heard of encounters. On the other hand, if he had arrived in safety at Nancy, and thus restored his communications with the army at Metz, such a consoling fact would certainly have been announced at once from the French head-quarters. The only conclusion we can draw from this absolute silence regarding him is this, that he has thought it too dangerous to follow the direct road from Saverne to Luneville and Nancy; and that, in order not to expose his right flank to the enemy, he has taken a more circuitous route, farther south, passing the Moselle at Bayon or even higher up. If this surmise be correct, there would be very little chance of his ever reaching Metz; and, in that case, it must have been a question for the Emperor or whoever commands at Metz, whether the army had not better at once retreat to Châlons-sur-Marne, the nearest point where a junction with MacMahon may be effected. We are therefore disposed to accept the report of a general retreat of the French line in that direction.

In the meantime, we hear of tremendous reinforcements for the French army. The new Minister of War assures the Chamber that in four days two army corps, 35,000 men each, are to be sent to the front. Where are they? We know that the eight corps of the Army of the Rhine, and the troops intended for the Baltic, with the garrison of Algeria, fully accounted for every battalion of the French army, including the marines. We know that 40,000 men, from Canroberfs corps and from the Baltic expedition, are in Paris. We know from General Dejean's speech in the Chamber that the fourth battalions, so far from being ready, required filling up, and that this was to be done by drafting into them men from

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the Garde Mobile. Where, then, are these 70,000 men to come from? especially if, as is but likely, General Montauban de Palikao will not part with the 40,000 men in Paris as long as he can help it. Yet, if there is any meaning in what he said, these two corps must mean the troops at Paris and Canrobert's corps, which hitherto has always been counted as part 5 of the Army of the Rhine; and in that case, the only real reinforcement being the garrison of Paris, the grand total in the field will be raised from twenty-five to twenty-eight divisions, seven at least of which have suffered severely.

Then we hear that General Trochu is named chief of the 12th Corps 10 forming at Paris, and General Vendez (?) chief of the 13th Corps forming at Lyons. The army consisted hitherto of the Guards, and Corps Nos. 1 to 7. Of Nos. 8, 9, 10, and 11 we have never heard; now we are suddenly treated to Nos. 12 and 13. We have seen that there are no troops existing out of which any of these corps could be formed; always excepting No. 15 12, if that means the garrison of Paris. It seems a poor trick to raise public confidence by creating on paper imaginary armies; yet there is no other interpretation than this to be put on the alleged establishment of five army corps, four of which have been hitherto non-existent.

No doubt attempts are being made to organize a fresh army; but what 20 materials are there for it? There is, firstly, the gendarmerie, out of which a regiment of horse and one of foot can be formed; excellent troops, but they will not exceed 3,000 men, and will have to be brought together from all parts of France. So will the Douaniers, who are expected to furnish the stuff for four-and-twenty battalions; we doubt whether they 25 will complete half that number. Then come the old soldiers of the classes of 1858 to 1863, the unmarried men amongst whom have been called out again by special law. These may furnish a contingent of 200,000 men, and will form the most valuable addition to the army. With less than one half of these the fourth battalions may be filled up, and the rest formed into 30 new battalions. But here begins the difficulty—where are the officers to come from? They will have to be taken from the fighting army, and although this may be effected by a considerable promotion of sergeants to sub-lieutenants, it must weaken the corps from which they are taken. The whole of these three classes will give, at most, an increase of 220,000 35 to 230,000 men, and it will take under favourable circumstances at least fourteen to twenty days before even a portion of them can be ready to join the active army. But, unfortunately for them, circumstances are not favourable. It is now admitted that not merely the commissariat, but the whole of the French army administration was utterly ineffective, even to 40 supply the army on the frontier. What, then, will be the state of forward-

Notes on the War.—VIII

ness of accoutrements and equipments for these reserves which nobody ever expected to be wanted in the field? It is very doubtful, indeed, whether, beyond the fourth battalions, any new formations will be ready before a couple of months. Then it is not to be forgotten that not one of 5 these men ever handled a breech-loader, and that they are, all of them, totally ignorant of the new tactics inaugurated by that arm. And if the present French line, as is now admitted by themselves, fire hastily and at random, and squander their ammunition, what will these newly formed battalions do in the presence of an enemy whose steadiness and precision 10 of fire appears to be very little affected by the din of battle?

There remain the Garde Mobile, the levy of all unmarried men up to thirty years, and the sedentary National Guard. As to the Garde Mobile, what little of it ever had any formal organization appears to have broken down as soon as it was sent to Chalons. Discipline there was none, and 15 the officers, most of them totally unacquainted with their duties, seem to have lost in authority every day; there were not even arms for the men, and now the whole thing appears to be in complete dissolution. General Dejean indirectly acknowledged this by the proposal to fill up the ranks of the fourth battalions from the Garde Mobile. And if this, the apparently organized portion of the levy *en masse* be utterly useless, what is to become of the rest of it? Even if there were officers, accoutrements, and arms for them, how long would it take to make them into soldiers? But there is nothing provided for the emergency. Every officer fit for his post is already employed; the French have not that almost inexhaustible 20 resource of officers furnished by the "one year's volunteers," about 7,000 of whom enter the German armies every year, and almost every one of whom leaves the service quite fit to undertake an officer's duties. Accoutrements and arms appear to be equally absent; it is even said that the old flint-locks will have to be brought out of store. And under these circumstances, what are these 200,000 of men worth to France? It is all very well 25 for the French to point to the Convention, to Carnot, with his frontier armies created out of nothing, and so forth. But while we are far from saying that France is irretrievably beaten, let us not forget that in the successes of the Convention the allied armies bore a significant part. At 30 that time the armies which attacked France numbered on an average 40,000 men each; there were three or four of them, each acting out of reach of the other, the one on the Scheldt, the other on the Moselle, the third in Alsace, &c. To each of these small armies the Convention opposed immense numbers of more or less raw levies which, by acting upon 35 the flanks and rear of the enemy, then entirely dependent upon his magazines, compelled him upon the whole to keep pretty close to the frontier;

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and, having been formed into real soldiers by five years' campaigning, finally succeeded in driving him across the Rhine. But is it for a moment to be supposed that similar tactics will avail against the present immense army of invasion, which, though formed in three distinct bodies, has always managed to keep together within supporting distance, or that this 5 army will leave the French time to develop their now dormant resources? And to develop them to any extent is possible only in case the French are prepared to do what they never have done before, to abandon Paris and its garrison to their fate, and to continue the struggle with the line of the Loire for their base of operations. It may never come to that, but unless 10 France is prepared to face it, she had better not talk about a levy *en masse*.

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Notes on the War.—IX

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1720, 18. August 1870

Notes on the War.—IX.

"The French army commenced to cross over to the left bank of the Moselle. This (Sunday) morning reconnoitring parties announced the presence of the Prussian vanguards. When one-half of the army had 5 crossed, the Prussians attacked in great force, and, after a fight which lasted four hours, were repulsed with considerable losses." Such was the version of the Emperor's despatch which Mr. Reuter furnished on Monday night. It contained, however, an important error, the Emperor having expressly stated that the reconnoitring parties did not announce the 10 presence of the enemy, though he was near at hand and in force. Apart from this, however, nothing apparently could be more straightforward and businesslike than this bulletin. You have the whole thing distinctly before your eyes; the French, busily engaged in that risky operation, the crossing of a river; the wily Prussians, who always know how to take 15 their opponents at a disadvantage, falling upon them as soon as one-half of them has got to the other side; then the gallant defence of the French, crowning its superhuman efforts, finally, by a dashing advance, which repels the enemy with considerable losses. It is quite graphic, and there is only one thing wanting—the name of the place where all this occurred.

20 From the bulletin we cannot but suppose that this passage of the river, and this attempt to interrupt it which was so victoriously defeated, took place in the open country. But how could this be, when the French had all the bridges inside Metz to cross by—bridges perfectly safe from any hostile interference? when there was, besides, plenty of room for more 25 pontoon bridges to be constructed, in equally safe places, on the five or six miles of river which are covered by the forts round Metz? Surely the French staff do not mean us to imply that they wantonly disregarded all these advantages, led the army outside of Metz, constructed their bridges

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in the open, and passed the river within sight and reach of the enemy, merely to bring on that "battle before Metz" which had been promised us for a whole week?

And if the passage of the Moselle took place by bridges inside the works of Metz, how could the Prussians attack the French troops still on 5 the right bank so long as these kept, as they might have done, inside the line of detached forts? The artillery of these forts would soon have made the place too hot for any attacking troops.

The whole thing seems impossible. The least the French staff could have done would have been to give the name of the locality, that we 10 might have traced the different phases of this glorious battle on the map. But that name they will not give. Fortunately for us, the Prussians are not so mysterious; they say the fight occurred near Pange, on the road to Metz. We look at the map, and the whole thing is clear. Pange is not on the Moselle, but eight miles away from it, on the Nied, about four miles 15 outside the detached forts of Metz. If the French were crossing the Moselle, and had one-half of their troops over already, they had, in a military sense, no business whatever to keep strong forces at or near Pange. If they went there, it was for reasons not military.

Napoleon, once compelled to abandon Metz and the line of the Mo- 20 selle, could not very well without a fight, and, if possible, a real or sham victory, enter upon a retreat which must be continued at least as far as Chalons. The opportunity was favourable. While one-half of his troops crossed, the other would debouch from between the forts east of Metz, push back the Prussian advanced troops, bring on as much of a general 25 engagement as appeared convenient, draw on the enemy until within reach of the guns of the forts, and then, with a showy advance of the whole front, drive them back to a safe distance from the works. Such a plan could not entirely fail; it must lead to something which could be made to look like a victory; it would restore confidence in the army, 30 perhaps even in Paris, and make the retreat to Chalons look less humiliating.

This view explains that apparently simple, but in reality absurd, bulletin from Metz. Every word of that bulletin is correct in a certain sense, while the whole context at the first glance is calculated to evoke a totally 35 false impression. This view equally explains how both parties could claim the victory. The Prussians drove back the French till under the shelter of their forts, but having advanced too close to these forts had to retire in their turn. So much for the celebrated "battle before Metz," which might as well not have been fought at all, for its influence upon the course of 40 the campaign will be zero. It will be observed that the Count of Palikao,

speaking in the Chamber, was much more cautious. "There has not been," he said, "what you would call a battle, but partial engagements, in which every man with military intelligence must see that the Prussians have received a check, and have been obliged to abandon the line of 5 retreat of the French army." The Marshal's last assurance seems to have been only momentarily true, for the retreating body of the French has certainly been severely harassed by the Prussians at Mars-la-Tour and Gravelotte.

It was, indeed, high time that Napoleon and his army left Metz. While 10 they were tarrying about the Moselle, the German cavalry passed the Meuse at Commercy and destroyed the railway thence to Bar-le-Duc; they also appeared at Vigneulles, threatening the flank of the columns retreating from Metz to Verdun. What these horsemen dare risk we see from the way in which a squadron of them entered Nancy, levied 50,000 15 francs, and compelled the townspeople to destroy the railway. Where are the French cavalry? where are the forty-three regiments attached to the eight army corps, and the twelve regiments of reserve cavalry which figure on the état of the Army of the Rhine?

The only obstacle in the way of the Germans now is the fortress of 20 Toul, and this would not be of any importance whatever if it did not command the railway. The Germans are sure to want the railway, and therefore they no doubt will take the shortest means to reduce Toul, which, being an old-fashioned fortress without detached forts, is perfectly open to bombardment. We shall probably soon hear that it has surrendered after being bombarded by field guns for something like twelve 25 hours, perhaps less.

If it be true, as French papers say, that MacMahon, having left his army, was in Nancy two days after the battle of Woerth, we may assume that his corps is totally disorganized, and that the infection has caught 30 the troops of De Failly too. The Germans are now marching on to the Marne, almost on an equal front line with the two French armies, and having one of them on each flank. Bazaine's line of march is from Metz by Verdun and St. Ménéould to Chalons, that of the Germans from Nancy, by Commercy and Bar-le-Duc to Vitry; that of MacMahon's 35 troops (for even if the Marshal himself has joined the Emperor at Chalons, it must be without his army) somewhere to the south, but, no doubt, also directed towards Vitry. The reunion of the two French armies thus becomes more doubtful every day; and unless Douay's troops have been ordered from Belfort by Vesoul and Chaumont to Vitry in time, 40 they may have to rejoin the army by way of Troyes and Paris, for Vitry will now soon be impassable by train for French soldiers.

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Notes on the War.—X

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1721, 19. August 1870

Notes on the War.—X.

Undoubtedly, if General Moltke be old, his plans have all the energy of youth. Not satisfied with having once already pushed his compact army between one wing of the French and the rest of their troops, he now repeats the same manoeuvre over again, and apparently with equal success. Had he continued his straight march on to the Marne, and merely harassed the right flank and rear of the French during their parallel march towards the same goal, he would, in the opinion of most military critics, have done quite enough. But it was hardly to be expected that he would have used the legs of his soldiers with such terrible vigour as he now appears to have done. What we took for mere attacks of detached corps upon the exposed flanks and rear of that long marching column which moved from Metz towards Verdun appears now to have been the reconnaissances preceding an attack in force upon it. Three or four German army corps had marched in a semicircle round on the southern side of Metz; their advanced troops reached the French line of march on Tuesday morning, and at once fell upon it. The French army began its retreat from Metz on Sunday; the engagements between Pange and Fort Bellecroix on the evening of that day may have retarded that movement, still it was continued on Monday and had not been completed on Tuesday. It took place at least by two different columns, following the two roads which separate, five miles west of Metz, at Gravelotte; the northernmost of these roads passes Doncourt and Etain, the southernmost Vionville, Mars-la-Tour, and Fresnes, and both unite again at Verdun. It was near Mars-la-Tour that the German attack took place; the fight lasted all day, and ended, according to the German account, in the defeat of the French, who lost two eagles, seven cannons, and 2,000 prisoners, and were driven back to Metz. On the other hand, Bazaine too claims the

Notes on the War.—X

victory. He says his troops repelled the Germans, and passed the night on the position won. But there are two very ominous statements in his telegram of Wednesday evening. There he says he fought all day on Tuesday between Doncourt and Vionville; that is to say, he fought with his
5 front extending from Doncourt to Vionville, facing west; the Germans barring the way to Verdun on both roads. Whatever success he claims, he does not pretend to say that he cleared the roads to Verdun, or only one of them. Had he done so, his evident duty would have been to continue his retreat during the night as fast as he could, as the enemy would
10 almost certainly be reinforced in the morning. But he stops and passes the night "on the position won," whatever that may mean. Not satisfied with that, he stays there till four o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, and even then announces, not his intention of moving, but of delaying his further movements for a few hours longer, in order to largely increase his
15 ammunition. Thus we may be certain that the night to Thursday was also passed at the same spot; and as the only place whence he could increase his ammunition was Metz, we shall be fully entitled to conclude that the "positions conquered" were positions to the rear, that the retreat to Verdun was and remained cut off, and that by this time Marshal Bazaine will
20 have either gone back to Metz, or attempted to escape by a route farther north.

If this view be correct—and we do not see how the evidence before us can be made to justify any other—a portion of the French army is again cut off from the rest. We do not know what troops may have passed
25 towards Verdun on Monday, and on Tuesday morning before the Germans came up. But the portion driven back to Metz is evidently considerable, and whatever its importance may be, by so much will be reduced the great army which it was attempted to concentrate at Chalons. There is, indeed, a loophole left by which Bazaine might try to escape. A rail-
30 way runs, close to the Belgian frontier, from Thionville to Longuyon, Montmédy and Mézières, where it meets a cross line Rheims and Chalons; but any troops using this border line, or merely marching towards it, might be driven by a pursuing enemy up to the frontier, and compelled either to surrender or to cross it and be disarmed by the Belgians. More-
35 over, it is not likely that there will be rolling stock enough on this out-of-the-way line to take up a considerable body of troops; and, lastly, we have reports from Verdun that Prussians, who must have passed the Moselle between Metz and Thionville, were on Wednesday at Briey, on the direct road from Metz towards the available portion of that railway.
40 Should Bazaine attempt to save his beaten troops in that direction he would, in the best of cases, have the whole of them reduced to utter

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dissolution. A long retreat, with the enemy on the direct line of communication of the beaten troops, is a most disastrous proceeding. Witness MacMahon's troops, some driblets of which have continued to arrive by train at Chalons. On the 12th some 5,000 dropped in; in what state let the *Siecle* tell. They consisted of men of all arms and regiments mixed up, without arms, without cartridges, without knapsacks; the cavalry had no horses, the gunners no guns; a motley, disorganized, demoralized crew whom it would take weeks to form into battalions, squadrons, and batteries again. It is enough that correspondents decline to describe the state of the troops of the line at Chalons for fear to divulge matters which might be useful to the enemy. 5

That grand army which was destined to concentrate at Chalons may never meet there. After Canrobert's troops had been drawn, partly to Paris and partly to Metz, there remained but the eighteen battalions of Mobiles there; not worth mentioning in a war like this. Since then some 15 marine infantry from Paris has been sent to Chalons; Douay's two remaining divisions, if there is any common sense left in Bazaine's dispositions, will have arrived by this time; perhaps a few fourth battalions, certainly not many. The newly formed regiments of gendarmes and douaniers may, some of them, arrive in the course of a few days. A few small 20 bodies of francs-tireurs may also come in; but, leaving all raw levies out of account, the chief portion of that grand army which can be concentrated there before the Germans arrive would, under all circumstances, consist of the troops retiring from Metz. And what these now may be, after Tuesday's fights, we shall have to learn. 25

The nomination of General Trochu to the command of the army destined to defend Paris, so closely following upon his appointment to the command of the 12th Corps "forming at Paris," proves that it is not intended to send the mass of the troops now in Paris to the front. Paris must be kept down. And yet, who will be able to keep it down when the 30 truth about last Tuesday's battle becomes known there?

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The crisis of the War

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1722, 20. August 1870

The crisis of the War.

The Emperor has left the army, but his evil genius has remained with it – that evil genius which hurried on, in hot impatience, the declaration of war and – that accomplished – was henceforth unable to make up its 5 mind to anything. The army was to be ready to march by the 20th of July at latest. The 20th of July came and nothing had been done. On the 29th Napoleon III. took the supreme command at Metz; there was still time for an almost unresisted advance up to the Rhine: yet the army did not stir. Hesitation even appears to have gone so far that the Emperor could 10 not determine whether to attack at all, or to take up a position for defence. The heads of the German columns were already converging from all directions towards the Palatinate, and every day they might be expected to attack. Yet the French remained in their positions on the frontier – positions designed for an attack which was never made, and 15 altogether unfit for the defence which was so soon to be their only choice. The hesitation which lasted from the 29th of July to the 5th of August has been characteristic of the whole campaign. The French army, being placed close to the frontier, was without advanced guards at the proper distances in front of the main body, and there were but two ways in 20 which this defect could have been remedied. The advanced guards might have been pushed forward into the enemy's territory; or they might have been left in their actual positions on the border, and the main bodies drawn nearer together a day's march to the rear. But the first plan would have brought on collisions with the enemy under circumstances beyond 25 the control of the Emperor; while the second would have involved the political impossibility of a retreat before the first battle. Thus, hesitation continued, and nothing at all was done; as if the enemy would be caught by the infection, and equally refrain from moving. But the enemy did

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move. The very day before the whole of his troops had arrived at the front, on the 4th of August, it was resolved to take advantage of the faulty disposition of the French. The battle of Wissembourg drew the whole of MacMahon's and Failly's corps still more away from the centre of the French position; and on the 6th, the Germans being now fully ready, their 5 Third Army defeated MacMahon's six divisions at Woerth, and drove him, along with De Failly's remaining two divisions, by Saverne towards Lunéville, while the advanced bodies of their First and Second Armies beat Frossard's and part of Bazaine's troops at Spichern, and drove the whole centre and left of the French back upon Metz. Thus, all Lorraine 10 lay between the two retreating French armies, and into this wide gap poured the German cavalry and, behind it, the infantry, in order to make the most of the advantage gained. The Crown Prince has been blamed for not having followed up MacMahon's beaten army to and beyond Saverne. But after Woerth the pursuit was carried out in the most correct 15 manner. As soon as the beaten troops were driven so far south that they could regain the rest of the French army only by a circuitous route, the pursuers, marching straight on towards Nancy, kept continually between the two; and that this mode of pursuit (the same as Napoleon's after Jena) is at least as telling as a direct march in the rear of the fugitives is 20 now shown by the results. Whatever there is still in existence of these eight divisions is either cut off from the main body or has joined it in a state of total disorganization.

Thus much for the consequences of the hesitation which marked the beginning of the campaign. It might surely have been expected that the 25 same mistake would not again have been committed. The Emperor had resigned his command into the hands of Marshal Bazaine, and Marshal Bazaine might certainly have known that, whether he did or did not, the enemy would not allow the grass to grow under his feet.

The distance from Forbach to Metz is not quite fifty miles. Most of the 30 corps had less than thirty miles to march. Three days would have brought all of them safely under shelter at Metz; and on the fourth the retreat towards Verdun and Chalons might have been begun. For there could no longer be any doubt as to the necessity of that retreat. Marshal MacMahon's eight divisions and General Douay's remaining two divisions—more than one-third of the army—could not possibly rejoin Bazaine at any nearer point than Chalons. Bazaine had twelve divisions, including the Imperial Guard; so that even after he had been joined by three of Canrobert's divisions, he cannot have had, with cavalry and artillery, above 180,000 men—a force quite insufficient to meet his opponents in the field. Unless, therefore, he intended to abandon the whole 35 40

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of France to the invaders, and to allow himself to be shut up in a place where famine would soon compel him to surrender or to fight on terms dictated by the enemy, it seems as though he could not have had a moment's doubt about retreating from Metz at once. Yet he does not stir.

5 On the 11th, the German cavalry is at Luneville; still he gives no sign of moving. On the 12th they are across the Moselle, they make requisitions in Nancy, they tear up the railway between Metz and Frouard, they show themselves in Pont-a-Mousson. On the 13th their infantry occupy Pont-à-Mousson, and are thenceforth masters of both banks of the Moselle. At 10 last, on Sunday, the 14th, Bazaine begins moving his men to the left bank of the river; the engagement at Pange is drawn on, by which the retreat is confessedly again retarded; and we may suppose that on Monday the actual retreat towards Chalons was commenced by sending off the heavy trains and artillery. But on that Monday the German cavalry were across 15 the Meuse at Commercy, and within ten miles of the French line of retreat at Vigneulles. How many troops got away on Monday and early on Tuesday morning we cannot tell, but it appears certain that the main body was still behind when the German third corps and the reserve cavalry attacked the marching columns near Mars-la-Tour about nine in the 20 morning on Tuesday, the 16th of August. The result is known: Bazaine's retreat was effectually stopped; on the 17th, his own telegrams show that he had at the most only maintained the position it was his one desire to leave behind him.

On Wednesday, the 18th, the two armies seem to have taken breath, but 25 on Thursday any hopes that Bazaine might still have entertained of making good his retreat were fatally stricken down. The Prussians attacked him on that morning, and after nine hours' fighting "the French army was completely defeated, cut off from its communications with Paris, and driven back towards Metz." On that evening or on the following day the 30 army of the Rhine must have re-entered the fortress it had left at the beginning of the week. Once cooped up there it will be easy for the Germans to cut off all supplies; the more so, as the country is already thoroughly drained of everything by the prolonged presence of the troops, and as the investing army is sure to require for its own use every- 35 thing that can be got together. Thus, famine must soon compel Bazaine to move; but in what direction it is difficult to tell. A move to the west is sure to be resisted by overwhelming forces; one to the north is extremely dangerous; one to the south-east might perhaps partially succeed, but it would be wholly barren of immediate results. Even if he reached Belfort 40 or Besançon with a disorganized army, he could not exercise any appreciable influence upon the fate of the campaign. This is the situation to

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which hesitation in the second phase of the campaign has brought the French army. No doubt it is accurately known to the Government in Paris. The recall of the Mobile Guard from Chalons to Paris proves it. From the moment Bazaine's main forces are cut off, the position of Chalons, which was a mere place of rendezvous, and nothing else, has 5 lost all importance. The nearest place of rendezvous now for all forces is Paris, and thither everything must now move. There is no force whatever which could oppose in the field the Third German army, now probably moving upon the capital. Before long the French will find out, by a practical trial, whether or not the fortifications of Paris are worth their 10 cost.

Though this crowning catastrophe has been impending for days, it is hardly possible as yet to realize that it has actually come to pass. No expectations went the length of this reality. A fortnight ago Englishmen were speculating on the possible consequences of the French army winning the first great battle. The danger to which their fears most pointed was that Napoleon III. might make such an initial success the occasion of a hasty peace at the expense of Belgium. Upon this point they were speedily reassured. The battles of Woerth and Forbach showed that no theatrical triumph was in store for the French arms. The demonstration 15 that Germany had nothing to fear from France seemed to promise well for the speedy ending of the war. The time must soon come, it was thought, when the French would acknowledge that the attempt to control the consolidation of Germany under Prussia had failed, and that, consequently, they had nothing left to fight for, while the Germans 20 would hardly care to go on waging a chequered and doubtful war, when the admission it was designed to extort had been already conceded. The first five days of this week have again changed the whole face of affairs. The military power of France has to all appearance been utterly overthrown, and for the time there seems to be no limit to German ambition 25 except the doubtful barrier of German moderation. We cannot attempt as yet to estimate the political results of this tremendous reverse. We can only look on in wonder at its magnitude and its suddenness, and in admiration at the manner in which it has been sustained by the French troops. That after four days of almost constant fighting under the most 30 discouraging conditions possible they should on the fifth have resisted the attack of greatly superior numbers for nine hours reflects infinite credit upon their courage and resolution. Never in its most triumphant campaigns has the French army won more real glory than in its disastrous retreat from Metz.

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Notes on the War.—XI

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1725, 24. August 1870

Notes on the War.—XL

Although still without full details of the three terrible battles fought last week around Metz, we have learned enough about them to be able now to give an intelligible account of what actually occurred.

5 The battle of Sunday, the 14th of August, was commenced by the Germans, with the intention of delaying the retreat of the French towards Verdun. The remnant of Frossard's corps was observed to cross the Moselle towards Longeville on Sunday afternoon; signs of moving were visible among the troops encamped east of Metz. The First (East Prussian) 10 and Seventh (Westphalian and Hanoverian) Army Corps were ordered to attack. They drove the French in until they themselves got within range of the forts; but the French, foreseeing such a movement, had massed large bodies in sheltered positions in the valley of the Moselle, and in a narrow clough, through which a brook runs east and west, joining the 15 main river to the north of Metz. These masses suddenly fell upon the right flank of the Germans, already suffering from the fire of the forts, and are said to have driven them back in confusion; after which the French must have retired again, for it is certain that the Germans remained in possession of that part of the battle-field which is out of range 20 of the forts, and that they retired to their former bivouacs after daybreak only. We know this both from private letters written by men engaged in the battle, and from a correspondent's letter from Metz in Monday's *Manchester Guardian*, who visited the battle-field on Monday morning, and found it in the occupation of the Prussians, by whom the French 25 wounded, then still remaining there, were being attended to. Both parties, in a certain sense, may claim to have attained the object for which the contest was engaged: the French enticed the Germans into a trap and made them suffer severely; the Germans delayed the French retreat until

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Prince Frederick Charles could gain the line by which this retreat was to be effected. On the German side there were two corps, or four divisions, engaged; on the French side, Decaen's and Ladmirault's corps, and part of the Guards, or above seven divisions. The French in this battle were thus in a great numerical superiority. Their position is also said to have 5 been greatly strengthened by rifle pits and trenches, from which they fired with more coolness than usual.

The retreat of the Army of the Rhine towards Verdun was not commenced in force before Tuesday, the 16th. At that time the heads of Prince Frederick Charles's columns—the 3rd Army Corps (Brandenburgers)— 10 were just reaching the neighbourhood of Mars-la-Tour. They attacked at once, and for six hours held the French army at bay. Reinforced later on by the 10th Army Corps (Hanoverians and Westphalians), and portions of the 8th (Rhinelanders) and 9th (Sleswick-Holsteiners and Mecklenburgers), they not only maintained their position, but drove back the enemy, 15 took two eagles, seven cannons, and above 2,000 prisoners. The forces against them consisted of Decaen's, Ladmirault's, Frossard's, and part at least of Canrobert's corps (they had reached Metz from Chalons during the last days the railway via Frouard was still open), and the Guards, or, in all, from fourteen to fifteen divisions. The eight German divisions were 20 thus again faced by superior numbers, even if, as is likely, not all Bazaine's troops were engaged. It is well to keep this in mind, while the French accounts continue to explain all reverses by their being constantly out-numbered. That the French were effectively stopped in their retrograde movement is clear from the fact that they themselves speak of rearguard 25 engagements having taken place on the 17th near Gravelotte, more than five miles to the rear of their own position of the 16th. At the same time, the fact that only four German corps could be brought up on Tuesday shows that the success they obtained was incomplete. Captain Jeannerod, who came on the 17th from Briey to Conflans, found there two cavalry 30 regiments of the French Guard much cut up and taking flight at the bare cry, "The Prussians are coming!" This proves that though the road by Etain, on the evening of the 16th, might not be actually in the possession of the Germans, they were so near as to render impossible any retreat by it without another battle. Bazaine, however, seems to have given up all thought of that, for he entrenched himself in a very strong position near Gravelotte, and there awaited the attack of the Germans, which took place on the 18th.

The plateau, over which runs the road from Mars-la-Tour by Gravelotte to Metz, is intersected by a series of deep ravines, formed by brooks running from north to south towards the Moselle. There is one of these

ravines immediately in front (west) of Gravelotte; two others run, in parallel lines, to the rear of the first. Each of these forms a strong defensive position, which had been reinforced by earthworks, and by the barricading and loopholing of such farmyards and villages as occupied 5 places of tactical importance. To receive in this strong entrenched position the enemy, to let them break their heads against it, to hurl them back finally by a mighty "retour offensif," and thus clear the road to Verdun—this was evidently the only hope left to Bazaine. But the attack was made with such forces and with such energy that position after 10 position was taken, and the army of the Rhine driven back close under the guns of Metz. Against fourteen or fifteen French divisions twelve German divisions were actually engaged, and four more in reserve. The numbers engaged on both sides would be not far from equal; on the whole somewhat in favour of the Germans, four of their six corps having been 15 nearly intact; but this slight numerical superiority would by no means make up for the strength of the French position.

French opinion still hesitates to accept the full reality of the position created for Bazaine and his army, a position the counterpart of that into which General Bonaparte drove Wurmser at Mantua, 1796, and Mack at 20 Ulm, 1805. That the brilliant Army of the Rhine, the hope and strength of France, should after fourteen days' campaigning be reduced to the choice either to attempt to force its passage through the enemy under disastrous circumstances, or to capitulate, is more than the French can bring themselves to believe. They look for all possible explanations. One 25 theory is that Bazaine is, so to say, sacrificing himself in order to gain time for MacMahon and Paris. While Bazaine retains two of the three German armies before Metz, Paris can organize her defences, and MacMahon will have time to create a fresh army. Bazaine thus remains at Metz, not because he cannot help it, but because it is in the interest of 30 France he should be there. But where, it may be asked, are the elements of MacMahon's new army? His own corps, now numbering at most 15,000 men; De Failly's remaining troops, disorganized and scattered by a long circuitous retreat—he is said to have arrived at Vitry-le-François with but 7,000 or 8,000 men; perhaps one division of Canrobert's; the 35 two divisions of Felix Douay's, the whereabouts of which nobody seems to know: about 40,000 men, including the marines of the intended Baltic expedition. These include every battalion and squadron which is left to France of its old army outside of Metz. To these would come the fourth battalions. They appear now to be arriving in Paris in pretty good numbers, but filled up to a great extent with recruits. The whole of these 40 troops may reach something like 130,000 to 150,000 men; but this new

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army is not to be compared in quality to the old Army of the Rhine. The old regiments in it cannot but have suffered greatly from demoralization. The new battalions have been formed in a hurry, contain many recruits, and cannot be as well officered as the old army. The proportion of cavalry and artillery must be very small indeed; the mass of the cavalry is in 5 Metz, and the stores necessary for the equipment of new batteries, harness, &c, appear in some instances to exist on paper only. Jeannerod quotes an example in Sunday's *Temps*. As to the Mobile Guard, after having been brought back from Chalons to Saint Maur, near Paris, it appears to have dispersed altogether, for want of provisions. And it is to 10 gain time for forces like these that the whole of the best army which France possesses should be sacrificed. And sacrificed it is, if it is true that it is shut up in Metz. If Bazaine had got his army into its present position advisedly, he would have committed a blunder compared to which all previous blunders of the war would sink into nothing. In regard to Ba- 15 zaine's rumoured retreat from Metz and junction with MacMahon at Montmédy, the refutation of the story to which the *Standard* yesterday gave circulation has been sufficiently accomplished by the writer of the military review in the same journal this morning. Even if any detachments of Bazaine's force have escaped to the north after or in the course 20 of the recent engagements round Mars-la-Tour, the bulk of his army is still locked up in Metz.

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Notes on the War. — XII

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1727, 26. August 1870

Notes on the War. — XII.

The two latest facts of the war are these—that the Crown Prince is pushing on beyond Chalons, and that MacMahon has moved his whole army from Rheims, whither is not exactly known. MacMahon, according to 5 French reports, finds the war getting on too slowly; in order to hasten its decision he is now said to be marching from Rheims to the relief of Bazaine. This would indeed be hurrying on matters to an almost final crisis.

In our Wednesday's publication we estimated MacMahon's force at 10 from 130,000 to 150,000 men on the assumption that all the troops from Paris had joined him. We were right in supposing that he had at Chalons the remnants of his own and of De Failly's troops; also that Douay's two divisions were at Chalons, whither we know now they went by a circuitous railway journey via Paris; also that the marines and other portions 15 of the Baltic corps were there. But we now learn that there are still troops of the line in the forts round Paris; that a portion of MacMahon's and Frossard's men, especially cavalry, have gone back to Paris to be reorganized, and that MacMahon has only about 80,000 regular troops in camp. We may, therefore, reduce our estimate by fully 25,000 men, and 20 set down 110,000 to 120,000 men as the maximum of MacMahon's forces, one-third of which would consist of raw levies. And with this army he is said to have set out to relieve Bazaine at Metz.

Now, MacMahon's next and more immediate opponent is the army of the Crown Prince. It occupied on the 24th with its outposts the former 25 camp of Chalons, which fact is telegraphed to us from Bar-le-Duc. From this we may conclude that at that town were then the head-quarters. MacMahon's nearest road to Metz is by Verdun. From Rheims to Verdun by an almost straight country road there is fully seventy miles; by the

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high road via St. Ménéould, it is above eighty miles. This latter road, moreover, leads through the camp of Chalons—that is to say, through the German lines. From Bar-le-Duc to Verdun the distance is less than forty miles.

Thus not only can the army of the Crown Prince fall upon the flank of MacMahon's march if he use either of the above roads to Verdun, but it can get behind the Meuse and join the remaining two German armies between Verdun and Metz, long before MacMahon can debouch from Verdun on the right bank of the Meuse. And all this would remain unaltered, even if the Crown Prince had advanced as far as Vitry-le-François, or required an extra day to concentrate his troops from their extended front of march; so great is the difference of distance in his favour. 5

Under these circumstances it may be doubted whether MacMahon will use either of the roads indicated; whether he will not at once withdraw from the immediate sphere of action of the Crown Prince, and choose the road from Rheims by Vouziers, Grandpré, and Varennes, to Verdun, or by Vouziers to Stenay, where he would pass the Meuse, and then march south-cast upon Metz. But that would only be to secure a momentary advantage in order to make final defeat doubly certain. Both these routes are still more circuitous, and would allow still more time to the Crown Prince to unite his forces with those before Metz, and thus to oppose to both MacMahon and Bazaine a crushing superiority of numbers. 15

Thus, whichever way MacMahon chooses to get near Metz, he cannot shake off the Crown Prince, who, moreover, cannot be denied the choice of fighting him either singly or in conjunction with the other German armies. From this it is evident that MacMahon's move to the relief of Bazaine would be a gross mistake, so long as he has not completely disposed of the Crown Prince. To get to Metz, his shortest, quickest, and safest road is right across the Third German army. If he were to march straight upon it, attack it wherever he finds it, defeat it, and drive it for a few days in a south-easterly direction, so as to interpose his victorious army like a wedge between it and the other two German armies—in the same way as the Crown Prince has shown him how to do it—then, and not till then, would he have a chance to get to Metz and set Bazaine free. But if he felt himself strong enough to do this, we may be sure he would have done it at once. Thus, the withdrawal from Rheims assumes a different aspect. It is not so much a move towards the relief of Bazaine from Steinmetz and Frederick Charles as a move for the relief of MacMahon from the Crown Prince. And from this point of view it is the worst that could be made. It abandons all direct communications with Paris to the mercy of the enemy. It draws off the last available forces of France away 20 25 30 35 40

Notes on the War.—XII

from the centre towards the periphery, and places them intentionally farther away from the centre than the enemy is already. Such a move might be excusable if undertaken with largely superior numbers; but here it is undertaken with hopelessly inferior numbers and in the face of the
5 almost certainty of defeat. And what will that defeat bring? Wherever it occurs it will push the remnants of the beaten army away from Paris towards the northern frontier, where they may be driven upon neutral ground or forced to capitulate. MacMahon, if he really has undertaken the move in question, is deliberately placing his army in exactly the same
10 position in which Napoleon's flank march round the southern end of the Thuringian forest in 1806 placed the Prussian army at Jena. A numerically and morally weaker army is deliberately placed in a position where, after a defeat, its only line of retreat is through a narrow strip of territory leading towards neutral territory or the sea. Napoleon forced the Prus-
15 sians to capitulate by reaching Stettin before them. MacMahon's troops may have to surrender in that little strip of French territory jutting out into Belgium between Mézières and Charlemont-Givet. In the very best of cases they may escape to the northern fortresses—Valenciennes, Lille &c, where, at all events, they will be harmless. And then France will be
20 at the mercy of the invader.

The whole plan seems so wild that it can only be explained as having arisen from political necessities. It looks more like a *coup de désespoir* than anything else. It looks as if anything must be done, anything risked, before Paris be allowed fully to understand the actual situation. It is the
25 plan not of a strategist, but of an "Algérien," used to fight irregulars; the plan not of a soldier, but of a political and military adventurer, such as have had it all their own way in France these last nineteen years. The language ascribed to MacMahon in justifying this resolve is quite in keeping with this. "What would they say" if he did not march to the aid
30 of Bazaine? Yes, but "what would they say" if he got himself into a worse position than Bazaine has got himself into? It is the Second Empire all over. To keep up appearances, to hide defeat, is the thing most required. Napoleon staked all upon one card, and lost it; and now MacMahon is again going to play *va banque*, when the odds are ten to one against him.
35 The sooner France is freed from these men the better for her. It is her only hope.

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Notes on the War.—XIII

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1728, 27. August 1870

Notes on the War.—XIII.

Yesterday a piece of news was telegraphed which caused great sensation among our contemporaries. It came from Berlin, and was to this effect, that the King's head-quarters had been moved to Bar-le-Duc, that corps of the First and Second Armies remained facing Bazaine's army, and that 5 the remainder of the German forces "had resolutely entered upon their march to Paris."

Hitherto the movements of the German armies have been kept secret during their execution. It was only when the move had been completed, when the blow had been struck, that we learned whither the troops had 10 been going. It seems strange that this system should be reversed all at once; that taciturn Moltke should, without any visible occasion for it, all of a sudden proclaim to the world that he is marching upon Paris, and "resolutely" too.

At the same time we hear that the advanced troops of the Crown 15 Prince are pushed nearer and nearer to Paris, and that his cavalry spread more and more towards the south. Even in Château Thierry, almost half way between Chalons and Paris, the dreaded Uhlans are said to have been seen.

Might there not be a special reason, not quite evident at the first 20 glance, why this announcement of the intentions of the King of Prussia should be made just now, and why, at the same time, the German cavalry should redouble their activity?

Let us compare dates. On the evening of Monday, the 22nd, MacMahon commenced his movements through Rheims on the road to Rethel 25 and for more than fourteen hours the columns passed continually through the town. By the evening of Wednesday, if not before, the news of this march might have reached the German head-quarters. There

Notes on the War.—XIII

could be but one meaning in it: the intention to set free Bazaine from the trap in which he is shut up. The more MacMahon advanced in the direction he had taken the more would he endanger his communications with Paris and his line of retreat, the more would he place himself between the German army and the Belgian frontier. Let him once get beyond the Meuse, which he is said to intend passing at La Neuville, opposite Stenay, and his retreat may easily be cut off. Now, what could more encourage MacMahon to persist in his dangerous manœuvre than the news that, while he was hurrying to the relief of Bazaine, the Germans had left only a comparatively small portion of their forces before Metz, and were marching "resolutely" upon Paris with the great body of their troops? Thus on Wednesday night this same piece of news is telegraphed from Pont-à-Mousson to Berlin, from Berlin to London, from London to Paris and Rheims, whence no doubt MacMahon has at once been favoured with the information; and while he marches on towards Stenay, Longuyon, and Briey, the army of the Crown Prince, leaving a corps or two in Champagne, where now nothing opposes them, would draw off the rest towards St. Mihiel, pass the Meuse there, and try to gain by Fresnes a position threatening the communications of MacMahon's army with the Meuse, and yet within supporting distance of the German troops before Metz. If this were to succeed, and if MacMahon were to be defeated under these circumstances, his army would have either to pass into neutral territory or to surrender to the Germans.

There can be no doubt that MacMahon's movements are perfectly well known at the German head-quarters. From the moment the battle of Rézonville (or Gravelotte, as it is to be officially called) had settled the fact that Bazaine was shut up in Metz, from that moment MacMahon's army was the next object, not only of the army of the Crown Prince, but also of all other troops which could be spared from before Metz. In 1814, indeed, the Allies, after the junction of Blücher and Schwarzenberg between Arcis-sur-Aube and Chalons, marched upon Paris, entirely disregarding Napoleon's march towards the Rhine, and this march decided the campaign. But at that time Napoleon had been defeated at Arcis and was unable to stand against the allied army; there was no French army shut up by allied troops in a border fortress which he might relieve; and, above all things, Paris was not fortified. Now, on the contrary, whatever may be the military value, numerically and morally, represented by MacMahon's army, there is no doubt that it is quite sufficient to raise the investment of Metz, if that investment be carried out by no more troops than are necessary to hold Bazaine in check. And, on the other hand, whatever may be thought of the fortifications of Paris, nobody will be

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foolhardy enough to expect that they will fall like the walls of Jericho, before the first trumpet blast of the invaders. They will at least compel either a lengthy investment to starve out the defence, or a beginning, if not more, of a regular siege. Thus, while the Germans were "resolutely" arriving before Paris, and brought to a dead stop by the forts, MacMahon would defeat the German troops before Metz, unite with Bazaine, and then France would have an army upon the communications and lines of supply of the Germans strong enough to compel them to retreat more "resolutely" than they had advanced. 5

If MacMahon's army, then, be too strong to be neglected by the Germans under the circumstances, we must come to the conclusion that the intelligence of the resolute march of King William to Paris, which most of our contemporaries consider of the highest importance, either is a piece of false news thrown out intentionally to mislead the enemy, or, if it be really an indiscreet publication of correct news, represents a resolution 15 come to before MacMahon's latest move was known, in which case it will be speedily reversed. In either case, a corps or two may continue to advance towards Paris, but the mass of all available troops will be marched north-east to reap to the full those advantages which MacMahon almost throws at their feet. 20

There is every appearance that the siege of Strasburg will soon be brought to an end by the reduction of the fortress. The Germans are clearly quite in earnest about it. The bombardment had yesterday morning been kept up from the side of Kehl day and night for three days. At the same time the Prussians had pushed their advanced posts to within 25 from 500 to 800 yards of the fortress. The arsenal has been fired, and some heavy guns just placed in position will be immediately brought to bear on the place.

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Notes on the War.—XIV

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1731, 31. August 1870

Notes on the War.—XIV.

The Germans have again been too quick for MacMahon. The Fourth Army, under the Crown Prince Albert of Saxony, comprising at least two corps (the Prussian Guards and the 12th or Royal Saxon Corps), if not 5 more, have pushed at once up to the Meuse, secured passages somewhere between Stenay and Verdun, and sent their cavalry across. The defiles of the Argonne are in their power. At St. Ménéould last Thursday they took 800 Gardes Mobiles prisoners, and at Buzancy on Saturday they defeated a French cavalry brigade. On their road they pushed a strong 10 reconnaissance against Verdun last Thursday, but, finding the place in condition to receive them, they did not persist in an attack by main force.

MacMahon, who in the meantime had left Rheims on the 22nd and 23rd with an army, according to French reports, of 150,000 men, well equipped, well provided with artillery, ammunition, and provisions, had 15 not, on the evening of the 25th, got farther than Rethel about twenty-three miles beyond Rheims. How long he continued there, and when he left it, we do not know for certain. But the cavalry engagement at Buzancy, which is on the road to Stenay, some twenty miles farther on, proves that even on Saturday his infantry had not yet arrived there. This 20 slowness of movement contrasts vividly with the activity of the Germans. No doubt, to a great extent, it is caused by the composition of his army, which contains either more or less demoralized troops, or new formations in which young recruits are predominating; some of them are even mere volunteer corps with numbers of non-professional officers. It is 25 evident that this army can neither have the discipline nor the cohesion of the old "army of the Rhine," and that it will be almost impossible to move from 120,000 to 150,000 men of this sort both rapidly and with order. Then there are the trains. The great mass of the heavy trains of the

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army of the Rhine did certainly escape from Metz on the 14th and 15th, but it may be imagined that they were not in the very best of conditions; it may be assumed that their supply of ammunition and the state of their horses are not all that is to be desired. And finally, we may take it for granted that the French Intendance has not mended since the beginning 5 of the war, and that consequently the provisioning [of] a large army in an extremely poor country will be no easy matter. But even if we allow very liberally for all these obstacles, we shall still be compelled to see besides in MacMahon's dilatoriness a distinct symptom of indecision. His nearest way to the relief of Bazaine, the direct road by Verdun once given up, 10 was that by Stenay, and in that direction he struck. But before he got farther than Rethel he must have known that the Germans had seized upon the passages of the Meuse, and that the right flank of his columns on the road to Stenay was not safe. This rapidity of the German advance appears to have disconcerted his plans. We are told that on Friday he was 15 still at Rethel, where he received fresh reinforcements from Paris, and that he intended to move to Mézières next day. As we have had no authentic news of important engagements, this appears very probable. It would imply an almost complete abandonment of his plan to relieve Bazaine; for a movement through the narrow strip of French territory on 20 the right bank of the Meuse, between Mézières and Stenay, would have its great difficulties and dangers, cause fresh delay, and give his opponents ample time to envelop him from all sides. For there can be no doubt now that quite sufficient forces have been sent northwards for this purpose from the army of the Crown Prince. Whatever we hear of the 25 whereabouts of the Third Army points to a northward movement by the three great routes most handy for the purpose—Epernay, Rheims, Rethel; Chalons, Vouziers; and Bar-le-Duc, Varennes, Grandpré. The fact of the engagement at Saint Ménéould being telegraphed from Bar-le-Duc renders it even possible that it was part of the Third Army which there 30 defeated the Mobiles and occupied the town.

But what can be MacMahon's intention if he really moves upon Mézières? We doubt whether he has any very clear idea himself of what he intends doing. We now know that his march northwards was, to a certain extent at least, forced upon him by the insubordination of his men, who 35 grumbled at the "retreat" from the camp of Chalons to Rheims, and rather strongly demanded to be led against the enemy. The march to relieve Bazaine was then entered upon. By the end of the week MacMahon may have been pretty well convinced that his army had not the mobility necessary for a direct march upon Stenay, and that he had 40 better take the, for the moment, safer road by Mézières. This would

certainly postpone and might render impracticable the intended relief of Bazaine; but had MacMahon ever any very decided faith in his ability to effect that? We doubt it. And then the move on Mézières would, at all events, delay the enemy's march upon Paris, give the Parisians more time
5 to complete their defence, gain time for the organization of the armies of reserve behind the Loire and at Lyons; and in case of need might he not retire along the northern frontier upon the threefold belt of fortresses, and try whether there was not some "quadrilateral" among them? Some such more or less indefinite ideas may have induced MacMahon, who
10 certainly does not seem to be anything of a strategist, to make a second false move after once having entangled himself in a first one; and thus we see the last army which France has, and probably will have, in the field during this war march deliberately to its ruin, from which only the grossest blunders of the enemy can save it; and that enemy has not made one
15 mistake yet.

We say the last army which France probably will have in the field during this war. Bazaine has to be given up, unless MacMahon can relieve him, and that is more than doubtful. MacMahon's army, in the best of cases, will get scattered among the fortresses on the northern frontier,
20 where it will be harmless. The reserve armies that are now spoken about will be raw levies, mingled with a certain number of old soldiers, and unavoidably commanded by chiefly unprofessional officers; they will be armed with all sorts of arms; they will be totally unused to the breech-loaders, which is tantamount to saying that their ammunition will be
25 spent before it is really wanted—in one word, they will be unfit for the field, fit for nothing but the defence of fortifications. While the Germans have not only brought their battalions and squadrons to their full complement again, but keep sending division after division of landwehr to France, the French fourth battalions are not complete yet. Only sixty-six
30 of them have been formed into "régiments de marche," and sent either to Paris or to MacMahon; the remaining thirty-four were not ready to march out a few days ago. The army organization fails everywhere; and a noble and gallant nation finds all its efforts for self-defence unavailing, because it has for twenty years suffered its destinies to be guided by a set
35 of adventurers who turned administration, government, army, navy—in fact, all France—into a source of pecuniary profit to themselves.

Friedrich Engels
Notes on the War.—XV

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1733, 2. September 1870

Notes on the War.—XV.

On the 26th of August, when the whole of our contemporaries, with scarcely one exception, were far too busy descanting upon the immense importance of the Crown Prince's "resolute" march upon Paris to have any time left for MacMahon, we ventured to point out that the really important movement of the day was that which the latter general was reported to be making for the relief of Metz. We said that in case of defeat "MacMahon's troops may have to surrender in that little strip of French territory jutting out into Belgium between Mézières and Charlemont-Givet." 5

What we presumed then is now almost accomplished. MacMahon has with him the 1st (his own), 5th (formerly De Failly's, now Wimpfen's), 7th (Douay's), and 12th (Lebrun's) corps, with such troops as could be spared from Paris up to the 29th, including even those rebellious Mobiles of Saint Maur; and, besides, the cavalry of Canrobert's corps, which was left at 10 Chalons. The whole force will represent, perhaps, 150,000 men, barely one half of which are troops of the old army; the rest, fourth battalions and Mobiles in about equal proportions. It is said to be well provided with artillery, but of this a great portion must consist of newly-formed batteries, and it is notoriously very weak in cavalry. Even if this army 15 should be numerically stronger than we estimate it, this excess must consist of new levies, and will not add to its strength, which we can scarcely deem to be equivalent to a force of 100,000 good soldiers. 20

MacMahon left Rheims for Rethel and the Meuse on the evening of the 22nd, but the 13th Corps was despatched from Paris on the 28th and 25 29th only; and as by that time the direct railway to Rethel, via Rheims, was menaced by the enemy, these troops had to be sent round by the Northern of France Railway, by St. Quentin, Avesnes, and Hirson. They

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could not complete their journey before the 30th or 31st, and then fighting had already begun in earnest; so that the troops for which MacMahon had waited were not there after all when wanted. For, while he kept losing time between Rethel, Mézières, and Stenay, the Germans came 5 marching on from all sides. On the 27th a brigade of his advanced cavalry was defeated at Buzancy. On the 28th, Vouziers, an important crossing of roads in the Argonnes, was in German hands, and two of their squadrons charged and took Vrizy, a village occupied by infantry, who had to surrender—a feat, by-the-by, of which there is but one previous example—10 the taking of Dembe Wielkie by Polish cavalry, from Russian infantry and cavalry, in 1831. On the 29th no engagements are reported from any trustworthy source. But on the 30th (Tuesday) the Germans, having concentrated sufficient forces, fell upon MacMahon and defeated him. The German accounts speak of a battle near Beaumont, and of an engagement 15 near Nouart (on the road from Stenay to Buzancy), but Belgian reports refer to fighting on the right bank of the Meuse, between Mouzon and Carignan. The two can be easily reconciled, and supposing the Belgian telegrams to be substantially correct, the German Fourth Army (4th, 12th, and Guards Corps) appear to have had the 4th and 12th corps on 20 the left bank of the Moselle, where they were joined by the First Bavarian corps, the first instalment of the Third Army arriving from the South. They met MacMahon's main forces at Beaumont, marching evidently in the direction of Mézières to Stenay; they attacked them, a portion, probably the Bavarians, falling upon and overlapping their right flank, and 25 pushing them away from their direct line of retreat towards the Meuse at Mouzon, where the difficulty and delay of the passage over the bridge would account for their great losses of prisoners, artillery, and stores. While this was going on, the advanced guard of the 12th German Corps, which appears to have been sent off in a different direction, met the 5th 30 French Corps (Wimpfen's) marching, to all appearances, by way of Le Chêne-populeux, the valley of the Bar, and Buzancy, towards the flank of the Germans. The encounter took place at Nouart, about seven miles south of Beaumont, and was successful for the Germans; that is to say, they succeeded in stopping Wimpfen's flank movement while the fighting 35 was going on at Beaumont. A third portion of MacMahon's forces, according to the Belgian reports, must have advanced on the right bank of the Meuse, where it is said to have encamped the previous night at Vaux, between Carignan and Mouzon; but this corps, too, was attacked by the Germans (probably the Guards) and completely defeated, with the loss, 40 as is alleged, of four mitrailleurs.

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The *ensemble* of these three engagements (always supposing the Belgian accounts to be substantially correct) would constitute that complete defeat of MacMahon which we have repeatedly predicted. The four corps opposed to him would now number about 100,000 men, but it is questionable whether they were all engaged. MacMahon's troops, as we have 5 said, would be equivalent to about that number of good soldiers. That their resistance was nothing like that of the old army of the Rhine is implied in the remark of a German official telegram, that "our losses are moderate," and the number of prisoners taken. It is too early yet to attempt to criticise MacMahon's tactical arrangements for and during 10 this battle, as we know scarcely anything about them. But his strategy cannot be too strongly condemned. He has thrown away every fair chance of escape. His position between Rethel and Mézières rendered it possible for him to fight so as to have his retreat open to Laon and Soissons, and thereby the means of again reaching Paris or western France. Instead of this, he fought as if his only line of retreat was to Mézières, and as if Belgium belonged to him. He is said to be at Sedan; the victorious Germans will by this time have lined the left bank of the Meuse, not only before that fortress, but also before Mézières, whence their left will, in another day or so, extend to the Belgian frontier near Rocroi, and then 15 MacMahon will be shut up in that little strip of territory upon which we placed our finger six days ago.

Once there, he has but little choice left to him. He has four fortresses around him—Sedan, Mézières, Rocroi, and Charlemont; but upon twelve square miles of territory, with an overpowering army in front, and 25 a neutral country in the rear, he cannot play at quadrilaterals. He will be starved out or fought out; he will be compelled to surrender either to the Prussians or to the Belgians. But there is one other course open to him. We said just now he had acted as if Belgium belonged to him. What if he really thought so? What if the whole mystery at the bottom of this inexplicable strategy was a settled determination to use Belgian territory as if it belonged to France? From Charlemont there is a straight road through Belgium, by Philippeville, to French territory, near Maubeuge. This road is but one half of the distance from Mézières to Maubeuge through French territory. What if MacMahon intended to use that road for escape, in case he was reduced to the last extremity? The Belgians, he may think, will not be in a condition to effectually resist an army as strong as his; and if the Germans, as is very likely, follow MacMahon into Belgian territory, in case the Belgians cannot stop him, why, then there arise new political complications which may better, but cannot render much worse, 30 the present situation of France. Moreover, if MacMahon should succeed

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in driving but one German patrol upon Belgian ground, the breach of neutrality would be established, and form an excuse for his subsequent violation of Belgium. Such ideas may have passed through the head of this old Algerian; they are in keeping with African warfare, and, indeed,
5 they are almost the only ones by which such strategy as he has shown can be excused. But even that chance may be cut off from him; if the Crown Prince acts with his usual quickness, he may possibly reach Monthermé and the junction of the rivers Semois and Meuse before MacMahon, and then MacMahon would be pent up between Semoy and Sedan on about
10 as much ground as his men require for a camp, and without any hope of a short cut through neutral ground.

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Friedrich Engels
The French defeats

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1734, 3. September 1870

The French defeats.

A large army, when driven into a corner, dies hard. It took first of all three battles to teach Bazaine's troops that they were really shut up in Metz, and then thirty-six hours' desperate fighting through day and night on Wednesday and Thursday last to convince them—if even then convinced—that there was no opening for escape through the toils in which the Prussians had caught them. Nor was the battle of Tuesday enough to compel MacMahon to give in. A fresh battle—apparently the greatest and most bloody of all the series—had to be fought on Thursday, and he himself wounded, before he was brought to a sense of his real position, 5
The first account of the fighting near Beaumont and Carignan appears to have been substantially correct, with this exception, that the line of retreat of the French corps engaged at Beaumont, which ran on the left bank of the Meuse to Sedan, was not cut off entirely. Some portion of these troops seem to have escaped on the left bank to Sedan—at least 10 there was fighting again on that same bank on Thursday. Then there appears to be some doubt as to the date of the engagement of Nouart, which the staff in Berlin are disposed to think took place on Monday. This would certainly make the German telegrams agree better, and, if so, the turning movement which was ascribed to the French Fifth Corps 15 would equally fall to the ground.

The result of the fighting on Tuesday was disastrous to the French corps engaged. Above twenty cannon, eleven mitrailleurs, and 7,000 prisoners are results almost equivalent to those of Woerth, but conquered much more easily, and with much smaller sacrifices. The French were 20 driven back on both banks of the Meuse to the immediate neighbourhood of Sedan. On the left bank their position after the battle appears to have been defined to the west by the River Bar and the Canal des Ar-

The French defeats

dennes, both of which run along the same valley, and enter the Meuse at Villers, between Sedan and Mézières; on the east, by the ravine and brook running from Raucourt to the Meuse at Remilly. Having thus both flanks secured, their main body would occupy the intervening plateau, ready to meet an attack from any side. On the right bank, the river Chiers, which joins the Meuse about four miles above Sedan, opposite Remilly, must have been crossed by the French after Tuesday's battle. There are three parallel ravines, running north and south from the Belgian frontier, the first and second towards the Chiers, the third and largest immediately in front of Sedan, towards the Meuse. On the second of these, near its highest point, is the village of Cernay; on the third, above, where it is crossed by the road to Bouillon in Belgium, Givonne; and lower down, where the road to Stenay and Montmédy crosses the ravine, is Bazeilles. These three ravines in Thursday's battle must have formed as many successive defensive positions for the French, who naturally would hold the last and strongest with the greatest tenacity. This part of the battle-field is something like that of Gravelotte; but, while there the ravines could be and actually were turned by the plateau whence they sprang, here the proximity of the Belgian frontier rendered an attempt at turning them very risky, and almost compelled a direct front attack.

While the French established themselves in this position, and drew towards them such troops as had not taken part in Tuesday's battle (among others, probably, the 12th Corps, including the Mobiles from Paris), the Germans had a day's time to concentrate their army; and when they attacked on Thursday they had on the spot the whole of the Fourth Army (Guards, 4th and 12th Corps) and three corps (5th, 11th, and one Bavarian) of the Third; a force morally if not numerically superior to that of MacMahon. The fighting began at half-past seven in the morning, and at a quarter past four, when the King of Prussia telegraphed, it was still going on, the Germans gaining ground on all sides. According to the Belgian reports, the villages of Bazeilles, Remilly, Villers, and Cernay were in flames, and the chapel of Givonne was in the hands of the Germans. This would indicate that on the left bank of the Meuse the two villages which supported, in case of a retreat, the French wings had been either taken or rendered untenable; while on the right bank the first and second lines of defence had been conquered, and the third, between Bazeilles and Givonne, was at least on the point of being abandoned by the French. Under these circumstances there can be no doubt that nightfall would see the Germans victorious and the French driven back to Sedan. This, indeed, is confirmed by telegrams from Belgium announcing the fact that MacMahon was completely hemmed

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in, and that thousands of French troops were crossing the frontier and being disarmed.

Under these circumstances there were only two alternatives open to MacMahon—capitulation or a dash across Belgian territory. The defeated army, shut up in and about Sedan—that is, in a district not larger, at best, than it would require for its encampment—could not possibly maintain itself; and even if it had been able to keep open its communication with Mézières, which is about ten miles to the west, it would still be hemmed in in a very confined strip of territory, and unable to hold out. Thus MacMahon, unable to fray a road through his enemies, must either 10 pass on Belgian territory or surrender. As it happened, MacMahon, disabled by his wounds, was spared the pain of a decision. It fell to General De Wimpfen to announce the surrender of the French army. This conclusion can hardly fail to have been hastened by the news, supposing news could reach them, of Bazaine's decisive repulse in his efforts to get 15 away from Metz. The Germans had foreseen his intention, and were prepared to meet him at all points. Not only Steinmetz but Prince Frederick Charles (as appears from the corps mentioned, 1st and 9th), were on the watch, and careful entrenchments further strengthened the barrier encircling Metz.

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Notes on the War.—XVI

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1737, 7. September 1870

Notes on the War.—XVI.

The capitulation of Sedan settles the fate of the last French army in the field. It settles at the same time the fate of Metz and Bazaine's army; relief being now out of the question, they will have to capitulate too,
5 perhaps this week, almost certainly not later than next week.

There remains the colossal entrenched camp of Paris, the last hope of France. The fortifications of Paris form the hugest complex of military engineering works ever constructed; they have never yet been put to the test, and consequently opinions as to their value are not only divided, but
10 absolutely contradictory. By examining the actual facts of the case, we shall gain a safe basis upon which to found our conclusions.

Montalembert, a French cavalry officer, but a military engineer of uncommon and, perhaps, unparalleled genius, was the first to propose and work out during the latter half of the eighteenth century the plan of
15 surrounding fortresses by detached forts at such a distance as to shelter the place itself from bombardment. Before him the outworks—citadels, lunettes, &c.—were more or less attached to the enceinte or rampart of the place, scarcely ever farther distant from it than the foot of the glacis. He proposed forts large and strong enough to hold out a separate siege,
20 and distant from the ramparts of the town from six hundred to twelve hundred yards, and even more. The new theory was for years treated with contempt in France, while it found willing pupils in Germany when, after 1815, the line of the Rhine had to be fortified. Cologne, Coblenz, Mayence, and later on Ulm, Rastadt, and Germersheim, were surround-
25 ed with detached forts; the proposals of Montalembert were modified by Aster and others, and a new system of fortifications thus arose, known under the name of the German school. By-and-by the French began to see the utility of detached forts, and, when Paris was fortified, it was at

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once evident that the immense line of ramparts round that city would not be worth constructing unless covered by detached forts, otherwise a breach effected in one place of the rampart would bring on the fall of the whole.

Modern warfare has shown in more than one instance the value of such entrenched camps, formed by a circle of detached forts, with the main fortress for its nucleus. Mantua, by its position, was an entrenched camp, so was Dantzic, more or less, in 1807, and these two were the only fortresses which ever arrested Napoleon I. Again, in 1813, Dantzic was enabled by its detached forts—field works for the most part—to offer a prolonged resistance. The whole of Radetzky's campaign in 1849 in Lombardy hinged on the entrenched camp of Verona, itself the nucleus of the celebrated Quadrilateral; so did the whole of the Crimean war depend on the fate of the entrenched camp of Sebastopol, which held out so long merely because the Allies were unable to invest it on all sides, and cut off supplies and reinforcements from the besieged. 5

The case of Sebastopol is, for our purpose, most in point, because the extent of the fortified place was larger than in any previous instance. But Paris is much larger even than Sebastopol. The circuit of the forts measures about twenty-four miles. Will the strength of the place be increased 20 in proportion?

The works of themselves are models of their kind. They are of the utmost simplicity; a plain enceinte of bastions, without even a single demi-lune before the curtains; the forts, mostly bastioned quadrangles or pentagons, without any demi-lunes or other outworks; here and there a 25 horn-work or crown-work to cover an outlying space of high ground. They are constructed not so much for passive as for active defence. The garrison of Paris is expected to come out into the open, to use the forts as supporting points for its flanks, and by constant sallies on a large scale to render impossible a regular siege of any two or three forts. Thus, whilst 30 the forts protect the garrison of the town from a too near approach of the enemy, the garrison will have to protect the forts from siege batteries; it will have constantly to destroy the besiegers' works. Let us add that the distance of the forts from the ramparts precludes the possibility of an effective bombardment of the town until two or three at least of the forts 35 shall have been taken. Let us further add that the position, at the junction of the Seine and Marne, both with extremely winding courses, and with a strong range of hills on the most exposed, the north-eastern front, offers great natural advantages, which have been made the best of in the planning of the works.

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If these conditions can be fulfilled, and the two million people inside can be regularly fed, Paris is undoubtedly an extremely strong place. To procure provisions for the inhabitants is not a very difficult matter, if taken in hand in time, and carried out systematically. Whether that has

5 been done in the present instance is very doubtful. What has been done by the late Government looks like spasmodic and even thoughtless work. The accumulation of live cattle without provender for them was a perfect piece of absurdity. We may presume that, if the Germans act with their usual decision, they will find Paris but poorly provisioned for a long

10 siege.

But how about that chief condition, the active defence, the garrison which goes out to attack the enemy, instead of striking behind the ramparts? To show the full strength of its works, and to prevent the enemy from taking advantage of its weakness, the absence of protecting out-
15 works in the main ditches, Paris requires to count among its defenders a regular army. And that was the fundamental idea with the men who planned the works; that a defeated French army, its inability to hold the field being once established, should fall back upon Paris, and participate in the defence of the capital; either directly, as a garrison strong enough
20 to prevent, by constant attacks, a regular siege and even a complete investment, or indirectly, by taking up a position behind the Loire, there recruiting its strength, and then falling, as opportunities might offer, upon such weak points as the besiegers, in their immense investing line, could not avoid presenting.

25 Now, the whole conduct of the French commanders in this war has contributed to deprive Paris of this one essential condition of its defence. There is of all the French army but the troops which remained in Paris and the corps of General Vinoy (the 12th, originally Trochu's); together, perhaps, 50,000 men, almost all, if not indeed all of them, fourth battal-
30 ions and Mobile Guards. To these may be added perhaps 20,000 or 30,000 men more of fourth battalions, and an indefinite number of Mo-
bile Guards of the provinces, raw levies totally unfit for the field. We have seen at Sedan what little use such troops are in a battle. They, no doubt, will be more trustworthy when they have forts to fall back upon,
35 and a few weeks' drill, discipline, and fighting will certainly improve them. But the active defence of a large place like Paris implies movements of large masses in the open, regular battles at a distance in front of the sheltering forts, attempts to break through the line of investment or to prevent its completion. And for that, for attacks on a superior enemy,
40 where surprise and dash are required, and where the troops must be kept perfectly in hand for that purpose, the present garrison of Paris will be scarcely available.

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We suppose the united Third and Fourth German Armies, fully 180,000 strong, will appear before Paris in the course of next week, surround it with flying columns of cavalry, destroy the railway communications, and thereby all chance of extensive supplies, and prepare the regular investment, which will be completed on the arrival of the First and Second Armies after the fall of Metz, leaving plenty of men to be sent beyond the Loire to scour the country, and prevent any attempt at the formation of a new French army. Should Paris not surrender, then the regular siege will have to begin, and, in the absence of an active defence, must proceed comparatively rapidly. This would be the regular 1 course of things if there were none but military considerations; but affairs have now come to a point when these may be set aside by political events, to prognosticate which does not belong to our province here.

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Notes on the War.—XVII

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1739, 9. September 1870

Notes on the War.—XVII.

The time it will take the German armies to march to Paris and there open a new phase of the war gives us leisure to look back upon what has been going on behind the front of the troops in the field, before the fortresses.

5 Leaving out of the question Sedan, which was included as a corollary in the capitulation of MacMahon's army, the Germans have taken four fortresses—La Petite Pierre and Vitry, without a blow; Lichtenberg and Marsal, after a short bombardment. They have merely blockaded Bitche; they are besieging Strasburg; they have bombarded, so far without result, 10 Phalsburg, Toul, Montmédy; and they intend to begin in a few days the regular sieges of Toul and Metz.

With the exception of Metz, which is protected by detached forts far in advance of the town, all other fortresses which resisted have been subjected to bombardment. This proceeding has, at all times, formed a part 15 of the operations of a regular siege; at first, it was principally intended to destroy the stores of provisions and ammunition of the besieged, but since it has become the custom to secure these in bomb-proof vaults, constructed for the purpose, the bombardment has more and more been used to set fire to and destroy as many buildings as possible inside the 20 fortress. The destruction of the property and provisions of the inhabitants of the place became a means of pressure upon them, and, through them, upon the garrison and commander. In cases where the garrison was weak, ill-disciplined, and demoralized, and where the commander was without energy, a bombardment alone often effected the surrender of 25 a fortress. This was the case especially in 1815 after Waterloo, when a whole series of fortresses, garrisoned chiefly by National Guards, surrendered to a short bombardment without awaiting a regular siege. Avesnes, Guise, Maubeuge, Landrecies, Marienbourg, Philippeville, &c, all fell

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after a few hours', at best a few days', shelling. It was no doubt the recollection of these successes, and the knowledge that most of the frontier places were garrisoned chiefly by Mobile and sedentary National Guards, which induced the Germans to try the same plan again. Moreover, the introduction of rifled artillery having made shells the almost 5 exclusive projectiles even of field artillery, it is now comparatively easy to bombard a place and set fire to its buildings with the ordinary field guns of an army corps, without awaiting, as formerly, the arrival of mortars and heavy siege howitzers.

Although recognized in modern warfare, it is not to be forgotten that 10 the bombardment of the private houses in a fortress is always a very harsh and cruel measure, which ought not to be had recourse to without at least a reasonable hope of compelling surrender, and without a certain degree of necessity. If places like Phalsburg, Lichtenberg, and Toul are bombarded, this may be justified on the ground that they stop mountain 15 passes and railways, the immediate possession of which is of the greatest importance to the invader, and might reasonably be expected to follow as the result of a few days' shelling. If two of these places have so far held out, this redounds so much more to the credit of the garrison and the inhabitants. But as to the bombardment of Strasburg, which preceded 20 the regular siege, the case is quite different.

Strasburg, a city of above 80,000 inhabitants, surrounded by fortifications in the antiquated manner of the sixteenth century, was strengthened by Vauban, who built a citadel outside the town, nearer the Rhine, and connected it with the ramparts of the town by the continuous lines of 25 what was then called an entrenched camp. The citadel commanding the town, and being capable of independent defence after the town has capitulated, the simplest way to take both would be to attack the citadel at once, so as not to have to go through two successive sieges; but then, the works of the citadel are so much stronger, and its situation in the 30 swampy lowlands near the Rhine renders the throwing up of trenches so much more difficult, that circumstances may, and generally will, advise a previous attack on the town, with the fall of which a further defence of the citadel alone would, in the eyes of a weak commander, lose much of its purpose; except in so far as it might secure better conditions of sur- 35 render. But, at all events, if the town alone be taken, the citadel remains to be reduced, and an obstinate commander may continue to hold out, and keep the town and the besieger's establishments in it under fire.

Under these circumstances what could be the use of a bombardment of the town? If all went well, the inhabitants might demoralize the greater 40 part of the garrison, and compel the commander to abandon the town

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and throw himself, with the élite of his soldiers, 3,000 to 5,000 men, into the citadel, and there continue the defence and hold the town under his fire. And the character of General Uhrich (for that, and not Ulrich, is the name of the gallant old soldier) was known well enough to prevent any-
5 body from supposing that he would allow himself to be intimidated into a surrender, both of town and citadel, by any amount of shells thrown into them. To bombard a place which has an independent citadel commanding it is in itself an absurdity and a useless cruelty. Certainly, stray shells or the slow shelling of a siege will always do damage in a besieged
10 town; but that is nothing compared to the destruction and sacrifice of civilian life during a regular, systematic six days' bombardment such as has been inflicted upon the unfortunate city.

The Germans say they must have the town soon, for political reasons. They intend to keep it at the peace. If that be so, the bombardment, the
15 severity of which is unparalleled, was not only a crime, it was also a blunder. An excellent way, indeed, to obtain the sympathies of a town which is doomed to annexation, by setting it on fire and killing numbers of the inhabitants by exploding shells! And has the bombardment advanced the surrender by one single day? Not that we can see. If the
20 Germans want to annex the town and break the French sympathies of the inhabitants, their plan would have been to take the town by as short a regular siege as possible, then besiege the citadel, and place the commander on the horns of the dilemma, either to neglect some of the means of defence at his disposal or to fire on the town.

25 As it is, the immense quantities of shell thrown into Strasburg have not superseded the necessity for a regular siege. On the 29th of August the first parallel had to be opened on the north-western side of the fortress, near Schiltigheim, running at a distance of from 500 to 650 yards from the works. On the 3rd of September the second parallel (some correspond-
30 ents call it by mistake the third) was opened at 330 yards; the useless bombardment has been stopped by order of the King of Prussia, and it may take till about the 17th or 20th before a practicable breach can be made in the ramparts. But all estimates in this case are hazardous. It is the first instance of a siege in which the percussion shells of modern rifled
35 artillery are used against masonry. In their trials during the dismantling of Jülich the Prussians obtained extraordinary results; masonry was breached and blockhouses were demolished at great distances, and by indirect fire (that is, from batteries where the object fired at could not be seen); but this was merely a peace experiment and will have to be con-
40 firmed in actual war. Strasburg will serve to give us a pretty good idea of the effect of the modern heavy rifled artillery in siege operations, and on this account its siege deserves to be watched with peculiar interest.

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The rise and fall of armies

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1740, 10. September 1870

The rise and fall of armies.

When Louis Napoleon founded the Empire "which was peace," on the votes of the peasants and on the bayonets of their sons, the soldiers of the army, that army did not occupy a particularly prominent rank in Europe, except, perhaps, by tradition. There had been peace since 1815—peace 5 interrupted, for some armies, by the events of 1848 and 1849. The Austrians had gone through a successful campaign in Italy and a disastrous one in Hungary; neither Russia in Hungary nor Prussia in South Germany had gathered any laurels worth speaking of; Russia had her permanent war in the Caucasus and France in Algeria. But none of the great 10 armies had met another on the field of battle since 1815. Louis Philippe had left the French army in a condition of anything but efficiency; the Algerian troops, and especially the pet corps founded more or less for African warfare—Chasseurs-à-Pied, Zouaves, Turcos, Chasseurs d'Afrique—were indeed the objects of much attention; but the mass of the 15 infantry, the cavalry, and the matériel in France were much neglected. The Republic did not improve the state of the army. But the Empire came which was peace, and—"si vis pacem, para bellum"—to it the army at once became the chief object of attention. At that time France possessed a great many comparatively young officers who had served, in 20 high positions, in Africa at the time when there was still some serious fighting there. She possessed, in the Algerian special corps, troops who undoubtedly were superior to any others in Europe. She had, in the numerous substitutes, a greater number of professional soldiers who had seen service, real veterans, than any other continental Power. The one 25 thing necessary was to elevate as much as possible the mass of the troops to the level of the special corps. This was done to a great extent. The "pas gymnastique" (the "double" of the English), hitherto practised by the

The rise and fall of armies

special corps only, was extended to the whole infantry, and thus a rapidity of manoeuvring was obtained previously unknown to armies. The cavalry was mounted, as far as possible, with better horses; the matériel of the whole army was looked to and completed; and, finally, the Crimean war was commenced. The organization of the French army showed to great advantage beside that of the English; the numerical proportions of the Allied armies naturally gave the principal part of the glory—whatever there was of it—to the French; the character of the war, circling entirely round one grand siege, brought out to the best advantage the peculiarly mathematical genius of the French as applied by their engineers; and altogether the Crimean war again elevated the French army to the rank of the first army in Europe.

Then came the period of the rifle and the rifled gun. The incomparable superiority of the fire of the rifled over the smooth-bore musket led to the abolition, or in some cases to the general rifling, of the latter. Prussia had her old muskets converted into rifles in less than one year; England gradually gave the Enfield, Austria an excellent small-bore rifle (Lorentz), to the whole infantry. France alone retained the old smooth-bore musket, the rifle being confined, as before, to the special corps alone. But while the mass of her artillery retained the short twelve-pounder, a pet invention of the Emperor, but of inferior efficiency to the old artillery on account of the reduced charge—a number of rifled four-pounder batteries—were equipped and held in readiness for a war. Their construction was faulty, being the first rifled guns made since the fifteenth century; but their efficiency was much superior to that of any smooth-bore field gun in existence.

Under these circumstances the Italian war broke out. The Austrian army had rather easy-going ways; extraordinary efforts had seldom been its forte; in fact, it was respectable, and nothing more. Its commanders counted some of the best and a great many of the worst generals of the age. Court influence brought the mass of the latter into high command. The blunders of the Austrian generals, the greater ambition of the French soldiers, gave the French army a rather hard-fought victory. Magenta brought no trophies at all; Solferino only a few; and politics dropped the curtain before the real difficulty of the war, the contest for the Quadrilateral, could come off.

After this campaign the French was the model army of Europe. If after the Crimean war the French Chasseur-à-Pied had already become the *beau idéal* of a foot soldier, this admiration was now extended to the whole of the French army. Its institutions were studied; its camps became instructing schools for officers of all nations. The invincibility of the

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French became almost a European article of faith. In the meantime France rifled all her old muskets, and armed all her artillery with rifled cannon.

But the same campaign which elevated the French army to the first rank in Europe gave rise to efforts which ended in procuring for it, first a rival, then a conqueror. The Prussian army from 1815 to 1850 had undergone the same process of rusting as all other European hosts. But for Prussia this rust of peace became a greater clog in her fighting machinery than anywhere else. The Prussian system at that time united a line and a landwehr regiment in every brigade, so that one half of the field troops had to be formed anew on mobilization. The material for the line and landwehr had become utterly deficient; there was a great deal of petty pilfering among the responsible men. Altogether, when the conflict of 1851 with Austria compelled a mobilization, the whole thing broke down miserably, and Prussia had to pass through the Caudine Forks. The matériel was immediately replaced at great cost, and the whole organization revised, but in its details only. When the Italian war of 1859 compelled another mobilization, the matériel was in better order, but not even then complete; and the spirit of the landwehr, excellent for a national war, showed itself completely unmanageable during a military demonstration which might lead to a war with either one or the other of the belligerents. The reorganization of the army was resolved upon.

This reorganization, carried out behind the back of the Parliament, kept the whole of the thirty-two landwehr regiments of infantry under arms, gradually filling up the ranks by an increased levy of recruits, and finally forming them into line regiments, increasing their number from forty to seventy-two. The artillery was increased in the same proportion, the cavalry in a much smaller one. This increase of the army was about proportional to that of the population of Prussia from 1815 to 1860, from 10'/: to 18V2 millions. In spite of the opposition of the Second Chamber, it remained practically in force. The army was, besides, made more efficient in every respect. It had been the first to supply the whole of the infantry with rifles. Now the needle-gun breech-loader, which had hitherto been supplied to a fraction of the infantry only, was given to all, and a reserve stock prepared. The experiments with rifled artillery, carried on for some years, were brought to a close, and the adopted models gradually replaced the smooth-bores. The excessive parade drill, inherited from stiff old Frederick William III., made room more and more for a better system of training, in which outpost duty and skirmishing were chiefly practised, and the models in both branches were to a great extent the Algerian French. For the detached battalions the

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company column was adopted as the chief fighting formation. Target-shooting was paid great attention to, and capital results were obtained. The cavalry was likewise much improved. The breed of horses, especially in East Prussia, the great horse-breeding country, had been attended to for years, much Arab blood having been introduced, and the fruits now began to become available. The East Prussian horse, inferior in size and speed to the English trooper, is a far superior war horse, and will stand five times as much campaigning. The professional education of the officers, which had been much neglected for a long time, was again screwed up to the prescribed very high level, and altogether the Prussian army was undergoing a complete change. The Danish war was sufficient to show to any one who would see that this was the case; but people would not see. Then came the thunderclap of 1866, and people could not help seeing. Next, there was an extension of the Prussian system to the North German army, and in its fundamental essentials to the South German armies too; and how easily it can be introduced the result has shown. And then came 1870.

But in 1870 the French army was no longer that of 1859. The peculation, jobbery, and general misuse of public duty for private interest which formed the essential base of the system of the Second Empire, had seized the army. If Haussmann and his crew made millions out of the immense Paris job, if the whole Department of Public Works, if every Government contract, every civil office, was shamelessly and openly turned into a means of robbing the public, was the army alone to remain virtuous—the army to which Louis Napoleon owed everything—the army, commanded by men who were quite as fond of wealth as the more fortunate civilian hangers-on of the Court? And when it came to be known that the Government was in the habit of receiving the money for substitutes without providing these substitutes—a thing necessarily known to every regimental officer; when those other peculations in stores &c, commenced which were to supply the funds secretly paid over to the Emperor by the Ministry of War; when the highest places had to be held by men who were in the secret and could not be dismissed whatever they did or neglected—then the demoralization spread to the regimental officers. We are far from saying that peculation at the public expense became common among them; but contempt for their superiors, neglect of duty, and decay of discipline were the necessary consequences. If the chiefs had commanded respect, would the officers have dared, as was the rule, to drive in coaches on the march? The whole thing had become rotten; the atmosphere of corruption in which the Second Empire lived had at last taken effect upon the main prop of

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that Empire, the army; in the hour of trial, there was nothing but the glorious traditions of the service and the innate bravery of the soldiers to oppose the enemy, and these are not alone sufficient to keep an army in the foremost rank.

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Notes on the War.—XVIII

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1744, 15. September 1870

Notes on the War.—XVIII.

There still appears to exist great misapprehension with regard to the siege operations now going on in France. Some of our contemporaries, the *Times* for instance, incline towards the opinion that the Germans, excellent though they be in the field, do not understand how to carry on a siege; others suppose that the siege of Strasburg is carried on for the purpose not so much of getting hold of the town as of making experiments and exercising the German engineers and artillerists. And all this because neither Strasburg, nor Toul, nor Metz, nor Phalsburg has as yet surrendered. It appears to be completely forgotten that the last siege carried on previous to this war, that of Sebastopol, required eleven months of open trenches before the place was reduced.

To rectify such crude notions, which could not be put forth but by people unacquainted with military matters, it will be necessary to recall to them what sort of a proceeding a siege really is. The rampart of most fortresses is bastioned—that is to say, it has at its angles pentagonal projections called bastions, which protect by their fire both the space in front of the works and the ditch lying immediately at their foot. In this ditch, between every two bastions, there is a detached triangular work called the demi-lune, which covers part of the bastions, and the curtain—that is, the portion of rampart between them; the ditch extends round this demi-lune. Outside this main ditch there is the covered way, a broad road protected by the edge of the glacis, an elevation of ground about seven feet high, and gently sloping down externally. In many cases there are other works added to complicate the difficulties of the attack. The ramparts of all these works are lined at the bottom with masonry or protected by water in the ditches, so as to render an assault on the intact works impossible; and the works are so arranged that the outer ones are

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always commanded—that is, looked down upon—by the inner ones, while they themselves command the field by the height of their ramparts.

To attack such a fortress the method perfected by Vauban is still the one made use of, although the rifled artillery of the besieged may compel variations if the ground before the fortress be perfectly level to a great 5 distance. But as almost all these fortresses were constructed under the reign of smooth-bore artillery, the ground beyond 800 yards from the works is generally left out of the calculation, and in almost every case will give the besiegers a sheltered approach up to that distance without regular trenches. The first thing, then, is to invest the place, drive in its 10 outposts and other detachments, reconnoitre the works, get the siege guns, ammunition, and other stores to the front, and organize the depots. In the present war a first bombardment by field guns also belonged to this preliminary period, which may last a considerable time. Strasburg was loosely invested on the 10th of August, closely about the 20th, bom- 15 barded from the 23rd to the 28th, and yet the regular siege began on the 29th only. This regular siege dates from the opening of the first parallel, a trench with the earth thrown up on the side towards the fortress, so as to hide and shelter the men passing through it. This first parallel generally encircles the works at a distance of from 600 to 700 yards. In it are 20 established the enfilading batteries; they are placed in the prolongation of all the faces—that is, those lines of rampart whose fire commands the field; and this is done upon all that part of the fortress which is subjected to attack. Their object is to fire along these faces, and thus to destroy the guns and kill the gunners placed upon them. There must be at least 25 twenty such batteries, with from two to three guns each; say fifty heavy guns in all. There were also usually placed in the first parallel a number of mortars to bombard the town or the bombproof magazines of the garrison; they will, with our present artillery, be required only for the latter purpose, rifled guns being now sufficient for the former. 30

From the first parallel, trenches are pushed in advance in lines, the prolongation of which does not touch the works of the fortress, so that none of the works can enfilade them; they advance in zigzag until they arrive within about 350 yards from the works, where the second parallel is then traced—a trench similar to the first, but shorter in length. This is 35 generally done the fourth or fifth night after the opening of the trenches. In the second parallel are established the counter-batteries, one against each of the attacked faces, and nearly parallel to them; they are to demolish the guns and ramparts face to face, and cross their fire with the enfilading batteries. They will contain in all about sixty guns of heavy 40 calibre. Then, again, the besiegers advance by new zigzags, which become

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shorter and closer together the nearer they come to the fortress. At about 150 yards from the works the half-parallel is dug out for mortar batteries, and at the foot of the glacis, about sixty yards from the works, the third parallel is placed, which again contains mortar batteries. This may be 5 completed on the ninth or tenth night of open trenches.

In this proximity to the works the real difficulty begins. The artillery fire of the besieged, as far as it commands the open, will by this time have been pretty nearly silenced, but the musketry from the ramparts is now more effective than ever, and will retard the work in the trenches very 10 much. The approaches now have to be made with much greater caution and upon a different plan, which we cannot explain here in detail. The eleventh night may bring the besieger to the salient angles of the covered way, in front of the salient points of the bastions and demi-lunes; and by the sixteenth night he may have completed the crowning of the glacis— 15 that is to say, carried along his trenches behind the crest of the glacis parallel to the covered way. Then only will he be in a position to establish batteries in order to break the masonry of the ramparts, so as to effect a passage across the ditch into the fortress, and to silence the guns on the bastion flanks, which fire along the ditch and forbid its passage. These 20 flanks and their guns may be destroyed and the breach effected on the seventeenth day. On the following night the descent into the ditch and a covered way across it to protect the storming party against flanking fire may be completed and the assault given.

We have in this sketch attempted to give an account of the course of 25 siege operations against one of the weakest and simplest classes of fortress (a Vauban's hexagon), and to fix the time necessary for the various stages of the siege—if undisturbed by successful sallies—on the supposition that the defence does not display extraordinary activity, courage, or resources. Yet, even under these favourable circumstances, we see it 30 will take at least seventeen days before the main ramparts can be breached, and thereby the place opened to an assault. If the garrison be sufficient in number and well supplied, there is no military reason whatever why they should surrender before; from a merely military point of view it is nothing but their duty that they should hold out at least so 35 long. And then people complain that Strasburg, which has been subjected to but fourteen days of open trenches, and which possesses outworks on the front of attack, enabling it to hold out at least five days longer than the average—that Strasburg has not yet been taken. They complain that Metz, Toul, Phalsburg have not yet surrendered. But we do not yet know 40 whether a single trench has been opened against Toul, and of the other fortresses we know that they are not yet regularly besieged at all. As to

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Metz, there seems at present no intention to besiege it regularly; the starving out of Bazaine's army appears the most effective way of taking it. These impatient writers ought to know that there are but very few commanders of fortresses who will surrender to a patrol of four Lancers, or even to a bombardment, if they have anything like sufficient garrisons 5 and stores at their command. If Stettin surrendered in 1807 to a regiment of cavalry, if the French border fortresses in 1815 capitulated under the effect, or even the fear, of a short bombardment, we must not forget that Woerth and Spicheran together amounted neither to a Jena nor to a Waterloo; and, moreover, it would be preposterous to doubt that there 10 are plenty of officers in the French army who can hold out a regular siege even with a garrison of Gardes Mobiles.

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How to fight the Prussians

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1746, 17. September 1870

How to fight the Prussians.

After the Italian war of 1859, when the French military power was at its height, Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia, the same who is now investing Bazaine's army in Metz, wrote a pamphlet, "How to fight the French." At the present day, when the immense military strength of Germany, organized upon the Prussian system, is carrying everything before it, people begin to ask themselves who is in future, and how, to fight the Prussians. And when a war in which Germany, at the beginning, merely defended her own against French *chauvinisme* appears to be changing gradually, but surely, into a war in the interests of a new German *chauvinisme*, it is worth while to consider that question.

"Providence always is on the side of the big battalions" was a favourite way of *the Napoleon* to explain how battles were won and lost. It is upon this principle that Prussia has acted. She took care to have the "big battalions." When, in 1807, Napoleon forbade her to have an army of more than 40,000 men, she dismissed her recruits after six months' drill, and put fresh men in their places; and in 1813 she was able to bring into the field 250,000 soldiers out of a population of four-and-a-half millions. Afterwards, this same principle of short service with the regiment and long liability for service in the reserve was more fully developed, and, besides, brought into harmony with the necessities of an absolute monarchy. The men were kept from two to three years with the regiments, so as not only to drill them well, but also to break them in completely to habits of unconditional obedience.

Now, here is the weak point in the Prussian system. It has to reconcile two different and finally incompatible objects. On the one hand it pretends to make every able-bodied man a soldier; to have a standing army for no other object than to be a school in which the citizens learn the use

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of arms, and a nucleus round which they rally in time of attack from abroad. So far the system is purely defensive. But, on the other hand, this same army is to be the armed support, the mainstay, of a quasi-absolute Government; and for this purpose the school of arms for the citizens has to be changed into a school of absolute obedience to superiors, and of 5 royalist sentiments. This can be done by length of service only. Here the incompatibility comes out. Foreign defensive policy requires the drilling of many men for a short period, so as to have in the reserve large numbers in case of foreign attack; and home policy requires the breaking in of a limited number of men for a longer period, so as to have a trustworthy 10 army in case of internal revolt. The quasi-absolute monarchy chose an intermediate way. It kept the men full three years under arms, and limited the number of recruits according to its Financial means. The boasted universal liability to military service does not in reality exist. It is changed into a conscription distinguished from that of other countries merely by 15 being more oppressive. It costs more money, it takes more men, and it extends their liability to be called out to a far longer period than is the case anywhere else. And, at the same time, what originally was a people armed for their own defence now becomes changed into a ready and handy army of attack, into an instrument of Cabinet policy. 20

In 1861 Prussia had a population of rather more than eighteen millions, and every year 227,000 young men became liable to military service by attaining the age of twenty. Out of these, fully one-half were bodily fit for service—if not there and then, at least a couple of years afterwards. Well, instead of 114,000 recruits, not more than 63,000 were annually 25 placed in the ranks; so that very near one-half of the able-bodied male population were excluded from instruction in the use of arms. Whoever has been in Prussia during a war must have been struck by the enormous number of strong hearty fellows between twenty and thirty-two who remained quietly at home. The state of "suspended animation" which special correspondents have noticed in Prussia during the war exists in their 30 own imagination only.

Since 1866 the number of annual recruits in the North-German Confederation has not exceeded 93,000, on a population of 30,000,000. If the full complement of able-bodied young men—even after the strictest 35 medical scrutiny—were taken, it would amount to at least 170,000. Dynastic necessities on the one side, financial necessities on the other, determined this limitation of the number of recruits. The army remained a handy instrument for absolutist purposes at home, for Cabinet wars abroad; but as to the full strength of the nation for defence, that was not 40 nearly made available.

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HOW TO FIGHT THE PRUSSIANS.

AFTER the Italian war of 1859, when the French military power was at its height, Prince FREDERICK CHARLES of Prussia, the same who is now investing BAVARIA's army in Metz, wrote a pamphlet, "How to fight the French." At the present day, when the immense military strength of Germany, organized upon the Prussian system, is carried everything before it, people begin to talk about what is fit for us to do how to fight the Prussians. And when a war in which Germany at the beginning merely defended her own against French *chauvinism*, appears to be changing gradually, but surely, into a war in the interests of a new German *chauvinism*, it is worth while to consider that question.

"Providence always is on the side of the big battalions" was a favourite way of the NAPOLEON'S to explain how battles were won and lost. It is upon this principle that Prussia has acted. She took care to have the "big battalions." When, in 1837, NAPOLEON forbade her to have an army of more than 40,000 men, she dismissed her recruits after six months drill, and put fresh men in their places; and in 1813, she was able to bring into the field 250,000 soldiers out of a population of four-and-a-half millions. Afterwards this same principle of short service with the regiment and long liability for service in the reserve was more fully developed, and, besides, brought into harmony with the necessities of an absolute monarchy. The men were kept from two to three years in the service, so as not only to drill them

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Still this system maintained an immense superiority over the old-fashioned cadre system of the other great continental armies. As compared to them, Prussia drew twice the number of soldiers from the same number of population. And she has managed to make them good soldiers too, thanks to a system which exhausted her resources, and which would never have been endured by the people had it not been for LOUIS NAPOLON'S constant feelers for the Rhine frontier, and for the aspirations towards German unity of which this army was instinctively felt to be the necessary instrument. The Rhine and the unity of Germany once secure, that army system must become intolerable.

Here we have the answer to the question, How to fight the Prussians. If a nation equally populous, equally intelligent, equally brave, equally willing were to carry out in unity the plan which in Prussia is done on paper only, to make a soldier of every able-bodied citizen; if that nation limited the actual time of service in peace and for drill to what is really required for the purpose and no more; if it kept up the organization for the war establishment in the same effective way as Prussia has lately done—then, we say, that nation would possess the same immense advantage over Prussianized Germany that Prussianized Germany has proved herself to possess over France in this present war. According to first-rate Prussian authorities (including General VON ROON, the Minister of War, two years ago), if a nation like ours turned a lout into a good soldier, with the permission of her Majesty's martinet, we should even be inclined to say that for the nation the recruits should eighteen months—two summers and winter service. The Prussians, as we have seen, obtained recruits, not after six months' service, and with men who had but just ceased to be serfs. The main point is, that the principle of universal liability to service be really carried out.

And if the war be continued to that bitter end for which the German Philistines are now shouting, the dismemberment of France, we may depend upon it that the French will adopt that principle. They have been so far a warlike but not a military nation. They have hated service in that army of theirs which was established on the cadre system, with long service and few drilled reserves. They will be quite willing to serve in a nation with short service and individual liability to the state, and they will do even more, if that will enable them to wipe out the insult and restore the integrity of France. And then, the "big battalions" will be on the side of France, and the effect they produce will be the same as in this war, unless Germany adopt the same system. But there will be this difference. As the Prussian landwehr system was progress compared with the French cadre system, because it reduced the time of service and increased the number of men capable to defend their country, so will this new system of really universal liability to serve be an advance upon the Prussian system. Armaments for war will become more colossal, but peace-armies will become smaller; the citizens of a country will, every one of them, have to fight out the quarrels of their rulers in person and no longer by substitute; defence will become stronger, and attack will become more difficult; and the very extension of arms will finally turn out to be a reduction of expense and a guarantee of peace.

The *Army and Navy Gazette*, speaking of the athletic meet of Prussian officers, said the following:—"There were many comments made on the cadets, and we were much surprised to learn that no one had any idea what is to be done to replace them next Christmas, or whether the War Office will cut the recommendations of the committee, or whether the War Office will use the report upon it mentioned by Mr. [unclear] of the session."

[1809]

The Pall Mall Gazette. London. Nr. 1746, 17. September 1870. Titelseite mit Engels' Artikel „How to fight the Prussians“

How to fight the Prussians

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20 possess over France in this present war. According to first-rate Prussian authorities (including General von Roon, the Minister of War) two years' service is quite sufficient to turn a lout into a good soldier. With the permission of her Majesty's martinets, we should even be inclined to say that for the mass of the recruits eighteen months—two summers and one
25 winter—would suffice. But the exact length of service is a secondary question. The Prussians, as we have seen, obtained excellent results after six months' service, and with men who had but just ceased to be serfs. The main point is, that the principle of universal liability to service be really carried out.

30 And if the war be continued to that bitter end for which the German Philistines are now shouting, the dismemberment of France, we may depend upon it that the French *will* adopt that principle. They have been so far a warlike but not a military nation. They have hated service in that army of theirs which was established on the cadre system, with long
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Friedrich Engels
Notes on the War.—XIX

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1754, 27. September 1870

Notes on the War.—XIX.

The fortifications of Paris have shown their value already. To them alone it is owing that the Germans have not been in possession of the town for more than a week. In 1814 half a day's fighting about the heights of Montmartre compelled the city to capitulate. In 1815, a range of earthworks, constructed from the beginning of the campaign, created some delay; but their resistance would have been very short had it not been for the absolute certainty on the part of the Allies that the city would be handed over to them without fighting. In this present war, whatever the Germans may have expected from diplomacy has not been allowed to interfere with their military action. And this same military action, short, sharp, and decisive up to the middle of September, became slow, hesitating, *tâtonnante* from the day the German columns got within the sphere of operation of that immense fortified camp, Paris. And naturally so. The mere investment of such a vast place requires time and caution, even if you approach it with 200,000 or 250,000 men. A force so large as that will be hardly sufficient to invest it properly on all sides, though, as in this present case, the town contains no army fit to take the field and to fight pitched battles. That there is no such army in Paris the pitiable results of General Ducrot's sally near Meudon have most decisively proved. Here the troops of the line behaved positively worse than the Garde Mobile; they actually "bolted," the renowned Zouaves leading the way. The thing is easily explained. The old soldiers—mostly men of Mac-Mahon's, De Failly's, and Felix Douay's corps, who had fought at Woerth—were completely demoralized by two disastrous retreats and six weeks of constant ill-success; and it is but natural that such causes will tell most severely upon mercenaries, for the Zouaves, consisting mostly of substitutes, deserve no other name. And these were the men who were

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expected to steady the raw recruits with which the thinned battalions of the line had been filled up. After this affair there may be small raids, successful here and there, but there will scarcely be any more battles in the open.

Another point: The Germans say that Paris is commanded by their guns from the heights near Sceaux; but this assertion is to be taken with a considerable grain of salt. The nearest heights on which they can have placed any batteries above Fontenay-aux-Roses, about 1,500 mètres from the fort of Vanves, are fully 8,000 mètres, or 8,700 yards, from the centre of the town. The Germans have no heavier field artillery than the so-called rifled 6-pounder (weight of projectile about 15 lb.), but even if they had rifled 12-pounders, with projectiles of 32 lb., ready to hand, the extreme range of these guns, at the angles of elevation for which their limbers are constructed, would not exceed 4,500 or 5,000 mètres. Thus this boast need not frighten the Parisians. Unless two or more forts are taken, Paris need not fear a bombardment; and even then the shells would spread themselves so much over the enormous surface that the damage must be comparatively small and the moral effect almost nothing. Look at the enormous mass of artillery brought to bear upon Strasburg: how much more will be required for reducing Paris, even if we keep in mind that the regular attack by parallels will naturally be confined to a small portion of the works! And until the Germans can bring together under the walls of Paris all this artillery, with ammunition and all other appliances, Paris is safe. From the moment the siege matériel is ready, from that moment alone does the real danger begin. 25

We see now clearly what great intrinsic strength there is in the fortifications of Paris. If to this passive strength, this mere power of resistance, were added the active strength, the power of attack of a real army, the value of the former would be immediately increased. While the investing force is unavoidably divided, by the rivers Seine and Marne, into at least three separate portions, which cannot communicate with each other except by bridges constructed to the rear of their fighting positions—that is to say, by roundabout roads and with loss of time only—the great mass of the army in Paris could attack with superior forces any one of these three portions at its choice, inflict losses upon it, destroy any works commenced, and retire under shelter of the forts before the besiegers' supports had time to come up. In case this army in Paris were not too weak compared with the besiegers' forces, it might render the complete investment of the place impossible, or break through it at any time. And how necessary it is to completely invest a besieged place so long as reinforcements from without are not completely out of the question has been 40

Notes on the War.—XIX

shown in the case of Sebastopol, where the siege was protracted entirely by the constant arrival of Russian reinforcements in the northern half of the fortress, access to which could be cut off at the very last moment only. The more events will develop themselves before Paris, the more 5 evident will become the perfect absurdity of the Imperialist generalship during this war, by which two armies were sacrificed and Paris left without its chief arm of defence, the power of retaliating attack for attack.

As to the provisioning such a large town, the difficulties appear to us even less than in the case of a smaller place. A capital like Paris is not 10 only provided with a perfect commercial organization for provisioning itself at all times; it is at the same time the chief market and storehouse where the agricultural produce of an extensive district is collected and exchanged. An active Government could easily take measures to provide, by using these facilities, ample stores for the duration of an average siege. 15 Whether this has been done we have no means of judging; but why it might not have been done, and rapidly too, we cannot see.

Anyhow, if the fighting goes on "to the bitter end," as we now hear it will, resistance will probably not be very long from the day the trenches are opened. The masonry of the scarps is rather exposed, and the absence 20 of demi-lunes before the curtains favours the advance of the besieger and the breaching of the walls. The confined space of the forts admits of a limited number of defenders only; their resistance to an assault, unless seconded by an advance of troops through the intervals of the forts, cannot be serious. But if the trenches can be carried up the glacis of the 25 forts without being destroyed by such sallies of the army in Paris, this very fact proves that that army is too weak—in numbers, organization, or morale—to sally forth with a chance of success on the night of the assault.

A couple of forts once taken, it is to be hoped the town will desist from 30 a hopeless struggle. If not, the operation of a siege will have to be repeated, a couple of breaches effected, and the town again summoned to surrender. And if that be again rejected, then may come the equally chanceless struggle on the barricades. Let us hope that such useless sacrifices will be spared.

Friedrich Engels
The story of the negotiations

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1758, 1. Oktober 1870

The story of the negotiations.

The story we laid before our readers yesterday according to the version of M. Jules Favre we have no difficulty in accepting as correct; always excepting little errors, such as when Bismarck is said to intend the annexation of Metz, Chateau-Salins and "Soissons". M. Favre evidently is ignorant of the geographical whereabouts of Soissons. The Count said Sarrebourg, which town has long been singled out as falling within the new strategical border line, while Soissons is as much outside of it as Paris or Troyes. In his rendering of the terms of the conversation M. Favre may not be quite exact; but where he asserts facts contested by the officious Prussian press, neutral Europe will be generally disposed to go by his statement. Thus, if at Berlin what M. Favre says about the surrender of Mont Valerien being proposed at one time is disputed, there will be few to believe that M. Favre either invented this or totally misunderstood Count Bismarck's meaning. 5

His own report shows but too clearly how little M. Favre understood the actual situation, or how confused and indistinct was his view of it. He came to treat about an armistice which was to lead to peace. His supposition that France still has the power of compelling her opponents to abandon all claim to territorial cession we readily excuse; but on what 20 terms he expected to obtain a cessation of hostilities it is hard to say. The points finally insisted upon were the surrender of Strasburg, Toul, and Verdun—their garrisons to become prisoners of war. Toul and Verdun appear to have been more or less conceded. But Strasburg? The demand was taken by M. Favre simply as an insult and as nothing else. "You 25 forget that you are speaking to a Frenchman, M. le Comte. To thus sacrifice an heroic garrison whose behaviour has been admired universally, and more particularly by us, would be cowardice, and I promise

The story of the negotiations

not to say that you have offered us such a condition." In this reply we find little consideration of the facts of the case—nothing but an outburst of patriotic sentiment. Since this sentiment operated very powerfully in Paris, it was not, of course, to be set aside at such a moment; but it might 5 have been as well to have pondered the facts of the case too. Strasburg had been regularly besieged long enough to make its early fall a matter of positive certainty. A fortress regularly besieged can resist a given time; it may even prolong its defence for a few days by extraordinary efforts; but, unless there arrive an army to relieve it, it is mathematically certain that 10 fall it must. Trochu and the engineering staff in Paris are perfectly aware of this; they know that there is no army anywhere to come to the relief of Strasburg; and yet Trochu's colleague in the Government, Jules Favre, appears to have put all this out of his reckoning. The only thing he saw in the demand to surrender Strasburg was an insult to himself, to the garrison 15 of Strasburg, to the French nation. But the chief parties interested, General Uhrich and his garrison, had certainly done enough for their own honour. To spare them the last few days of a perfectly hopeless struggle, if thereby the feeble chances of salvation for France could be improved, would not have been an insult to them, but a well-merited 20 reward. General Uhrich must necessarily have preferred to surrender to an order from the Government, and for an equivalent, rather than to the threat of an assault and for no return whatsoever.

In the meantime, Toul and Strasburg have fallen, and Verdun, so long as Metz holds out, is of no earthly military use to the Germans, who thus 25 have got, without conceding the armistice, almost everything Bismarck was bargaining for with Jules Favre. It would, then, appear that never was there an armistice offered on cheaper and more generous terms by the conqueror; never one more foolishly refused by the vanquished. Jules Favre's intelligence certainly does not shine in the transaction, though his 30 instincts were probably right enough; whereas Bismarck appears in the new character of the generous conqueror. The offer, as M. Favre understood it, was uncommonly cheap; and, had it been only what he thought, it was one to be accepted at once. But then the proposal was something more than he perceived it to be.

35 Between two armies in the field an armistice is a matter easily settled. A line of demarcation—perhaps a belt of neutral country between the two belligerents—is established, and the thing is arranged. But here there is only one army in the field; the other, as far as it still exists, is shut up in fortresses more or less invested. What is to become of all these places? 40 What is to be their status during the armistice? Bismarck takes care not to say a word about all this. If the fortnight's armistice be concluded, and

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nothing said therein relating to these towns, the *status quo* is maintained as a matter of course, except as regards actual hostilities against the garrisons and works. Thus Bitche, Metz, Phalsburg, Paris, and we know not how many other fortified places, would remain invested and cut off from all supplies and communications; the people inside them would eat up their provisions just as if there was no armistice; and thus the armistice would do for the besiegers almost as much as continued fighting would have done. Nay, it might even occur that in the midst of the armistice one or more of these places would completely exhaust their stores, and might have to surrender to the blockaders there and then, in order to avoid absolute starvation. From this it appears that Count Bismarck, astute as ever, saw his way to making the armistice reduce the enemy's fortresses. Of course, if the negotiations had continued far enough to lead to a draft agreement, the French staff would have found this out, and would necessarily have made such demands, relatively to the invested towns, that the whole thing probably would have fallen through. But it was M. Jules Favre's business to probe Bismarck's proposals to the bottom, and to draw out what the latter had an interest to hide. If he had inquired what was to be the status of the blockaded towns during the armistice, he would not have given Count Bismarck the opportunity of displaying before the world an apparent magnanimity, which was too deep for M. Favre though it was but skin deep. Instead of that, he fires up at the demand for Strasburg, with its garrison as prisoners of war, in a way which makes it clear to all the world that even after the severe lessons of the last two months, the spokesman of the French Government was incapable of appreciating the actual facts of the situation because he was still *sous la domination de la phrase*. 5 10 15 20 25

Friedrich Engels
Notes on the War. — XX

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1759, 3. Oktober 1870

Notes on the War. — XX.

It is a surprising fact, even after the inconceivable blunders which have led to the practical annihilation of the French armies, that France should be virtually at the mercy of a conqueror who holds possession of barely one-eighth of her territory. The country actually occupied by the Germans is bounded by a line drawn from Strasburg to Versailles, and another from Versailles to Sedan. Within this narrow strip the French still hold the fortresses of Paris, Metz, Montmédy, Verdun, Thionville, Bitche, and Phalsburg. The observation, blockade, or siege of these fortresses employ nearly all the forces that have so far been sent into France. There may be plenty of cavalry left to scour the country round Paris as far as Orleans, Rouen, and Amiens, and even farther; but a serious occupation of any extensive district is not to be thought of at present. There is certainly a force of some 40,000 or 50,000 landwehr now in Alsace south of Strasburg, and this army may be raised to double its strength by the greater portion of the besieging corps from Strasburg. These troops are intended, it appears, for an excursion towards the southern portions of France: it is stated that they are to march upon Belfort, Besançon, and Lyons. Now, every one of these three fortresses is a large entrenched camp, with detached forts at a fair distance from the main rampart; and a siege, or even a serious blockade, of all these three places at once would take more than the forces of this army. We take it therefore for granted that this assertion is a mere blind, and that the new German army will take no more notice of these fortresses than it can help; that it will march into and eat up the valley of the Saône, the richest part of Burgundy, and then advance towards the Loire, to open communications with the army round Paris, and to be employed according to circumstances. But even this strong body of troops, while it has no direct communications with

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the army before Paris, so as to enable it to dispense with direct and independent communications with the Rhine, even this strong body of troops is employed on a mere raid, and unable to hold in subjection an extensive territory. Thus its operations for a couple of weeks to come will not increase the actual hold the Germans have upon French soil, which 5 remains limited to barely one-eighth of the whole extent of France; and yet France, though she will not own to it, is virtually conquered. How is this possible?

The main cause is the excessive centralization of all administration in France, and especially of military administration. Up to a very recent 10 time France was divided, for military purposes, into twenty-three districts, each containing, as much as possible, the garrisons composing one division of infantry, along with cavalry and artillery. Between the commanders of these divisions and the Ministry of War there was no intermediate link. These divisions, moreover, were merely administrative, not 15 military organizations. The regiments composing them were not expected to be brigaded in war; they were merely in time of peace under the disciplinary control of the same general. As soon as a war was imminent they might be sent to quite different army corps, divisions, or brigades. As to a divisional staff other than administrative, or personally attached 20 to the general in command, such a thing did not exist. Under Louis Napoleon, these twenty-three divisions were united in six army corps, each under a marshal of France. But these army corps were no more permanent organizations for war than the divisions. They were organized for political, not for military ends. They had no regular staff. They were 25 the very reverse of the Prussian army corps, each of which is permanently organized for war, with its quota of infantry, cavalry, artillery, and engineers, with its military, medical, judicial, and administrative staff ready for a campaign. In France the administrative portion of the army (intendance and so forth) received their orders, not from the marshal or 30 general in command, but from Paris direct. If under these circumstances Paris becomes paralyzed, if communication with it be cut off, there is no nucleus of organization left in the provinces; they are equally paralyzed, and even more so, inasmuch as the time-honoured dependency of the provinces on Paris and its initiative has by long habit become part and 35 parcel of the national creed, to rebel against which is not merely a crime but a sacrilege.

Next to this chief cause, however, there is another, a secondary one but scarcely less important in this case; which is that, in consequence of the internal historical development of France, her centre is placed in dangerous proximity to her north-eastern frontier. This was the case to a far

Notes on the War.—XX

greater extent three hundred years ago. Paris then lay at one extremity of the country. To cover Paris by a greater extent of conquered territory towards the east and north-east was the aim of the almost uninterrupted series of wars against Germany and Spain while the latter possessed Belgium. From the time Henry III. seized upon the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun (1552) to the Revolution, Artois, parts of Flanders and Hainaut, Lorraine, Alsace, and Montbéliard were thus conquered and annexed to France to serve as buffers to receive the first shock of invasion against Paris. We must admit that nearly all these provinces were 10 predestined by race, language, and habits to become part and parcel of France, and that France has understood—principally by the revolution of 1789-98—how to thoroughly assimilate the rest. But even now Paris is dangerously exposed. From Bayonne to Perpignan, from Antibes to Geneva, the land frontiers of the country are at a great distance from Paris.

15 From Geneva by Bale to Lauterburg in Alsace the distance remains the same; it forms an arc described from the centre, Paris, with one and the same radius of 250 miles. But at Lauterburg the frontier leaves the arc, and forms a chord inside it, which at one point is but 120 miles from Paris. "Là où le Rhin nous quitte, le danger commence," said Lavalée in 20 his chauvinistic work on the frontiers of France. But if we continue the arc from Lauterburg in a northerly direction, we shall find that it follows almost exactly the course of the Rhine to the sea. Here, then, we have the real cause of the French clamour for the whole of the left bank of that Rhine. It is after the acquisition of that boundary alone that Paris is 25 covered, on its most exposed side, by equidistant frontiers, and with a river for the boundary line into the bargain. And if the military safety of Paris were the leading principle of European politics France would certainly be entitled to have it. Fortunately, that is not the case; and if France chooses to have Paris for a capital she must put up with the 30 drawbacks attached to Paris as well as with the advantages, one of which drawbacks is that an occupation of a small portion of France, including Paris, will paralyze her national action. But if this be the case; if France acquire no right to the Rhine by the accident of having her capital in an exposed situation, Germany ought to remember that military considerations of a similar sort give her no better claim upon French territory.

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Friedrich Engels
Notes on the War.—XXI

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1762, 6. Oktober 1870

Notes on the War.—XXI.

If we are to believe the reports sent by balloon from Paris, that city is defended by forces innumerable. There are between one and two hundred thousand Gardes Mobiles from the provinces; there are 250 battalions of Parisian National Guards, numbering 1,500, some say 1,800 or 1,900 5 men each—that is, at the most moderate computation, 375,000 men; there are at least 50,000 troops of the line, besides marine infantry, sailors, frances-tireurs, and so forth. And—so runs the latest information—if these be all disabled, there are still 500,000 citizens behind them fit to bear arms, ready in case of need to take their places. 10

Outside Paris there is a German army composed of six North German Army Corps (4th, 5th, 6th, 11th, 12th, and Guards), two Bavarian corps, and the Wurtemberg division; in all, eight corps and a half, numbering somewhere between 200,000 and 230,000 men—certainly not more. Yet this German army, although extended on a line of investment of at least 15 eighty miles, notoriously keeps in check that innumerable force inside the town, cuts off its supplies, guards all roads and pathways leading outwards from Paris, and so far has victoriously repulsed all sallies made by the garrison. How is this possible?

First, there can be little doubt that the accounts given of the immense 20 number of armed men in Paris are fanciful. If the 600,000 men under arms of whom we hear so much be reduced to 350,000 or 400,000, we shall be nearer the truth. Still it cannot be denied that there are far more armed men in Paris to defend it than outside to attack it.

Secondly, the quality of the defenders of Paris is of the most motley 25 kind. Among the whole of them, we should consider none as really trustworthy troops but the marines and sailors who now man the outer forts. The line—the dregs of MacMahon's army reinforced by reserve men,

most of them raw recruits—have shown in the affair of the 19th of September, near Meudon, that they are demoralized. The Mobiles, good material in themselves, are but just now passing through recruit-drill; they are badly officered, and armed with three different kinds of rifle—5 the Chassepôt, the converted Minié, and the unconverted Minié. No efforts, no amount of skirmishing with the enemy, can give them, in the short time allowed, that steadiness which alone will enable them to do that which is most required—to meet and defeat the enemy in the open field. It is the original fault of their organization, the want of trained 10 teachers, officers and sergeants, which prevents them from becoming good soldiers. Still, they appear the best element in the defence of Paris; they are at least likely to submit to discipline. The sedentary National Guard is a very mixed body. The battalions from the faubourgs, consisting of working men, are willing and determined enough to fight; they will 15 be obedient, and show a kind of instinctive discipline if led by men possessing personally and politically their confidence; towards all other leaders they will be rebellious. Moreover, they are undrilled and without trained officers; and unless there be actually a final struggle behind barricades, their best fighting qualities will not be put to the test. But the 20 mass of the National Guards, those armed by Palikao, consist of the bourgeoisie, especially the small shopkeeping class, and these men object to fighting on principle. Their business under arms is to guard their shops and their houses; and if these are attacked by the shells of an enemy firing from a distance their martial enthusiasm will probably dwindle 25 away. They are, moreover, a force organized less against a foreign than against a domestic enemy. All their traditions point that way, and nine out of every ten of them are convinced that such a domestic enemy is, at this very moment, lurking in the very heart of Paris, and only waiting his opportunity to fall upon them. They are mostly married men, unused to 30 hardship and exposure, and, indeed, they are grumbling already at the severity of the duty which makes them spend one night out of three in the open air on the ramparts of the city. Among such a body you may find companies and even battalions which, under peculiar circumstances, will behave gallantly; but, as a body, and especially for a regular and tiresome 35 course of duty, they cannot be relied on.

With such a force inside Paris it is no wonder that the far less numerous and widely dispersed Germans outside feel tranquil as to any attacks from that quarter. Indeed, all engagements that have so far taken place show the Army of Paris (if we may call it so) to be incompetent to act in 40 the field. The first great attack on the blockading troops, on the 19th, was characteristic enough. General Ducrot's corps of some 30,000 or 40,000

men was arrested for an hour and a half by two Prussian regiments (the 7th and 47th), until two Bavarian regiments came to their assistance, and another Bavarian brigade fell upon the flank of the French; when the latter retreated in confusion, leaving in the hands of the enemy a redoubt armed with eight guns, and numerous prisoners. The number of the Germans engaged on this occasion could not exceed 15,000. Since then, the sorties of the French have been conducted quite differently. They have given up all intention of delivering pitched battles; they send out smaller parties to surprise outposts and other small detachments; and if a brigade, a division, or more advance beyond the line of the forts, they are satisfied with a mere demonstration. These fights aim less at the infliction of damage upon the enemy than at the breaking-in of the French levies to the practice of warfare. They will, no doubt, improve them gradually, but only a small proportion of the unwieldy mass of men in Paris can benefit by practice on such a small scale.

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That General Trochu, after the fight of the 19th, was perfectly aware of the character of the force under his command his proclamation of the 30th of September clearly shows. He certainly lays the blame almost exclusively on the line, and rather pats the Mobiles on the back; but this merely proves that he considers these (and rightly so) as the best portion of the men under him. Both the proclamation and the change of tactics adopted since prove distinctly that he is under no delusion as to the unfitness of his men for operations in the open field. And he must, moreover, know that whatever other forces may remain to France under the name of Army of Lyons, Army of the Loire, and so forth, are of exactly the same composition as his own men; and that therefore he need not expect to have the blockade or siege of Paris raised by relieving army. It is therefore remarkable that we should receive a report according to which Trochu had opposed, in a council of Ministers, the proposal to treat for peace. The report certainly comes from Berlin, not a good quarter for impartial information as to what is going on inside Paris. Be that as it may, we cannot believe that Trochu is hopeful of success. His views of army organization in 1867 were strongly in favour of fully four years' service with the regiment and three years' liability in the reserve, such as had been the rule under Louis Philippe; he even considered the time of service of the Prussians—two or three years—totally inadequate to form good soldiers. The irony of history now places him in a position where he carries on a war with completely raw—almost undrilled and undisciplined—men against these very same Prussians, whom he but yesterday qualified as but half-formed soldiers; and that after these Prussians have disposed in a month of the whole regular army of France.

Friedrich Engels
The rationale of the Prussian army system

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1764, 8. Oktober 1870

The rationale of the Prussian army system.

A few weeks ago we pointed out that the Prussian system of recruiting the army was anything but perfect. It professes to make every citizen a soldier. The army is, in the official Prussian words, nothing but "the school in which the whole nation is educated for war," and yet a very small percentage only of the population passes through that school. We now return to this subject, in order to illustrate it by a few exact figures.

According to the tables of the Prussian Statistical Bureau, there were actually levied for the army on the average of the years 1831 to 1854, 9.84 per cent., per annum of the young men liable to service; there remained available every year 8.28 per cent.; there were totally unfit for service from bodily infirmities 6.40 per cent.; there were temporarily unfit, to be re-examined in a future year, 53.28 per cent.; the rest were absent, or comprised under headings too insignificant to be here noticed. Thus, during these four-and-twenty years, not one-tenth of the young citizens were admitted into the national war-school; and that is called "a nation in arms"!

In 1861 the figures were as follows:—Young men of twenty, class 1861, 217,438; young men of previous classes, still to be disposed of, 348,364; total, 565,802. Of these there were absent 148,946, or 26.32 per cent.; totally unfit, 17,727, or 3.05 per cent.; placed in the Ersatz Reserve—that is to say, liberated from service in time of peace, with liability to be called on in time of war—76,590, or 13.50 per cent.; sent home for future re-examination on account of temporary unfitness, 230,236, or 40.79 per cent.; disposed of on other grounds, 22,369, or 3.98 per cent.; remained available for the army, 69,934 men, or 12.36 per cent.; and of these, 59,459 only, or 10.50 per cent., were actually placed in the ranks.

No doubt since 1866 the percentage of recruits draughted annually has been larger, but it cannot have been so to any considerable extent; and if at present 12 or 13 per cent, of the North German male population pass through the army, it will be much. This certainly does strongly contrast with the fervid descriptions of "special correspondents" during the mobilization in Germany. Every able-bodied man, according to them, then donned his uniform and shouldered his rifle, or bestrode his horse; all kind of business was at a standstill: factories were closed, shops shut up, crops left on the fields uncut; all production was stopped, all commerce abandoned—in fact, it was a case of "suspended animation," a tremendous national effort, but which, if prolonged only a few months, must end in complete national exhaustion. The transformation of civilians into soldiers did certainly go on at a rate of which people out of Germany had no idea; but if the same writers will look at Germany now, after the withdrawal of above a million men from civil life, they will find the factories working, the crops housed, the shops and counting-houses open. Production, if stopped at all, is stopped for want of orders, not for want of hands; and there are plenty of stout fellows to be seen about the streets quite as fit to shoulder a rifle as those who have gone off to France.

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The above figures explain all this. The men who have passed through the army do certainly not exceed 12 per cent, of the whole adult male population. More than 12 per cent, of them cannot, therefore, be called out on a mobilization, and there remains fully 88 per cent, of them at home; a portion of whom, of course, is called out as the war progresses to fill up the gaps caused by battles and disease. These may amount to two or three per cent, more in the course of half a year; but still the immense majority of the men is never called upon. The "nation in arms" is altogether a sham.

The cause of this we have before pointed out. It is the necessity under which the Prussian dynasty and Government are, as long as their hereditary policy is insisted upon, to have an army which is an obedient instrument of that policy. According to Prussian experience, three years' service in the ranks is indispensable to break in the average civilian for that class of work. It has never been seriously maintained, even by the most obstinate martinets in Prussia, that an infantry soldier—and they constitute the vast mass of the army—cannot learn all his military duties in two years; but, as was said in the debates in the Chamber from 1861 to 1866, the true military spirit, the habit of unconditional obedience, is learned in the third year only. Now, with a given amount of money for the war budget, the longer the men serve, the fewer recruits can be turned

The rationale of the Prussian army system

into soldiers. At present, with three years' service, 90,000 recruits annually enter the army; with two years, 135,000; with eighteen months, 180,000 men might be draughted into it and drilled every year. That there are plenty of able-bodied men to be had for the purpose is evident from
5 the figures we have given, and shall be made more evident by-and-by. Thus we see that the phrase of the "nation in arms" hides the creation of a large army for purposes of Cabinet policy abroad and reaction at home. A "nation in arms" would not be the best instrument for Bismarck to work with.

10 The population of the North German Confederation is a trifle below 30,000,000. The war establishment of its army is in round numbers 950,000 men, or barely 3.17 per cent, of the population. The number of young men attaining the age of twenty is about 1.23 per cent, of the population in every year, say 360,000. Out of these, according to the
15 experience of the secondary German States, fully one-half are—either there and then, or within two years afterwards—fit for service in the field; this would give 180,000 men. Of the rest, a goodly proportion is fit for garrison duty; but these we may leave out of the account for the present. The Prussian statistics seem to differ from this, but in Prussia
20 these statistics must, for obvious reasons, be grouped in such a way as to make the result appear compatible with the delusion of the "nation in arms". Still the truth leaks out there too. In 1861 we had, besides the 69,934 men available for the army, 76,590 men placed in the Ersatz Reserve, raising the total of men fit for service to 146,524, out of which but
25 59,459, or 40 per cent., were draughted into the ranks. At all events, we shall be perfectly safe in reckoning one-half of the young men as fit for the army. In that case, 180,000 recruits might enter the line every year, with twelve years' liability to be called out, as at present. This would give a force of 2,160,000 drilled men—more than double the present establish-
30 ment, even after ample allowance is made for all reductions by deaths and other casualties; and if the other half of the young men were again looked to when twenty-five years of age, there would be found the material for another 500,000 or 600,000 good garrison troops, or more. Six to eight per cent, of the population ready drilled and disciplined, to be
35 called out in case of attack, the cadres for the whole of them being kept up in time of peace, as is now done—that would really be a "nation in arms;" but that would not be an army to be used for Cabinet wars, for conquest, or for a policy of reaction at home.

Still this would be merely the Prussian phrase turned into a reality. If
40 the semblance of a nation in arms has had such a power, what would the reality be? And we may depend upon it if Prussia, by insisting on con-

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quest, compels France to it, France will turn that semblance into reality – either in one form or another. She will organize herself into a nation of soldiers, and a few years hence may astonish Prussia as much by the crushing numbers of her soldiers as Prussia has astonished the world this summer. But cannot Prussia do the same? Certainly, but then she will cease to be the Prussia of to-day. She gains in power of defence, while she loses in power of attack; she will have more men, but not quite so handy for invasion in the beginning of a war; she will have to give up all idea of conquest, and as to her present home policy, that would be seriously jeopardized.

Friedrich Engels
Notes on the War.—XXII

The Pall Mail Gazette.
Nr. 1766, 11. Oktober 1870

Notes on the War.—XXII.

In one of our preceding Notes we called attention to the fact that even now, after the fall of Strasburg, nearly the whole of the immense German army in France is fully employed, although not one-sixth of the territory 5 of the country is held by the invaders. The subject is so very significant that we feel justified in returning to it.

Metz, with Bazaine's army enclosed within its line of forts, finds occupation for eight army corps (the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, the division 10 of Hessians, and General Kummer's division of landwehr), in all sixteen divisions of infantry. Paris engages seventeen divisions of infantry (the Guards, 4th, 5th, 6th, 11th, 12th North German, 1st and 2nd Bavarian Corps, and the Württemberg division). The newly-formed 13th and 14th Corps, mostly landwehr, and some detachments from the corps already named, occupy the conquered country, and observe, blockade, or besiege the 15 places which, within it, still belong to the French. The 15th Corps (the Baden division and at least one division of landwehr), set free by the capitulation of Strasburg, is alone disposable for active operations. Fresh landwehr troops are to be joined to it, and then it is to undertake some operations, the character of which is still very indefinitely known, in a 20 more southerly direction.

Now these forces comprise almost all the organized troops of which Germany disposes, with the very important exception of the fourth battalions of the line. Contrary to what was done in the Austrian war, when they were sent out against the enemy, these 114 battalions have this time 25 been kept at home; in accordance with their original purpose, they serve as cadres for the drill and organization of the men intended to fill up the gaps which battles and disease may have caused in the ranks of their respective regiments. As soon as the thousand men forming the battalion

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are sufficiently broken in to do duty before the enemy, they are sent off to join the three field battalions of the regiment; this was done on a large scale after the severe fighting before Metz in the middle of September. But the officers and non-commissioned officers of the battalion remain at home, ready to receive and prepare for the field a fresh batch of 1,000 5 men, taken from the Ersatz Reserve or from the recruits called out in due course. This measure was absolutely necessary in a war as bloody as the present one, and the end of which is not to be foreseen with certainty; but it deprives the Germans of the active services for the time being of 114 battalions, and a corresponding force of cavalry and artillery, represent- 10 ing in all fully 200,000 men. With the exception of these, the occupation of scarcely one-sixth of France and the reduction of the two large fortresses in this territory—Metz and Paris—keeps the whole of the German forces so fully employed that they have barely 60,000 men to spare for further operations beyond the territory already conquered. And this, 15 while there is not anywhere a French army in the field to oppose serious resistance.

If ever there was needed a proof of the immense importance, in modern warfare, of large entrenched camps with a fortress for their nucleus, here that proof is furnished. The two entrenched camps in question have 20 not at all been made use of to the best advantage, as we may show on some other occasion. Metz has for a garrison too many troops for its size and importance, and Paris has of real troops fit for the field scarcely any at all. Still, the first of these places at present holds at least 240,000, the second 250,000 enemies in check; and if France had only 200,000 real 25 soldiers behind the Loire, the siege of Paris would be an impossibility. Unfortunately for France, these 200,000 men she does not possess; nor is there any probability of their ever being brought together organized and disciplined in useful time. So that the reduction of the two great centres of defence is a mere question of weeks. The army in Metz has so far kept 30 up its discipline and fighting qualities wonderfully well, but the constant repulses it has sustained must at length break down every hope of escape. French soldiers are capital defenders of fortresses, and can stand defeat during a siege far better than in the field; but if demoralization once begins among them, it spreads rapidly and irresistibly. As to Paris, we 35 will not take M. Gambetta's 400,000 National Guards, 100,000 Mobiles, and 60,000 troops of the line too literally, any more than the countless cannons and mitrailleurs that are being manufactured in Paris, or the great strength of the barricades. But there is no doubt that there are elements enough in Paris for a very respectable defence; though that 40 defence, by being, from the character of the garrison, necessarily passive, will lack its strongest element—powerful attacks on the besiegers.

Anyhow, it must be evident that if there was a real national enthusiasm alive among the French, everything might still be gained. While the whole forces of the invader, all but 60,000 men and the cavalry which can raid but not subdue, are laid fast in the conquered territory, the remaining five-sixths of France might raise armed bands enough to harass the Germans on every point, to intercept their communications, destroy bridges and railways, provisions and ammunition in their rear, and compel them to detach from their two great armies such numbers of troops that Bazaine might find means to break out of Metz, and that the investment of Paris would become illusory. Already at present the movement of the armed bands is a source of great trouble, though not as yet of danger, to the Germans, and this will increase as the country round Paris becomes exhausted in food and other supplies, and as more distant districts have to be placed under requisition. The new German army now forming in Alsace will probably soon be called away from any expedition towards the South by the necessity of securing the German communications and of subjecting a greater tract of country round Paris. But what would be the fate of the Germans if the French people had been stirred up by the same national fanaticism as were the Spaniards in 1808—if every town and almost every village was turned into a fortress, every peasant and citizen into a combatant? Even the 200,000 men of the Fourth Battalion would not suffice to hold down such a people. But such national fanaticism is not nowadays within the habits of civilized nations. It may be found among Mexicans and Turks; its sources have dried up in the money-making West of Europe, and the twenty years during which the incubus of the Second Empire has weighed upon France have anything but steeled the national character. Thus we see a great deal of talking and a minimum of work; a deal of show and an almost total neglect of organization; very little non-official resistance and a good deal of submission to the enemy; very few real soldiers and an immense number of Francs-tireurs.

Friedrich Engels
Notes on the War.—XXIII

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1768, 13. Oktober 1870

Notes on the War.—XXIII.

The Prussian staff officers in Berlin seem to be getting impatient. Through the *Times* and *Daily News* correspondents in Berlin they inform us that the siege material has now been for some days ready before Paris, and that the siege will begin presently. We have our doubts about this 5 readiness. Firstly, we know that several tunnels on the only available line of railway have been blown up by the retreating French near La Ferté sous Jouarre, and that they are not yet in working order; secondly, we also know that the matériel for a regular and effective siege of such a vast place as Paris is so colossal that it will take a long time to get it together, 10 even had the railway been always open; and thirdly, five or six days after this announcement from Berlin had been made, we have not yet heard of the opening of a first parallel. We must therefore conclude that by readiness to open the siege, or regular attack, we are to understand the readiness to open the irregular attack, the bombardment. 15

Still, a bombardment of Paris, with any chance of compelling a surrender, would require far more guns than a regular siege. In the latter you may confine your attack to one or two points of the line of defence; in the former, you must constantly scatter such a number of shells over the entire vast area of the town that more fires are made to break out 20 everywhere than the population can extinguish, and that the very operation of extinguishing them becomes too dangerous to be attempted. Now we have seen that even Strasburg, with 85,000 inhabitants, was perfectly able to hold out under a bombardment of almost unparalleled severity; that, with the exception of a few solitary and pretty well-defined districts, 25 which had to be sacrificed, the fires could be well kept down. The cause of this is the comparatively great extent of the town. It is easy to shell a small place of five or ten thousand inhabitants into submission, unless

Notes on the War.—XXIII

there be plenty of bombproof shelter inside it; but a city of from 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants can stand a great deal of shelling, especially if built, as most French towns are, of freestone, or with thick brick walls. Paris, within the fortifications, measures twelve kilomètres by ten; within 5 the old barrières, which comprise the closely-built part of the town, nine kilomètres by seven; that is to say, this part of the town comprises an area of about fifty millions of square mètres or nearly sixty millions of square yards. To throw on an average one shell per hour into every one thousand square yards of that surface would require 60,000 shells per 10 hour, or a million and a half of shells for every twenty-four hours, which would presuppose the employment of at least 2,000 heavy guns for the purpose. Yet one shell per hour for a space nearly one hundred feet long by one hundred feet broad would be a weak bombardment. Of course the fire might be concentrated temporarily upon one or more quarters until 15 these were thoroughly destroyed, and then transferred to the neighbouring quarters; but this proceeding, to be effective, would last almost as long as or longer than a regular siege, while it would be necessarily less certain to compel the surrender of the place.

Moreover, Paris, while the forts are not reduced, is in fact out of reach 20 of effective bombardment. The nearest heights outside the town now in the hands of the besiegers, those near Châtillon are fully 8,000 mètres = 8,700 yards, or five miles from the Palais de Justice, which pretty nearly represents the centre of the town. On the whole of the southern side, this distance will be about the same. On the north-east, the line of forts is 25 as far as 10,000 metres, or above 11,000 yards from the centre of the town, so that any bombarding batteries in that quarter would have to be placed 2,000 yards farther off, or from seven to eight miles from the Palace of Justice. On the north-west, the bends of the Seine and Fort Mont Valerien protect the town so well that bombarding batteries could 30 be erected in closed redoubts or regular parallels only; that is to say, not before the regular siege had begun, to which we here suppose the bombardment to be a preliminary.

Now there is no doubt that the Prussian heavy rifled guns, of calibres of five, six, seven, eight, and nine inches, throwing shells from twenty-five 35 to above three hundred pounds' weight, might be made to cover a distance of five miles. In 1864 the rifled twenty-four pounders on Gammelmark bombarded Sonderburg at a distance of 5,700 paces = 4,750 yards, or nearly three miles, although these guns were old bronze ones, and could not stand more than a 4 lb. or 5 lb. charge of powder to a shell 40 weighing 68 lb. The elevation was necessarily considerable, and had to be obtained by a peculiar adaptation of the gun-carriages, which would

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have broken down if stronger charges had been used. The present Prussian cast-steel guns can stand charges far heavier in proportion to the weights of their shells; but, to obtain a range of five miles, the elevation must still be very considerable, and the gun-carriages would have to be altered accordingly; and, being put to uses they were not constructed for, 5 would soon be smashed. Nothing knocks up a gun-carriage sooner than firing at elevations even as low as five and six degrees with full charges; but in this case, the elevation would average at least fifteen degrees, and the gun-carriages would be knocked to pieces as fast as the houses in Paris. Leaving, however, this difficulty out of consideration, the bombardment of Paris by batteries five miles distant from the centre of the town, could be at best but a partial affair. There would be enough of destruction to exasperate, but not enough to terrify. The shells, at such ranges, could not be directed with sufficient certainty to any particular part of the town. Hospitals, museums, libraries, though ever so conspicuous from the heights where the batteries might be, could hardly be spared even if directions were given to avoid particular districts. Military buildings, arsenals, magazines, storehouses, even if visible to the besieger, could not be singled out for destruction with any surety; so that the common excuse for a bombardment—that it aimed at the destruction of 10 the means of defence of the besieged—would fail. All this is said on the supposition that the besiegers have the means at hand for a really serious bombardment—that is to say, some two thousand rifled guns and mortars of heavy calibre. But if, as we suppose is the case, the German siege-park is composed of some four or five hundred guns, this will not 15 suffice to produce any such impression on the city as to make its surrender probable.

The bombardment of a fortress, though still considered as a step permitted by the laws of war, yet is a measure implying such an amount of suffering to non-combatants that history will blame any one nowadays 20 attempting it without reasonable chance of thereby extorting the surrender of the place. We smile at the chauvinisme of a Victor Hugo, who considers Paris a holy city—very holy!—and every attempt to attack it a sacrilege. We look upon Paris as upon any other fortified town, which, if it chooses to defend itself, must run all the risks of fair attack, of open 25 trenches, siege batteries, and stray shots hitting non-military buildings. But if the mere bombardment of Paris cannot force the city into surrender, and if, nevertheless, such a bombardment should take place, it will be a military blunder such as few people would lay to the charge of Moltke's staff. It will be said that Paris was bombarded not for military but for 30 political reasons.

Friedrich Engels
The fate of Metz

The Pall Mail Gazette.
Nr. 1771, 17. Oktober 1870

The fate of Metz.

If we are to believe the news from Berlin, the Prussian staff seem to anticipate that Paris will be conquered before Metz. But this opinion is evidently founded quite as much on political as on military reasoning.

5 The troubles within Paris for which Count Bismarck has been waiting have not yet begun; but discord and civil war are expected to break out without fail as soon as the big guns of the besiegers shall commence booming over the city. So far, the Parisians have belied the opinion held of them in the German headquarters, and they may do so to the end. If 10 so, the notion that Paris will be taken by the end of this month will almost certainly prove illusory, and Metz may have to surrender before Paris.

Metz, as a mere fortress, is infinitely stronger than Paris. The latter city is fortified on the supposition that the whole or at least the greater portion of the beaten French army will retire upon it and conduct the defence by constant attacks on the enemy, whose attempts to invest the place necessarily weaken him on every point of the long line he has to take up. The defensive strength of the works therefore is not very great, and very properly so. To provide for a case such as has now occurred by 15 the blunders of Bonapartist strategy would have raised the cost of the fortifications to an immense sum; and the time by which the defence could thereby be prolonged would scarcely amount to a fortnight. Moreover, earthworks erected during or before the siege can be made to strengthen the works considerably. With Metz the case is very different. 20 Metz was handed down to the present generation by Cormontaigne and other great engineers of the last century as a very strong fortress—strong in its defensive works. The Second Empire has added to these a circle of seven very large detached forts at distances of from two and a half to 25

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three miles from the centre of the town, so as to secure it from bombardment even with rifled guns, and to transform the whole into a large entrenched camp second to Paris only. A siege of Metz, therefore, would be a very lengthy operation even if the town held but its normal war garrison. But a siege in the face of the 100,000 men who are now sheltered under its forts would be almost impossible. The sphere in which the French are still masters extends to fully two miles beyond the line of forts; to drive them back to the line of forts, so as to conquer the ground where the trenches would have to be dug, would necessitate a series of hand-to-hand fighting such as was only seen before Sebastopol; and sup- 5 posing the garrison not to be demoralized by their constant fights or the besiegers not to be tired of such a sacrifice of life, the struggle might last many a month. The Germans have therefore never attempted a regular siege, but are trying to starve the place out. An army of 100,000 men, added to a population of nearly 60,000 and to the numbers of country 10 people who have sought shelter behind the forts must sooner or later exhaust the stock of provisions if the blockade be strictly enforced; and, even before this shall have taken place, the chances are that demoralization among the garrison will compel surrender. When once an army finds itself completely shut up, all attempts to break through the investing 15 circle fruitless, all hope of relief from without cut off, even the best army will gradually lose its discipline and cohesion under sufferings, privations, labours, and dangers which do not appear to serve any other purpose but to uphold the honour of the flag.

For symptoms of this demoralization we have been watching for some 20 time in vain. The stock of provisions inside the town has been much more considerable than was supposed, and thus the army of Metz has had a pretty good time of it. But the stores, if plentiful, must have been ill assorted; which is quite natural, as they were stray supplies for the army, accidentally left in the town and never intended for the purpose they have 25 now to serve. The consequence is that the diet of the soldiers in the long-run becomes not only different from what they are accustomed to, but positively abnormal, and produces sickness of various kinds and of daily increasing severity, the causes of this sickness operating stronger and stronger every day. This phase of the blockade appears to have now 30 been reached. Among the articles of which Metz is short are bread, the chief ordinary food of the French peasantry, and salt. The latter is absolutely indispensable to maintain health; and, as bread is almost the only form in which the French partake of starch for fat-producing food, the same may in this case be said of the former. The necessity of feeding the 35 men and inhabitants on meat principally has, it is said, produced dysen-

The fate of Metz

tery and scurvy. Without trusting too much to reports from deserters, who generally say what they think will please their captors, we may still believe such to be the case, as it is just what must occur under the circumstances. That the chances of demoralization must thereby increase rapidly is a matter of course.

The very capable correspondent of the *Daily News* before Metz states, in his description of Bazaine's sortie of the 7th of October, that after the French had established themselves in the villages to the north of Fort Saint-Eloy (north of Metz, in the valley of the Moselle) a mass of at least 10 30,000 of them was formed more to their right, close to the river, and advanced against the Germans. This column, or group of columns, was evidently intended to break through the circle of investment. This task required the utmost determination. They would have to march straight into a semicircle of troops and batteries concentrating their fire upon 15 them; the severity of this fire would increase up to the point of actual contact with the enemy's masses, when, if they succeeded in routing them, it would at once considerably diminish, while, if they had to retreat, they would have to undergo the same cross-fire a second time. This the men must have known; and, moreover, Bazaine would use for this 20 supreme effort his very best troops. Yet we are told that they never even got within the rifle-fire of the German masses. Before they reached the critical point, the fire of the artillery and of the line of skirmishers had dissolved their cohesion: "the dense columns first staggered and then broke."

25 This is the first time in this war that we hear such things of the men who could face cold steel and hot fire well enough at Vionville, Gravelotte, and the latter sorties. This inability even to attempt thoroughly the task which they were put to seems to show that the army of Metz is no longer what it was. It seems to indicate, not as yet demoralization, but 30 discouragement and hopelessness—the feeling that it is no use trying. From that to positive demoralization there are not many steps, especially with French soldiers. And though it would be premature to predict from these indications the speedy fall of Metz, yet it will be surprising if we do not soon discover more symptoms announcing that the defence is on the 35 wane.

The surrender of Metz would have a far less moral, but a far greater material influence upon the course of the war than the fall of Paris. If Paris be taken, France may give in, but she need not any more than now. For by far the greater portion of the troops now investing Paris would be 40 required to hold the town and its environs, and it is more than doubtful whether men enough could be spared to advance as far as Bordeaux. But,

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if Metz capitulated, more than 200,000 Germans would be set at liberty, and such an army, in the present state of the French forces in the field, would be amply sufficient to go where it liked in the open country, and to do there what it liked. The progress of occupation, arrested by the two great entrenched camps, would at once commence again, and any attempts at guerrilla warfare, which now might be very effective, would then soon be crushed.

Friedrich Engels
Notes on the War.—XXIV

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1775, 21. Oktober 1870

Notes on the War.—XXIV.

The investment of Paris has now lasted exactly one month. During this time two points relating to it have been practically settled in accordance with our predictions. The first is that Paris cannot hope to be relieved, in 5 useful time, by any French army from without. The Army of the Loire is utterly deficient in cavalry and field artillery, while its infantry, with very trifling exceptions, consists of either young or demoralized old troops, badly officered and entirely wanting that cohesion which alone could render them fit to meet in the open old soldiers flushed with constant 10 success such as Von der Tann leads against them. Even were the Army of the Loire raised to 100,000 or 120,000 men, which it may be before Paris falls, it would not be able to raise the investment. By their great superiority in cavalry and field artillery, both of which can be spared to a great extent before Paris as soon as the siege train with its gunners has arrived, 15 and by the superiority of their infantry, soldier for soldier, the Germans are enabled to meet such a force with one of inferior numbers without fear of the results. Besides, the troops now scouring the country east and north of Paris to distances of fifty and sixty miles could, in such a case, be sent temporarily to reinforce Von der Tann, as well as a division or 20 two from the investing army. As to the Army of Lyons, whatever of that possesses any tangible existence will find plenty of work with General Werder's Fourteenth North German Corps, now in Epinal and Vesoul, and the Fifteenth Corps following in his rear or on his right flank. The Army of the North, with Bourbaki for commander, has as yet to be 25 formed. From all we hear, the Mobiles about Normandy and Picardy are extremely deficient in officers and drill; and the sedentary National Guards, if not most of the Mobiles too, will be required to garrison the twenty-five or more fortresses encumbering the country between Méziè-

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res and Havre. Thus efficient relief from this quarter is not very likely, and Paris will have to rely upon itself.

The second point settled is that the garrison of Paris is unfit to act on the offensive on a large scale. It consists of the same elements as the troops outside Paris, and it is equally deficient in cavalry and field artillery. The three sorties of the 19th and 30th of September and of the 13th of October have fully proved their inability to make any serious impression upon the investing forces. As these latter said, "They never were able to break through even our first line." Although General Trochu states in public that his disinclination to attack the enemy in the field is caused by 10 the deficiency in field artillery, and that he will not go out again until that is supplied, he cannot help knowing that no field artillery in the world could prevent his first sortie *en masse* from ending in an utter rout. And by the time his field artillery can be ready, if that be more than a mere pretext, the fire of the German batteries against the forts and the closing 15 in of their lines of investment, will have rendered its use in the open impossible.

Trochu and his staff appear to be perfectly aware of this. All their measures point to a mere passive defence, without any more great sorties than may be necessary to satisfy the clamour of an undisciplined garrison. The ramparts of the forts cannot long withstand the projectiles of the heavy German guns, of which more anon. It may be, as the staff in Berlin hopes, that two or three days will suffice to demolish the guns on the ramparts of the southern forts, to breach, from a distance and by indirect fire, the masonry revetment of their escarpments in one or two places, 25 and then to storm them while the fire of the batteries from the commanding heights prevents any efficient succour from the works to the rear. There is nothing in the construction of the forts nor in the configuration of the ground to prevent this. In all the forts round Paris, the escarp—that is, the inner side of the ditch, or the outer face of the rampart—is 30 covered with masonry to the height of the horizon merely, which is generally considered insufficient to secure the work from escalade. This deviation from the general rule was justified on the supposition that Paris would always be actively defended by an army. In the present case it will even be an advantage inasmuch as this low masonry will be difficult to 35 hit by indirect fire from batteries from which it cannot be seen. The breaching from a distance will thus be rendered more tiresome, unless the heights on which these batteries are constructed will admit of a really plunging fire; and this cannot be judged of except on the ground.

Under any circumstances, the resistance of these southern forts, com- 40 manded as they are by heights within the most effective range of heavy

rifled artillery, need not be expected to be a long one. But immediately behind them, between the forts and the *enceinte*, the activity of the garrison has been chiefly displayed. Numerous earthworks have been everywhere constructed; and though, as a matter of course, we are kept in ignorance of all details, we may be sure that they will have been planned and executed with all that care, foresight, and science which have placed for more than two centuries the French engineering staff in the foremost rank. Here, then, evidently is the fighting ground chosen by the defence; a ground where ravines and hill-slopes, factories and villages, mostly built of stone, facilitate the work of the engineer and favour the resistance of young and but half-disciplined troops. Here, we expect, the Germans will find the toughest work cut out for them. We are, indeed, informed by the *Daily News*, from Berlin, that they will be satisfied with the conquest of some of the forts, and leave hunger to do the rest. But we presume that this choice will not be left to them, unless, indeed, they blow up the forts and retire again to their present mere investing positions; and if they do that the French can gradually by counter approaches recover the lost ground. We presume therefore that the Germans intend to keep whatever forts they may take, as efficient bombarding positions to frighten the inhabitants by occasional shells, or to use them for as complete a bombardment as they can carry out with the means at their command. And in that case they cannot decline the combat offered to them by the defence on the ground chosen and prepared for the purpose, for the forts will be under the close and effective fire of the new works. Here we shall perhaps witness the last struggle in this war offering any scientific interest; may be, the most interesting of all to military science. Here the defence will be enabled to act on the offensive again, though upon a smaller scale, and, thus restoring to a certain extent the balance of the contending forces, may prolong resistance until famine compels surrender. For we must keep in mind that of the stores of food provided for Paris one month's stock has already been consumed, and nobody outside the town knows whether it is provisioned for more than another month.

There appears to be great confusion of ideas among "special correspondents" as to the German siege guns; and there may well be, considering that the nomenclature of the various calibres among German artillerists is founded upon principles at least as absurd and contradictory as those adopted in England. It may be worth while to clear this matter up a little now that these big guns may begin to speak any day. Of old-fashioned siege guns there were in use before Strasburg, and have now been forwarded to Paris, twenty-five-pounder and fifty-pounder

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mortars—called so from the weight of a marble ball fitting their bore. Their calibres are about $8\frac{1}{2}$ to $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches respectively, and the real weight of the spherical shells they throw is, for the first 64 lb., and for the second 125 lb. Then there was a rifled mortar, calibre 21 centimètres, or 8' A inches, throwing an elongated shell of 20 inches in length and rather above 200 lb. weight. These mortars have a tremendous effect, not only because the rifling gives their shells greater accuracy, but chiefly because the elongated percussion shell, always falling upon its heavy point, where the percussion fuze protrudes, secures the explosion of the charge at the very moment of penetration, thus combining in one and the same moment the effects of impact with that of explosion. Of rifled shell guns there were 12 lb. and 24 lb. guns, so called from the weight of the spherical solid iron ball they used to fire before being rifled. Their respective calibres are about four-and-a-half and five-and-a-half inches, and the weights of their shells 33 lb. and 64 lb. Besides these, there have been sent to Paris some of the heavy rifled guns intended for ironclad ships and for coast defence against such ships. The exact details of their construction have never been published, but their calibres are of about 7, 8, and 9 inches, and the corresponding shells of the weights of about 120, 200, and 300 lb. respectively. The heaviest guns used either in or before Sebastopol were the English naval 68-pounder, the 8 and 10 inch shell guns, and the French 8 At and 12 inch shell guns, the heaviest projectile of which, the 12-inch spherical shell, weighed about 180 lb. Thus the siege of Paris will as much surpass Sebastopol as Sebastopol surpassed all former sieges by the weight and mass of the projectiles used. The German siege park, we may add, will contain the number of guns we guessed it would—namely, about four hundred.

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Saragossa – Paris

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1776, 22. Oktober 1870

Saragossa – Paris.

To form an appropriate idea of such a colossal operation as the siege and defence of Paris, we shall do well to look out, in military history, for some previous siege on a large scale to serve, at least in some degree, as 5 an example of what we may expect to witness. Sebastopol would be a case in point if the defence of Paris took place under normal conditions; that is to say, if there were an army in the field to come to the relief of Paris or to reinforce its garrison, such as was the case with Sebastopol. But Paris defends itself under quite abnormal conditions: it has neither a 10 garrison fit for an active defence, for fighting in the open, nor any reasonable hope of relief from without. Thus the greatest siege on record, that of Sebastopol, inferior only to the one we are about to see opened, offers no correct image of what will be done before Paris; and it will be at later stages of the siege only, and principally by contrast, that the events 15 of the Crimean war will come in for comparison.

Nor will the sieges of the American war offer better examples. They occurred during a period of the struggle when not only the Southern army, but also, following in its wake, the troops of the North, had lost the character of raw levies and had come under the description of regular 20 troops. In all these sieges the defence was extremely active. At Vicksburg as well as at Richmond there were long preliminary struggles for the mastery of the ground on which alone the siege batteries could be erected; and, with the exception of Grant's last siege of Richmond, there were always attempts at relief too. But here, in Paris, we have a garrison 25 of new levies feebly supported by scattered new levies outside the town, and attacked by a regular army with all the appliances of modern warfare. To find a case in point, we shall have to go back to the last war in which an armed people had to fight against a regular army, and actually

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did fight on a large scale—the Peninsular war. And here we find a celebrated example, which we shall see is in point in more than one respect: Saragossa.

Saragossa had but one-third of the diameter and one-ninth of the surface of Paris; but its fortifications, though erected in a hurry and without detached forts, would resemble those of Paris in their general defensive strength. The town was occupied by 25,000 Spanish soldiers, refugees from the defeat of Tudela, among them not more than 10,000 real soldiers of the line, the rest young levies; there were besides armed peasants and inhabitants, raising the garrison to 40,000 men. There were 160 guns in the town. Outside, a force of some 30,000 men had been raised in the neighbouring provinces to come to its succour. On the other hand, the French Marshal Suchet had no more than 26,000 men wherewith to invest the fortress on both sides of the river Ebro, and, besides, 9,000 men covering the siege at Calatayud. Thus, the numerical proportion of the forces was about the same as that of the armies now respectively in and before Paris: the besieged nearly twice as numerous as the besiegers. Yet the Saragossans could no more afford to go out and meet the besiegers in the open than the Parisians can now. Nor could the Spaniards outside at any time seriously interfere with the siege.

The investment of the town was completed on the 19th of October, 1808; the first parallel could be opened as early as the 29th, only 350 yards from the main rampart. On the 2nd of January, 1809, the second parallel is opened 100 yards from the works; on the 11th the breaches are practicable and the whole of the attacked front is taken by assault. But here, where the resistance of an ordinary fortress garrisoned by regular troops would have ceased, the strength of a popular defence only commenced. The portion of the rampart which the French had stormed had been cut off from the rest of the town by new defences. Earthworks, defended by artillery, had been thrown up across all the streets leading to it, and were repeated at appropriate distances to the rear. The houses, built in the massive style of hot Southern Europe, with immensely thick walls, were loopholed and held in force by infantry. The bombardment by the French was incessant; but, as they were badly provided with heavy mortars, its effects were not decisive against the town. Still it was continued for forty-one days without intermission. To reduce the town, to take house after house, the French had to use the slowest process of all, that of mining. At last, after one-third of the buildings of the town had been destroyed, and the rest rendered uninhabitable, Saragossa surrendered on the 20th of February. Out of 100,000 human beings present in the town at the beginning of the siege 54,000 had perished.

This defence is classical of its kind, and well merits the celebrity it has gained. But, after all, the town resisted only sixty-three days, all told. The investment took ten days; the siege of the fortress fourteen; the siege of the inner defences and the struggle for the houses thirty-nine. The sacrifices were out of all proportion to the length of the defence and the positive result obtained. Had Saragossa been defended by 20,000 good enterprising soldiers, Suchet, with his force, could not have carried on the siege in the face of their sallies, and the place might have remained in the hands of the Spaniards until after the Austrian war of 1809.

10 Now we certainly do not expect Paris to prove a second Saragossa. The houses in Paris, strong though they be, cannot bear any comparison as to massiveness with those of the Spanish city; nor have we any authority for supposing that the population will display the fanaticism of the Spaniards of 1809, or that one half of the inhabitants will patiently submit to be killed by fighting and disease. Still that phase of the struggle which came off in Saragossa after the storming of the rampart, in the streets, houses, and convents of the town, might to a certain extent repeat itself in the fortified villages and earthworks between the forts of Paris and the *enceinte*. There, as we said yesterday—in our twenty-fourth
15 batch of Notes on the War—appears to us to lie the centre of gravity of the defence. There the young *Mobiles* may meet their opponents, even in offensive movements, upon something like equal terms, and compel them to proceed in a more systematical way than the staff in Berlin seemed to imagine when, a short time ago, it expected to reduce the town in twelve
20 or fourteen days from the opening of the siege batteries. There, too, the defence may cut out so much work for the mortars and shell-guns of the attack that even a partial bombardment of the town, at least upon a large scale, may be for the time [being] out of the question. The villages outside
25 the *enceinte* will under all circumstances have to be sacrificed wherever they may happen to lie between the German front of attack and the French front of defence; and if therefore by sacrificing them the town can be spared so much the better for the defence.

How long this defence of the ground outside the *enceinte* can be made to last we cannot even guess at. It will depend upon the strength of the
30 works themselves, upon the spirit with which the defence is conducted, upon the mode of attack. If the resistance become serious, the Germans will rely upon the fire of their artillery chiefly, in order to spare their troops. Anyhow, with the enormous artillery fire they will be able to concentrate upon any given point, it is not likely that it will take them
35 more than a fortnight or three weeks before they arrive at the *enceinte*. To break and carry that will be the work of a few days. Even then there

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will be no absolute necessity to give up resistance; but it will be better to defer considering these eventualities until there shall be a greater probability of their actually occurring. Until then, too, we may be allowed to say nothing about the merits and demerits of M. Rochefort's barricades. Upon the whole, we are of opinion that if the new works between the forts and the enceinte offer a really serious resistance, the attack will confine itself as much as possible—how far depends in a great measure upon the energy of the defence—to artillery fire, vertical and horizontal, and to the starving out of Paris.

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Notes on the War.—XXV

The Pall Mall Gazette.
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Notes on the War.—XXV.

While the negotiations for an armistice are pending, it will be as well to make out the positions of the different corps of the German armies, which do not appear to be generally understood. We say the German 5 armies, for of the French there is very little to be said. What is not shut up in Metz consists almost exclusively of new levies, the organization of which has never been made public, and cannot but vary from day to day. Moreover, the character of these troops, who prove themselves in all engagements more or less unfit for the field, takes away almost all inter-
10 est in either their organization or their numbers.

As to the Germans, we know that they marched out with thirteen army corps of North Germany (including the Guards), one division of Hessians, one of Badeners, one of Wurtembergers, and two army corps of Bavarians. The 17th division of the 9th North German Corps (one brigade 15 of which consists of Mecklenburgers) remained on the coast while the French fleet was in the Baltic. In its stead the 25th, or Hessian division, was attached to the 9th corps, and remains so up to the present day. There remained at home, with the 17th division, nine divisions of landwehr (one of the Guards, and one for each of the eight old provinces of Prussia; the 20 time elapsed since 1866, when the Prussian system was introduced all over North Germany, having been barely sufficient to form the necessary number of reserve men, but not as yet any landwehr). When the recall of the French fleet and the completion of the fourth battalions of the line rendered these forces disposable, fresh army corps were formed out of 25 them and sent to France. We shall scarcely know, before the end of the war, the details of formation of all these corps, but what has leaked out in the meantime gives us a pretty clear insight into the general character of the plan. Before Metz we have, under Prince Frederick Charles, the

1st, 2nd, 3rd, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th corps, of which the 9th consists, for the time being, of the 18th and 25th divisions, besides two divisions of landwehr, one, the first (East Prussian), under General Kummer; the number of the other is not known—in all sixteen divisions of infantry.

Before Paris there are, under the Crown Prince, the 5th, 6th, and 11th 5 North German, the two Bavarian corps, and the division of landwehr of the Guards; under the Crown Prince of Saxony, the 4th and 12th North German corps, and the Prussian Guards; under the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg, the 13th corps and the Wurtemberg division. The 13th corps is formed of the 17th division mentioned above, and of one division of 10 landwehr. Of these troops, forming in all twenty divisions, there are four divisions sent on detached duty. Firstly, Von der Tann with two Bavarian divisions and the 22nd North German division (of the IInd corps) to the south and west, holding with the Bavarians Orleans and the line of the Loire; while the 22nd division (General Wittich's) successively occupied 15 Châteaudun and Chartres. Secondly, the 17th division is detached towards the north-east of Paris; it has occupied Laon, Soissons, Beauvais, St. Quentin, &c, while other troops—probably flying columns, chiefly composed of cavalry—have advanced almost to the gates of Rouen. If we set down these as equal to another division, we have in all five divisions 20 detached from the army before Paris to scour the country, to collect cattle and provisions, to prevent the formation of armed bands, and to keep at a distance any new bodies of troops which the Government of Tours may be able to send up. This would leave for the actual investment fifteen divisions of infantry, or seven army corps and a half. 25

Besides the 13th corps, the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg commands the whole of the detached troops in Champagne and the other occupied districts west of Lorraine, the garrisons of Sedan, Rheims, Epernay, Châlons, Vitry, and the troops besieging Verdun. These consist of landwehr, principally of the 8th landwehr division. The garrisons in Alsace and Lorraine, almost all landwehr, are under the command of the respective military governors of these provinces. Moreover, there are the troops echeloned along the line of railway and the main roads whose exclusive duty it is to keep these in working order and open for army transport; these, formed by detachments of the various corps of the line, and 35 amounting at least to the strength of a division, are under the "Etappen-Commandant."

The Baden division and another landwehr division have been combined into the 14th corps, which is now, under General von Werder, advancing upon Besançon, while General Schmelting, with the fourth reserve division, has just successfully besieged Scheiestadt, and is now 40

taking in hand Neu Breisach. Here for the first time we find the mention of a "reserve division," which, in Prussian military language, is something essentially different from a landwehr division. In fact, we have so far accounted for six out of the nine landwehr divisions, and it may well 5 be supposed that the garrisoning of Alsace and Lorraine, and in part of the Rhine fortresses, will account for the other three. The application of the term reserve division proves that the fourth battalions of the line regiments are now gradually arriving on French soil. There will be nine of them, or, in some cases, ten, to every army corps; these have been 10 formed in as many reserve divisions, and probably bear the same number as the army corps to which they belong. Thus the fourth reserve division would be the one formed out of the fourth battalions of the fourth army corps recruited in Prussian Saxony. This division forms part of the new 15th army corps. What the other division is we do not know—probably 15 one of the three with which General Löwenfeld has just started from Silesia for Strasburg; the other two would then form the 16th corps. This would account for four out of thirteen reserve divisions, leaving nine still disposable in the interior of North Germany.

As to the numerical strength of these bodies of troops, the North 20 German battalions before Paris have certainly been brought up again to a full average of 750 men; the Bavarians are reported to be weaker. The cavalry will scarcely average more than 100 sabres to the squadron instead of 150; and, upon the whole, an army corps before Paris will average 25,000 men, so that the whole army actually there will be nearly 25 190,000 men. The battalions before Metz must be weaker, on account of the greater amount of sickness, and will hardly average 700 men. Those of the landwehr will scarcely number 500.

The Polish press has lately begun to claim a rather large share in the glory of the Prussian arms. The truth of the matter is this: the whole 30 number of the Polish-speaking population in Prussia is about two millions, or one-fifteenth of the whole North German population; in these we include both the Water-Polacks of Upper Silesia and the Masures of East Prussia, who would both be very much surprised to hear themselves called Poles. The 1st, 2nd, 5th, and 6th corps have an admixture of Polish 35 soldiers, but the Polish element actually predominates in one division only of the 5th, and perhaps in one brigade of the 6th corps. It has been the policy of the Prussian Government as much as possible to scatter the Polish element in the army over a great number of corps. Thus, the Poles of West Prussia are divided between the 1st and 2nd corps, and those of 40 Posen between the 2nd and 5th, while in every case care has been taken that the majority of the men in each corps should be Germans.

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The reduction of Verdun is now being energetically pushed on. The town and citadel are not very strongly fortified, but have deep wet ditches. On the 11th and 12th of October the garrison was driven from the villages surrounding the place, and the investment made close; on the 13th a bombardment was opened with forty-eight guns and mortars (French ones taken in Sedan), placed between 700 and 1,300 yards from the works. On the 14th some old French 24-pounders arrived from Sedan, and on the following day some of the new Prussian rifled 24-pounders which had reduced Toul. They were in full activity on the 18th. The town appeared to suffer severely, being very closely built. 10 5

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The fall of Metz

The Pall Mail Gazette.
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The fall of Metz.

The present war is a war of capitulations, each one of which seems to be destined to surpass its predecessors in magnitude. First came the 84,000 men laying down their arms at Sedan, an event the like of which, or even 5 anything approaching to which, had not been witnessed in any previous war, not even in those of Austria. Now comes the surrender of 170,000 men, together with the fortress of Metz, surpassing Sedan as much as Sedan surpassed all previous capitulations. Is Metz, in its turn, to be surpassed by Paris? If the war be continued there can be little doubt it 10 will.

The three radical blunders which brought Napoleon from the 2nd of August to the 2nd of September, from Saarbrücken to Sedan, and which virtually deprived France of the whole of her armies, were—first, the receiving of the enemy's attack in a position which allowed the victorious 15 Germans to push in between the scattered corps of the French army, and thus to divide it into two distinct bodies, neither of which could rejoin or even act in concert with the other; second, the delay of Bazaine's army at Metz, by which it got hopelessly shut up there; and third, the march to the relief of Bazaine with forces and by a route which positively invited 20 the enemy to take the whole of the relieving army prisoners. The effects of the First blunder were conspicuous throughout the campaign. Those of the third were brought to a close at Sedan; those of the second we have just witnessed at Metz. The whole of that "Army of the Rhine," to which Napoleon promised an arduous campaign in a country full of fortresses, 25 is now in, or on the road to, these very same fortresses as prisoners of war, and France is not only virtually, but positively, deprived of nearly all of her regular troops.

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The loss of the men themselves, and of the matériel surrendered along with Metz, which must be enormous, is a blow hard enough. But it is not the hardest. The worst for France is that, with these men and this matériel, she is deprived of that military organization of which she is more in need than of anything else. Of men there are plenty; even of drilled 5 men between twenty-five and thirty-five there must be at least 300,000. Matériel can be replaced from stores and factories at home and by commerce from abroad. Under circumstances like these all good breech-loaders are useful, no matter on what model they are constructed, or whether the ammunition of the one will suit the other models. Anything 10 serviceable being welcome, with a proper use of telegraphs and steamers, there might be more arms and cartridges now at the disposal of the Government than could be used. Even field artillery might have been supplied by this time. But what is most wanted is that solid organization which can make an army out of all these armed men. This organization is 15 personified in the officers and non-commissioned officers of the regular army, and finally ceases to be available with their surrender. The number of officers withdrawn from the active service of France, by losses on the battle-field and by capitulations, cannot now be less than from ten to twelve thousand, that of non-commissioned officers being nearly three 20 times as great. With such organizing forces all at once withdrawn from the national defence, it becomes extremely difficult to turn crowds of men into companies and battalions of soldiers. Whoever has seen popular levies on the drill-ground or under fire—be they Baden Freischaaren, Bull-Run Yankees, French Mobiles, or British Volunteers—will have per- 25 ceived at once that the chief cause of the helplessness and unsteadiness of these troops lies in the fact of the officers not knowing their duty; and in this present case in France who is there to teach them their duty? The few old half-pay or invalided officers are not sufficiently numerous to do it; they cannot be everywhere; the teaching has to be not theoretical only, 30 but practical too; not by word of mouth only, but by act and example. A few young officers or newly-promoted sergeants in a battalion will very soon settle down to their work by the constant observation of what the old officers do; but what is to be done when the officers are almost all new, and not even many old sergeants to be had to be commissioned? 35 The same men who now prove themselves in almost every encounter unfit to act in masses in the open would have soon learned how to fight if it had been possible to embody them in Bazaine's old battalions; nay, if they had merely had the chance of being commanded by Bazaine's officers and sergeants. And in this final loss for this campaign of almost the 40 last vestige of her military organization, France suffers most by the capitulation of Metz.

The fall of Metz

It will be time to form a decided opinion upon the conduct of the defence when we shall have heard what the defenders have to say for themselves. But if it be a fact that 170,000 men capable of bearing arms have surrendered, then the presumption is that the defence has not been
5 up to the mark. At no time since the end of August has the investing army been double the strength of the invested. It must have varied between 200,000 and 230,000 men, spread out on a circle of at least twenty-seven miles' periphery, in the first line only; which means to say that the circle occupied by the masses must at least have been thirty-six to forty
10 miles in periphery. This circle was moreover cut in two by the river Moselle, impassable except by bridges at some distance to the rear of the first line. If an army of 170,000 men could not manage to be in superior strength at any one point of this circle, and break through it before sufficient reinforcements could be brought up, we must conclude either
15 that the arrangements of the investing troops were beyond all praise, or that the attempts to get through them were never made as they ought to have been done. We shall probably learn that here, as throughout this war, political considerations have lamed military action.

Unless peace be now concluded, the consequences of this fresh disaster
20 will soon be brought home to France. We suppose that the two landwehr divisions will be left to garrison Metz. The 2nd Corps is already on the road to Paris, which does not absolutely imply that it is intended to take part in the investment of the capital. But supposing that to be the case, there would remain six corps, or at least 130,000 to 140,000 men, whom
25 Moltke can send where he likes. The communications of the army with Germany were kept up without much participation of Prince Frederick Charles's troops; for this purpose he will have to detach few men, if any at all. The rest is disposable for the invasion of the west and south of France. There will be no necessity to keep the whole of them together.
30 They will probably be divided into two or three bodies, forming, with Von der Tann's corps, together at least 150,000, and will be ordered to advance into the parts of France hitherto unoccupied by the Germans. One corps will almost certainly occupy the rich provinces of Normandy and Le Maine as far as the Loire, with Le Mans, where five railways
35 meet, for a centre. Another will push forward in the direction of Bordeaux, after having cleared the line of the Loire from Tours to Nevers, and occupied or destroyed the arsenals and military factories of Bourges. This corps might march from Metz by Chaumont and Auxerre, where the country has not yet been eaten up by requisitions. A third corps
40 might go straight to the south, to open communications with General Werder. The interior of France being almost entirely divested of fortres-

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ses deserving of the name, there will be no resistance except the evanescent one of the new levies, and the more passive but also more stubborn one of the populations. Whether, with such armies set free all at once, Moltke will attempt the siege of any more fortresses, or even the reduction of a fortified naval port such as Cherbourg, remains to be seen; he need reduce no more fortresses now, except Phalsburg and Belfort, which block main lines of railway, and, of course, Paris.

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Notes on the War. — XXVI

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The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1787, 4. November 1870

Notes on the War. — XXVI.

There can be no longer any reasonable doubt that the army which surrendered at Metz actually numbered 173,000 men, 140,000 of which were fit to bear arms, while rather more than 30,000 were sick and wounded.

5 The *Daily News* gives us, in a telegram from Berlin, what professes to be full particulars of these troops:—67 infantry regiments, 13 battalions of Chasseurs-à-Pied, 18 fourth and depot battalions; 36 cavalry regiments —viz. 10 Cuirassiers, 1 Guides, 11 Dragoons, 2 Lancers, 3 Hussars, 6 Chasseurs-à-Cheval, and 3 Chasseurs d'Afrique, besides 6 depot squadrons. We must suppose that this statement comes from the Prussian Staff in Berlin, and contains an abstract either of what they had made out from previous and indirect sources to be the composition of the French forces in Metz, or else of the French returns handed over to the captors on surrender. The latter appears most likely. We know there were within 10 Metz, of infantry, the Guards (8 regiments = 30 battalions, and 1 battalion Chasseurs), the Second Corps (Frossard, 3 divisions), the Third (Decaen, late Bazaine, 4 divisions), the Fourth (Ladmirault, 3 divisions), the Sixth (Canrobert, 3 divisions), and 1 division of the Fifth Corps (De Failly's), in all 14 divisions of the line, each containing 1 battalion of 15 Chasseurs and 4 regiments or 12 battalions of the line, excepting 2 divisions of Canrobert's which had no Chasseurs. This would give 12 battalions of Chasseurs and 168 battalions of the line, or, with the Guards, a grand total of 13 battalions Chasseurs and 198 of infantry, and, with the 20 18 depot battalions, in all 229 battalions, which is rather more than the 25 221 given as the total number in the *Daily News*. On the other hand, this list would give but 64 regiments of infantry, while our contemporary has 67. We must therefore conclude that the three missing regiments formed the garrison of Metz, and for that reason do not figure in the status of

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the "Army of the Rhine." As to the discrepancy in the number of battalions, that is easily accounted for. The losses of many regiments during the battles in August, and the sorties of September and October, as well as by sickness, must have been such that the three battalions had to be formed into two, perhaps even one.

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That such a force, as large as Napoleon's army at Leipzig, should be compelled to surrender at all, is a fact unheard of in the history of warfare, and almost incredible even now after it has happened. But it becomes more inconceivable still if we compare the strength of this army with that of the captors. On the 18th of August Bazaine was thrown back, 10 from the heights of Gravelotte, under the guns of the forts of Metz; in a few days after, the investment of the place was completed. But of the army which had fought at Gravelotte, 3 corps, or 75 battalions, were detached under the Crown Prince of Saxony on the 24th of August, at latest; for three days afterwards their cavalry defeated MacMahon's 15 Chasseurs-à-Cheval at Buzancy. There remained before Metz 7 corps, or 175 battalions, and 12 landwehr battalions, in all 187 battalions, to invest an army of at least 221 battalions! At that time Bazaine must have had at his disposal 160,000 combatants, if not more. The Prussians certainly had taken every step to send up fresh men from their reserve troops to make 20 up for the losses of the late battles; but it will be impossible to suppose that their battalions were brought up again to the full complement of 1,000 men. Even supposing this to have been the case, with the exception of the landwehr, which forms battalions of five or six hundred only, this will give the Prussians a force of not more than 182,000, or with cavalry 25 and artillery about 240,000 men; that is to say, merely one-half more than the army shut up in Metz. And these 240,000 men were spread out on a front of twenty-seven miles in length, and there was an unfordable river to divide them into two distinct bodies. Under these circumstances, it is impossible to doubt that Bazaine, had he really attempted to break 30 through the investing circle with the mass of his troops, could have done so—unless indeed we suppose that the French, after Gravelotte, were no longer the men they had been before; and for that there is no reason.

That Bazaine, after the proclamation of the Republic, should have refrained from breaking out of Metz through political motives appears to 35 the writer of these Notes quite certain. It is equally certain that every day of delay decreased his chances of success for doing so; still the Prussians themselves appear to think now that, had they been in the same position, they could have performed the feat. But what remains inexplicable is the inaction, or at least the indecision, of Bazaine during the last days of 40 August and the first days of September. On the 31st of August he at-

Notes on the War.—XXVI

tempts an attack towards the north-east, and continues it throughout the night and the following morning; yet three Prussian divisions are sufficient to drive him back under the guns of the forts. The attempt must have been extremely feeble, considering the enormous strength with 5 which he might have made it. A general who has sixteen divisions of splendid infantry under him, to be repelled by three divisions of the enemy! It is too bad.

As to the political motives which are said to have caused Bazaine's inactivity after the revolution of the 4th of September, and the political 10 intrigues in which he engaged, with the connivance of the enemy, during the latter part of the investment, they are thoroughly in keeping with the Second Empire, which, in one form or another, they were intended to restore. It shows to what an extent that Second Empire had lost every comprehension of French character if the general in command of the 15 only regular army France then possessed could think of restoring the fallen dynasty with the help of the invader of his country.

Bazaine's previous military career was none of the brightest. His Mexican campaign merely proved that he cared more for reward than for glory or the credit of his country. His nomination to the command-in- 20 chief of the Army of the Rhine was due to accidental circumstances; he got it, not because he was the most eligible but the least ineligible of the possible candidates; and the deciding considerations were anything but strictly military. He will be immortalized as the man who committed the most disgraceful act in French military history—who prevented 160,000 25 Frenchmen from breaking through the investing army of, under the circumstances, positively inferior strength, and surrendered them as prisoners of war when there was nothing more to eat.

Friedrich Engels
The Emperor's apologia

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1788, 5. November 1870

The Emperor's apologia.

Like other great men in bad luck, Louis Napoleon appears aware that he owes the public an explanation of the causes which led him, much against his will, from Saarbrücken to Sedan; and consequently we have now been put in possession of what professes to be this explanation of his. As there is no evidence, either external or internal, to fix any suspicion of spuriousness upon the document, but rather to the contrary, we take it, for the present, to be genuine. Indeed, we are almost bound to do so, out of mere compliment; for if ever there was a document confirming, both generally and in detail, the view taken of the war by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, it is this 10 Imperial self-justification.

Louis Napoleon informs us that he was perfectly aware of the great numerical superiority of the Germans; that he hoped to counteract it by a rapid invasion of Southern Germany in order to compel that country to remain neutral, and to secure, by a first success, the alliance of Austria 15 and Italy. For this purpose 150,000 men were to be concentrated at Metz, 100,000 at Strasburg, and 50,000 at Chalons. With the first two rapidly concentrated, the Rhine was to be passed near Carlsruhe, while the 50,000 men from Chalons advanced on Metz to oppose any hostile movement on the flank and rear of the advancing forces. But this plan 20 evaporated as soon as the Emperor came to Metz. He found there only 100,000 men, at Strasburg there were only 40,000, while Canrobert's reserves were anywhere and everywhere except at Chalons, where they ought to have been. Then the troops were unprovided with the first necessities for a campaign, knapsacks, tents, camp-kettles, and cooking- 25 tins. Moreover, nothing was known of the enemy's whereabouts. In fact, the bold, dashing offensive was from the very beginning turned into a very modest defensive.

The Emperor's apology

There will be scarcely anything new in all this to the readers of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Our "Notes on the War" sketched out the above plan of attack as the most rational the French could pursue, and traced the causes why it had to be abandoned. But there is one fact, which was the proximate cause of his first defeats, for which the Emperor does not account: why he left his several corps in the faulty position of attack close to the frontier, when the intention of attack had been long given up. As to his figures, we shall criticize them by and by.

The causes of the breakdown of the French military administration the Emperor finds in "the defects of our military organization such as it has existed for the last fifty years." But surely this was not the first time that this organization was put upon its trial. It had answered well enough during the Crimean war. It produced brilliant results at the outset of the Italian war, when it was held up in England, not less than in Germany, as the very model of army organization. No doubt it was shown to have many shortcomings even then. But there is this difference between then and now: then it did work, and now it does not. And the Emperor does not profess to account for this difference, which was the very thing to be accounted for—but, at the same time, the most tender point of the Second Empire, which had clogged the wheels of this organization by all manner of corruption and jobbery.

When Metz was reached by the retreating army, "its effective force was brought up to 140,000 by the arrival of Marshal Canrobert with two divisions and the reserve." This statement, compared with the numbers who have just laid down their arms at Metz, compels us to look a little more closely into the Imperial figures. The army of Strasburg was to be composed of MacMahon's, De Failly's, and Douay's corps, in all ten divisions, and should number 100,000 men; but it is now said not to have exceeded 40,000. Leaving Douay's three divisions entirely out of the question, although one of them came to MacMahon's assistance at or after Woerth, this would give less than 6,000 men per division (13 battalions), or barely 430 men per battalion, even if we do not count one single man for cavalry or artillery. Now, with all the credit we are inclined to give the Second Empire in the matter of jobbery and dilapidation, we cannot bring ourselves to believe that there should have been ninety battalions in the army the effective strength of which, twenty days after the calling out of the reserves and men on furlough, averaged 430 men instead of 900. As to the army of Metz it comprised, in the Guards and ten divisions of the line, 161 battalions; and if we take the 100,000 men given in the pamphlet as consisting of infantry only, without allowing anything for cavalry or artillery, that would still give not more than 620

men per battalion, which is undoubtedly below the reality. More wonderful still, after the retreat to Metz, this army was raised to 140,000 men by the arrival of two divisions of Canrobert and the reserves. The new additions thus consisted of 40,000 men. Now, as the "reserves" arriving at Metz after Spicheran could consist of cavalry and artillery only, the Guards having arrived there long before, they cannot be set down at more than 20,000 men, leaving another 20,000 for Canrobert's two divisions, which, for twenty-five battalions, would give 800 men per battalion; that is to say, Canrobert's battalions, which were the most unready of all, are made by this account to be far stronger than those which had been concentrated and got ready long before. But, if the army of Metz, before the battles of the 14th, 16th, and 18th of August, counted but 140,000 men, how comes it that after the losses of these three days—certainly not less than 50,000 men—after the losses of the later sorties, and the deaths from sickness, Bazaine could still hand over 173,000 prisoners to the Prussians? We have entered into these figures merely to show that they contradict each other and all the known facts of the campaign. They can be dismissed at once as totally incorrect.

Besides the army organization, there were other circumstances hampering the Imperial eagle's flight towards victory. There was, firstly, "the bad weather;" then "the encumbrance of baggage;" and finally, "the absolute ignorance in which we always remained concerning the position and the strength of the hostile armies." Three very untoward circumstances indeed. But the bad weather was there for both parties, for in all his devout references to Providence King William has not once mentioned the fact that the sun shone on the German positions while rain fell on those of the French. Nor were the Germans unencumbered with baggage. As to the ignorance of the whereabouts of the enemy, there exists a letter of Napoleon's to his brother Joseph, who complained in Spain of the same hardship, and which is anything but complimentary to generals making such complaints. It says that if generals are ignorant of the whereabouts of the enemy it is their own fault, and proves that they do not understand their business. One sometimes doubts, in reading these excuses for bad generalship, whether this pamphlet is really written for grown-up people.

The account given of the part played by Louis Napoleon himself will not please his friends very much. After the battles of Woerth and Spicheran he "resolved immediately to lead back the army to the camp of Chalons." But this plan, though first approved by the Council of Ministers, two days afterwards was considered likely "to produce a deplorable effect on the public mind;" and, on the reception of a letter from M. E.

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Ollivier (!) to that effect, the Emperor abandoned it. He leads the army to the left bank of the Moselle, and then—"not foreseeing a general battle, and only looking for partial engagements"—leaves it for Chalons. Scarcely is he gone when the battles of the 16th and 18th of August take
5 place, and shut up in Metz Bazaine and his army. In the meantime, the Empress and the Ministry, exceeding their powers, and behind the Emperor's back, convoke the Chamber; and, with the meeting of that eminently powerful body, the Corps Législatif of Arcadians, the fate of the Empire was sealed. The Opposition—there were twenty-five of them, you
10 know—became all powerful, and "paralyzed the patriotism of the majority and the progress of the Government"—which Government, we all recollect, was not that of mealy-mouthed Ollivier but of rough Palikao.

"From this period Ministers appeared to be afraid to pronounce the name of the Emperor; and he, who had quitted the army, and had only
15 relinquished the command in order to resume the reins of government, soon discovered that it would be impossible for him to play out the part which belonged to him." In fact, he was made to see that he was virtually deposed, that he had become impossible. Most people with some self-respect, under the circumstances, would have abdicated. But no; his ir-
20 resolution, to use the mildest possible expression, continues, and he follows MacMahon's army, a mere clog, powerless to do good, but not to prevent its being done. The Government in Paris insist upon MacMahon making a move to relieve Bazaine. MacMahon refuses, as this would be tantamount to running his army into the jaws of perdition; Palikao in-
25 sists. "As to the Emperor, he made no opposition. It could not enter into his views to oppose the advice of the Government and of the Empress Regent, who had shown so much intelligence and energy under the greatest difficulties." We admire the meekness of the man who for twenty years had maintained that submission to his own individual will was the
30 only road to salvation for France, and who now, when "a plan of campaign is imposed from Paris, contrary to the most elementary principles of the art of war," makes no opposition, because it could never enter into his views to oppose the advice of the Empress Regent, who had, &c. &c!

The description of the state of the army with which this fatal march
35 was undertaken is an exact confirmation in every particular of our estimate of it at the time. There is only one redeeming feature in it. De Failly's corps, during its retreat by forced marches, had at least managed to lose, without a fight, "almost all its baggage;" but the corps does not appear to have appreciated this advantage.

40 The army had gone to Reims on the 21st of August. On the 23rd it advanced as far as the river Suirpe, at Bétheniville, on the direct road to

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Verdun and Metz. But commissariat difficulties compelled MacMahon to return without delay to a line of railway; consequently, on the 24th, a movement to the left is made and Rethel is reached. Here the whole of the 25th is spent in distributing provisions to the troops. On the 26th, headquarters go to Tourteron, twelve miles further eastward; on the 27th, 5 to Le Chêne Populeux, another six miles. Here MacMahon, finding out that eight German army corps were closing in around him, gave orders to retreat again towards the west; but during the night positive orders from Paris arrived that he was to march to Metz. "Unquestionably, the Emperor could have countermanded this order, but he was resolved not to 10 oppose the decision of the Regency." This virtuous resignation compelled MacMahon to obey; and so he reached Stonne, six miles further east, on the 28th. But "these orders and counter-orders occasioned delays in the movements." In the meantime "the Prussian army had made forced marches, while we, encumbered with baggage [[again!]], had occupied six 15 days with fatigued troops in marching twenty-five leagues." Then came the battles of the 30th, 31st, and 1st of September, and the catastrophe, which is narrated very fully, but without giving any new particulars. And then comes the moral to be drawn from it:— "Certainly the struggle was disproportionate; but it would have been longer sustained, and less disastrous for our arms, if military operations had not been unceasingly 20 subordinated to political considerations."

It is the fate of the Second Empire and everything connected with it to fall without being pitied. The commiseration which is the least that falls to the lot of great misfortunes does not, somehow or other, appear to be 25 extended to it. Even the "honneur au courage malheureux" which you cannot nowadays use in French without a certain irony, seems to be denied to it. We doubt whether, under the circumstances, Napoleon will derive much benefit from a document according to which his eminent strategical insight is in every case set at nought by absurd orders, dictated 30 by political motives, from the Government at Paris, while his power to cancel these absurd orders is again set at nought by his unlimited respect for the Regency of the Empress. The best that can be said of this uncommonly lame pamphlet is, that it does acknowledge how necessarily things must go wrong in war "if military operations be unceasingly subordi- 35 nated to political considerations."

Friedrich Engels
The fighting in France

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The Pall Mail Gazette.
Nr. 1793, 11. November 1870

The fighting in France.

During the first six weeks of the war, while German victories followed each other rapidly, while the expanding force of the invaders was as yet but incompletely spent, and while there were still French armies in the field to oppose them, the contest, generally speaking, remained one of armies. The population of the invaded districts took but little part in the fighting. True, there were a dozen or so of Alsatian peasants court-martialed and shot for participating in battles or for maiming the wounded; but a tragedy like that of Bazeilles was quite the exception. This is proved by nothing better than by the immense impression it made, and by the eager controversy carried on in the press as to the degree in which the treatment of that village was justifiable or otherwise. If it were advisable to reopen that controversy, we could prove, from the testimony of unimpeachable eye-witnesses, that inhabitants of Bazeilles did fall upon the Bavarian wounded, ill-treated them, and threw them into the flames of houses fired by shells; and that in consequence of this, General Von der Tann gave the stupid and barbarous order to destroy the whole place — stupid and barbarous chiefly because it meant setting fire to houses in which his own wounded were lying by the hundred. But any- how, Bazeilles was destroyed in the heat of battle, and in a contest the most exasperating—that of house and street fighting, where reports must be acted upon and decisions taken at once, and where people have no time to sift evidence and to hear counsel on both sides.

During the last six weeks the character of the war has undergone a remarkable change. The regular armies of France have disappeared; the contest is carried on by levies whose very rawness renders them more or less irregular. Wherever they attempt to come out in masses in the open, they are easily defeated; wherever they fight under shelter of barricaded

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and loopholed villages and towns, they find they can offer a serious resistance. They are encouraged in this kind of fighting, in night surprises, and other coups of petty warfare, by proclamations and orders of the Government, who also command the people of the district in which they operate to support them in every way. This resistance would be easily put 5 down if the enemy disposed of forces sufficient for the occupation of the whole country. But this he did not up to the surrender of Metz. The force of the invaders was spent before Amiens, Rouen, Le Mans, Blois, Tours, and Bourges could be reached on the one hand, and Besançon and Lyons on the other. And that this force became spent so soon is in no small 10 degree owing to this greater condensation of the resisting medium. The eternal "four Uhlans" cannot now ride into a village or a town far outside their own lines and command absolute submission to their orders without risk of being caught or killed. Requisition columns have to be accompanied by an imposing force, and single companies or squadrons 15 have to guard themselves well from night surprises when quartered in a village, and from ambushes when on the march. There is a belt of disputed ground all around the German positions, and it is just there that popular resistance is most severely felt. And to put down this popular resistance the Germans are having recourse to a code of warfare as anti- 20 quated as it is barbarous. They are acting upon the rule that every town or village where one or more of the inhabitants take part in the defence, fire upon their troops, or generally assist the French, is to be burned down; that every man taken in arms who is not, according to their notion, a regular soldier, is to be shot at once; and that where there is 25 reason to believe that any considerable portion of the population of a town have been guilty of some such offence, all able-bodied men are to be massacred at once. This system has now been ruthlessly carried out for nearly six weeks, and is still in full force. You cannot open a German newspaper without stumbling over half a dozen reports of such military 30 executions, which there pass quite as a matter of course, as simple proceedings of military justice carried out with wholesome severity by "honest soldiers" against "cowardly assassins and brigands." There is no disorder of any kind, no promiscuous plunder, no violation of women, no irregularity. Nothing of the kind. It is all done systematically and by 35 order; the doomed village is surrounded, the inhabitants turned out, the provisions secured, and the houses set fire to, while the real or suspected culprits are brought before a court-martial, when a short shrift and half a dozen bullets await them with unerring certainty. In Ablis, a village of 900 inhabitants, on the road to Chartres, a squadron of the 16th (Sles- 40 wick-Holstein) Hussars were surprised at night by French irregulars, and

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lost one half of their men; to punish this piece of insolence, the whole brigade of cavalry marched to Ablis and burned down the whole place; and two different reports, both from actors in the drama, assert that all able-bodied men were taken out from the inhabitants and shot down, or 5 hacked to pieces without exception. This is but one out of very many cases. A Bavarian officer in the neighbourhood of Orleans writes that his detachment had burned down five villages in twelve days; and it is no exaggeration to say that wherever the German flying columns are passing in the centre of France, their road but too often remains traced by fire 10 and by blood.

Now it will scarcely suffice in 1870 to say that this is legitimate warfare, and that the interference of civilians or of anybody not properly recognized as a soldier is tantamount to brigandage, and may be put down by fire and sword. All this might apply in the time of Louis XIV. 15 and Frederick IL, when there were no other contests but those of armies. But from the American war of independence down to the American war of secession, in Europe as well as in America, the participation of the populations in war has become not the exception but the rule. Wherever a people allowed itself to be subdued merely because its armies had become incapable of resistance it has been held up to universal contempt as 20 a nation of cowards; and wherever a people did energetically carry out this irregular resistance, the invaders very soon found it impossible to carry out the old-fashioned code of blood and fire. The English in America, the French under Napoleon in Spain, the Austrians, 1848, in Italy 25 and Hungary, were very soon compelled to treat popular resistance as perfectly legitimate, from fear of reprisals on their own prisoners. Not even the Prussians in Baden, 1849, or the Pope after Mentana, had the courage to shoot down indiscriminately their prisoners of war, irregulars and "rebels" though they were. There exist only two modern examples of 30 the ruthless application of this antiquated code of "stamping out": the suppression of the Sepoy mutiny by the English in India, and the proceedings of Bazaine and his French in Mexico.

Of all armies in the world, the very last that ought to renew such practices is the Prussian. In 1806 Prussia collapsed merely because there 35 was not anywhere in the country a trace of that spirit of national resistance. After 1807, the reorganizers of the administration and of the army did everything in their power to revive it. At that time Spain showed the glorious example how a nation can resist an invading army. The whole of the military leaders of Prussia pointed out this example to their countrymen as the one to be followed. Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, Clausewitz were 40 all of one mind in this respect; Gneisenau even went to Spain himself to

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fight against Napoleon. The whole of the new military system then inaugurated in Prussia was an attempt to organize popular resistance to the enemy, at least as far as this was possible in an absolute monarchy. Not only was every able-bodied man to pass through the army and to serve in the landwehr up to his fortieth year; the lads between seventeen and 5 twenty and the men between forty and sixty were to form part of the landsturm or *levée en masse*, which was to rise in the rear and on the flanks of the enemy, harass his movements, intercept his supplies and couriers, use whatever arms it could find, employ indiscriminately whatever means were at hand to annoy the invader—"the more effective these 10 means the better"—and, above all, "to wear no uniform of any kind, so that the landsturmers might at any time resume their character of civilians and remain unknown to the enemy." The whole of this "Landsturm Ordnung," as the law of 1813 regarding it is called, is drawn up—and its author is no other than Scharnhorst, the organizer of the Prussian army 15—in this spirit of uncompromising national resistance, to which all means are justifiable and the most effective are the best. But then all this was to be done by the Prussians against the French, and if the French act in the same way towards the Prussians that is quite a different thing. What was patriotism in the one case becomes brigandage and cowardly 20 assassination in the other.

The fact is, the present Prussian Government are ashamed of that old, half-revolutionary Landsturm Ordnung, and try to make it forgotten by their proceedings in France. But every act of wanton cruelty they get committed in France will more and more call it to memory; and the 25 justifications made for such an ignoble mode of warfare will but tend to prove that if the Prussian army has immensely improved since Jena, the Prussian Government are rapidly ripening that same state of things which rendered Jena possible.

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Notes on the War.—XXVII

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1797, 16. November 1870

Notes on the War.—XXVII.

Those who believed, with M. Gambetta, that the skilful and well-combined movements by which the Army of the Loire manoeuvred Von der Tann's Bavarians out of Orleans would be followed up at once by an advance on Paris have been doomed to disappointment. The engagement of Coulmiers, or whatever else it may hereafter be called, took place on the 9th, and up to the evening of the 13th the Bavarian outposts appear to have remained unmolested in front of Toury, only twenty-five miles from Orleans.

10 It redounds greatly to the credit of General D'Aurelle de Paladines that after his first success he not only had the sense, but also the moral strength, to stop in time. With M. Gambetta behind him, proclaiming to his men that they are on the road to Paris, that Paris awaits them and must be freed from the barbarians, it cannot have been an easy matter to
15 keep back these young and half-disciplined troops, who are but too ready to cry "trahison" unless they are at once led against the enemy, and to run away when they are made seriously to feel that enemy's presence. That d'Aurelle has made them stop on the road to Paris shows that his efforts to discipline them have not been unsuccessful, and that his first
20 success has gained him their confidence. His dispositions for this first French victory were everything they should have been. Von der Tann cannot have had more than 25,000 men in the neighbourhood of Orleans, which exposed position he was allowed to continue to hold, in the consciousness that his seasoned troops would, under any circumstances, be
25 able to fray themselves a road through no matter what number of the new levies opposed to them. D'Aurelle could operate against the Bavarians with at least fourfold their numbers, and he did what is usual in such a case: he turned their flanks and displayed especially on their right rear,

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such a strength that Von der Tann was at once compelled to fall back towards his supports. These joined him at Tourny on the 11th, or at latest the 12th; and they consisted of Wittich's 21st division of North German infantry, Prince Albrecht's division of cavalry, and the 13th Corps (17th North German division and Wurtemberg division). Thus a force of from 5 65,000 to 70,000 men at least is concentrated under the command of the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg at Tourny, and General D'Aurelle may well look at them twice before he ventures upon an attack on them, though they are commanded by a very common-place chief indeed.

But there are other motives besides this which must compel General 10 D'Aurelle to pause before making any fresh movement. If his intention really be to come to the relief of Paris, he must know perfectly well that his own forces are not sufficient to effect this object unless at the same time a vigorous effort is made, from within, to second him. We know that General Trochu has picked out the most disciplined and best organized 15 portion of his troops and formed of them what may be called the active army of Paris. Under the command of General Ducrot, they appear to be intended for those grand sorties without which the defence of a place like Paris is like a soldier fighting with his right arm tied up.

It is not perhaps a matter of accident that this reorganization of the 20 Army of Paris coincides, in point of time, with the advance of the Army of the Loire. General Trochu and General D'Aurelle doubtless have attempted, by means of balloons and carrier pigeons, to arrange a combined movement, to be made at a time agreed upon beforehand; and, unless the Germans previously attack the Army of the Loire, we may 25 expect a sortie on a large scale from Paris on or about the same time that D'Aurelle makes his next forward movement. That sortie would probably be made with at least the whole of Ducrot's three corps, on the south side of the town, where communication with the Army of the Loire might, in case of success, be established, while on the north-east and 30 north-west sides Trochu's "Third Army" would make simulated attacks and diversions, supported by the fire of the forts, to prevent the investing army from sending reinforcements to the south. We may be sure, on the other hand, that all this is taken into account by General Moltke, and that he will not be caught napping. In spite of the great numerical su- 35 periority which the French will be able to bring into the field, we are decidedly of opinion that the difference in the quality of the troops and in the generalship will more than make up for this.

This attempt to free Paris from the grasp of the "barbarians" will have to be made very soon if it is to have any chance at all. Besides the 40 five divisions of infantry which are opposed to the Army of the Loire,

there are now before Paris sixteen divisions of infantry (the 2nd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 12th Corps, the Guards, the 1st Bavarian Corps, the 21st Division, and the division of landwehr of the Guards). This force must be, in Moltke's eyes, quite sufficient to keep Paris effectively blockaded; otherwise he would have drawn towards Paris more troops than the 2nd Corps, out of those that became free by the surrender of Metz. And considering that its positions, facing Paris, are everywhere strongly entrenched, and will shortly be under the protection of tremendous siege batteries, such will no doubt be the case. But we are now beginning to receive news from Prince Frederick Charles, who after the capitulation of Metz had become invisible with three army corps (the 3rd, 9th, and 10th). The first glimpse we since then have had of his troops was the short piece of news that the "9th Regiment" had had a brush with the Mobiles just outside Chaumont, in the Haute-Marne, on the 7th of November. The 9th belongs to the seventh brigade (of the Second Corps) which had already arrived before Paris, and the whole story became thereby unintelligible. Since then, it has been established that the telegram, by mistake, gave the ninth regiment instead of the ninth brigade, and this clears up the matter. The ninth brigade is the first of the Third Army Corps, and belongs therefore to the army of Prince Frederick Charles. The locality of the engagement, combined with the report generally accredited in military circles in Berlin that the Prince had been marching upon Troyes, which city he was said to have reached on the 7th or 8th, left but little doubt that he had taken the route we supposed the main body of his troops would take, viz. "to march from Metz by Chaumont and Auxerre, and to push forward in the direction of Bordeaux after having cleared the line of the Loire from Tours to Nevers." We now learn that this army has occupied the line of the Yonne at Sens, about fifty miles from Gien on the Loire, and but thirty from Montargis, whence any French position to the north of Orleans could be taken in flank by one good day's march. The detachments reported at Malesherbes and Nemours may have been sent by Prince Frederick Charles to feel for Von der Tann's left, or they may be flanking parties on the extreme left of the line of march of the 13th Corps. At any rate, we may now expect that the Prince will very soon establish his communications by flying columns with Von der Tann at Toury, on the one hand, and Werder at Dijon on the other. If the Army of the Loire delays its attack until Prince Frederick Charles arrives within reach, it will have, besides the 70,000 men in its front, another 75,000 men on its right flank and rear, and all idea of relieving Paris will have to be abandoned. It will have enough to do to look after its own safety, and

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will have to recede, hopelessly, before that broad flood-wave of invasion which will then cover central France on a front extending from Chartres to Dijon.

Friedrich Engels
Fortified capitals

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1801, 21. November 1870

Fortified capitals.

If there is any military question which the experience of the present war may be said to have finally settled, it is that of the expediency of fortifying the capital of a great State. Ever since the day when the fortification 5 of Paris was resolved upon, the controversy as to the usefulness or otherwise, and even as to the possibility of defending such a vast fortress, has been going on in the military literature of all countries. Nothing could settle it but practical experience—the actual siege of Paris, the only fortified capital in existence; and though the real siege of Paris has not yet 10 begun, the fortifications of Paris have rendered such immense services to France already that the question is as good as decided in their favour.

The dangerous proximity of Paris to the north-eastern frontier of France—a frontier, moreover, entirely deprived of any defensible line either of river or mountains—led, first, to the conquest of the nearest 15 border-lands; secondly, to the construction of a triple belt of fortresses running from the Rhine to the North Sea; and, thirdly, to that continuous hankering after the whole of the left bank of the Rhine which has at last brought France to her present position. The conquests were cut down and defined by the Treaties of 1814 and 1815; the fortresses were 20 proved to be all but useless, and completely incapable of arresting large armies, by the two invasions of the same years; finally, the shouts for the Rhine were, in 1840, checked for a time by a European coalition against France. Then it was that France, as became a great nation, attempted to counterbalance the dangerous position of Paris by the only means in her 25 power—by fortifying it.

In this present war France was covered, on her most vulnerable side, by the neutrality of Belgium. Still, one short month sufficed to drive all her organized forces from the field. One half had surrendered themselves

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prisoners; the other was hopelessly shut up in Metz, their surrender but a question of weeks. Under ordinary circumstances, the war would have been at an end. The Germans would have occupied Paris and as much of the rest of France as they desired, and after the capitulation of Metz, if not before, peace would have been concluded. France has nearly all her fortresses close to the frontier: this belt of fortified towns once broken through on a front sufficiently wide for liberty of movement, the remaining fortresses on the border or the coast might be neglected, and the whole of the central country occupied; after which, the border fortresses would be easily brought to surrender one after another. Even for guerilla warfare fortresses in the interior, as safe centres of retreat, are necessary in cultivated countries. In the Peninsular War, the popular resistance of the Spaniards was rendered possible mainly by the fortresses. The French, in 1809, drove Sir John Moore's English troops out of Spain; they were victorious everywhere in the field, and yet never conquered the country. The comparatively small Anglo-Portuguese army, on its re-appearance, could not have faced them had it not been for the innumerable Spanish armed bands which, easily beaten in open battle, infested the flanks and rear of every French column, and held fast by far the greater portion of the invading army. And these bands could not have held out for any length of time had it not been for the great number of fortresses in the country; fortresses, mostly small and antiquated, but still requiring a regular siege to reduce them, and therefore safe retreats for these bands when attacked in the open field. Such fortresses being absent in France, even a guerrilla war could never be very formidable there, unless there were some other circumstances to make up for their absence. And one such circumstance is the fortification of Paris.

On the 2nd of September the last French army in the field capitulated. And to-day, on the 21st of November, nearly eleven weeks afterwards, almost one-half of all the German troops in France is still held fast around Paris, while the greater portion of the remainder are hurried forward from Metz to protect the investment of Paris against a newly-formed Army of the Loire, an army which, whatever its value may be, could not have even come into existence had it not been for the fortifications of Paris. These fortifications have been invested for just two months, and the preparations for the opening of the regular siege are not yet complete; that is to say, the siege of a fortress of the size of Paris, even if defended by none but new levies and a determined population, can begin only when that of a common fortress would have been long brought to a successful close. The event has proved that a town holding two millions of inhabitants can be provisioned almost easier than a

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smaller fortress exercising less central attraction upon the produce of the surrounding country; for although the provisioning of Paris was taken seriously in hand after the 4th of September, or a fortnight only before the investment was complete, Paris is not yet starved into submission after 5 nine weeks' blockading. In fact, the armies of France resisted but for one month; Paris has, already now, resisted for two months and still holds fast the main body of the invaders. Surely this is more than ever a fortress did before, and repays in full the outlay upon the works. And we must not forget, what we have more than once pointed out already, that 10 the defence of Paris this time is carried on under quite abnormal conditions, because it has to do without an active field army. What would that resistance be, how would it have delayed, if not altogether prevented, the investment, how many more men of the invading armies would it have fettered around Paris, if MacMahon's army had gone to the capital instead of to Sedan?

But this is not all. Not only has the defence of Paris given to France two months of breathing time, which, under less disastrous circumstances, would have been invaluable and may even now turn out so, but it has also given her the benefit of whatever chances political changes 20 may bring on during the siege. We may say as long as we like that Paris is a fortress like any other, yet the fact remains that the actual siege of a place like Paris will produce far more excitement all over the world than a hundred sieges of minor places. The laws of warfare may be what they may, our modern consciousness refuses to acquiesce in having Paris 25 treated as Strasburg was. The neutrals, under such circumstances, may pretty safely be counted on for trying mediation; political jealousies against the conqueror are almost certain to crop up before the place is completely reduced; in fact, an operation of the magnitude and duration of the siege of Paris is as likely to be decided in the Cabinet of some 30 non-combatant Power, by alliances and counter-alliances, as in the trenches by dismounting and breaching batteries. Of this we are about to witness an example perhaps. It is just possible that the sudden irruption upon Europe of the Eastern question may do for Paris what the Army of the Loire cannot do—save it from surrender and free it from blockade.

35 If, as is but too probable, Prussia should be unable to clear herself from complicity—of whatever degree—with Russia, and if Europe be determined not to tolerate the Russian breach of faith, then it is of the utmost importance that France should not be completely prostrated and Paris not be held by the Prussians. It is therefore absolutely necessary that 40 Prussia should be compelled at once to declare herself categorically, and that if she attempt to prevaricate, steps should be taken at once to

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strengthen the hopes and the resistance of Paris. Thirty thousand British soldiers landed at Cherbourg or Brest would form an ingredient which, added to the Army of the Loire, would give it a degree of steadiness unknown to it heretofore. The British infantry, by its uncommon solidity, even by its corresponding fault, its clumsiness in light infantry movements, is peculiarly adapted thus to steady newly formed levies; it performed that duty admirably in Spain, under Wellington; it did a similar duty in all Indian wars as regards the less trustworthy native troops. Under such circumstances the influence of such a British army corps would far exceed that due to its mere numbers, as, indeed, has always been the case when a British army corps was thus employed. A couple of Italian divisions thrown towards Lyons and the Saône Valley, as the advanced guard of an Italian army, would soon attract Prince Frederick Charles; there is Austria; there are the Scandinavian kingdoms to menace Prussia on other fronts and attract her troops; Paris itself, on receiving such news, would certainly undergo almost any degree of starvation rather than surrender—and bread there seems to be plenty—and thus the fortifications of the town might actually, even in its present distress, save the country by having enabled it to hold out until help arrived.

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Notes on the War.—XXVIII

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1803, 23. November 1870

Notes on the War.—XXVIII.

If ever there was a chance of relief for Paris that chance existed during the last eight days. A resolute advance of the Army of the Loire, reinforced by all troops that could be brought up from the East of France, 5 against Mecklenburg's army of observation, combined with a sortie *en masse* made by the whole of Trochu's disciplined forces, both attacks carried out at the same time and before Prince Frederick Charles could come up with the second army—this was the only plan which promised success. And if we look at the counter-dispositions of the Germans we 10 can hardly help concluding that it had more chances of success than could be expected at first sight.

Before Paris there were last week seventeen German infantry divisions, including the Würtembergers, who had not left their post between the Seine and the Marne, as had been erroneously reported at first. The army 15 of observation, under Mecklenburg, counted two North German and two Bavarian divisions, besides cavalry. After the battle of Coulmiers, D'Aurelle, instead of following up the Bavarian rear, marched north and west in the direction of Chartres, where, for the present, he became lost to our eyes. The Germans followed this movement by a change of front 20 towards the west, Von der Tann's Bavarians holding the country from Etampes to Ablis, while the 17th and 22nd Divisions marched towards Chartres and Dreux. The latter town had, in the meantime, been reoccupied by French troops; it was supposed that D'Aurelle, reinforced by Kératry and other forces, was trying to turn the army of observation and 25 to arrive suddenly upon the army blockading Paris. So serious did this attempt appear to Count Moltke that he despatched at once the nearest troops, portions of the 5th and 12th Corps, to the support of Mecklenburg, and ordered the 2nd Bavarian and 6th North German Corps, the 21st, and

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the Wurtemberg divisions to hold themselves in readiness to march south if required. The reinforcements already sent enabled Mecklenburg to re-take Dreux on the 17th, and to follow the enemy up, on the 18th, beyond Châteauneuf. What French troops they were who were here defeated it is impossible to tell. They may have been portions of the Army of the Loire, but they certainly were not the Army of the Loire itself. Since then there is no news whatever of further French movements; while time runs on and Prince Frederick Charles draws nearer and nearer, and ought, by now, to be within supporting distance of Mecklenburg's left wing. 5

There seems to be little doubt that a great opportunity has been missed 10 by the French. The advance of the Army of the Loire made such a powerful impression upon Moltke that he did not hesitate a moment to give orders which implied, if it became necessary to execute them, nothing less than the raising of the investment of Paris. The portions of the 5th and 12th Corps, which advanced towards Dreux, we will set down at 15 not more than a brigade each, or a division in all; but besides them, two Bavarian, three North German and the Wurtemberg divisions were told off to hold themselves ready to march against D'Aurelle at the first notice. Thus, out of the seventeen divisions before Paris, seven at least were to march against the relieving army in case of need, and these seven just 20 those which occupied the ground to the south of Paris. The Crown Prince would have retained but the 2nd and greater part of the 5th Corps, where-with to guard the long extent of ground from the Seine at Choisy, by Versailles, to St. Germain; while the Guards, the 4th, and greater part of the 12th Corps would have had to hold the whole of the northern line 25 from St. Germain round by Gonesse and St. Brice, across the Marne, again to the Seine above Paris. Thus ten divisions of infantry would have held a line of investment of forty miles, or four miles of front for each division. Such a scattering of forces would have reduced the investment to a mere line of observation; and Trochu, with eight divisions under 30 Ducrot and seven more, in his third army, under his own immediate command, could have outnumbered his opponents at least three to one on any point he might have chosen for an attack. With such odds victory ought to have been certain to him. He could have pierced the lines of the Germans, seized upon and destroyed their siege parks, ammunitions, and 35 stores, and caused them such losses in men that a close investment, much less a siege, of Paris would have been rendered impossible for some time to come.

So far, we have merely considered Trochu's chances, independent of those of the Army of the Loire. It is as good as certain that the latter 40 would have been no match for the eleven German divisions told off

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against it, in case these eleven divisions were all concentrated. But the chances were much against that eventuality. It is likely enough that a bold and quick attack by D'Aurelle, combined with a large sortie made by Trochu at the same time, would have carried disorder into Moltke's
5 arrangements. None of the corps which Trochu happened to attack could have been spared to march off against D'Aurelle. Thus it might remain a matter of accident which of the two French chiefs might have to fight the bulk of the Germans; but the fact remained that their forces together were far superior in numbers to anything the Germans could bring
10 against them. From Paris to Dreux the distance is less than fifty miles. A simultaneous attack upon the Germans from both ends, and with all available forces, would, in all probability, find some of their divisions on the march between the two end-points, and therefore not immediately available. If the attack were really simultaneous, an almost crushing nu-
15 matical superiority on the French side, either at the Dreux end or at the Paris end, was a positive certainty; and therefore it was almost impossible to miss at least one victory. We know very well what great drawbacks and difficulties attach to combined movements, and how often they miscarry. But in this case it is to be observed that no other condition of
20 success was necessary than that both attacks should be made at exactly the same time. And, further, it is clear that with a distance of forty miles from one army to the other, the Prussians had to combine their movements too.

It is impossible to explain why neither D'Aurelle nor Trochu has done
25 anything to take advantage of the chance thus offered to them. The slight engagements near Dreux and Châteauneuf were certainly not of a nature to drive back the Army of the Loire; there were not more than three German divisions engaged in them, while the Army of the Loire counts at least eight. Whether D'Aurelle is awaiting further reinforcements; whether
30 his pigeon-messages have miscarried; whether there are differences between him and Trochu, we cannot tell. Anyhow, this delay is fatal to their cause. Prince Frederick Charles keeps marching on, and may be by this time so near to the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg's army that he can co-operate, and the six divisions from before Paris can be spared. And
35 from the day when that takes place, the two French generals will have lost another chance of victory—may be, their last one.

Friedrich Engels
The military situation in France

The Pall Mail Gazette.
Nr. 1806, 26. November 1870

The military situation in France.

Yesterday we called attention to the fact that since the surrender at Sedan the prospects of France had much improved, and that even the fall of Metz, and the setting free thereby of some 150,000 German soldiers, does not now look the crushing disaster it appeared to be at first. If we recur 5 to the same subject to-day, it is in order to prove still more, by a few military details, the correctness of this view.

The positions of the German armies on the 24th of November, as far as they can be made out, were as follows:—

Investing Paris: The Third Army (2nd, 5th, 6th, and 2nd Bavarian corps, 10 the 21st, the Wurtemberg, and Landwehr Guard divisions) and the Fourth Army (4th, 12th, and Guards corps); in all seventeen divisions.

Army of Observation, protecting this investment: To the north, the First Army (1st and 8th corps); to the west and south-west, Duke of Mecklenburg's army (17th and 22nd divisions, and 1st Bavarian corps); to 15 the south, the Second Army (3rd, 9th, and 10th corps, and a division of landwehr, a detachment of which was so severely handled at Châtillon by Ricciotti Garibaldi); in all fifteen divisions.

On special duty, in the south-east of France, the 14th corps (Werder's, consisting of two divisions and a half), and 15th corps; in Metz and about 20 Thionville, the 7th corps; on the line of communication, at least a division and a half of landwehr; in all eight divisions at least.

Of these forty divisions of infantry, the first seventeen are at present fully engaged before Paris; the last eight show by their immobility that they have as much work cut out for them as they can manage. There 25 remain disposable for the field the fifteen divisions composing the three armies of observation, and representing with cavalry and artillery a total force of some 200,000 combatants at most.

The military situation in France

Now, before the 9th of November, there appeared to be no serious obstacle to prevent this mass of men from overrunning the greater part of central and even southern France. But since then things have changed considerably. And it is not so much the fact of Von der Tann having been
5 beaten and compelled to retreat, or that of D'Aurelle having shown his ability to handle his troops well, which has inspired us with a greater respect for the Army of the Loire than we confess we had up to that day; it is chiefly the energetic measures which Moltke took to meet its expected march on Paris which have made that army appear in quite a different
10 light. Not only did he find it necessary to hold in readiness against it, even at the risk of raising *de facto* the investment of Paris, the greater portion of the blockading forces on the south side of the town, but he also changed at once the direction of march of the two armies arriving
15 from Metz, so as to draw them closer to Paris, and to have the whole of the German forces concentrated around that city; and we now hear that, moreover, steps were taken to surround the siege park with defensive works. Whatever other people may think, Moltke evidently does not consider the Army of the Loire an armed rabble, but a real, serious, redoubtable army.

20 The previous uncertainty as to the character of that army resulted to a great extent from the reports of the English correspondents at Tours. There appears to be not one military man among them capable of distinguishing the characteristics by which an army differs from a mob of armed men. The reports varied from day to day regarding discipline,
25 proficiency in drill, numbers, armament, equipment, artillery, transport—in short, regarding everything essential to form an opinion. We all know the immense difficulties under which the new army had to be formed; the want of officers, of arms, of horses, of all kinds of matériel, and especially the want of time. The reports which came to hand, principally dwelt upon these difficulties; and thus, the Army of the Loire was generally underrated by people whose sympathies do not run away with their judgment.

Now the same correspondents are unanimous in its praise. It is said to be better officered and better disciplined than the armies which succeeded at Sedan and in Metz. This is no doubt the case to a certain extent. There is evidently a far better spirit pervading it than ever was to be found in the Bonapartist armies; a determination to do the best for the country, to co-operate, to obey orders on that account. Then this army has learned again one very important thing which Louis Napoleon's
35 army had quite forgotten—light infantry duty, the art of protecting flanks and rear from surprise, of feeling for the enemy, surprising his

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detachments, procuring information and prisoners. The *Times'* correspondent with the Duke of Mecklenburg gives proofs of that. It is now the Prussians who cannot learn the whereabouts of their enemy, and have to grope in the dark; formerly it was quite the reverse. An army which has learned that has learned a great deal. Still, we must not forget that 5 the Army of the Loire as well as its sister Armies of the West and North has still to prove its mettle in a general engagement and against something like equal numbers. But, upon the whole, it promises well, and there are circumstances which make it probable that even a great defeat will not affect it as seriously as such an event does most young armies. 10

The fact is that the brutalities and cruelties of the Prussians, instead of stamping out popular resistance, have redoubled its energies; so much so that the Prussians seem to have found out their mistake, and these burnings of villages and massacres of peasants are now scarcely ever heard of. But this treatment has had its effect, and every day the guerrilla warfare 15 takes larger dimensions. When we read in the *Times* the reports about Mecklenburg's advance towards Le Mans, with no enemy in sight, no regular force offering resistance in the field, but cavalry and francs-tireurs hovering about the flanks, no news as to the whereabouts of the French troops, and the Prussian troops kept close together in pretty large 20 bodies, we cannot help being reminded of the marches of Napoleon's marshals in Spain, or of Bazaine's troops in Mexico. And, that spirit of popular resistance once roused, even armies of 200,000 men do not go very far towards the occupation of a hostile country. They soon arrive at the point beyond which their detachments become weaker than what the 25 defence can oppose to them; and it depends entirely upon the energy of popular resistance how soon that line shall be reached. Thus even a defeated army soon finds a safe place from the pursuit of an enemy if only the people of the country arise; and this may turn out to be the case now in France. And if the population in the districts occupied by the 30 enemy should rise, or merely his lines of communication be repeatedly broken, the limit beyond which the invasion becomes powerless will be still more contracted. We should not wonder, for instance, if Mecklenburg's advance, unless powerfully supported by Prince Frederick Charles, turned out to have been pushed too far even now. 35

For the present everything of course hinges upon Paris. If Paris hold out another month—and the reports on the state of provisions inside do not at all exclude that chance—France may possibly have an army in the field large enough, with the aid of popular resistance, to raise the investment by a successful attack upon the Prussian communications. The ma- 40 chinery for organizing armies appears to be working pretty well in Fran-

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ce by this time. There are more men than are wanted; thanks to the resources of modern industry and the rapidity of modern communications, arms are forthcoming in unexpectedly large quantities; 400,000 rifles have arrived from America alone; artillery is manufactured in France
5 with a rapidity hitherto quite unknown. Even officers are found, or trained, somehow. Altogether, the efforts which France has made since Sedan to reorganize her national defence are unexampled in history, and require but one element for almost certain success—time. If Paris holds out but one month more, that will go much towards it. And if Paris
10 should not be provisioned for that length of time, Trochu may attempt to break through the investing lines with such of his troops as may be fit for the work; and it would be bold to say, now, that he cannot possibly succeed in it. If he should succeed, Paris would still absorb a garrison of at least three Prussian army corps to keep it quiet, so that Trochu might
15 have set free more Frenchmen than the surrender of Paris would set free Germans. And, whatever the fortress of Paris can do if defended by Frenchmen, it is evident that it could never be successfully held by a German force against French besiegers. There would be as many men required to keep the people down within as to man the ramparts to keep
20 off the attack from without. Thus the fall of Paris may, but does not of necessity, imply the fall of France.

It is a bad time just now for speculating on the probability of this or that event in the war. We have an approximative knowledge of one fact only—the strength of the Prussian armies. Of another, the strength, numerical and intrinsic, of the French forces, we know but little. And, moreover, there are now moral factors at work which are beyond all calculation, and of which we can only say that they are all of them favourable to France and unfavourable to Germany. But this much appears certain, that the contending forces are more equally balanced just
25 now than they ever have been since Sedan, and that a comparatively weak reinforcement of trained troops to the French might restore the balance altogether.

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Notes on the War.—XXIX

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1811, 2. Dezember 1870

Notes on the War.—XXIX.

The long-expected storm has broken out at last. After a prolonged period of marching and manoeuvring on both sides, varied by skirmishes and guerrilla fighting only, the war has entered upon another of those critical periods in which blow follows blow. On the 27th of November the French Army of the North was defeated before Amiens; on the 28th a considerable portion of the Army of the Loire was beaten by Prince Frederick Charles at Beaune-la-Rolande; on the 29th Trochu made an unsuccessful sortie on the south side of Paris, and on the 30th he appears to have attacked with all his available forces the Saxons and Wurtembergers investing Paris on the north-east side. 5

These different actions are the result of combined operations, such as we repeatedly pointed out as offering the only chance of success to the French. If the Army of the North, with inferior numbers, could hold Manteuffel's two corps in check so as to prevent him from reinforcing the Crown Prince of Saxony in his lines round the north side of Paris, then that army would have been well employed. But this was not the case. Its advance in the open country was soon stopped by inferior numbers of Prussians; for it appears all but certain, on a comparison of the various reports, that Manteuffel had only one of his corps engaged in the battle. 15 The Army of the North would have been better employed either by sending its field troops down south to Le Mans by rail, or by constantly harassing Manteuffel's outposts and detachments, but refusing battle except under the walls of one of the numerous fortresses in the North which form its base of operations. But in the present state of France, and with the young soldiers that form her armies, a General cannot always enter upon a retreat even if that be strategically necessary: such a course might demoralize his troops even more than a thorough defeat. In the present 20 25

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case, the Army of the North finds a safe retreat in its fortresses, where it can re-form, and where it would scarcely suit Moltke to send Manteuffel after it just now. But, at the same time, Manteuffel is now free to move in any other direction, and if, as is reported from Lille (though the report is 5 denied), he has again evacuated Amiens and turned in haste towards Paris, we cannot but confess that the Army of the North has failed in its mission.

On the west, the 21st French Corps at Le Mans, and the 22nd (late Kératry's) in the camp of Conlié, have so far succeeded in drawing the 10 troops of the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg a long way from Paris without exposing themselves to any serious defeat. Our supposition that the advance of these German troops had been pushed almost too far seems confirmed by the unanimous French reports that they have again evacuated the positions lately taken up east and south-east of Le Mans, which 15 have been reoccupied by the French. The latter, however, do not appear to have used their regular forces in a very energetic pursuit of the enemy, as we do not hear of any engagements of importance; and thus the Army of the West has not succeeded any more than that of the North in holding fast the troops opposed to it. Where it is, and what it is doing, we are not 20 told; it may be that the sudden quarrel between Kératry and Gambetta had lamed its movements just at the most decisive moment. At all events, if it could neither beat Mecklenburg's troops nor keep them engaged, it would have acted more wisely in sending such of its troops as are 25 equipped and organized for a campaign by rail towards the Army of the Loire, so as to make the chief attack with concentrated forces.

This chief attack could only be made by the Army of the Loire, being the main body of all the French troops now in the field, and could only be directed against Prince Frederick Charles, his army being the most numerous of the three which cover the investment of Paris. The Army of 30 the Loire is reported to consist of the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 19th French corps which had been in front of Orleans for some time, and the 18th (now Bourbaki's) and 20th in reserve behind the Loire. As the 18th and 20th were both engaged—wholly or in part—on the 28th, they must have passed the Loire before that day, and thus the whole of these six corps must have 35 been available for an attack upon the Second German Army. A French corps, in this war, has always been composed of from three to four divisions of infantry. According to an *ordre de bataille* published by a Vienna military paper, the *Kamerad*, about a fortnight ago, the 15th Corps numbered five brigades in two divisions; the 16th, four brigades in two 40 divisions; the 18th, ten brigades in three divisions. Even if we do not go by the report of the *Journal de Bruxelles*, which gives to the Army of the

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Loire the full complement of eighteen divisions of infantry (or three per corps), as a good many of these must still be in course of formation, there is no doubt that the attack on the 28th might have been made with twelve or fifteen divisions instead of five or six at most. It is characteristic of the troops composing the Army of the Loire that they were defeated by 5 greatly inferior numbers, only three divisions (the two of the 10th corps and the 5th) of infantry, or less than one-half of the Second Army, having been engaged against them. Anyhow their defeat must have been very severe; not only the German reports tend to show it, but also the fact that the Army of the Loire has not since attempted a fresh attack with more 10 concentrated forces.

From these various transactions it results that the attempt to relieve Paris from without has for the present failed. It failed, firstly, because the inestimable chances of the week preceding the arrival of the First and Second German armies were allowed to pass away; and, secondly, be- 15 cause the attacks, when they were made, were made without the necessary energy and concentration of forces. The young troops forming the new armies of France cannot, at first, expect success against the seasoned soldiers who oppose them, unless they are matched two against one; and it is therefore doubly faulty to lead them to battle without having taken 20 care that every man, horse, and gun that can be had is actually sent on to the battle-field.

On the other hand, we do not expect that the defeats of Amiens and Beaune-la-Rolande will have any other great effect than that of frustrating the relief of Paris. The lines of retreat of the Armies of the West and 25 of the Loire are perfectly safe, unless the grossest blunders are committed. By far the greater portion of these two armies has not taken part in the defeat. The extent to which the German troops opposing them can follow them up depends upon the energy of popular resistance and guerilla warfare—an element which the Prussians have a peculiar knack of 30 arousing wherever they go. There is no fear now of Prince Frederick Charles marching as unopposed from Orleans to Bordeaux as the Crown Prince marched from Metz to Reims. With the broad extent of ground which must now be securely occupied before any further advance southward (other than by large flying columns) can be made, the seven divi- 35 sions of Prince Frederick Charles will soon be spread out far and wide, and their invading force completely spent. What France requires is time, and, with the spirit of popular resistance once roused, she may yet get that time. The armaments carried on during the last three months must be everywhere approaching completion, and the additional number of 40 fighting men which every fresh week renders disposable must be constantly increasing for some time.

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As to the two sorties from Paris, the news received up to the moment of writing are too contradictory and too vague for any definite opinion to be formed. It appears, however, upon Trochu's own showing, that the results obtained up to the evening of the 30th were not at all of a kind to 5 justify the shouts of victory raised at Tours. The points, then, still held by the French south of the Marne are all protected by the fire of the Paris forts; and the only place which they at one time held outside the range of these forts—Mont Mesly—they had to abandon again. It is more than probable that fighting will have been renewed yesterday before Paris, and 10 to-day, perhaps, near Orleans and Le Mans; at all events, a very few days must now decide this second crisis of the war which, in all probability, will settle the fate of Paris.

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Notes on the War.—XXX

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1812, 3. Dezember 1870

Notes on the War.—XXX.

The Second Army of Paris began its offensive movements on the 29th of November by a sortie from the southern front of the town, in the direction of L'Hay and Choisy-le-Roi. According to the Prussian accounts, it was the First Corps of Ducrot's army, under Vinoy, which here attacked 5 the Sixth Prussian Corps under Tümpeling. This attack appears to have been a mere feint to alarm the Prussians, and to induce them to strengthen this side by which the besieged could, if successful, join the Army of the Loire on the shortest road. Otherwise, Vinoy would, no doubt, have been supported by other corps, and would have lost more than a couple 10 of hundred in killed and wounded, and a hundred men in prisoners. The real attack was opened on the following morning. Ducrot this time advanced on the right bank of the Seine, near its junction with the Marne, while a second sortie on the left bank was directed against Tümpeling, and false attacks west of Saint Denis against the 4th and Guard Corps. What 15 troops were used for these false attacks we do not know; but an official French account says that the sortie against Tümpeling was made by Admiral De Laroncière de Nourry. This officer commands one of the seven divisions of the Third Army of Paris which remains under Trochu's direct command; it is therefore likely that all the secondary attacks were en- 20 trusted to this army, so as to leave the whole of Ducrot's right divisions available for the real attack on the Marne.

This attack again had to be made in two divergent directions. One portion of the troops necessarily was directed eastwards towards Chelles, along the right bank of the Marne, in order to keep off the 12th or Saxon 25 corps which invests the east side of Paris. This was another subordinate attack; we hear very little of its history except that the Saxons profess to have maintained their position, which they probably did. The main body

of Ducrot's troops, however, Renault's second corps in front, passed the Marne on eight bridges, and attacked the three Wurtemberg brigades which held the space between the Marne and Seine. As has been already pointed out, the Marne, before joining the Seine, forms by its course an 5 immense S, the upper or northern bend approaching Paris and the lower receding from it. Both these bends are commanded by the fire of the forts; but, while the upper or advancing one favours a sortie by its configuration, the lower or receding one is completely commanded by the ground on the left bank as well as by the forts, and the river moreover, 10 both from the line it takes and from its many branches, is unfavourable to the construction of bridges under fire. The greater part of this bend appears to have remained, on that account, a kind of neutral ground, on each side of which the real fighting took place.

The troops intended for the western attack advanced under the protection of the fire of Fort Charenton and the redoubt of La Gravelle, in 15 the direction of Mesly and Bonneuil. Between these two places there is a solitary hill, commanding the surrounding plain by fully a hundred feet, called Mont Mesly, and necessarily the first object of the French advance. The force told off for this purpose is put down in a telegram from 20 General Obernitz, commanding the Wurtemberg division, as "a division;" but as it at first drove in the 2nd and 3rd Wurtemberg brigades who opposed it and could not be repelled until reinforcements had come to hand, and as it is moreover evident that Ducrot, who had troops enough in hand, would not make such an important attack with two brigades 25 only, we may safely assume that this is another of the too many cases where the word *Abtheilung* which means any subdivision of an army, is mistranslated by "division," which means a particular subdivision consisting of two or at most three brigades. Anyhow, the French carried Mont Mesly and with it the villages at its foot, and if they could have 30 held and entrenched it, they would have obtained a result worth the day's fighting. But reinforcements arrived in the shape of Prussian troops from the Second Corps, namely the seventh brigade; the lost positions were reconquered and the French driven back under the shelter of Fort Charenton.

35 Further to their left the French attempted the second attack. Covered by the fire of the Redoute de la Faisanderie and of Fort Nogent, they passed the Marne at the upper bend of the S, and took the villages of Briey and Champigny, which mark its two open ends. The real position of the 1st Wurtemberg Brigade, which held this district, lay a little to the 40 rear, on the edge of the high ground stretching from Villiers to Coeuilly. Whether the French ever took Villiers is doubtful; King William says yes,

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General Obernitz says no. Certain it is that they did not hold it, and that the advance beyond the immediate range of the forts was repelled.

The result of this day's fighting of Ducrot's army, "with its back to the Marne," that is, south of it, is thus summed up in the French official despatch:— "The army then crossed the Marne by eight bridges, and 5 maintained the positions taken, after capturing two guns." That is to say, it retreated again to the right or northern bank of the river, where it "maintained" some positions or other, which were, of course, "taken" by it, but not from the enemy. Evidently, the men who manufacture bulletins for Gambetta are still the same who did that kind of work for 10 Napoleon.

On the 1st of December the French gave another sign that they considered the sortie as defeated. Although the *Moniteur* announced that on that day the attack from the south was to be made under the command of General Vinoy, we hear from Versailles, December 1 (time of day not 15 stated), that no movement had been made by the French on that day; on the contrary, they had asked for an armistice to allow them to attend to the killed and wounded on the battlefield between the positions of both armies. Had they considered themselves in a position to reconquer that battlefield, they would no doubt have renewed the struggle at once. There 20 can be, then, no reasonable doubt that this first sortie of Trochu's has been beaten off, and by considerably inferior numbers too. We may assume that he will soon renew his efforts. We know too little of the way in which this first attempt was managed to be able to judge whether he may then have a better chance; but if he be again driven back, the effect upon 25 both the troops and the population of Paris must be very demoralizing.

In the meantime the Army of the Loire, as we expected, has been stirring again. The engagements near Loigny and Patay, reported from Tours, are evidently the same as referred to in a telegram from Munich, according to which Von der Tann was successful west of Orleans. In this 30 case, too, both parties claim the victory. We shall probably hear more from this quarter in a day or two; and as we are still in the dark about the relative positions of the combatants, it would be idle to prognosticate.

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The chances of the War

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1816, 8. Dezember 1870

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The chances of the War.

The last defeat of the French Army of the Loire and the retreat of Ducrot behind the Marne—supposing that movement to be as decisive as was represented on Saturday—finally settle the fate of the first combined 5 operation for the relief of Paris. It has completely miscarried, and people begin again to ask whether this new series of misfortunes does not prove the inability of the French for further successful resistance—whether it would not be better to give up the game at once, surrender Paris, and sign the cession of Alsace and Lorraine.

10 The fact is, people have lost all remembrance of a real war. The Crimean, the Italian, and the Austro-Prussian war were all of them mere conventional wars—wars of Governments which made peace as soon as their military machinery had broken down or become worn out. A real war, one in which the nation itself participates, we have not seen in the 15 heart of Europe for a couple of generations. We have seen it in the Caucasus, in Algeria, where fighting lasted more than twenty years with scarcely any interruption; we should have seen it in Turkey if the Turks had been allowed, by their allies, to defend themselves in their own home-spun way. But the fact is, our conventionalities allow to barbarians 20 only the right of actual self-defence; we expect that civilized States will fight according to etiquette, and that the real nation will not be guilty of such rudeness as to go on fighting after the official nation has had to give in.

The French are actually committing this piece of rudeness. To the 25 disgust of the Prussians, who consider themselves the best judges in military etiquette, they have been positively fighting for three months after the official army of France was driven from the field; and they have even done what their official army never could do in this campaign. They have

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obtained one important success and numerous small ones; and have taken guns, convoys, prisoners from their enemies. It is true they have just suffered a series of severe reverses; but these are as nothing when compared with the fate their late official army was in the habit of meeting with at the hands of the same opponents. It is true their first attempt to free Paris from the investing army, by an attack from within and from without at the same time, has signally failed; but is it a necessary sequel that there are no chances left for a second attempt? 5

The two French armies, that of Paris as well as that of the Loire, have both fought well, according to the testimony of the Germans themselves, 10 They have certainly been beaten by inferior numbers, but that is what was to be expected from young and newly organized troops confronting veterans. Their tactical movements under fire, according to a correspondent in the *Daily News*, who knows what he writes about, were rapid and steady; if they lacked precision that was a fault which they had in common with many a victorious French army. There is no mistake about it: 15 these armies have proved that they *are* armies, and will have to be treated with due respect by their opponents. They are no doubt composed of very different elements. There are battalions of the line, containing old soldiers in various proportions; there are Mobiles of all degrees of military efficiency, from battalions well officered, drilled, and equipped to 20 battalions of raw recruits, still ignorant of the elements of the "manual and platoon;" there are francs-tireurs of all sorts, good, bad, and indifferent—probably most of them the latter. But there is, at all events, a nucleus of good fighting battalions, around which the others may be 25 grouped; and a month of desultory fighting, with avoidance of crushing defeats, will make capital soldiers out of the whole of them. With better strategy, they might even now have been successful; and all the strategy required for the moment is to delay all decisive fighting, and that, we think, can be done. 30

But the troops concentrated at Le Mans and near the Loire are far from representing the whole armed force of France. There are at least 200,000 to 300,000 more men undergoing the process of organization at points farther away to the rear. Every day brings these nearer to the fighting standard. Every day must send, for a time at least, constantly 35 increasing numbers of fresh soldiers to the front. And there are plenty more men behind them to take their places. Arms and ammunition are coming in every day in large quantities: with modern gun factories and cannon foundries, with telegraphs and steamers, and the command of the sea, there is no fear of their falling short. A month's time will also make 40 an immense difference in the efficiency of these men; and if two months

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were allowed them, they would represent armies which might well trouble Moltke's repose.

Behind all these more or less regular forces there is the great landsturm, the mass of the people whom the Prussians have driven to that
5 war of self-defence which, according to the father of King William, sanctions every means. When Fritz marched from Metz to Rheims, from
Rheims to Sedan, and thence to Paris, there was not a word said about a
rising of the people. The defeats of the Imperial armies were accepted
10 with a kind of stupor; twenty years of Imperial régime had used the mass
of the people to dull and passive dependence upon official leadership.

There were here and there peasants who participated in actual fighting,
as at Bazeilles, but they were the exception. But no sooner had the Prus-
sians settled down round Paris, and placed the surrounding country under
15 a crushing system of requisitions, carried out with no consideration
whatever—no sooner had they begun to shoot francs-tireurs and burn
villages which had given aid to the latter—and no sooner had they re-
fused the French offers of peace and declared their intention to carry on
a war of conquest, when all this changed. The guerrilla war broke out all
20 around them, thanks to their own severities, and they have now but to
advance into a new department in order to raise the landsturm far and
wide. Whoever reads in the German papers the reports of the advance of
Mecklenburg's and Frederick Charles's armies will see at a glance what
an extraordinary effect this impalpable, ever disappearing and reappear-
ing, but ever impeding insurrection of the people has upon the move-
25 ments of these armies. Even their numerous cavalry, to which the French
have scarcely any to oppose, is neutralized to a great extent by this gen-
eral active and passive hostility of the inhabitants.

Now let us examine the position of the Prussians. Of the seventeen
divisions before Paris, they certainly cannot spare a single one while
30 Trochu may repeat any day his sorties *en masse*. Manteuffel's four divi-
sions will have more work than they can execute in Normandy and Pi-
cardy for some time to come, and they may even be called away from
them. Werder's two divisions and a half cannot get on beyond Dijon,
except on raids, and this will last until at least Belfort shall have been
35 reduced. The long thin line of communication marked by the railway
from Nancy to Paris cannot send a single man out of those told off to
guard it. The 7th Corps has plenty to do with garrisoning the Lorraine
fortresses and besieging Longwy and Montmédy. There remain for field
operations against the bulk of central and southern France the eleven
40 infantry divisions of Frederick Charles and Mecklenburg, certainly not
more than 150,000 men, including cavalry.

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The Prussians thus employ about six-and-twenty divisions in holding Alsace, Lorraine, and the two long lines of communication to Paris and Dijon, and in investing Paris, and still they hold directly perhaps not one-eighth, and indirectly certainly not more than one-fourth, of France. For the rest of the country they have fifteen divisions left, four of which are under Manteuffel. How far these will be able to go depends entirely upon the energy of the popular resistance they may find. But with all their communications going by way of Versailles—for the march of Frederick Charles has not opened to him a new line via Troyes—and in the midst of an insurgent country, these troops will have to spread out on a broad front, to leave detachments behind to secure the roads and keep down the people; and thus they will soon arrive at a point where their forces become so reduced as to be balanced by the French forces opposing them, and then the chances are again favourable to the French; or else these German armies will have to act as large flying columns, marching up and down the country without definitely occupying it; and in that case the French regulars can give way before them for a time, and will find plenty of opportunities to fall on their flanks and rear.

A few flying corps, such as Blucher sent in 1813 round the flanks of the French, would be very effective if employed to interrupt the line of communication of the Germans. That line is vulnerable almost the whole of its length from Paris to Nancy. A few corps, each consisting of one or two squadrons of cavalry and some sharpshooters, falling upon that line, destroying the rails, tunnels, and bridges, attacking trains, &c, would go far to recall the German cavalry from the front where it is most dangerous. But the regular "Hussar dash" does certainly not belong to the French.

All this is on the supposition that Paris continues to hold out. There is nothing to compel Paris to give in, so far, except starvation. But the news we had in yesterday's *Daily News* from a correspondent inside that city would dispel many apprehensions if correct. There are still 25,000 horses besides those of the army in Paris, which at 500 kilos each would give 6V4 kilo, or 14 lb. of meat for every inhabitant, or nearly a '4 lb. per day for two months. With that, bread and wine *ad libitum*, and a good quantity of salt meat and other eatables, Paris may well hold out until the beginning of February. And that would give to France two months, worth more to her, now, than two years in time of peace. With anything like intelligent and energetic direction, both central and local, France, by then, ought to be in a position to relieve Paris and to right herself.

And if Paris should fall? It will be time enough to consider this chance when it becomes more probable. Anyhow, France has managed to do

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without Paris for more than two months, and may fight on without her. Of course, the fall of Paris may demoralize the spirit of resistance, but so may, even now, the unlucky news of the last seven days. Neither the one nor the other need do so. If the French entrench a few good manoeuvring 5 positions, such as Nevers, near the junction of the Loire and Allier—if they throw up advanced works round Lyons so as to make it as strong as Paris, the war may be carried on even after the fall of Paris; but it is not yet time to talk of that.

Thus we make bold to say that, if the spirit of resistance among the 10 people does not flag, the position of the French, even after their recent defeats, is a very strong one. With the command of the sea to import arms, with plenty of men to make soldiers of, with three months—the first and worst three months—of the work of organization behind them, and with a fair chance of having one month more, if not two, of breathing-time allowed them—and that at a time when the Prussians show signs 15 of exhaustion—with all that, to give in now would be rank treason. And who knows what accidents may happen, what further European complications may occur, in the meantime? Let them fight on, by all means.

Friedrich Engels
Prussian Francs-Tireurs

The Pall Mail Gazette.
Nr. 1817, 9. Dezember 1870

Prussian Francs-Tireurs.

For some time past the reports of village-burning by the Prussians in France had pretty nearly disappeared from the press. We began to hope that the Prussian authorities had discovered their mistake and stopped such proceedings in the interest of their own troops. We were mistaken. 5 The papers again teem with news about the shooting of prisoners and the destroying of villages. The Berlin *Börsen Courier* reports, under date Versailles, Nov. 20: —

Yesterday the first wounded and prisoners arrived from the action near Dreux on the 17th. Short work was made with the francs-tireurs, and an 10 example was made of them; they were placed in a row, and one after the other got a bullet through his head. A general order for the whole army has been published forbidding most expressly to bring them in as prisoners, and ordering to shoot them down by drumhead court-martial wherever they show themselves. Against these disgracefully cowardly brigands 15 and ragamuffins (*Lumpengesindel*) such a proceeding has become an absolute necessity.

Again, the Vienna *Tagespresse* says, under the same date: — "In the forest of Villeneuve you could have seen, for the last week, four francs-tireurs strung up for shooting at our Uhlans from the woods." 20

An official report dated Versailles, the 26th of November, states that the country people all around Orleans, instigated to fight by the priests, who have been ordered by Bishop Dupanloup to preach a crusade, have begun a guerrilla warfare against the Germans; patrols are fired at, officers carrying orders shot down by labourers seemingly working in the 25 field: to avenge which assassinations all non-soldiers carrying arms are immediately executed. Not a few priests are now awaiting trial—seventy-seven.

Prussian Francs-Tireurs

These are but a few instances, which might be multiplied almost infinitely, so that it appears a settled purpose with the Prussians to carry on these brutalities up to the end of the war. Under these circumstances, it may be as well to call their attention once more to some facts in modern 5 Prussian history.

The present King of Prussia can perfectly recollect the time of his country's deepest degradation, the Battle of Jena, the long flight to the Oder, the successive capitulations of almost the whole of the Prussian troops, the retreat of the remainder behind the Vistula, the complete 10 downbreak of the whole military and political system of the country. Then it was that, under the shelter of a Pomeranian coast fortress, private initiative, private patriotism, commenced a new active resistance against the enemy. A simple cornet of dragoons, Schill, began at Kolberg to form a free corps (*Gallice, francs-tireurs*), with which, assisted by the 15 inhabitants, he surprised patrols, detachments, and field-posts, secured public moneys, provisions, war matériel, took the French General Victor prisoner, prepared a general insurrection of the country in the rear of the French and on their line of communication, and generally did all those things which are now laid to the charge of the French francs-tireurs, and 20 which are visited on the part of the Prussians by the titles of brigands and ragamuffins, and by a "bullet through the head" of disarmed prisoners. But the father of the present King of Prussia sanctioned them expressly and promoted Schill. It is well known that this same Schill, in 1809, when 25 Prussia was at peace but Austria at war with France, led his regiment out on a campaign of his own against Napoleon, quite Garibaldi-like; that he was killed at Stralsund and his men taken prisoner. Out of these, all of whom Napoleon, according to Prussian war rules, had a perfect right to shoot, he merely had eleven officers shot at Wesel. Over the graves of these eleven francs-tireurs the father of the present King of Prussia, much 30 against his will, but compelled by public feeling in the army and out of it, had to erect a memorial in their honour.

No sooner had there been a practical beginning of freeshooting among the Prussians than they, as becomes a nation of thinkers, proceeded to bring the thing into a system and work out the theory of it. The theorist 35 of freeshooting, the great philosophical franc-tireur among them, was no other than Anton Neithardt von Gneisenau, some time field marshal in the service of his Prussian Majesty. Gneisenau had defended Colberg in 1807; he had had some of Schilfs francs-tireurs under him; he had been assisted vigorously in his defence by the inhabitants of the place, who 40 could not even lay claim to the title of national guards, mobile or sedentary, and who therefore, according to recent Prussian notions, clearly

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deserved to be "immediately executed." But Gneisenau was so impressed by the greatness of the resources which an invaded country possessed in an energetic popular resistance that he made it his study for a series of years how this resistance could be best organized. The guerrilla war in Spain, the rising of the Russian peasants on the line of the French retreat from Moscow, gave him fresh examples; and in 1813 he could proceed to put his theory in practice. 5

In August, 1811, already Gneisenau had formed a plan for the preparation of a popular insurrection. A militia is to be organized which is to have no uniform but a military cap (*Gallice*, képi) and black and white belt, perhaps a military great-coat; in short, as near as can be, the uniform of the present French francs-tireurs. "If the enemy should appear in superior strength, the arms, caps, and belt, are hid, and the militiamen appear as simple inhabitants of the country." The very thing which the Prussians now consider a crime to be punished by a bullet or a rope. 15 These militia troops are to harass the enemy, to interrupt his communications, to take or destroy his convoys of supplies, to avoid regular attacks, and to retire into woods or bogs before masses of regular soldiers. "The clergy of all denominations are to be ordered, as soon as the war breaks out, to preach insurrection, to paint French oppression in the 20 blackest colours, to remind the people of the Jews under the Maccabees, and to call upon them to follow their example. ... Every clergyman is to administer an oath to his parishioners that they will not surrender any provisions, arms, &c, to the enemy until compelled by actual force"—in fact, they are to preach the same crusade which the Bishop of Orleans has 25 ordered his priests to preach, and for which not a few French priests are now awaiting their trial.

Whoever will take up the second volume of Professor Pertz's "Life of Gneisenau" will find, facing the title-page of the second volume, a reproduction of part of the above passage as a facsimile of Gneisenau's handwriting. Facing it is the facsimile of King Frederick William's marginal note to it:—"As soon as one clergyman shall have been shot this will come to an end." Evidently the King had no great faith in the heroism of his clergy. But this did not prevent him from expressly sanctioning Gneisenau's plans; nor did it prevent, a few years later, when the very men 35 who had driven out the French were arrested and prosecuted as "demagogues," one of the intelligent demagogue-hunters of the time, into whose hands the original document had fallen, from instituting proceedings against the unknown author of this attempt to excite people to the shooting of the clergy!

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Prussian Francs-Tireurs

Up to 1813 Gneisenau never tired in preparing not only the regular army but also popular insurrection as a means to shake off the French yoke. When at last the war came, it was at once accompanied by insurrection, peasant resistance, and franc-tireurs. The country between the 5 Weser and Elbe rose to arms in April; a little later on the people about Magdeburg rose; Gneisenau himself wrote to friends in Franconia—the letter is published by Pertz—calling on them to rise upon the enemy's line of communications. Then at last came the official recognition of this popular warfare, the Landsturm-Ordnung of the 21st of April, 1813 (published in July only), in which every able-bodied man who is not in the ranks of either line or landwehr is called upon to join his landsturm battalion, to prepare for the sacred struggle of self-defence which sanctions every means. The landsturm is to harass both the advance and the retreat of the enemy, to keep him constantly on the alert, to fall upon his 10 trains of ammunition and provisions, his couriers, recruits, and hospitals, to surprise him at nights, to annihilate his stragglers and detachments, to lame and to bring insecurity into his every movement; on the other hand, to assist the Prussian army, to escort money, provisions, ammunition, prisoners, &c. In fact, this law may be called a complete vade-mecum for 15 the franc-tireur, and, drawn up as it is by no mean strategist, it is as applicable to-day in France as it was at that time in Germany.

Fortunately for Napoleon, it was but very imperfectly carried out. The King was frightened by his own handiwork. To allow the people to fight for themselves, without the King's command, was too anti-Prussian. 20 Thus the landsturm was suspended until the King was to call upon it, which he never did. Gneisenau chafed, but managed finally to do without the landsturm. If he were alive now, with all his Prussian after-experiences, perhaps he would see his beau-ideal of popular resistance approached, if not realized, in the French francs-tireurs. For Gneisenau was a 25 man—and a man of genius.

Friedrich Engels
Notes on the War.—XXXI

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1824, 17. Dezember 1870

Notes on the War.—XXXI.

The campaign on the Loire appears to have come to a momentary standstill, which allows us time to compare reports and dates, and to form the very confused and contradictory materials into as clear a narrative of actual events as can be expected under the circumstances. 5

The Army of the Loire began to exist as a distinct body on the 15th of November, when D'Aurelle de Paladines, hitherto commander of the 15th and 16th Corps, obtained command of the new organization formed under this name. What other troops entered into its composition at that date we cannot tell; in fact, this army received constant reinforcements, 10 at least up to the end of November, when it consisted nominally of the following corps:—15th (Pallières), 16th (Chanzy), 17th (Sonis), 18th (Bourbaki), 19th (Barrai, according to Prussian accounts), and 20th (Crouzat). Of these the 19th Corps never appeared either in the French or Prussian reports, and cannot therefore be supposed to have been engaged. Besides 15 these, there were at Le Mans and the neighbouring camp of Conlie, the 21st Army Corps (Jaurès) and the Army of Brittany, which, on the resignation of Kératry, was attached to Jaurès' command. A 22nd Corps, we may add, is commanded by General Faidherbe in the North, with Lille for its base of operations. In the above we have omitted General Michel's 20 corps of cavalry attached to the Army of the Loire: this body of horse, though said to be very numerous, cannot rank, from its recent formation and crude material, otherwise than as volunteer or amateur cavalry.

The elements of which this army was composed were of the most varied kinds, from old troopers recalled to the ranks, to raw recruits and 25 volunteers averse to all discipline; from solid battalions such as the Papal Zouaves to crowds which were battalions only in name. Some kind of discipline, however, had been established, but the whole still bore the

stamp of the great hurry which had presided at its formation. "Had this army been allowed four weeks more for preparation, it would have been a formidable opponent," said the German officers who had made its acquaintance on the field of battle. Deducting all those quite raw levies
5 which were only in the way, we may set down the whole of D'Aurelle's five fighting corps (omitting the 19th) at somewhere about 120,000 to 130,000 men fit to be called combatants. The troops at Le Mans may have furnished about 40,000 more.

Against these we find pitted the army of Prince Frederick Charles,
10 including the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg's command; their numbers we now know, through Capt. Hozier, to have been rather less than 90,000 all told. But these 90,000 were, by their experience of war, their organization, and the proved generalship of their leaders, quite competent to engage twice their number of such troops as were opposed to them.
15 Thus, the chances were about even; and that they were so is immensely to the credit of the French people, who created this new army out of nothing in three months.

The campaign began, on the part of the French, with the attack on Von der Tann at Coulmiers and the reconquest of Orleans, on November
20 9; the march of Mecklenburg to the aid of Von der Tann; the manoeuvring of D'Aurelle in the direction of Dreux, which drew off Mecklenburg's whole force in that direction, and made him enter upon a march towards Le Mans. This march was harassed by the French irregular troops in a degree hitherto unknown in the present war; the population
25 showed a most determined resistance, francs-tireurs hovered round the flanks of the invaders; but the regular troops confined themselves to demonstrations, and could not be brought to bay. The letters of the German correspondents with Mecklenburg's army, their rage and indignation at those wicked French who insist upon fighting in the way most
30 convenient to themselves and most inconvenient to the enemy, are the best proof that this short campaign about Le Mans was conducted exceedingly well by the defence. The French led Mecklenburg a perfect wild-goose chase after an invisible army up to about twenty-five miles from Le Mans: arrived thus far, he hesitated to go any farther, and
35 turned south. The original plan had evidently been to deal a crushing blow at the Army of Le Mans, then to turn south upon Blois, and turn the left of the Army of the Loire; while Frederick Charles, just then coming up, attacked its front and rear. But this plan, and many others since, miscarried. D'Aurelle left Mecklenburg to his fate, marched
40 against Frederick Charles, and attacked the 10th Prussian Corps on the 24th November at Ladon and Maizières, and a large body of Prussians on

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the 28th at Beaune-la-Rolande. It is evident that here he handled his troops badly. He had but a small portion of them in readiness, though this was his first attempt to break through the Prussian army and force his way to Paris. All he did was to inspire the enemy with respect for his troops. He fell back into entrenched positions in front of Orleans, where 5 he concentrated all his forces. These he disposed, from right to left, as follows: the 18th Corps on the extreme right; then the 20th and 15th, all of them east of the Paris-Orleans railway; west of it the 16th; and on the extreme left the 17th. Had these masses been brought together in time, there is scarcely any doubt that they might have crushed Frederick Charles's army, then under 50,000 men. But by the time D'Aurelle was well established in his work, Mecklenburg had marched south again, and joined the right wing of his cousin, who now took the supreme command. Thus Mecklenburg's 40,000 men had now come up to join in the attack against D'Aurelle, while the French army of Le Mans, satisfied with the 15 glory of having "repulsed" its opponent, quietly remained in its quarters, some sixty miles away from the point where the campaign was decided.

Then all of a sudden came the news of Trochu's sortie of the 30th of November. A fresh effort had to be made to support him. On the 1st D'Aurelle commenced a general advance against the Prussians, but it was 20 too late. While the Germans met him with all their forces, his 18th Corps – on the extreme right – appeared to have been sent astray, and never to have been engaged. Thus he fought with but four corps, that is to say, with numbers (of actual combatants) probably little superior to those of his opponents. He was beaten; he appears to have felt himself beaten 25 even before he was so. Hence the irresolution he displayed when, after having on the evening of the 3rd of December ordered a retreat across the Loire, he countermanded it next morning and resolved to defend Orleans. The usual result followed: order, counter-order, disorder. The Prussian attack being concentrated on his left and centre, his two right corps, 30 evidently in consequence of the contradictory orders they had received, lost their line of retreat upon Orleans, and had to cross the river, the 20th at Jargeau and the 18th still further east, at Sully. A small portion of the latter appears to have been driven still more eastward, as it was found by the 3rd Prussian Corps on the 7th of December at Nevoy, near Gien, and 35 thence pursued in the direction of Briare, always on the right bank of the river. Orleans fell into the hands of the Germans on the evening of the 4th, and the pursuit was at once organized. While the 3rd Corps was to skirt the upper course of the Loire on the right bank, the 10th was sent to Vierzon, and the Mecklenburg command on the right bank towards 40 Blois. Before reaching that place, this latter force was met at Beaugency

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by at least a portion of the army of Le Mans, which now at last had joined Chanzy's command, and offered a pertinacious and partly successful resistance. But this was soon broken, for the 9th Prussian Corps was marching, on the left bank of the river, towards Blois, where it would 5 have cut off Chanzy's retreat towards Tours. This turning movement had its effect. Chanzy retired out of harm's way, and Blois fell into the hands of the invaders. The thaw and heavy rains about this time broke up the roads, and thus stopped further pursuit.

Prince Frederick Charles has telegraphed to headquarters that the 10 Army of the Loire is totally dispersed in various directions, that its centre is broken, and that it has ceased to exist as an army. All this sounds well, but it is far from being correct. There can be no doubt, even from the German accounts, that the seventy-seven guns taken before Orleans were almost all naval guns abandoned in the entrenchments. There may be 15 10,000, and, including the wounded, 14,000 prisoners, most of them very much demoralized; but the state of the Bavarians who on the 5th of December thronged the road from Artenay to Chartres, utterly disorganized, without arms or knapsacks, was not so much better. There is an utter absence of trophies gathered during the pursuit on and after the 20 5th; and if an army has broken up, its soldiery cannot fail to be brought in wholesale by an active and numerous cavalry such as we know the Prussians to possess. There is extreme inaccuracy here, to say the least of it. The thaw is no excuse; that set in about the 9th, and would leave four or five days of fine frozen roads and fields for active pursuit. It is not so 25 much the thaw which stops the advance of the Prussians; it is the consciousness that the force of these 90,000 men, now reduced to about 60,000 by losses and garrisons left behind, is nearly spent. The point beyond which it is imprudent to follow up even a beaten enemy has very nearly been reached. There may be raids on a large scale further south, 30 but there will be scarcely any further occupation of territory. The Army of the Loire, now divided into two armies under Bourbaki and Chanzy, will have plenty of time and room to re-form, and to draw towards it newly formed battalions. By its division it has ceased to exist as an army, but it is the first French army in this campaign which has done so not 35 ingloriously. We shall probably hear of its two successors again.

In the meantime, Prussia shows signs of exhaustion. The men of the landwehr up to forty years and more—legally free from service after their thirty-second year—are called in. The drilled reserves of the country are exhausted. In January the recruits—about 90,000 from North Germany 40 —will be sent out to France. This *may* give altogether the 150,000 men of whom we hear so much, but they are not yet there; and when they do

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come they will alter the character of the army materially. The wear and tear of the campaign has been terrible, and is becoming more so every day. The melancholy tone of the letters from the army shows it, as well as the lists of losses. It is no longer the great battles which make up the bulk of these lists, it is the small encounters where one, two, five men are shot down. This constant erosion by the waves of popular warfare in the long run melts down or washes away the largest army in detail, and, what is the chief point, without any visible equivalent. While Paris holds out, every day improves the position of the French, and the impatience at Versailles about the surrender of Paris shows best that that city may yet become dangerous to the besiegers.

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Notes on the War.—XXXII

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1829, 23. Dezember 1870

Notes on the War.—XXXII.

The last week's fighting has proved how correctly we judged the relative positions of the combatants when we said that the armies arrived from Metz on the Loire and in Normandy had then already expended the greater part of their capability for occupying fresh territory. The extent of ground occupied by the German forces has scarcely received any addition since. The Grand Duke of Mecklenburg, with Von der Tann's Bavarians (who, in spite of their disorganization and want of shoes, cannot be spared at the front), with the 10th Corps and 17th and 22nd divisions, has followed up Chanzy's slowly retreating and constantly fighting troops from Beaugency to Blois, from Blois to Vendôme, and Epuisay and beyond. Chanzy defended every position offered by the rivulets falling from the north into the Loire; and when the 9th Corps (or at least its Hessian division) turned his right at Blois, arriving from the left bank of the river, he retreated upon Vendôme, and took up a position on the line of the Loire. This he held on the 14th and 15th against the attacks of the enemy, but abandoned it on the evening of the latter day, and retreated slowly, and still showing a bold front, towards Le Mans. On the 17th he had another rear-guard affair with Von der Tann at Epuisay, where the roads from Vendôme and Morée to Saint-Calais unite, and then withdrew, apparently without being followed up much farther.

The whole of this retreat appears to have been conducted with great discretion. After it was once settled that the old Army of the Loire was to be split up into two bodies, one of which, under Bourbaki, was to act south of Orleans, and the other, under Chanzy, to whom also the troops near Le Mans were given, to defend Western France north of the Loire — after this arrangement was once made, it could not be Chanzy's object to provoke decisive actions. On the contrary, his plan necessarily was to

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dispute every inch of ground as long as he safely could without being entangled into such; to inflict thereby as heavy losses as he could upon the enemy, and break in his own young troops to order and steadiness under fire. He would naturally lose more men than the enemy in this retreat, especially in stragglers; but these would be the worst men of his battalions, which he could well do without. He would keep up the morale of his troops, while he maintained on the part of the enemy that respect which the Army of the Loire had already conquered for the Republican troops. And he would soon arrive at a point where the pursuers, weakened by losses in battle, by sickness, and by detachments left behind on 10 their line of supply, must give up the pursuit or risk defeat in their turn. That point, in all probability, would be Le Mans; here were the two camps of instruction at Yvré-l'Evêque and at Conlie, with troops in various states of organization and armament, and of unknown numbers; but there must have certainly been more organized battalions there than 15 Chanzy would require to repel any attack Mecklenburg could make on him. This appears to have been felt by the Prussian commander, or rather his chief of the staff, General Stosch, who actually directs the movements of Mecklenburg's army. For after having learned that the 10th North German Corps, on the 18th, pursued Chanzy beyond Episyay, we 20 hear now that General Voigts-Rhetz (who commands this same 10th Corps) on the 21st has defeated a body of French near Monnaie, and driven them beyond Notre Dame d'Oé. Now, Monnaie is about five-and-thirty miles south of Episyay, on the road from Vendôme to Tours, and Notre Dame d'Oé is a few miles nearer Tours. So that after following up 25 Chanzy's principal forces towards and close to Le Mans, Mecklenburg's troops appear now to be directed—at least in part—towards Tours, which they probably will have reached ere now, but which it is not likely that they will be able to occupy permanently.

Prussian critics blamed the eccentric retreat of the Army of the Loire 30 after the battles before Orleans, and pretended that such a faulty step could only have been forced on the French by the vigorous action of Prince Frederick Charles, by which he "broke their centre." That the mismanagement of D'Aurelle, at the very moment when he received the shock of the enemy, had a good deal to do with this eccentric retreat, and 35 even with the subsequent division of the army into two distinct commands, we may readily believe. But there was another motive for it. France, above all things, wants time to organize forces, and space—that is to say, as much territory as possible—from which to collect the means of organization in men and matériel. Not being as yet in a position to 40 court decisive battles, she must attempt to save as much territory as

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possible from the occupation of the enemy. And as the invasion has now reached that line where the forces of the attack and those of the defence are nearly balanced, there is no necessity to concentrate the troops of the defence as for a decisive action. On the contrary, they may without great
5 risk be divided into several large masses, so as to cover as much territory as possible, and so as to oppose to the enemy, in whatever direction he may advance, a force large enough to prevent permanent occupation. And as there are still some 60,000, or perhaps 100,000, men near Le Mans (in a very backward state of equipment, drill, and discipline, it is
10 true, but yet improving daily), and as the means to equip, arm, and supply them have been organized and are being brought together in western France—it would be a great blunder to abandon these merely because strategic theory demands that under ordinary circumstances a defeated army should withdraw in one body; which could in this case have
15 been done only by going south and leaving the west unprotected. On the contrary, the camps near Le Mans contain in themselves the stuff to render the new Army of the West, in course of time, stronger than even the old Army of the Loire was, while the whole south is organizing reinforcements for Bourbaki's command. Thus, what at the first glance
20 appears as a mistake, was in reality a very proper and necessary measure, which does not in any way preclude the possibility of having the whole of the French forces, at some later time, in a position to co-operate for decisive action.

The importance of Tours is in the fact that it forms the most westerly
25 railway junction between the north-west and the south of France. If Tours be permanently held by the Prussians, Chanzy has no longer any railway communication with either the Government at Bordeaux or Bourbaki at Bourges. But with their present forces, the Prussians have no chance of holding it. They would be weaker there than Von der Tann was
30 at Orleans early in November. And a temporary loss of Tours, though inconvenient, may be borne.

There is not much news from the other German columns. Prince Frederick Charles, with the third corps, and perhaps half of the ninth, has completely disappeared from sight, which does not prove much for his
35 powers to advance. Manteuffel is reduced to play the part of a huge flying column for requisitions; his force of permanent occupation does not appear to go beyond Rouen. Werder is surrounded by petty warfare on all sides, and while he can hold out at Dijon by sheer activity only, now finds out that he has to blockade Langres too if he wants his rear
40 secured. Where he is to find the troops for this work we do not learn; he himself has none to spare, and the landwehr about Belfort and in Alsace

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have fully as much on their hands as they can manage. Thus everywhere the forces appear to be nearly balanced. It is now a race of reinforcements, but a race in which the chances are immensely more favourable to France than they were three months ago. If we could say with safety that Paris will hold out till the end of February, we might almost believe that France would win the race.

Friedrich Engels
The German position in France

The Pall Mail Gazette.
Nr. 1830, 24. Dezember 1870

The German position in France.

The wear and tear of this war is beginning to tell upon Germany. The first army of invasion, comprising the whole of the line troops of both North and South, was of the strength of about 640,000 men. Two 5 months of campaigning had reduced that army so much that the first batch of men from the depot battalions and squadrons—about one-third of the original strength—had to be ordered forward. They arrived towards the end of September and beginning of October, and though they must have amounted to some 200,000 men, yet the field battalions 10 were far from being again raised to their original strength of 1,000 men each. Those before Paris counted from 700 to 800 men, while those before Metz were weaker still. Sickness and fighting soon made further inroads, and when Prince Frederick Charles reached the Loire, his three corps were reduced to less than half their normal strength, averaging 15 450 men per battalion. The fighting of this month and the severe and changeable weather must have told severely upon the troops both before Paris and in the armies covering the investment; so that the battalions must now certainly average below 400 men. Early in January the recruits of the levy of 1870 will be ready to be sent into the field, after 20 three months' drill. These would number about 110,000, and give rather less than 300 men per battalion. We now hear that part of these have already passed Nancy, and that new bodies are arriving daily; thus the battalions may soon be again raised to about 650 men. If, indeed, as is probable from several indications, the disposable remainder of the 25 younger undrilled men of the depot-reserve (Ersatz Reserve) have been drilled along with the recruits of the regular levy, this reinforcement would be increased by some 100 men per battalion more, making in all 750 men per battalion. This would be about three-fourths of the original

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strength, giving an army of 480,000 effectives, out of one million of men sent out from Germany to the front. Thus, rather more than one-half of the men who left Germany with the line regiments or joined them since, have been killed or invalidated in less than four months. If this should appear incredible to any one, let him compare the wear and tear of former campaigns, that of 1813 and 1814 for instance, and consider that the continued long and rapid marches of the Prussians during this war must have told terribly upon their troops.

So far we have dealt with the line only. Besides them, nearly the whole of the landwehr has been marched off into France. The landwehr battalions had originally 800 men for the Guards and 500 men for the other battalions; but they were gradually raised to the strength of 1,000 men all round. This would make a grand total of 240,000 men, including cavalry and artillery. By far the greater part of these have been in France for some time, keeping up the communications, blockading fortresses, &c. 15 And even for this they are not numerous enough; for there are at present in process of organization four more landwehr divisions (probably by forming a third battalion to every landwehr regiment), comprising at least fifty battalions, or 50,000 men more. All these are now to be sent into France; those that were still in Germany, guarding the French prisoners, are to be relieved in that duty by newly formed "garrison battalions." What these may be composed of we cannot positively tell before we receive the full text of the order creating them, the contents of which, so far, are known by a telegraphic summary only. But if, as we know to be the fact, the above four new landwehr divisions cannot be raised 25 without calling out men of forty and even above, then what remains for the garrison battalions of drilled soldiers but men from forty to fifty years of age? There is no doubt the reserve of drilled men in Germany is by this measure fully exhausted, and, beyond that, a whole year's levy of recruits.

30

The landwehr force in France has had far less marching, bivouacking, and fighting than the line. It has mostly had decent quarters, fair feeding, and moderate duty; so that the whole of its losses may be put down at about 40,000 men, dead or invalidated. This would leave, including the new battalions now forming, 250,000 men; but it is very uncertain how soon, 35 even if ever, the whole of these can be set free for service abroad. For the next two months we should say 200,000 would be a high estimate of the effective landwehr force in France.

Line and landwehr together, we shall thus have in the second half of January a force of some 650,000 to 680,000 Germans under arms in 40 France, of which from 150,000 to 200,000 are now on the road or pre-

The German position in France

paring for it. But this force will be of a far different character from that which has hitherto been employed there. Fully one-half of the line battalions will consist of young men of twenty or twenty-one years—untried men of an age at which the hardships of a winter campaign tell most 5 fearfully upon the constitution. These men will soon fill the hospitals, while the battalions will again melt down in strength. On the other hand, the landwehr will consist more and more of men above thirty-two, married men and fathers of families almost without exception, and of an age at which open-air camping in cold or wet weather is almost sure to pro- 10 duce rheumatism rapidly and by wholesale. And there can be no doubt that the greater portion of this landwehr will have to do a deal more marching and fighting than hitherto, in consequence of the extension of the territory which is to be given into its keeping. The line is getting considerably younger, the landwehr considerably older than hitherto; the 15 recruits sent to the line have barely had time to learn their drill and discipline, the new reinforcements for the landwehr have had plenty of time to forget both. Thus the Germany army is receiving elements which bring its character much nearer than heretofore to the new French levies opposed to it; with this advantage, however, on the side of the Germans, 20 that these elements are being incorporated into the strong and solid cadres of the old army.

After these, what resources in men remain to Prussia? The recruits attaining their twentieth year in 1871, and the older men of the Ersatz Reserve, the latter all undrilled, almost all of them married, and at an age 25 when people have little inclination or ability to begin soldiering. To call these out, men who have been induced by long precedent to consider their relation to the army an all but nominal one, would be very unpopular. Still more unpopular would it be if those able-bodied men were called out who for one reason or another have escaped the liability to service 30 altogether. In a purely defensive war all these would march unhesitatingly; but in a war of conquest, and at a time when the success of that policy of conquest is becoming doubtful, they cannot be expected to do so. A war of conquest, with anything like varying fortunes, cannot be carried out, in the long run, by an army consisting chiefly of married men; one or 35 two great reverses must demoralize such troops on such an errand. The more the Prussian army, by the lengthening out of the war, becomes in reality a "nation in arms," the more incapable does it become for conquest. Let the German Philistine shout ever so boisterously about Alsace and Lorraine, it still remains certain that Germany cannot for the sake of 40 their conquest undergo the same privations, the same social disorganization, the same suspension of national production, that France willingly

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suffers in her own self-defence. That same German Philistine, once put in uniform and marched off, may come to his cool senses again on some French battlefield or in some frozen bivouac. And thus it may be, in the end, for the best if both nations are, in reality, placed face to face with each other in full armour.

Friedrich Engels
Notes on the War.—XXXIII

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1841, 6. Januar 1871

Notes on the War.—XXXIII.

Christmas has ushered in the commencement of the real siege of Paris. Up to that time there had only been an investment of the giant fortress. Batteries had been constructed, it is true, for heavy siege guns; a siege park had been collected, but not a gun had been placed in position, not an embrasure cut, not a shot fired. All these preparations had been made on the southern and south-western front. On the other fronts there were breastworks thrown up as well, but these seem to have been intended for defensive purposes only, to check sorties, and to protect the infantry and field artillery of the besiegers. These entrenchments were naturally at a greater distance from the Paris forts than regular siege batteries would have to be; there was between them and the forts a larger belt of debatable ground on which sorties could take place. When Trochu's great sortie of the 30th of November had been repelled, he still remained master of a certain portion of this debatable ground on the eastern side of Paris, especially of the isolated plateau of Avron, in front of Fort Rosny. This he began to fortify; at what exact date we do not know, but we find it mentioned on the 17th of December that both Mont Avron and the heights of Varennes (in the loop of the Marne) had been fortified and armed with heavy guns.

Barring a few advanced redoubts on the south front, near Vitry and Villejuif, which do not appear to be of much importance, we have here the first attempt, on a large scale, of the defenders to extend their positions by counter-approaches. And here we are naturally referred, for a comparison, to Sebastopol. More than four months after the opening of the trenches by the Allies, towards the end of February, 1855, when the besiegers had suffered terribly by the winter, Todleben began to construct advanced works at what were then considerable distances in front of his

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lines. On the 23rd of February he had constructed the redoubt Selenginsk, 1,100 yards from the main rampart; on the same day an assault of the Allies on the new work failed; on the 1st of March, another redoubt (Volynsk) was completed in a still more forward position, and 1,450 yards from the rampart. These two works were called by the Allies the 5 "ouvrages blancs." On the 12th of March, the Kamtschatka lunette, 800 yards from the ramparts, was completed, the "Mamelon vert" of the Allies, and in front of all these works rifle-pits were dug out. An assault, on the 22nd of March, was beaten off, and the whole of the works, as well as another to the (proper) right of the Mamelon, the "Quarry," was 10 completed, and all these redoubts connected by a covered way. During the whole of April and May the Allies in vain attempted to recover the ground occupied by these works. They had to advance against them by regular siege approaches, and it was only on the 7th of June, when considerable reinforcements had arrived, that they were enabled to storm 15 them. Thus, the fall of Sebastopol had been delayed fully three months by these advanced field works, attacked though they were by the most powerful naval guns of the period.

The defence of Mont Avron looks very paltry side by side with this story. On the 17th, when the French had had above fourteen days for the 20 construction of their works, the batteries are completed. The besiegers in the meantime sent for siege artillery, chiefly old guns already used in the previous sieges. On the 22nd the batteries against Mont Avron are completed, but no action is taken until every danger of a sortie *en masse* of the French has passed away, and the encampments of the Army of Paris, 25 round Drancy, are broken up on the 26th. Then on the 27th the German batteries open their fire, which is continued on the 28th and 29th. The fire of the French works is soon silenced, and the works abandoned on the 29th, because, as the official French report says, there were no casemates 30 in them to shelter the garrison.

This is undoubtedly a poor defence and a still poorer excuse for it. The chief fault seems to rest with the construction of the works. From all descriptions we are led to conclude that there was not on the hill a single closed redoubt, but only batteries open to the rear, and even without efficient protection on the flanks. These batteries, moreover, appear to 35 have been facing one way only, towards the south or south-east, while close by, to the north-east, lay the heights of Raincy and Montfermeil, the most eligible sites of all for batteries against Avron. The besiegers took advantage of these to surround Avron with a semicircle of batteries which soon silenced its fire and drove away its garrison. Then why was 40 there no shelter for the garrison? The frost is but half an excuse, for the

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French had time enough; and what the Russians could do in a Crimean winter and on rocky soil must have been possible too this December before Paris. The artillery employed against Avron was certainly far more efficient than that of the Allies before Sebastopol; but it was the same as
5 that used against the redoubts of Düppel, also field-works, and they held out three weeks. It is surmised that the infantry garrison ran away and left the artillery uncovered. That may be so, but it would not excuse the engineers who constructed the works. The engineering staff inside Paris must be very badly organized if we are to judge it from this sample of its
10 handiwork.

The rapid demolition of Mont Avron has sharpened the appetite of the besiegers for more successes of a similar sort. Their fire has been opened upon the eastern forts, especially Noisy, Rosny, and Nogent. After two days' bombardment these forts were all but silenced. What more there is
15 being done against them we do not hear. Neither is there any mention of the fire of the entrenchments which had been constructed in the intervals between these forts. But we may be certain that the besiegers are doing their best to push forward approaches, if only in a rough way, against these forts, and to secure a firm lodgment on Mont Avron. We should
20 not wonder if they succeeded better in this than the French, in spite of the weather.

But what is the effect of all this upon the course of the siege? No doubt, if these three forts should fall into the hands of the Prussians, that would be an important success, and enable them to bring their batteries
25 to within 3,000 or 4,000 yards of the enceinte. There is, however, no necessity that they should fall so soon. These forts all have bomb-proof casemates for their garrisons, and the besiegers, so far, have not got any rifled mortars, of which they altogether possess but a small stock. These mortars are the only sort of artillery which can destroy bomb-proof shel-
30 ter in a very short time; the old mortars are too uncertain in their range to have a very rapid effect, and the 24-pounders (with 64 lb. shell) cannot be sufficiently elevated to produce the effect of vertical fire. If the fire of these forts appears to be silenced, that signifies merely that the guns have been placed under shelter so as to keep them available for an assault. The
35 Prussian batteries may demolish the parapets of the ramparts, but that will not constitute a breach. To breach the very well-covered masonry of the escarp, even by indirect fire, they will have to construct batteries within at least 1,000 yards from the forts, and that can be done by regu-
40 lar parallels and approaches only. The "abridged" process of besieging, of which the Prussians talk so much, consists in nothing but the silencing of the enemy's fire from a greater distance, so that the approaches can be

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made with less danger and loss of time; this is followed up by a violent bombardment, and a breaching of the rampart by indirect fire. If all this does not compel surrender—and in the case of the Paris forts it is difficult to see how it could do so—nothing remains but to push up the approaches in the usual way to the glacis and risk an assault. The assault 5 of Düppel was undertaken after the approaches had been pushed to about 250 yards from the ruined works, and at Strasburg the saps had to be driven quite in the old-fashioned way up to the crest of the glacis and beyond.

With all this, we must recur again and again to the point so often 10 urged in these columns, that the defence of Paris must be carried on actively, and not passively only. If ever there was a time for sorties, that time is now. It is not, at this moment, a question of breaking through the enemy's lines; it is this—to accept a localized combat which the besieger forces upon the besieged. That the fire of the besieger can, under almost 15 any circumstances, be made superior, on any given point, to that of the besieged, is an old and uncontested axiom; and unless the besieged make up for this his inherent deficiency by activity, boldness and energy in sorties, he gives up his best chance. Some say the troops inside Paris have lost heart; but there is no reason why they should. They may have lost 20 confidence in their leader, but that is another thing altogether; and if Trochu persists in his inactivity, they may well do so.

We may as well advert in a word or two to the ingenious hypothesis of some people that Trochu intends to withdraw, with his troops, to the fortified peninsula of Mont Valerien, as to a citadel, after the fall of Paris. 25 This profound surmise has been concocted by some of the super-clever hangers-on of the staff at Versailles, and is based chiefly on the fact that a good many carts go backwards and forwards between Paris and that peninsula. He must certainly be an uncommonly clever general who chooses to construct for himself a citadel on a low alluvial peninsula, sur- 30 rounded on all sides by commanding heights, from which the camps of his troops can be surveyed like a panorama, and consequently fired into at easy ranges. But as long as the Prussian staff has existed, it has been troubled with the presence of some men of superhuman sharpness. With them the enemy is always most likely to do the very unlikeliest thing of 35 all. As the German saying goes, "they hear the grass growing." Whoever has occupied himself with Prussian military literature must have stumbled over this sort of people, and the only wonder is that they should find anybody to believe them.

Friedrich Engels
Notes on the War.—XXXIV

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1842, 7. Januar 1871

Notes on the War.—XXXIV.

Although there has been a fair amount of fighting since we last surveyed the relative positions of the combatants in the provinces, there has been very little change, thus proving the correctness of our view that the forces 5 of both were nearly balanced for the time being.

Chanzy's Army of the West has maintained itself in front of Le Mans; the army of Mecklenburg opposes it on a line stretching from Blois by Vendôme to Verneuil. There has been a good deal of desultory fighting about Vendôme, but nothing has been changed in the relative position of 10 the armies. In the meantime Chanzy has drawn towards himself all the drilled and armed men from the camp of Conlie, which has been broken up; he is reported to have entrenched a strong position around Le Mans, as a stronghold to fall back upon, and is now again expected to assume the offensive. As M. Gambetta left Bordeaux on the 5.th for Le Mans this 15 may be quite correct. Of the actual strength and organization of Chanzy's forces we have no knowledge whatever beyond the fact that he had, previous to his retreat upon Le Mans, three army corps. Nor are we much better informed as to the forces immediately opposed to him; the troops of Mecklenburg and those of Prince Frederick Charles's original 20 army have been so much intermixed that the original *ordre de bataille* is no longer in force. We shall have to treat both as one army, which they indeed are, since Frederick Charles has the command of the whole; the only distinction is, that Mecklenburg commands those troops which, *à cheval* of the Loir, face west, while the Prince has under his immediate 25 orders those which, along the Loire from Blois to Gien, face south and watch Bourbaki. The whole of both these bodies counts ten divisions of infantry and three of cavalry, but considerable detachments have been left on the line of march from Commercy, by Troyes, to the Loire; these

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are only gradually coming up, as they are being relieved by the new arrivals of landwehr.

On the 11th of December Prince Frederick Charles had arrived at Briare, with intent to advance upon Nevers, in order to turn Bourbaki's right and to cut off his direct communication with the troops opposed to Werder. But we have only recently learned that on receiving the news of the resolute and unexpected resistance which Mecklenburg encountered on the part of Chanzy, he gave up his plan at once and turned back with the mass of his troops in the direction of Tours; which, as we know, his troops came in sight of but never entered. Thus we now learn that 10 Chanzy's clever and gallant retreat was the cause not only of his own safety, but of Bourbaki's too. This latter general must still be in the neighbourhood of Bourges and Nevers. If, as has been presumed, he had marched off eastwards against Werder or against the Prussian line of communications, we should have heard of him ere now. Most probably 15 he is reorganizing and reinforcing his army, and if Chanzy should advance we are sure to hear of him too.

North of the Seine Manteuffel, with the 1st corps, holds Rouen and neighbourhood, while he has sent the 8th corps into Picardy. This latter corps has had a hard time of it. General Faidherbe does not allow his 20 Northern Army much rest. The three northernmost departments of France, from the Somme to the Belgian frontier, hold about twenty fortresses of various sizes, which, though wholly useless nowadays against a large invasion from Belgium, yet form a most welcome and almost unattackable basis of operations in this case. When Vauban planned this triple 25 belt of fortresses, nearly two hundred years ago, he surely never thought that they would serve as a great entrenched camp, a sort of multiplied quadrilateral, to a French army against an enemy advancing from the heart of France. But so it is, and, small as this piece of territory is, it is for the nonce impregnable, and an important piece of ground too, on 30 account of its manufacturing resources and its dense population. Driven back into this safe retreat by the battle of Villers-Bretonneux (27th of November), Faidherbe reorganized and strengthened his army; towards the end of December he again advanced upon Amiens, and delivered on the 23rd an undecided battle to Manteuffel on the Hallue. In this battle he 35 had four divisions (35,000 men as he counts them) against the two divisions of the 8th Prussian corps (24,000 men by Prussian accounts). That with such a proportion of forces, and against as renowned a general as Von Goeben, he should have held his own, is a sign that his Mobiles and Mobilisés are improving. In consequence of the frost and of shortcomings of his commissariat and train, as he says, but probably also because

he did not trust in the steadiness of his men for a second day's hard fighting, he retreated almost unmolested behind the Scarpe. Von Goeben followed, left the greater part of the 16th division to keep the communications and to invest Péronne and advanced with only the 15th division 5 and Prince Albert the younger's flying column (which at most was equivalent to a brigade) to Bapaume and beyond. Here, then, was a chance for Faidherbe's four divisions. Without hesitating a moment, he advanced from his sheltered position and attacked the Prussians. After a preliminary engagement on the 2nd of January, the main bodies fought in 10 front of Bapaume on the following day. The clear reports of Faidherbe, the great numerical superiority of the French (eight brigades—or 33,000 men at least—against three Prussian brigades, or 16,000 to 18,000 men, to calculate the numbers according to the data given above for the two armies), the indefinite language of Manteuffel, leave no doubt that in this 15 battle the French had the best of it. Besides, Manteuffel's bragging is well known in Germany: everybody there recollects how as Governor of Sleswick, and being rather tall, he offered "to cover every seven feet of the country with his body." His reports, even after censorship in Versailles, are certainly the least trustworthy of all Prussian accounts. On the other 20 hand, Faidherbe did not follow up his success, but retired after the battle to a village some miles in rear of the battle-field, so that Péronne was not relieved and, as has already been pointed out in these columns, the fruits of the fighting were all for the Prussians. It is impossible to take Faidherbe's excuses for his retreat as being meant seriously. But, whatever his 25 reasons may have been, unless he can do more with his troops than beat three Prussian brigades and then retire, he will not relieve Paris.

In the meantime, Manteuffel has an important reinforcement at hand. The 14th division (Kameke) of the 7th corps, after reducing Montmédy and Mézières is approaching his fighting-ground accompanied by its 30 siege train. The fighting near Guise seems to mark a stage in this advance; Guise is on the direct road from Mézières to Péronne, which naturally seems to be the next fortress set down for bombardment. After Péronne, probably Cambrai, if all be well with the Prussians.

In the south-east, Werder has been in full retreat since the 27th of 35 December, when he evacuated Dijon. It took some time before the Germans mentioned a word about this, and then the Prussians were quite silent; it leaked out in a quiet corner of the *Karlsruher Zeitung*. On the 31st he evacuated Gray also, after an engagement, and is now covering the siege of Belfort at Vesoul. The Army of Lyons, under Cremer (said to 40 be an emigrated Hanoverian officer) is following him up, while Garibaldi seems to be acting more westward against the Prussian chief line of com-

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munications. Werder, who is said to expect a reinforcement of 36,000 men, will be pretty safe at Vesoul, but the line of communications appears anything but secure. We now learn that General Zastrow, commander of the 7th corps, has been sent thither, and is in communication with Werder. Unless he is appointed to quite a new command, he will have the 13th division with him, which has been relieved, in Metz, by landwehr, and he will also dispose of other forces for active operations. It must be one of his battalions which has been attacked, and is said to have been routed, near Saulieu, on the road from Auxerre to Chalon-sur-Saône. What the state of the communications is on the secondary lines of railway (always excepting the main line from Nancy to Paris, which is well guarded and so far safe) is shown by a letter from Chaumont (Haute-Marne) to the *Cologne Gazette*, complaining that now for the third time the francs-tireurs have broken up the railway between Chaumont and Troyes; the last time, on the 24th of December, they replaced the rails loosely, so that a train with 500 landwehr got off the rails and was stopped, upon which the francs-tireurs opened fire from a wood, but were beaten off. The correspondent considers this not only unfair but "infamous." Just like the Austrian cuirassier in Hungary in 1849: "Are not these hussars infamous scoundrels? They see my cuirass, and yet they cut me across the face."

The state of these communications is a matter of life and death to the army besieging Paris. A few days' interruption would affect it for weeks. The Prussians know this, and are now concentrating all their landwehr in north-western France to hold in subjection a belt of country sufficiently broad to ensure safety to their railways. The fall of Mézières opens them a second line of rails from the frontier by Thionville, Mézières and Rheims; but this line dangerously offers its flank to the Army of the North. If Paris is to be relieved, it might perhaps be done easiest by breaking this line of communications.

30

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Notes on the War.—XXXV

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1848, 14. Januar 1871

Notes on the War.—XXXV.

The armies in the field have entered upon two operations which might easily bring on a crisis of the war. The first of these is Bourbaki's march against Werder; the second, Prince Frederick Charles's march against Chanzy.

The rumour of Bourbaki's march eastward has been current for nearly a week, but there was nothing in it to distinguish it from the rest of the rumours which are now flying about so plentifully. That the movement might be good in itself was no reason to believe in its reality. However, 10 there can be now no doubt that Bourbaki, with at least the 18th and 20th Corps, and the 24th, a new corps, has arrived in the East of France, and has turned Werder's position at Vesoul by a movement via Besançon upon Lure, between Vesoul and Belfort. Near Lure, Werder attacked him at Villersexel on the 9th, and an engagement ensued, in which both parties 15 claim the victory. It was evidently a rearguard-engagement, in which Werder apparently has made good his retreat. Whichever may have won in this first encounter, other and more general battles are sure to follow in a day or two, and to bring matters here to a crisis.

If this movement of Bourbaki be undertaken with sufficient forces— 20 that is to say, with every man, horse, and gun that was not absolutely required elsewhere—and if it be carried out with the necessary vigour, it may prove the turning point of the war. We have before now pointed out the weakness of the long line of the German communications, and the possibility of Paris being relieved by an attack in force upon that line. 25 This is now upon the cards, and it will depend on the playing of them whether it is really to come off.

Of the forces now invading France, nearly the whole of the troops of the line are engaged either in the siege of Paris or in the covering of that

siege. Out of thirty-five divisions (including the landwehr of the Guard, who have all the time been used as line troops), thirty-two are thus employed. Two are with Werder (three Baden and one Prussian brigade), and one, under Zastrow, has gone to join him. Besides these, Werder has at least two divisions of landwehr to carry on the siege of Belfort and to 5 occupy the fortresses in Southern Alsace. Thus the whole length and breadth of country north-east of the line from Mézières by Laon and Soissons to Paris, and thence by Auxerre and Châtillon to Huningen, near Basel, with all its reduced fortresses, has to be held by the remainder of the landwehr, as far as it has been made disposable. And when we 10 consider that there are also the prisoners of war in Germany to be watched and the fortresses at home to be garrisoned; that only nine Prussian army corps (those existing before 1866) had old soldiers enough to fill up the landwehr battalions, while the others will have to wait five years yet before they can do this—we may imagine that the forces re- 15 maining disposable for the occupation of this part of France cannot have been over numerous. True, eighteen depot battalions are now being sent to garrison the fortresses in Alsace and Lorraine, and the newly forming "garrison battalions" are to relieve the landwehr in the interior of Prussia. But the formation of these garrison battalions is reported in the 20 German press to proceed but slowly, and thus the army of occupation will still for some time be comparatively weak and barely able to hold in check the population of the provinces it has to guard.

It is against this portion of the German army that Bourbaki is moving. He evidently attempted to interpose his troops between Vesoul and Belfort, whereby he would isolate Werder, whom he might beat singly, driving him in a north-westerly direction. But as Werder now probably is before Belfort and united with Tresckow, Bourbaki has to defeat both in order to raise the siege; to drive the besiegers back into the Rhine valley, after which he might advance on the eastern side of the Vosges towards 30 Luneville, where he would be on the main line of the German communications. The destruction of the railway tunnels near Phalsburg would block up the Strasburg line for a considerable period; that of the Frouard Junction would stop the line from Saarbrücken and Metz; and it might even be possible to send a flying column towards Thionville to destroy 35 the line near that place too, so as to break the last through line the Germans have. That column could always retire into Luxemburg or Belgium and lay down its arms; it would have amply repaid itself.

These are the objects which Bourbaki must have in view. With the neighbourhood of Paris exhausted, the interruption of the communications from Paris to Germany even for a few days would be a very

Notes on the War.—XXXV

serious matter for the 240,000 Germans before Paris, and the presence of 120,000 to 150,000 French soldiers in Lorraine might be a more effective means of raising the siege than even a victory of Chanzy over Frederick Charles, by which the latter would after all be driven back upon the 5 besieging forces, to be backed up by them. True, the Germans have another line of railway communication by Thionville, Mézières and Rheims, which Bourbaki might probably not be able to reach even with flying columns; but then there is the absolute certainty of a general rising of the people in the occupied districts as soon as Bourbaki would have 10 succeeded in penetrating into Lorraine; and what the safety for traffic of that second line of railway would be under such circumstances we need not explain any further. Besides, Bourbaki's success would, as a first consequence, compel Goeben to fall back, and thus the Army of the North might find a chance of cutting off this line between Soissons and 15 Mézières.

We consider this movement of Bourbaki as the most important and the most promising one which has been made by any French general in this war. But, we repeat, it must be carried out adequately. The best plans are worthless if they be executed feebly and irresolutely; and we shall prob-20 ably not learn anything positive about Bourbaki's forces or the way he handles them until his struggles with Werder have been decided.

But we are informed that in view of some such contingency, the Corps of Werder is to be enlarged into a great "fifth army," under Manteuffel, who is to hand over his "first army" to Goeben, and to 25 bring to Werder's assistance the 2nd, 7th, and 14th Corps. Now, of the 7th corps, the 13th division has already been sent towards Vesoul, under Zastrow; the 14th division has only just taken Mézières and Rocroi, and cannot, therefore, be expected at Vesoul so very soon; the 14th Corps is the very one which Werder has had all along (the Baden division and the 30 30th and 34th Prussian regiments, under Goltz); and, as to the 2nd Corps, which is before Paris, we expect that it will not start before that city shall have surrendered, because it cannot be well spared there. But even if it were sent off now it would only arrive after Werder's decisive action with Bourbaki had taken place. As to other reinforcements for Werder 35 from reserves which may be supposed to exist in Germany, we have to consider, firstly, that whatever landwehr can be made disposable has already been, or is being, forwarded now; and, secondly, that the depot battalions, the only other reserve force in existence, have just been emp- tited of their drilled men, and are at this moment mere cadres. Thus, 40 Bourbaki will at all events have to fight his first and most decisive actions before the intended reinforcements can have arrived; and, if vic-

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torious, he will be in the favourable position to deal with these reinforcements one after another as they arrive successively and from very different directions.

On the other hand, Prince Frederick Charles, in spite of his victorious march to Le Mans, may yet have made the first mistake committed by the Germans in this war, when he left Bourbaki entirely free, in order to concentrate all his forces against Chanzy. Now, Chanzy was no doubt his more immediate opponent, and for the moment the most dangerous one too. But Chanzy's country is not the one where decisive successes can be had over the French. Chanzy has just suffered a severe defeat; that settles his attempts for the relief of Paris for the present. But it so far settles nothing else. Chanzy may withdraw if he likes either towards Brittany or towards the Calvados. In either case he finds at the extreme end of his retreat a great naval arsenal, Brest or Cherbourg, with detached forts to shelter him until the French fleet can transport his men south of the Loire or north of the Somme. In consequence, the West of France is a country where the French can carry on a war to amuse the enemy—a war of alternate advances and retreats—without ever being brought to bay against their will. We should not wonder if Chanzy had been urged on to fight by Gambetta, who was reported to have joined him, and who would be sure to subordinate military to political considerations. After his reverse, and the loss of Le Mans, Chanzy could do nothing better than draw off Frederick Charles as far away to the westward as possible, so that this portion of the Prussian forces may be quite out of harm's way when Bourbaki's campaign begins to develop itself. 25

Faidherbe, in the north, is evidently too weak to do anything decisive against Goeben. As it appears that Chanzy cannot defeat Frederick Charles and thereby relieve Paris, it would be better to send plenty of men to the north, to get rid of Goeben both at Amiens and Rouen, and to attempt with concentrated forces an advance upon the railway line from Mézières to Paris; especially now, while Bourbaki is threatening the other German line of railway. The communications are the tenderest part of an army's position; and if the northern line, which lies so much exposed to an attack from the north both at Soissons and Rethel, should once be seriously menaced while Bourbaki is at work on the southern edge of Lorraine, we might see all of a sudden a very pretty commotion in Versailles. 35

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Notes on the War.—XXXVI

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1852, 19. Januar 1871

Notes on the War.—XXXVI.

Ever since, after Sedan, Paris was first seriously menaced by hostile attack, we have insisted upon the great strength of a fortified capital like Paris; but we have never omitted to add that, for the full development of 5 its defensive powers, it required a large regular army to defend it; an army too powerful to be shut up in the works of the place, or to be prevented from manoeuvring in the open around the fortress, which would serve as its pivot and partly as its base of operations.

Under normal conditions, this army would almost always be at hand, 10 as a matter of course. The French armies, defeated near the frontier, would fall back upon Paris as their last and chief stronghold; they would under ordinary circumstances arrive here in sufficient strength, and find sufficient reinforcements to be able to fulfil the task assigned to them. But this time the strategy of the Second Empire had caused the whole of 15 the French armies to disappear from the field. One of them it had managed to get shut up, to all appearance hopelessly, in Metz; the other had just surrendered at Sedan. When the Prussians arrived before Paris, a few half-filled depots, a number of provincial Mobiles (just levied), and the local National Guard (not half formed), were all the forces ready for its 20 defence.

Even under these circumstances the intrinsic strength of the place proved so formidable to the invaders, the task of attacking *lege artis* this immense city and its outworks appeared so gigantic to them, that they abandoned it at once, and chose to reduce the place by famine. At that 25 time Henri Rochefort and others were formed into a "Commission of Barricades," charged with the construction of a third interior line of defence, which should prepare the ground for that line of fighting so peculiarly Parisian—the defence of barricades and the struggle from

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house to house. The press at the time made great fun of this commission; but the semi-official publications of the Prussian staff leave no doubt that it was above all the certainty of having to encounter a determined struggle at the barricades which caused them to decide in favour of reduction by famine. The Prussians knew very well that the forts, and after them 5 the *enceinte*, if defended by artillery alone, must fall within a certain time; but then would come a stage of the struggle in which new levies and even civilians would be a match for veterans; in which house after house, street after street, would have to be conquered, and, considering the great number of the defenders, with the certainty of an immense loss of life, 10 Whoever will refer to the papers on the subject in the Prussian *Staats-Anzeiger* will find this reason to be stated as the decisive one against a regular siege.

The investment began on September 19, exactly four months ago to-day. On the following day General Ducrot, who commanded the regular 15 troops in Paris, made a sortie with three divisions in the direction of Clamart, and lost seven guns and 3,000 prisoners. This was followed by similar sorties on the 23rd and 30th of September, 13th and 21st of October, all of which resulted in considerable loss to the French without other advantages than, perhaps, accustoming the young troops to the enemy's 20 fire. On the 28th another sortie was made against Le Bourget with better success; the village was taken and held for two days; but on the 30th the second division of the Prussian guards—thirteen battalions, then less than 10,000 men—retook the village. The French had evidently made very poor use of the two days, during which they might have converted 25 the massively built village into a fortress, and neglected to keep reserves at hand to support the defenders in time, otherwise such a moderate force could not have wrested the place from them.

After this effort there followed a month of quietness. Trochu evidently intended to improve the drill and discipline of his men before again risking great sorties, and very properly so. But, at the same time, he neglected to carry on that war of outposts, reconnaissances and patrols, of ambuses and surprises, which is now the regular occupation of the men on the French front round Paris—a kind of warfare than which none is more adapted to give young troops confidence in their officers and in 30 themselves, and the habit of meeting the enemy with composure. Troops which have found out that in small bodies, in single sections, half companies, or companies, they can surprise, defeat, or take prisoner similar small bodies of the enemy will soon learn to meet him battalion against battalion. Besides, they will thus learn what outpost duty really is, which 40 many of them appeared to be ignorant of as late as December.

On the 28th of November, at last, was inaugurated that series of sorties which culminated in the grand sortie of the 30th of November across the Marne, and the advance of the whole eastern front of Paris. On the 2nd of December the Germans retook Briey and part of Champigny, and on the 5 following day the French recrossed the Marne. As an attempt to break through the entrenched lines of circumvallation which the besiegers had thrown up, the attack completely failed; it had been carried out without the necessary energy. But it left in the hands of the French a considerable portion of hitherto debatable ground in front of their lines. A strip of 10 ground about two miles in width, from Drancy to the Marne, near Neuilly, came into their possession; a country completely commanded by the fire of the forts, covered with massively built villages easy of defence, and possessing a fresh commanding position in the plateau of Avron. Here, then, was a chance of permanently enlarging the circle of defence; from 15 this ground, once well secured, a further advance might have been attempted, and either the line of the besiegers so much "bulged in" that a successful attack on their lines became possible, or that, by concentrating a strong force here, they were compelled to weaken their line at other points, and thus facilitate a French attack. Well, this ground remained in 20 the hands of the French for a full month. The Germans were compelled to erect siege batteries against Avron, and yet two days' fire from these batteries sufficed to drive the French from it; and, Avron once lost, the other positions were also abandoned. Fresh attacks had indeed been made on the whole north-east and east front on the 21st; Le Bourget was 25 half-carried, Maison Blanche and Ville Evrard were taken; but all this vantage-ground was lost again the same night. The troops were left on the ground outside the forts, where they bivouacked at a temperature varying from nine to twenty-one degrees below freezing point, and were at last withdrawn under shelter because they naturally could not stand 30 the exposure. The whole of this episode is more characteristic than any other of the want of decision and energy—the *mollesse*, we might almost say the drowsiness—with which this defence of Paris is conducted.

The Avron incident at last induced the Prussians to turn the investment into a real siege, and to make use of the siege artillery which, for unfo- 35 reseen cases, had been provided. On the 30th of December the regular bombardment of the north-eastern and eastern forts commenced; on the 5th of January that of the southern forts. Both have been continued without interruption, and of late have been accompanied by a bombardment of the town itself, which is a wanton piece of cruelty. Nobody knows 40 better than the staff at Versailles, and nobody has caused it oftener to be asserted in the press, that the bombardment of a town as extensive as

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Paris cannot hasten its surrender by one moment. The cannonade of the forts is being followed up by the opening of regular parallels, at least against Issy; we hear of the guns being moved into batteries nearer to the forts, and unless the defence acts on the offensive more unhesitatingly than hitherto, we may soon hear of actual damage being done to one or 5 more forts.

Trochu, however, continues in his inactivity, masterly or otherwise. The few sorties made during the last few days appear to have been but too "platonic", as Trochu's accuser in the *Siecle* calls the whole of them. We are told the soldiers refused to follow their officers. If so, this proves 10 nothing but that they have lost all confidence in the supreme direction. And, indeed, we cannot resist the conclusion that a change in the chief command in Paris has become a necessity. There is an indecision, a lethargy, a want of sustained energy in all the proceedings of this defence which cannot entirely be laid to the charge of the quality of the troops. 15 That the positions, held for a month, during which there occurred only about ten days of severe frost, were not properly entrenched, cannot be blamed upon any one but Trochu, whose business it was to see to its being done. And that month, too, was the critical period of the siege; at its close the question was to be decided which party, besiegers or besieged, would gain ground. Inactivity and indecision, not of the troops but of 20 the commander-in-chief, have turned the scale against the besieged.

And why is this inactivity and indecision continued even now? The forts are under the enemy's fire, the besiegers' batteries are being brought nearer and nearer; the French artillery, as is owned by Trochu himself, is 25 inferior to that of the attack. Defended by artillery alone, the very day may be calculated when, under these circumstances, the ramparts—masonry and all—of the forts will give way. Inactivity and indecision cannot save them. Something must be done; and if Trochu cannot do it, he had better let some one else try.

Kinglake has preserved a transaction in which Trochu's character appears in the same light as in this defence of Paris. When the advance to Varna had been resolved upon by both Lord Raglan and Saint-Arnaud, and the British Light Division had already been despatched, Colonel Trochu—"a cautious thinking man, well versed in strategic science," of 35 whom "it was surmised that it was part of his mission to check anything like wildness in the movements of the French Marshal"—Colonel Trochu called upon Lord Raglan, and entered upon negotiations, the upshot of which was that Saint-Arnaud declared he had resolved to send to "Varna but one division, and to place the rest of his army in position, not in 40 advance, but in the rear of the Balkan range," and invited Lord Raglan

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to follow his example. And that at a moment when the Turks were all but victorious on the Danube without foreign aid!

It may be said that the troops in Paris have lost heart, and are no longer fit for great sorties, that it is too late to sally forth against the 5 Prussian siege works, that Trochu may save his troops for one great effort at the last moment, and so forth. But if the 500,000 armed men in Paris are to surrender to an enemy not half their number, placed moreover in a position most unfavourable for defence, they will surely not do so until their inferiority is brought home to all the world and to themselves. Surely they are not to sit down, eat up the last meal of their provisions, and then surrender! And if they have lost heart, is it because they acknowledge themselves hopelessly beaten, or because they have no longer any trust in Trochu? If it is too late to make sorties now, in another month they will be still more impracticable. And as to Trochu's 15 grand finale, the sooner it is made the better; at present the men are still tolerably fed and strong, and there is no telling what they will be in February.

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Notes on the War.—XXXVII

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1854, 21. Januar 1871

Notes on the War.—XXXVII.

This has been a most unfortunate week for the French arms. After Chanzy's defeat came the repulse of Bourbaki before Belfort, and now comes the check which, according to Prussian accounts, Faidherbe has just suffered in front of St. Quentin.

5

There can be no mistake about Bourbaki's failure. Ever since the affair at Villersexel on the 9th, he has displayed a slowness of movement which indicated either indecision on the part of the General or insufficient strength on the part of the troops. The attack upon the entrenched positions which Werder had prepared for the protection of the siege of 10 Belfort beyond the Lizaine (or Isel on other maps) was not commenced before the 15th, and on the evening of the 17th Bourbaki gave it up in despair. There can be no doubt now that the expedition had been undertaken with insufficient forces. The 15th Corps had been left near Nevers; of the 19th we have not heard for a month; the troops brought up 15 from Lyons reduce themselves to one army corps, the 24th. We now hear of considerable reinforcements being hurried up to Dijon, but, in the face of the strong reinforcements rapidly arriving on the other side, they will not enable Bourbaki at once to resume the offensive.

It may be questioned whether Bourbaki ought to have led his young 20 troops to the assault of entrenched positions defended by breech-loaders; but we know little as yet of the tactical conditions under which the three days' fight took place: he may have been unable to act otherwise.

That the Prussian headquarters did not look upon Bourbaki's expedition with the same contemptuous shrug as most people did here in London is shown by the extreme eagerness with which they took steps to 25 meet it. From these steps there can be no doubt that Bourbaki's move was known in Versailles as soon as he began his eastward march, if not

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before. On the 2nd of January the 2nd Corps received orders to march from Paris in a south-easterly direction, towards the basin of the Upper Seine. About the same time Zastrow left the neighbourhood of Metz with the 13th division for Châtillon. Immediately after the reduction of Rocroi, 5 on the 9th, the 14th division (the remaining one of Zastrow's 7th Corps) was ordered from Charleville towards Paris, thence to follow the 2nd Corps; and on the 15th already we find its advance (a battalion of the 77th regiment) engaged near Langres. At the same time landwehr troops were hurried on towards southern Alsace from Germany, and Manteuffel evi- 10 dently owes his new command to no other cause than this first serious movement against the weakest point of the whole German line. Had Bourbaki brought sufficient forces to overthrow Werder, he might have cast him back into the Rhine valley, placed the chain of the Vosges between Werder and his own troops, and marched with the greater part of 15 his forces against these reinforcements, which he might have attacked in detail as they arrived from different directions. He might have penetrated as far as the Paris-Strasburg Railway, in which case it is very doubtful whether the investment of Paris could have been continued. His defeat proves nothing against the strategy of his movement: it proves merely 20 that it was carried on with insufficient forces. The writer of these Notes is still of opinion that the shortest and safest plan to relieve Paris is an attack upon the Strasburg-Paris Railway, the only through line of rail the Germans have, for we know now that the other line, via Thionville and Mézières, is still impracticable, and will remain so for some time yet, on 25 account of the blowing-up of a tunnel in the Ardennes. This, by the way, is the second instance in this war in which the demolition of a tunnel stops a railway for months, while the destruction of bridges and viaducts has been in every case repaired in an incredibly short time.

As to Chanzy, he evidently made a very great mistake in accepting a 30 pitched battle at all. He must have been aware of Bourbaki's move for nearly a month; he must have known that this was the real move for the relief of Paris, and that in the meantime he might have the whole weight of Frederick Charles's army brought to bear against himself. He was not compelled to accept battle; on the contrary, he might have drawn on his 35 opponent farther than was safe for the latter, by a slow retreat under continuous rear-guard engagements, such as those by which he first established his reputation in December. He had plenty of time to get his stores sent off to places of safety, and he had the choice of retiring either upon Brittany with its fortified naval ports, or by Nantes to the south of 40 the Loire. Moreover, Frederick Charles, with all his forces, could not have followed him very far. Such a military retreat would be more in

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keeping with our previous experience of Chanzy; and as he must have known that the new reinforcements he had received were not yet fit for a general action either by equipment, armament, or discipline, we cannot but come to the conclusion that the battle before Le Mans was fought not for military but for political reasons, and that the man responsible 5 for it is not Chanzy but Gambetta. As to Chanzy's retreat now, it is, of course, rendered far more difficult by the preceding defeat; but Chanzy excels in retreats, and, so far, the victors do not appear to have materially damaged the cohesion of his army. Otherwise they would have substantial proofs to show for their assertion that this army "shows signs of 10 dissolution." Whether the retreat of Chanzy's army is really an eccentric one is not certain. At all events, from the fact that part of his troops retreated towards Alençon, and another part towards Laval, it does not necessarily follow that the first portion will be driven into the peninsula of the Cotentin towards Cherbourg, and the other into that of Brittany 15 towards Brest. As the French fleet can steam from the one port to the other in a few hours, even this would be no severe disaster. In Brittany, the country, by its numerous thickset hedges—as thick as those in the Isle of Wight, only far more plentiful—is eminently adapted for defence, especially by raw troops, whose inferiority almost disappears there. Fre- 20 derick Charles is not likely to entangle himself in a labyrinth where the armies of the first Republic fought for years against a mere peasant insurrection.

The conclusion we must come to upon the whole of the campaign of January is this—that the French lost it everywhere by trying to do too 25 many different things at the same time. They can hope to win only by concentrating their masses upon one point, at the risk of being temporarily driven back on the other points, where, of course, they should avoid pitched battles. Unless they do this, and soon, Paris may be considered doomed. But if they act on this old-established principle they may 30 still win—however black things may look for them to-day. The Germans now have received all the reinforcements they can expect for three months to come; while the French must have in their camps of instruction at least from two to three hundred thousand men, who during that time will be got ready to meet the enemy. 35

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Notes on the War. — XXXVIII

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1858, 26. Januar 1871

Notes on the War. — XXXVIII.

We are again in a critical period of the war, which may turn out to be *the* critical period. From the moment we heard that bread had been rationed out in Paris by the Government, there could be no longer any doubt that 5 the beginning of the end had come. How soon after that the offer of surrender would follow was a mere question of detail. We suppose, then, that it is intended to surrender to some 220,000 besiegers a besieged force of some 500,000 armed men on any terms the besiegers choose to impose. Whether it will be possible to carry this out without another struggle 10 remains to be seen; at all events, any such struggle could not materially alter the state of things. Whether Paris holds out another fortnight, or whether a portion of these 500,000 armed men succeed in forcing a road across the lines of investment, will not much affect the ulterior course of the war.

15 We cannot but hold General Trochu mainly responsible for this result of the siege. He certainly was not the man to form an army out of the undoubtedly excellent material under his hands. He had nearly five months' time to make soldiers out of his men; yet at the end they appear to fight no better than at the beginning of the siege. The final sortie from 20 Valerien was carried out with far less dash than the previous one across the Marne; there appears a good deal of theatrical display in it—little of the rage of despair. It will not do to say that the troops were not fit to be sent out to storm breastworks manned by the German veterans. Why were they not? Five months are a sufficient time to make very respectable 25 soldiers out of the men Trochu had at his command, and there are no circumstances better adapted for that purpose than those of the siege of a large entrenched camp. No doubt the men after the sorties of November and December had lost heart; but was it because they knew their inferi-

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ority with regard to their opponents, or because they had lost all faith in the pretended determination of Trochu to fight the matter out? All reports from Paris agree in ascribing the want of success to the absence of confidence of the soldiers in the supreme command. And rightly so. Trochu, we must not forget, is an Orleanist, and, as such, lives in bodily fear of La Villette, Belleville, and the other "revolutionary" quarters of Paris. He feared them more than the Prussians. This is not a mere supposition or deduction on our part. We know, from a source which admits of no doubt, of a letter sent out of Paris by a member of the Government in which it is stated that Trochu was on every side urged on to take the offensive energetically, but that he constantly refused, because such a course might hand over Paris to the "demagogues." 5

The fall of Paris, then, appears now all but certain. It will be a hard blow to the French nation, immediately after St. Quentin, Le Mans, and Héricourt, and its moral effect under these circumstances will be very great. Moreover, there are events impending in the south-east which may render this blow morally crushing. Bourbaki appears to be tarrying in the neighbourhood of Belfort in a way which seems to imply that he does not at all comprehend his situation. The 24th Corps, under Bressolles, on the 24th was still at Blamont, about twelve miles south of Montbéliard, and close to the Swiss frontier; and even supposing that this was Bourbaki's rearguard, it is not to be expected that the other two corps he had with him would be far away. In the meantime, we find that Prussian detachments, as early as the 21st, had cut, at Dole, the railway between Besançon and Dijon; that they have since occupied St. Vith, another station on the same line nearer to Besançon; and that they are thus confining Bourbaki's retreat, towards Lyons, to the narrow strip between the Doubs and the Swiss frontier, a country of parallel longitudinal mountain chains and valleys where a comparatively small force may find plenty of positions in which it can stop the retreat of an army such as Bourbaki's has shown itself to be. These detachments on the Doubs we take to be the 18th Division of Zastrow's 7th Corps, or perhaps a portion of Fransecky's 2nd Corps, which has turned up on the 23rd at Dijon. The 60th Regiment, which with the 21st forms the 8th Brigade (or 4th brigade of the 2nd Corps), was repulsed before that town by Garibaldi, and lost its colours. As Garibaldi has but 15,000 men at the utmost, he will not be able to hold the town against the superior forces which are sure to have arrived before it in the meantime. He will be driven back, and the Prussian advance will be continued towards and beyond the Doubs. Unless Bourbaki has in the meantime used the legs of his men to good advantage, he may be driven, with all his army, into the fortress of Besançon to 30 35 40

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play Metz over again, or into a corner of the Jura abutting on Swiss territory, and compelled to lay down his arms either on this side or on the other of the frontier. And if he should escape with the greater portion of his troops, it is almost certain that large numbers of stragglers, much baggage, and perhaps artillery, will have to be sacrificed.

After the three days' fighting at Héricourt, Bourbaki had no business to remain a day longer in his exposed position near the frontier, with Prussian reinforcements marching towards his communications. His attempts to relieve Belfort had failed; every chance of a further offensive movement in that direction had disappeared; his position became every day more dangerous, and nothing but rapid retreat could save him. By all appearances he has neglected that too, and if his imprudence should lead to a second Sedan, the blow to the French people might be morally overwhelming.

15 Morally, we say, for materially it need not be. Germany is certainly not so exhausted as Gambetta pretends, but Germany is at this very moment displaying a greater absolute and relative strength than she will again display for months to come. For some time the German forces must decline, while nothing prevents the French forces, even after the surrender of the Paris garrison and Bourbaki, should it come to that, from again increasing. The Prussians themselves appear to have given up all hopes of being able to conquer and occupy the whole of France; and as long as the compact block of territory in the South remains free, and as long as resistance, passive and occasionally active (like the blowing up of the 20 Moselle bridge near Toul), is not given up in the North, we do not see how France can be compelled to give in unless she be tired of the war.

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Notes on the War.—XXXIX

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1860, 28. Januar 1871

Notes on the War.—XXXIX.

Twice only since Sedan have the operations of a French army caused serious uneasiness to General Moltke. The first instance occurred about the middle of November, when the Army of the Loire, after the defeat of Von der Tann at Coulmiers, filed off to the left in order to approach Paris 5 from the west, and advanced to Dreux. Then Moltke, with a resolution worthy of such a crisis, prepared for the immediate raising of the siege in case Mecklenburg, even with all the temporary reinforcements detached to his aid, should not be strong enough to stem the enemy's advance. That advance was stemmed, and the siege could continue. The second 10 time it was Bourbaki's march towards the east which troubled the repose of the headquarters at Versailles. How serious this move was considered to be was shown by the steps taken at once to meet it. Werder's troops—the 14th Corps and the reserve divisions of Tresckow and Schmeling—were at once reinforced by two more corps, of which one, the second, 15 marched off from Paris as early as the 2nd of January. The language of the semi-official communications became guarded; on the 11th the *Provinziell Correspondiez* calls attention to the fact that "in the east of France important and decisive battles are impending," and that Bourbaki intends, after relieving Belfort, to break through the Prussian line of 20 communication at Nancy. Non-official correspondents, though still guarded, speak more plainly; we will only quote one of them, Wickede, of the Cologne Gazette. Immediately after the engagement of Villersexel, by which Werder had secured his communications with and retreat upon Tresckow's troops before Belfort, he says, "Care has been taken that the 25 French shall not relieve Belfort, and after the late successful engagements we may with probability hope that they will not succeed in advancing by Chaumont to Nancy or some other point of our railway line, which a

Notes on the War.—XXXIX

short time ago there was some reason to fear they might do." And on the 16th of January, from Nancy, he writes that, after the arrival of Manteuffel with three divisions beyond Châtillon, "the apprehension that a hostile corps might take possession of Nancy—an apprehension which we 5 justly (mit recht) might have felt a few days ago—has now quite disappeared." (Immediately after this letter there is one from Baden beginning with the words: "There can be no doubt that the situation before Belfort looks very serious.") But Herr Wickede was doomed to further apprehensions, for on the following day he had to communicate that news had 10 arrived of the occupation of Flavigny (eleven miles from Nancy) by French troops. Immediately the guards were reinforced, strong patrols were sent out, the whole of the twenty engines at the station got their steam up, officers, Government employés and other Germans packed their trunks, and got ready for immediate departure. The men at Flavigny 15 were expected to be Garibaldi's advanced guard; they turned out to be some twenty francs-tireurs from the Vosges, and soon disappeared again. But the Prussian garrison of Nancy was not completely tranquillized until the 19th, when the news of Bourbaki's final repulse on the Lisaine came to hand, and then at last Wickede could again resume his former 20 strain.

Ought not the French, after all these defeats, to arrive at the conviction that further resistance is hopeless? Such was the opinion of those most directly concerned about an operation which, after its failure, the *Times* classifies as simply absurd. There might have been a difference of opinion 25 as to whether the operation was likely to have been undertaken with sufficient forces; or whether, in case of success, its consequences could be developed in time to save Paris before starvation compelled surrender; or whether or not this was the best direction for a move against the German communications. But to put down such a move, the most effective one 30 known to strategy, as simply absurd was left to the Moltkes of the *Times*.

In the meantime Count Moltke has operated with his usual mastery. He was too late to reinforce Werder before the arrival of Bourbaki; he chose the next best thing, and concentrated his reinforcements at Châtillon, where Manteuffel had three divisions (3rd, 4th, and 13th) on or 35 before the 15th, and where they were joined by the 60th Regiment (of the 3rd Corps), left in the neighbourhood by Prince Frederick Charles. We may expect that, by this time, he will have been joined by the 14th division too. At all events, on his advance south, he had at least forty-one, if not fifty-three, battalions with him. With these troops he marched upon the 40 river Doubs, leaving to the south the town of Dijon, where he merely occupied Garibaldi by the attack on the 23rd, but evidently without any

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intention to delay his advance by seriously engaging him or carrying the town. On the contrary, he steadily pursued the main object—the cutting off of Bourbaki's retreat. According to the latest telegrams that object was nearly attained. His troops were across the Doubs, at Quingey and Mouchard, at which latter place the railway from Dijon to Pontarlier and 5 Switzerland crosses that from Besançon to Lyons. There still remains one good road by which Bourbaki might escape, but that road is, at Champsagnole, not more than twenty-five miles from Mouchard, and may be occupied by this time. In that case there would only remain to Bourbaki the country road passing by the source of the Doubs, where he could 10 scarcely get on with his artillery; and even that road may be cut off before he is out of harm's way. And if he does not succeed in breaking through the opposing troops in a country very favourable to the defence, he has but the choice of withdrawing under the shelter of the forts of Besançon or of surrendering in the open—the choice between Metz and 15 Sedan, unless he surrenders to the Swiss.

It is inconceivable that he should have tarried so long near Belfort, for the latest Prussian telegrams represent him still to be north-east of Besançon. If he could not defeat Werder before Manteuffel's arrival, how much less could he expect to do so afterwards? Bourbaki's duty evidently 20 was to withdraw at once to a position of safety after his final repulse before Belfort. Why he has not done so is totally inexplicable. But if the worst should befall him, after his mysterious journey from Metz to Chiselhurst, after his refusal to salute the Republic at Lille, the late commander of the Imperial Guard is sure to have doubts raised as to his 25 loyalty.

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Notes on the War.—XL

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1864, 2. Februar 1871

Notes on the War.—XL.

If we are to believe the latest telegram from Berne—and there is now no room to discredit it—our anticipations regarding the fate of Bourbaki's army have been realized. The Swiss Federal Council is reported to have 5 received the official news that this army, about 80,000 strong, had passed upon Swiss territory, where, of course, it would have to lay down its arms. The exact points at which this took place have not been stated, but it must have been somewhere south of Blamont and not more south than Pontarlier. The various detachments would pass the frontier at different 10 points, the greatest mass of the troops probably at Les Brenets, where the road from Besançon to Neuchâtel enters Swiss territory.

Thus another French army has passed away, through—to use the mildest phrase—the irresolution of its chief. Bourbaki may be a dashing officer at the head of a division; but the nerve required to brace oneself 15 up to a bold resolution in a decisive moment is quite a different thing from the nerve which enables a man to command a division with éclat under fire; and like many men of undoubted and brilliant personal courage, Bourbaki seems deficient in the moral courage necessary to come to a decisive resolution. On the evening of the 17th at latest, when his in- 20 ability to pierce Werder's lines became fully evident to himself, his mind ought to have been made up at once as to his line of conduct. He must have known that Prussian reinforcements were approaching his line of retreat from the north-west; that his position with a victorious enemy in his front, and a long line of retreat, close to a neutral frontier, in his rear, 25 was extremely dangerous; that the object of his expedition had irretrievably failed; and that his most pressing, nay, his only duty, under the circumstances, was to save his army. In other words, that he must retire as hastily as the state of his army would allow. But this resolution to

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retire, to confess by deeds that he had failed in his expedition, appears to have been too much for him. He dallied about the scene of his last battles, unable to advance, unwilling to retire, and thus gave Manteuffel the time to cut off his retreat. Had he marched off at once, and only done fifteen miles a day, he could have reached Besançon on the 20th, and the neighbourhood of Dole on the 21st, just about the time when the first Prussians made their appearance there. These Prussians could not be very strong; and even Bourbaki's advanced guard must have been sufficient if not to drive them off entirely, still to confine them to the right or western bank of the Doubs, which would have been quite sufficient to secure 10 Bourbaki's line of retreat, especially with an adversary of the force of Manteuffel, who will act correctly enough so long as the execution of Moltke's orders meets with no resistance, but who sinks below the level of mediocrity as soon as that resistance calls into play his own mental powers.

15

It is one of the most curious points in the document agreed to between Bismarck and Jules Favre, that the four departments where Bourbaki and Garibaldi are acting are not included in the general armistice, but that the Prussians virtually reserve to themselves the power of continuing to fight there as long as they please. It is an unprecedented stipulation, 20 which shows more than any other that the conqueror, in the true Prussian fashion, exacted to the full every concession his momentary superiority enabled him to impose. The armistice is to extend to the West, where Frederick Charles finds that he had better not advance beyond Le Mans; to the North, where Goeben is arrested by the fortresses; but not 25 to the south-east, where Manteuffel's advance promised a second Sedan. Jules Favre, in consenting to this clause, virtually consented to the surrender of Bourbaki, either to the Prussians or to the Swiss; the only difference in his favour being that he shifted the responsibility of the act from his shoulders to those of Bourbaki.

30

Altogether, the capitulation of Paris is an unprecedented document. When Napoleon surrendered at Sedan he declined entering on negotiations beyond those for the surrender of himself and army; he, as a prisoner, being disabled from binding the Government and France. When M. Jules Favre surrenders Paris and its army he enters upon stipulations 35 binding the rest of France, though exactly in the same position as Napoleon at Sedan. Nay, worse. Napoleon, almost up to the day of his capitulation, had been in free communication with the rest of France; M. Jules Favre, for five or six weeks, has enjoyed but rare and fragmentary opportunities of learning what was going on outside Paris. His information as to the military situation outside the forts could be supplied to

him by Bismarck only; and upon this one-sided statement, furnished by the enemy, he ventured to act.

M. Jules Favre had a choice between two evils. He could do as he has done, secure a three weeks' armistice on the enemy's terms, and bind the real Government of France, that of Bordeaux, to it. Or he could refuse to act for the rest of France, offer to treat for Paris alone, and in case of difficulties raised by the besiegers, do as the commandant of Phalsburg did—throw open the gates and invite the conquerors to enter. The latter course would have been more in the interest of his dignity and of his political future.

As to the Bordeaux Government, it will have to adhere to the armistice and to the election of a National Assembly. It has no means to compel the generals to repudiate the armistice, it will hesitate to create divisions among the people. The surrender of Bourbaki to the Swiss adds another crushing blow to the many the French have lately received; and, as we stated in anticipation of the event, we believe that this blow, following immediately upon the surrender of Paris, will so much depress the spirits of the nation that peace will be made. As to the material resources of France, they are so far from being exhausted that the struggle might be continued for months. There is one striking fact which shows how immense are the difficulties in the way of a complete conquest of France. Prince Frederick Charles, after seven days' fighting, had driven back Chanzy's army, in a state of utter dissolution. With the exception of a few brigades, there were positively no troops left to oppose him. The country in his front was rich and comparatively unexhausted. Yet he stops his march at Le Mans, pursuing beyond with his advanced guard only, and not beyond short distances. Our readers will recollect that we were prepared for no other result; for it may be said, with a certain amount of truth that in conquering a large country, while the extent to be occupied increases arithmetically, the difficulties of occupation increase geometrically.

Still we think that the repeated disasters of the January campaign must have shaken the morale of the nation to such an extent that the proposed National Assembly will not only meet, but also probably make peace; and thus, along with the war, these Notes upon it will come to a close.

Friedrich Engels
The military aspect of affairs in France

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1869, 8. Februar 1871

The military aspect of affairs in France.

If the series of disasters to the French arms which mark the January campaign—the defeats of Faidherbe and Chanzy, the fall of Paris, the defeat and surrender to the Swiss of Bourbaki—if all these crushing events, concentrated in the short period of three weeks, may well be 5 considered to have broken the spirit of resistance in France, it now seems not improbable that the Germans, by their extravagant demands, may rouse that spirit again. If the country is to be thoroughly ruined by peace as well as by war, why make peace at all? The propertied classes, the middle class of the towns and the larger landed proprietors, with part of 10 the smaller peasantry, hitherto formed the peace party; they might have been reckoned upon to elect peace deputies for the National Assembly; but if such unheard-of demands are persisted in, the cry of war to the knife may rise from their ranks as well as from those of the workmen of the large towns. At any rate, it is well not to neglect whatever chance 15 there may be that the war may be resumed after the 19th of February; especially since the Germans themselves, if we may trust the *Daily News* of to-day, are not so satisfied with the prospect of affairs as to abstain from serious preparations for the resumption of hostilities. Let us, therefore, cast another glance at the military aspect of affairs. 20

The twenty-seven departments of France now occupied by the Prussians contain an area of 15,800,000 hectares, with a population (allowing for the fortresses still unsurrendered) of rather less than 12,500,000. The extent of all France comprises 54,240,000 hectares, and its population is 37,382,000. It thus appears that, in round numbers, thirty-eight 25 and a half millions of hectares, with a population of 25,000,000, remain still unconquered,—fully two-thirds of the people, considerably more than two-thirds of the soil. Paris and Metz, the resistance of which so

The military aspect of affairs in France

long retarded further hostile advance, have certainly fallen. The interior of the unconquered country contains no other entrenched camp—Lyons excepted—capable of playing the same part which these two fortresses have played. Rather less than 700,000 Frenchmen (not counting 5 the National Guard of Paris) are prisoners of war or interned in Switzerland. But there are other circumstances which may make up for this deficiency, even if the three weeks' armistice should not be used for the creation of new camps, surrounded by field works; for which there is ample time.

10 The great bulk of unconquered France lies south of the line Nantes-Besançon; it forms a compact block, covered on three sides by the sea or by neutral frontiers, with only its northern boundary line open to the enemy's attack. Here is the strength of the national resistance; here are to be found the men and the material to carry on the war if it is resumed. To 15 conquer and occupy this immense rectangle of 450 miles by 250 against a desperate resistance—regular and irregular—of the inhabitants, the present forces of the Prussians would not suffice. The surrender of Paris, leaving four corps for the garrison of that capital, will set free nine divisions; Bourbaki's surrender sets free Manteuffel's six line divisions; in all, 20 fifteen divisions, or 150,000 to 170,000 additional soldiers for operations in the field, added to Goeben's four and Frederick Charles's eight divisions. But Goeben has plenty on his hands in the north, and Frederick Charles has shown by his halt at Tours and Le Mans that his offensive powers are exhausted to the full, so that for the conquest of the South 25 there remain but the above fifteen divisions; and for some months to come no further reinforcements can arrive.

To these fifteen divisions the French will have to oppose in the beginning mostly new formations. There were about Nevers and Bourges the 15th and 25th Corps; there must have been in the same neighbourhood the 30 19th Corps, of which we have heard nothing since the beginning of December. Then there is the 24th Corps, escaped from Bourbaki's shipwreck, and Garibaldi's troops, recently reinforced to 50,000 men, but by what bodies and from what quarters we do not know. The whole comprises some thirteen or fourteen divisions, perhaps even sixteen, but quite 35 insufficient as to quantity and quality to arrest the progress of the new armies which are sure to be sent against them if the armistice should expire without peace having been made. But the three weeks' armistice will not only give these French divisions time to consolidate themselves; it will also permit the more or less raw levies now in the camps of instruction, and estimated by Gambetta at 250,000 men, to transform at 40 least the best of their battalions into useful corps fit to meet the enemy;

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and thus, if the war should be renewed, the French may be in a position to ward off any serious invasion of the South, not perhaps at the boundary line of the Loire or much north of Lyons, but yet at points where the presence of the enemy will not efficiently impair their force of resistance.

As a matter of course, the armistice gives ample time to restore the equipment, the discipline, and the morale of Faidherbe's and Chanzy's armies, as well as of all the other troops in Cherbourg, Havre, &c. The question is whether the time will be so employed. While thus the strength of the French will be considerably increased, both as to numbers and quality, that of the Germans will scarcely receive any increment at all. So 10 far, the armistice will be a boon to the French side. 5

But beside the compact block of southern France, there remain unconquered the two peninsulas of the Bretagne with Brest, and of the Cotentin with Cherbourg, and, moreover, the two northern departments with their fortresses. Havre, too, forms an unconquered, well-fortified 15 spot on the coast. Every one of these four districts is provided with at least one well-fortified place of safety on the coast for a retreating army; so that the fleet, which at this moment has nothing, absolutely nothing, else to do, can keep up the communications between the South and all of them, transport troops from one place to another, as the case may require, and thereby all of a sudden enable a beaten army to resume the offensive with superior forces. Thus while these four western and northern districts are in a measure unassailable, they form so many weak points on the flanks of the Prussians. The line of actual danger for the French extends from Angers to Besançon; for the Germans it extends, in 25 addition to this, from Angers by Le Mans, Rouen, and Amiens to the Belgian frontier. Advantages on this latter line gained over the French can never become decisive if moderate common sense be used by them; but those gained over the Germans may, under certain conditions, become so. 30

Such is the strategical situation. By using the fleet to advantage the French might move their men in the West and North, so as to compel the Germans to keep largely superior forces in that neighbourhood, and to weaken the forces sent out for the conquest of the South, which it would be their chief object to prevent. By concentrating their armies more than 35 they have hitherto done, and, on the other hand, by sending out more numerous small partisan bands, they might increase the effect to be obtained by the forces on hand. There appear to have been many more troops at Cherbourg and Havre than were necessary for the defence; and the well executed destruction of the bridge of Fontenoy, near Toul, in the 40 centre of the country occupied by the conquerors, shows what may be

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done by bold partisans. For, if the war is to be resumed at all after the 19th of February, it must be in reality a war to the knife, a war like that of Spain against Napoleon; a war in which no amount of shootings and burnings will prove sufficient to break the spirit of resistance.

Friedrich Engels
Bourbaki's disaster

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1878, 18. Februar 1871

Bourbaki's disaster.

By the correspondent of the *Standard* we are at last furnished with an eyewitness's report of what took place in Bourbaki's army during its disastrous January campaign. The correspondent was with General Cremer's division, which formed the extreme left during the advance, and the 5 rearguard during the retreat. His account, though naturally one-sided and full of inaccuracies in matters which did not occur under his eyes, is very valuable because it furnishes facts and dates hitherto unknown, and thus throws much light upon this phase of the war.

Bourbaki's army, 133,000 men with 330 guns, was, it appears, scarcely 10 deserving the name of an army. The linesmen, with passable officers, were inferior in physique to the Mobiles, but the latter had scarcely any officers acquainted even with the rudiments of their duties. The accounts received from Switzerland confirm this; if they give a worse account of the physique of the men, we must not forget the effect of a month's 15 campaigning under hunger and cold. The equipment as to clothing and shoes appears to have been by all accounts miserable. A commissariat or even a mere organization for carrying out with some order and regularity the levying of requisitions and the distribution of the food thus procured, appears to have been as good as totally absent. 20

Now of the four and a half corps employed, three (the 15th, 18th, and 20th) had been handed over to Bourbaki as early as the 5th of December; and very soon after that date the plan to march eastwards must have been resolved upon. All his movements, up to the 5th of January, were mere marches for concentration, undisturbed by the enemy; they therefore were no obstacle in the way of improving the organization of this army—quite the contrary. Napoleon, in 1813, formed his raw levies into soldiers on the march to Germany. Thus Bourbaki had a full month to 25

Bourbaki's disaster

work in; and when after the time thus given him his troops arrived in presence of the enemy in the state described, he cannot possibly be considered free from blame. He does not appear to advantage as an organizer.

5 The original plan is said to have been to march upon Belfort in four columns—one on the eastern side of the Doubs through the Jura, to take or turn Montbéliard and the Prussian left; a second column along the valley of the river, for the front attack; a third column by a more westerly route, through Rougemont and Villersexel, against the enemy's right; 10 and Cremer's division to arrive from Dijon by Lure beyond the Prussian right. But this was altered. The whole of the first three columns advanced on the one road through the valley, by which it is asserted that five days were lost, during which Werder was reinforced, and that the whole army being thrown upon one line of retreat, again lost time, and thus was cut 15 off from Lyons and forced upon the Swiss frontier. Now, it is quite evident that throwing some 120,000 men—and men so loosely organized as these—in one column on one single line of march, would cause confusion and delay; but it is not so certain that this blunder was actually committed to the extent here implied. From all previous reports, Bour- 20 baki's troops arrived before Belfort in a broad front, extending from Villersexel to the Swiss boundary line, which implies the use of the various roads mentioned in the original plan. But whatever may have been the cause, the delay did occur, and was the chief cause of the loss of the battle at Héricourt. The engagement of Villersexel took place on the 9th. 25 Villersexel is about twenty miles from the Prussian position at Héricourt, and it took Bourbaki five days—up to the evening of the 24th—to bring his troops up in front of that position so as to be able to attack it next morning! This we pointed out in a previous article as the first great mistake in the campaign, and we now see from the correspondent's re- 30 port that it was felt to be so by Cremer's officers even before the battle of Héricourt began.

In that three days' battle 130,000 Frenchmen fought against 35,000 to 40,000 Germans, and could not force their entrenched position. With such a numerical superiority, the boldest flank movements were possible.

35 Forty or fifty thousand men thrown resolutely upon the rear of the Germans while the rest occupied them in front could scarcely have failed to force them from their position. But instead of that merely the front, the entrenched front, of the position was attacked, and thus an immense and barren loss was caused. The flank attacks were carried out so weakly that 40 a single German brigade (Keller's) not only sufficed to repel that on the German right, but was enabled to hold Frahier and Chenebier so as in

Friedrich Engels

turn to outflank the French. Bourbaki's young troops were thus put to the severest task which can be found for a soldier in battle, while their own superior numbers would have rendered it easier to carry the position by manoeuvring. But probably the last five days' experience had proved to Bourbaki that it was useless to expect mobility from his army. 5

After the final repulse on the 17th of January followed the retreat to Besançon. That this retreat may have taken place mainly by the one road in the Doubs valley is probable; but we know that large bodies retreated by other roads nearer the Swiss frontier. Anyhow, on the afternoon of the 22nd the rearguard, under Cremer, arrived in Besançon. Thus the advanced guard must have arrived there as early as the 20th, and have been ready to march on the 21st against the Prussians, who on that day reached Dole. But no. No notice is taken of them until after Cremer's arrival, who all at once, changing his place from the rear to the van guard, is sent out to meet them on the 23rd towards Saint-Vit. On the following day Cremer is ordered back to Besançon; two days are wasted in indecision and inactivity, until, on the 26th, Bourbaki, after passing in review the 18th Corps, attempts suicide. Then a disorderly retreat commences in the direction of Pontarlier. But on that day the Germans at Mouchard and Salins were nearer the Swiss frontier than the fugitives, and their retreat was virtually cut off. It was no longer a race; the Germans could occupy leisurely the outlets of all the longitudinal valleys by which escape was still possible; while other troops pressed on the French rear. Then followed the engagements around Pontarlier, which brought this fact home to the defeated army; the result of which was the Convention of Les Verrières and the 25 surrender of the whole body to the Swiss.

The whole behaviour of Bourbaki, from the 15th to the 26th, seems to prove that he had lost all confidence in his men, and that consequently he also lost all confidence in himself. Why he suspended the march of his columns at Besançon until Cremer's arrival, thus throwing away every chance of escape; why he recalled Cremer's division, the best in the army, immediately after sending it out of Besançon to meet the Prussians, who blocked the direct road to Lyons; why after that he dallied another two days, which brings the time lost in Besançon to fully six days—it is impossible to explain unless by supposing that Bourbaki was eminently deficient in that resolution which is the very first quality of an independent commander. It is the old tale of the August campaign over again; and it is curious that this singular hesitation should again show itself in a general inherited from the Empire, while none of the generals of the Republic—whatever else may have been their faults—have shown such indecision, or suffered such punishment for it. 35 40

Karl Marx
Über Karl Blind

Die Arbeiter Union.
Nr. 79, 23. August 1870

London, 29. Juli.

Herr Karl *Blind* machte einen patriotischen speech in einer deutschen Versammlung in der Turnhalle. Dieser Komiker stellte es darin als ein sehr wichtiges, welterschütterndes Ereigniß dar, daß er, der deutsche Bru-
5 tus, seinen Republikanismus auf dem Altar des Vaterlandes suspendirte.
Das war Akt I.

Akt II. Karl Blind beschreibt eigenhändig in der Londoner „Deutschen Post“ jenes Meeting, dessen Zahlen, Wichtigkeit u. s. w. er in gewohnter Weise übertreibt.

10 Akt III. Karl Blind schreibt einen *anonymen* Brief an die „Daily News“, worin er den Effect, den die von Karl Blind auf dem Meeting in der Turnhalle gehaltene große Rede in ganz Deutschland hervorgebracht hat, ergreifend schildert. Alle deutschen Journale haben sie, sagt er, wiedergegeben. Eins davon, die Berliner „Volkszeitung“, habe es sogar ge-
15 wagt (!), sie ganz abzudrucken. (Der Herr ist Correspondent der „Volkszeitung“.) Auch Wiener Blätter hätten das Gewaltige nicht spurlos an sich vorübergehen lassen. (Der Herr selbst hatte darüber in die Wiener „Neue freie Presse“ correspondirt.)

Dies ist eins von tausend Beispielen, wie dieser Ameisenlöwe den Eng-
20 ländern aufzubinden sucht, er sei eine Art von deutschem Mazzini.

Karl Marx
Erste Adresse des Generalrats
der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation
über den Deutsch-Französischen Krieg

Der Vorbote.
Nr. 8, August 1870

Manifest des Generalraths der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation.

In der Inaugural-Adresse der internationalen Arbeiterassoziation vom November 1864 sagten wir:

„Wenn die Emanzipation der arbeitenden Klassen ihr brüderliches Zusammenwirken erheischt, wie sollen sie diese große Mission erfüllen gegenüber einer auswärtigen Politik, welche mit nationalen Vorurtheilen spielend, frevelhafte Pläne verfolgt, und in räuberischen Kriegen des Volkes Blut und Schätze vergeudet?“

Wir definirten die von der internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation er- 10 strebte auswärtige Politik mit den Worten: „Macht die einfachen Gesetze der Moral und Gerechtigkeit, welche die Beziehungen der Privatpersonen regeln sollten, als oberste Norm für den Verkehr der Nationen geltend.“

Kein Wunder, daß Louis Bonaparte, welcher seine Gewalt durch Ausbeutung des Klassenkampfes in Frankreich usurpirte und durch periodische Kriege nach Außen behauptete, von Anfang an die internationale Arbeiterassoziation als gefährlichen Feind behandelt hat. Am Vorabende des Plebiszits befahl er eine Razzia gegen unsere Verwaltungskomites in ganz Frankreich - in Paris, Rouen, Lyon, Marseille, etc. - unter dem Vorwand, die Internationale sei eine geheime Gesellschaft, mit einem Komplott zu seiner Ermordung beschäftigt, - ein Vorwand, dessen ganze Abgeschmacktheit bald nachher von den imperialistischen Gerichten selbst bloßgestellt ward.

Was war das wirkliche Verbrechen der französischen Zweige der Internationalen? Sie sagten dem französischen Volk öffentlich und nachdrücklich: für das Plebisxit stimmen, heißt stimmen für Despotismus im Innern und für Krieg nach Aussen! Ihr Werk war es in der That, daß das Pro-

Manifest des Generalrats der Internationale zur Unterstützung der Arbeiterrevolution.

In der Internationalen Arbeit der internationalen Arbeiterso-

lition vom November 1864, sagten wir:

"Wenn die Entwicklung der arbeitenden Massen ihr kri-
esisches Zusammenwirken verstößt, wie sollen sie ihre große

Macht gegenwärtiger einer gewaltigen Pointe,
die in einigen Jahren einen gewaltigen Punkt

mit in blutigen Kriegen des Volkes Blut und Schande ver-
gessen?"

Die von der internationalen Arbeiterso-

lition aufgestellte These ist

die, daß die Arbeiterso-

lition in Europa in Bezug auf die

Arbeitsverhältnisse eine

gewaltige Macht ist,

die in gewaltigen Kriegen

des Volkes Blut und Schande ver-

gessen wird, wenn sie

ihre Macht gegen

die Arbeiterso-

lition aufgestellt

ist, um die

Arbeitsverhältnisse in Europa

zu verschärfen und zu verschärfen,

um die Arbeiterso-

lition zu zerstören,

um die Arbeiterso-

lition zu zerstören,

um die Arbeiterso-

lition zu zerstören,

Das Bismarckthütische Regiment, das bis dahin nur auf dem einen
Herrn der Nation gestellt war, ist auf dem anderen, für
Sicca kommt als einem holden Krieger bereit,

dann die deutschen Arbeiterväter es erlauben, daß der
gegenwärtige Krieg seinen ersten Erfolg befürchtet

erreicht und in einem Krieg gegen das französische

Volk ansieht, wird Sieg oder Niederlage auch gleich

verhängnisvoll erwarten.

Ein Wiederaufstand von Arbeitern, abgedrängt zu verlustreicher

arbeit, kann keine Aufführung mit dem Pariser

Generalrat der Internationale machen,

weil, und wenn eine Revolution an, in der es

gibt, alle Arbeiter, ganz besonders die bürgerlichen

Arbeiter, müssen mit jetzt

wir fordern, daß das gesamme Volk auf, mit allen Mitteln daran zu warten, daß die Siedler eines solchen sozialen

und sozialen Friedens für alle Seiten bedarf unmöglich gemacht werde, daß

der Vaterland die Entscheidung über Krieg und Frieden, wie

der Vaterland der politische Schlußpunkt wird,

Karl Marx: Erste Adresse des Generalrats über den
Deutsch-Französischen Krieg.
Erste und vierte Seite

Die Nächte, die Räthe,
wurde die herrschenden Klassen und die Freie Genossen weiter
als Stadtrath, als einer glänzenden Zieg des königlichen Reiters
über alle kommenden Menschen Meister; und es war das Zeigt
dass die ~~Stadt~~ nicht eins Individuums, sondern vieler
Nationen.

Karl Marx: Erste Adresse des Generalrats über den Deutsch-Französischen Krieg. Zweite und dritte Seite

Erste Adresse des Generalrats über den Deutsch-Französischen Krieg

letariat sich in allen großen Städten, in allen industriellen Centren Frankreichs wie Ein Mann erhob, um das Plebisit zu verwerfen. Unglücklicher Weise sank die Wagschale unter der Wucht der bäuerlichen Unwissenheit.

Die Börsen, die Kabinete, die herrschenden Klassen und die Presse 5 Europas feierten das Plebisit als einen glänzenden Sieg des französischen Kaisers über die französischen Arbeiter; und es war das Signal zum Meuchelmord nicht eines Individuums, sondern ganzer Nationen.

Das Kriegskomplott vom Juli 1870 ist nur eine verschlechterte Auflage des Staatsstreichs vom Dezember 1851. Auf den ersten Blick schien die 10 Sache so aberwitzig, daß Frankreich nicht an ihren Ernst glaubte; es glaubte vielmehr dem Abgeordneten, der das ministerielle Kriegsgeschwätz als bloßes Börsenmanöver denunzierte. Als endlich am 15. Juli der Krieg offiziell im gesetzgebenden Körper angekündigt ward, verweigerte die gesammte Opposition die Bewilligung der vorläufigen Geldmit-15 tel; selbst Thiers brandmarkte den Krieg als verabscheudig, alle unabhängigen Blätter von Paris verdammten ihn, und - wunderbar zu erzählen - die Provinzialpresse stimmte ihnen fast einstimmig bei.

Mittlerweile waren die Mitglieder der Internationalen wieder ans Werk gegangen. Im „Reveil“ vom 12. Juli veröffentlichten sie ein Manifest „an 20 die Arbeiter aller Nationen“, dem wir nachfolgende wenige Stellen entnehmen: „Noch einmal, sagen sie, bedroht politischer Ehrgeiz den Freunden der Welt unter dem Vorwand des europäischen Gleichgewichts, der nationalen Ehre! Französische, deutsche, spanische Arbeiter! Laßt uns 25 unsere Stimmen vereinen in Einem Ruf zur Verwerfung des Kriegs! - Krieg für eine Frage des Uebergewichts oder für dynastische Interessen kann in den Augen der Arbeiter nur eine verbrecherische Narrheit sein. In Antwort auf die kriegerischen Proklamationen derer, die sich selbst von der Blutsteuer ausnehmen und in öffentlichem Unglück nur eine 30 Quelle frischer Spekulation finden, protestiren wir feierlich, daß wir Frieden, Freiheit, Arbeit wollen! ... Brüder in Deutschland! Unsere Spaltung würde nur auf beiden Seiten des Rheins den vollständigen Triumph des Despotismus herbeiführen ... Arbeiter aller Länder! Was auch immer für 35 den Augenblick das Ergebniß unserer gemeinsamen Anstrengungen sein möge, wir, die Mitglieder der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation, wir kennen keine Grenzen und senden Euch als ein Pfand unauflöslicher Solidarität die guten Wünsche und die Grüße der Arbeiter Frankreichs!“

Dem Manifest unserer Pariser Sektion folgten zahlreiche ähnliche Adressen, von denen wir hier nur noch die Erklärung von Neuilly-sur-Seine, veröffentlicht in der „Marseillaise“ vom 22. Juli, zitieren können: 40 „Ist der Krieg gerecht? Nein! Ist der Krieg national? Nein! Es ist ein rein dynastischer Krieg. Im Namen der Humanität, der Demokratie, und der

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wirklichen Interessen Frankreichs geben wir dem Protest der Internationalen gegen den Krieg unsere vollste und energischste Zustimmung."

Diese Proteste drückten die wirkliche Gesinnung der französischen Arbeiter aus, wie ein sonderbarer Vorfall kurz darauf bewies. Die Mitglieder der „Gesellschaft vom 10. Dezember“, deren Organisation noch aus der Zeit von Louis Bonaparte's Präsidentschaft stammt, waren als Blousenmänner verkleidet auf die Straßen von Paris losgelassen worden, um dort die Verzerrungen des „Kriegsfiebers“ aufzuführen. Diesen falschen Brüdern antworteten die ächten Arbeiter der Faubourgs mit so überwältigenden i-WedCTz.ydemonstrationen, daß der Polizeipräfekt Pietri es für klug hielt, sofort alle weitere Straßenpolitik zu verbieten, unter dem Vorwand, das loyale Volk von Paris habe seinem glühenden Patriotismus und überschwänglichen Kriegsenthusiasmus hinlänglich Luft gemacht.

Welcher Verlauf auch immer der Krieg Louis Bonaparte's mit Preußen nehme, die Todtenglocke des zweiten Kaiserreichs hat bereits in Paris geläutet. Es wird enden, wie es begann, mit einer Parodie. Aber läßt uns nicht vergessen, daß es die Regierungen und herrschenden Klassen Europas sind, die Bonaparte befähigten, 18 Jahre lang die infame Farce des wiederhergestellten Empire zu spielen!

Auf deutscher Seite ist der Krieg ein Vertheidigungskrieg. Aber wer versetzte Deutschland in die Lage sich vertheidigen zu müssen? Wer rief in Louis Bonaparte die Versuchung eines Angriffs auf Deutschland wach? Preußen. Hatte Bismarck nicht mit eben diesem selben Louis Bonaparte konspirirt, um die populäre Opposition zu Hause niederzu-schlagen und Deutschland an die Dynastie der Hohenzollern zu annexieren? Wenn die Schlacht von Sadowa verloren statt gewonnen worden, hätten französische Bataillone Deutschland überrannt, als Preußens Al-liirte. Nach dem Sieg, träumte Preußen einen Augenblick davon, einem geknechteten Frankreich ein freies Deutschland entgegenzustellen? Ganz im Gegentheil. Während es sorgfältig alle eingeborenen Schönheiten seines alten Regime's erhielt, propfte es ihm zugleich alle Charaktere des zweiten Kaiserreichs auf, seinen wirklichen Despotismus und seinen Pseudo-Demokratismus, seine politischen Kniffe und seine finanziellen Schwindel, seine hohlklingende Phrase und seine niedrige Taschenspiel-kunst. Das bonapartistische Regiment, das bis dahin nur auf dem einen Ufer des Rheins geblüht, hatte jetzt auf dem anderen sein Konterfay erhalten. Was anders konnte aus einem solchen Zustand her-vorgehn, als Krieg?

Wenn die deutschen Arbeiter es erlauben, daß der gegenwärtige Krieg seinen streng defensiven Charakter verliert und in einen Krieg gegen das

Erste Adresse des Generalrats über den Deutsch-Französischen Krieg

französische Volk ausartet, wird Sieg oder Niederlage sich gleich verhängnisvoll erweisen. Alles Elend, welches Deutschland nach den Unabhängigkeitskriegen erlitt, würde mit verdoppelter Heftigkeit wiederkehren. Aber die Prinzipien der *Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation* sind unter den 5 deutschen Arbeitern zu weit verbreitet und zu tief gewurzelt, um ein so trauriges Ergebniß zu befürchten. Die Stimme der französischen Arbeiter hat wiedergeholt in Deutschland.

Ein Massenmeeting von Arbeitern, abgehalten zu Braunschweig am 16. Juli, drückte seine volle Zustimmung mit dem Pariser *Manifest* aus, 10 stieß den Gedanken eines nationalen Gegensatzes zu Frankreich von sich, und nahm eine Resolution an, in der es heißt: „Wir sind gegen alle Kriege, ganz besonders die dynastischen Kriege. – Mit lebhaftem Bedauern müssen wir jetzt den Vertheidigungskrieg als ein unvermeidliches Uebel anerkennen, wir fordern jedoch das gesammte Volk auf, mit allen 15 Mitteln dahin zu wirken, daß die Wiederkehr eines solchen sozialen Unglücks für alle Zeiten dadurch unmöglich gemacht werde, daß dem Volk selbst die Entscheidung über Krieg und Frieden, wie überhaupt das vollste Selbstbestimmungsrecht wird.“

In Chemnitz nahm eine Versammlung von Delegirten, die zusammen 20 50 000 sächsische Arbeiter vertraten, eine Resolution an, des Inhalts: „Im Namen der deutschen Demokratie, und namentlich der Mitglieder der sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei erklären wir den gegenwärtigen Krieg für einen ausschließlich dynastischen ... Mit Freuden ergreifen wir 25 die Hand, welche die französischen Arbeiter uns dargeboten haben. Ein-gedenk der Losung der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation: Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt Euch! werden wir nie vergessen, daß die Arbeiter aller Länder unsere Freunde, und die Despoten aller Länder unsere Feinde sind.“ Der Berliner Zweig der Internationalen hat ebenfalls das Pariser Manifest beantwortet: „Mit Herz und Hand, sagen sie, schließen wir uns 30 Eurem Protest an. ... Feierlich versprechen wir, daß weder das Schmettern der Trompeten noch der Donner der Kanonen, weder Sieg noch Niederlage uns von unserm gemeinsamen Streben für die Vereinigung der Arbeiter aller Nationen ablenken soll.“ So sei es!

Im Hintergrund des gegenwärtigen selbstmörderischen Kampfes lauert 35 die düstre Gestalt Rußlands. Es ist ein verhängnißvolles Zeichen, daß das Signal dieses Kriegs gerade im Augenblicke gegeben war, wo die moskowitische Regierung ihre strategischen Eisenbahnlinien vollendet hatte, und schon Truppen in der Richtung des Pruth zusammenzuziehen begann. Alle Sympathien, welche die Deutschen mit Recht in einem Ver-40 theidigungskrieg wider bonapartistischen Angriff beanspruchen können, würden sofort verscherzt sein, wenn sie der preußischen Regierung er-

Karl Marx

laubten die Hilfe der Kosaken anzurufen oder anzunehmen. Möge Deutschland nicht vergessen, daß es nach seinem Unabhängigkeitskrieg gegen den ersten Napoleon Generationen hindurch ohnmächtig zu den Füßen des Czaren lag!

Die englischen Arbeiter reichen den Arbeitern Frankreichs und 5 Deutschlands die Bruderhand. Welche Wendung auch dieser Krieg nehmen mag, sie sind fest überzeugt: die Allianz der Arbeiter aller Länder wird schließlich den Krieg tödten. Die bloße Thatsache, daß, während das offizielle Frankreich und Deutschland in einen brudermörderischen Krieg stürzen, die Arbeiter Frankreichs und Deutschlands einander Bot- 10 Schäften des Friedens und der Freundschaft zusenden, - diese große Thatsache, beispiellos in der Geschichte der Vergangenheit, eröffnet die Aussicht auf eine hellere Zukunft. Sie beweist, daß, im Gegensatz zur alten Gesellschaft mit ihrem ökonomischen Elend und ihrem politischen Wahnsinn eine neue Gesellschaft ersteht, deren internationales Gebot der 15 Friede sein wird, weil die nationale Macht überall dieselbe - *die Arbeit.* Der Generalrath der internationalen Arbeiterassoziation:

Applegarth, Robert. Mottershead, Thomas. Boon, M. John.
Murray, Charles. Bradnick, Frederic. Odger, George. Cowell,
Stepney. Parnell, James. Hales, John. Pfänder, Karl. Hales, Wil- 20
Ham. Rühl. Harris, George. Lessner, Friedrich. Shepherd. Lul-
lier. Sto 11. Intern. Schmitz. Milner, George. Townshend, Wil-
liam.

Korrespondirende Sekretäre:

Karl Marx für Deutschland. Eugene Dupont für Frankreich. A. 25 Serraillier für Holland, Belgien und Spanien. Hermann Jung für die Schweiz. Giovanni Bora für Italien. Zevy Maurice für Ungarn. Anton Zabicki für Polen. Jakob Cohn für Dänemark. J. George Eccarius für die Vereinigten Staaten.

Benjamin Lucraft, Vorsitzender. 30
John Weston, Schatzmeister.
J. George Eccarius, General-Sekretär.

London, den 23. Juni 1870.

Office 256, High Holborn W.C.

Karl Marx
Second address of the General Council of the
International Working Men's Association on the War

|5| Second address.

In our first manifesto of the 23rd of July we said:—

"The death-knell of the Second Empire has already sounded at Paris. It will end, as it began, by a parody. But let us not forget that it is the 5 Governments and the ruling classes of Europe who enabled Louis Napoleon to play during eighteen years the ferocious farce of the *Restored Empire*."

Thus, even before war operations had actually set in, we treated the Bonapartist bubble as a thing of the past.

10 If we were not mistaken as to the vitality of the Second Empire, we were not wrong in our apprehension lest the German war should "lose its strictly defensive character and degenerate into a war against the French people." The war of defence ended, in point of fact, with the surrender of Louis Bonaparte, the Sedan capitulation, and the proclamation of the 15 Republic at Paris. But long before these events, the very moment that the utter rottenness of the Imperialist arms became evident, the Prussian military camarilla had resolved upon conquest. There lay an ugly obstacle in their way—*King William's own proclamations at the commencement of the war*. In his speech from the throne to the North German Diet, 20 he had solemnly declared to make war upon the Emperor of the French, and not upon the French people. On the 11th of August he had issued a manifesto to the French nation, where he said: "The Emperor Napoleon having made, by land and sea, an attack on the German nation, which desired and still desires to live in peace with the French people, I have 25 assumed the command of the German armies *to repel his aggression*, and I have been led by *military events to cross the frontiers of France*." Not content to assert the defensive character of the war by the statement that he only assumed the command of the German armies "*to repel aggression*".

Karl Marx

sion", he added that he was only "led by military events" to cross the frontiers of France. A defensive war does, of course, not exclude offensive operations, dictated by "military events".

Thus this pious king stood pledged before France and the world to a strictly defensive war. How to release him from his solemn pledge? The stage-managers had to exhibit him as reluctantly yielding to the irresistible behest of the German nation. They at once gave the cue to the liberal German middle class, with its professors, its capitalists, its aldermen, and its penmen. That middle class, which in its struggle for civil liberty had, from 1846 to 1870, been exhibiting an unexampled spectacle of irresolution, incapacity, and cowardice, felt, of course, highly delighted to bestride the European scene as the roaring lion of German patriotism. It re-vindicated its civic independence by affecting to force upon the Prussian Government the secret designs of that same Government. It does penance for its long-continued and almost religious faith in Louis Bonaparte's infallibility, by shouting for the dismemberment of the French Republic. Let us for a moment listen to the special pleadings of those stout-hearted patriots!

They dare not pretend that the people of Alsace and Lorraine pant for the German embrace: quite the contrary. To punish their French patriotism, Strasburg, a town with an independent citadel commanding it, has for six days been wantonly and fiendishly bombarded by "German" explosive shells, setting it on fire, and killing great numbers of its defenceless inhabitants! Yet, the soil of those provinces once upon a time belonged to the whilom German Empire. Hence, it seems, the soil and the human beings grown on it must be confiscated as imprescriptible German property. If the map of Europe is to be remade in the antiquary's vein, let us by no means forget that the Elector of Brandenburg, for his Prussian dominions, was the vassal of the Polish Republic.

The more knowing patriots, however, require Alsace and the German-speaking part of Lorraine as a "material guarantee" against French aggression. As this contemptible plea has bewildered many weak-minded people, we are bound to enter more fully upon it.

There is no doubt that the general configuration of Alsace, as compared with the opposite bank of the Rhine, and the presence of a large fortified town like [6] Strasburg, about halfway between Basle and Germersheim, very much favour a French invasion of South Germany, while they offer peculiar difficulties to an invasion of France from South Germany. There is, further, no doubt that the addition of Alsace and German-speaking Lorraine would give South Germany a much stronger frontier, inasmuch as she would then be master of the crest of the Vosges

Second address of the General Council on the War

mountains in its whole length, and of the fortresses which cover its northern passes. If Metz were annexed as well, France would certainly for the moment be deprived of her two principal bases of operation against Germany, but that would not prevent her from constructing a fresh one at 5 Nancy or Verdun. While Germany owns Coblenz, Mainz, Germersheim, Rastadt, and Ulm, all bases of operation against France, and plentifully made use of in this war, with what show of fair play can she begrudge France Strasburg and Metz, the only two fortresses of any importance she has on that side? Moreover, Strasburg endangers South Germany 10 only while South Germany is a separate power from North Germany. From 1792 to 1795 South Germany was never invaded from that direction, because Prussia was a party to the war against the French Revolution; but as soon as Prussia made a peace of her own in 1795, and left the South to shift for itself, the invasions of South Germany, with Strasburg 15 for a base, began, and continued till 1809. The fact is, a *united* Germany can always render Strasbourg and any French army in Alsace innocuous by concentrating all her troops, as was done in the present war, between Saarlouis and Landau, and advancing, or accepting battle, on the line of road between Mainz and Metz. While the mass of the German troops is 20 stationed there, any French army advancing from Strasburg into South Germany would be outflanked, and have its communications threatened. If the present campaign has proved anything, it is the facility of invading France from Germany.

But, in good faith, is it not altogether an absurdity and an anachronism 25 to make military considerations the principle by which the boundaries of nations are to be fixed? If this rule were to prevail, Austria would still be entitled to Venetia and the line of the Mincio, and France to the line of the Rhine, in order to protect Paris, which lies certainly more open to an attack from the North East than Berlin does from the South West. 30 If limits are to be fixed by military interests, there will be no end to claims, because every military line is necessarily faulty, and may be improved by annexing some more outlying territory; and, moreover, they can never be fixed finally and fairly, because they always must be imposed by the conqueror upon the conquered, and consequently carry 35 within them the seed of fresh wars.

Such is the lesson of all history. Thus with nations as with individuals. To deprive them of the power of offence, you must deprive them of the means of defence. You must not only garrotte, but murder. If ever conqueror took "material guarantees" for breaking the sinews of a nation, 40 the first Napoleon did so by the Tilsit treaty, and the way he executed it against Prussia and the rest of Germany. Yet, a few years later, his gi-

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gantic power split like a rotten reed upon the German people. What are the "material guarantees" Prussia, in her wildest dreams, can, or dare impose upon France, compared to the "material guarantees" the first Napoleon had wrenched from herself? The result will not prove the less disastrous. History will measure its retribution, not by the extent of the 5 square miles conquered from France, but by the intensity of the crime of reviving, in the second half of the 19th century, *the policy of conquest!*

But, say the mouth-pieces of Teutonic patriotism, you must not confound Germans with Frenchmen. What *we* want is not glory, but safety. The Germans are an essentially peaceful people. In their sober guardian- 10 ship, conquest itself changes from a condition of future war into a pledge of perpetual peace. Of course, it is not Germans that invaded France in 1792, for the sublime purpose of bayonetting the revolution of the 18th century. It is not Germans that befouled their hands by the subjugation of Italy, the oppression of Hungary, and the dismemberment of Poland. 15 Their present military system, which divides the whole able-bodied male population into two parts,—one standing army on service, and another standing army on furlough, both equally bound in passive obedience to rulers by divine right,—such a military system is, of course, "a material guarantee" for keeping the peace, and the ultimate goal of civilizing tendencies! In Germany, as everywhere else, the sycophants of the powers that be poison the popular mind by the incense of mendacious self-praise.¹

[7] Indignant as they pretend to be at the sight of French fortresses in Metz and Strasbourg, those German patriots see no harm in the vast 25 system of Moscovite fortifications at Warsaw, Modlin, and Ivangorod. While gloating at the terrors of Imperialist invasion, they blink at the infamy of Autocratic tutelage.

As in 1865 promises were exchanged between Louis Bonaparte and Bismarck, so in 1870 promises have been exchanged between Gortscha- 30 koff and Bismarck. As Louis Bonaparte flattered himself that the war of 1866, resulting in the common exhaustion of Austria and Prussia, would make him the supreme arbiter of Germany, so Alexander flattered himself that the war of 1870, resulting in the common exhaustion of Germany and France, would make him the supreme arbiter of the Western 35 Continent. As the second Empire thought the North German Confederation incompatible with its existence, so autocratic Russia must think herself endangered by a German empire under Prussian leadership. Such is the law of the old political system. Within its pale the gain of one state is the loss of the other. The Czar's paramount influence over Europe roots 40 in his traditional hold on Germany. At a moment when in Russia herself

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volcanic social agencies threaten to shake the very base of autocracy, could the Czar afford to bear with such a loss of foreign prestige? Already the Moscovite journals repeat the language of the Bonapartist journals after the war of 1866. Do the Teuton patriots really believe that
5 liberty and peace will be guaranteed to Germany by forcing France into the arms of Russia? If the fortune of her arms, the arrogance of success, and dynastic intrigue lead Germany to a spoliation of French territory, there will then only remain two courses open to her. She must at all risks become the *avowed* tool of Russian aggrandisement, or, after some short
10 respite, make again ready for another "defensive" war, not one of those new-fangled "localized" wars, but a war of *races*—a war with the combined Slavonian and Roman races.

The German working-class has resolutely supported the war, which it was not in their power to prevent, as a war for German independence
15 and the liberation of France and Europe from that pestilential incubus, the Second Empire. It was the German workmen who, together with the rural labourers, furnished the sinews and muscles of heroic hosts, leaving behind their half-starved families. Decimated by the battles abroad, they will be once more decimated by misery at home. In their turn they are
20 now coming forward to ask for "guarantees",—guarantees that their immense sacrifices have not been brought in vain, that they have conquered liberty, that the victory over the Imperialist armies will not, as in 1815, be turned into the defeat of the German people; and, as the first of these guarantees, they claim an *honourable peace for France*, and the
25 *recognition of the French Republic*.

The Central Committee of the German Socialist Democratic Workmen's Party issued, on the 5th of September, a manifesto, energetically insisting upon these guarantees. "We," they say, "we protest against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. And we are conscious of speaking in
30 the name of the German working-class. In the common interest of France and Germany, in the interest of peace and liberty, in the interest of Western civilization against Eastern barbarism, the German workmen will not patiently tolerate the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. ... We shall faithfully stand by our fellow-workmen in all countries for the com-
35 mon international cause of the Proletariat!"

Unfortunately, we cannot feel sanguine of their immediate success. If the French workmen amidst peace failed to stop the aggressor, are the German workmen more likely to stop the victor amidst the clangour of arms? The German workmen's manifesto demands the extradition of
40 Louis Bonaparte as a common felon to the French Republic. Their rulers are, on the contrary, already trying hard to restore him to the Tuileries as

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the best man to ruin France. However that may be, history will prove that the German working class are not made of the same malleable stuff as the German middle class. They will do their duty.

Like them, we hail the advent of the Republic in France, but at the same time we labour under misgivings which we hope will prove groundless. That Republic has not subverted the throne, but only taken its place become vacant. It has been proclaimed, not as a social conquest, but as a national measure of defence. It is in the hands of a Provisional Government composed partly of notorious Orleanists, partly of middle-class Republicans, upon some of whom [8] the insurrection of June, 1848, has left its indelible stigma. The division of labour amongst the members of that Government looks awkward. The Orleanists have seized the strongholds of the army and the police, while to the professed Republicans have fallen the talking departments. Some of their first acts go far to show that they have inherited from the Empire, not only ruins, but also its dread of the working class. If eventual impossibilities are in wild phraseology promised in the name of the Republic, is it not with a view to prepare the cry for a 'possible' government? Is the Republic, by some of its middle-class undertakers, not intended to serve as a mere stop-gap and bridge over an Orleanist Restoration? 20

The French working-class moves, therefore, under circumstances of extreme difficulty. Any attempt at upsetting the new Government in the present crisis, when the enemy is almost knocking at the doors of Paris, would be a desperate folly. The French workmen must perform their duties as citizens; but, at the same time, they must not allow themselves to be swayed by the national *souvenirs* of 1792, as the French peasants allowed themselves to be deluded by the national *souvenirs* of the First Empire. They have not to recapitulate the past, but to build up the future. Let them calmly and resolutely improve the opportunities of Republican liberty, for the work of their own class organization. It will gift them with fresh Herculean powers for the regeneration of France, and our common task—the emancipation of labour. Upon their energies and wisdom hinges the fate of the Republic. 25

The English workmen have already taken measures to overcome, by a wholesome pressure from without, the reluctance of their Government to recognise the French Republic. The present dilatoriness of the British Government is probably intended to atone for the Anti-Jacobin war and its former indecent haste in sanctioning the *coup d'état*. The English workmen call also upon their Government to oppose by all its power the dismemberment of France, which part of the English press is shameless enough to howl for. It is the same press that for twenty years deified 35

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Louis Bonaparte as the providence of Europe, that frantically cheered on the slaveholders' rebellion. Now, as then, it drudges for the slaveholder.

Let the sections of the *International Working-Men's Association* in every country stir the working classes to action. If they forsake their duty, if they remain passive, the present tremendous war will be but the harbinger of still deadlier international feuds, and lead in every nation to a renewed triumph over the workman by the lords of the sword, of the soil, and of capital.

10

Vive la République!

THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

Robert Applegarth; Martin J. Boon; Fred. Bradnick; Caihil; John Hales; William Hales; George Harris; Fred. Lessner; Lopatin; B. Lucraft; George Milner; Thomas Mottershead; Charles Murray; George Odger; 15 James Parnell; Pfänder; Rühl; Joseph Shepherd; Cowell Stepney; Stoll; Schmitz.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES.

EUGENE DUPONT	"	"	For France.
KARL MARX	"	"	Germany and Russia.
20 A. SERRAILLER	"	"	Belgium, Holland, and Spain.
HERMANN JUNG	"	"	Switzerland.
GIOVANNI BORA	"	"	Italy.
ZEVY MAURICE	"	"	Hungary.
25 ANTON ZABICKI	"	"	Poland.
JAMES COHEN	"	"	Denmark.
J.G. ECCARIUS	"	"	The United States.
			WILLIAM TOWNSHEND, Chairman.
			JOHN WESTON, Treasurer.
30			J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, General Secretary.
			OFFICE, - 256, High Holborn, London, W.C., September 9 th , 1870.

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der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation
über den Deutsch-Französischen Krieg

|i| Der Generalrath der Internationalen
Arbeiterassoziation

An
Alle Sektionen in Europa und Amerika.

In unserm Manifest vom 23. Juli sagten wir:

5

„Die Todtenglocke des Zweiten Empire hat bereits geläutet. Es wird enden, wie es begann, mit einer Parodie. Aber laßt uns nicht vergessen, daß die Regierungen und herrschenden Klassen Europa's den Louis Bonaparte während zwanzig Jahren befähigt haben die infame Farce des Restaurirten Kaiserreichs zu spielen.“ 10

Vor dem Beginn der wirklichen Kriegsoperationen also war in unsern Augen die imperialistische Schaumblase bereits zerplatzt.

Wenn wir uns nicht getäuscht über die Lebensfähigkeit des Zweiten Kaiserreichs, war unsre Befürchtung grundlos, daß der *deutsche* Krieg „seinen streng defensiven Charakter verlieren und in einen Krieg gegen 15 das französische Volk ausarten“ möchte? Der Vertheidigungskrieg hatte tatsächlich seinen Abschluß erreicht mit Louis Bonaparte's Selbstausslieferung, der Kapitulation von Sedan und der Proklamation der Republik zu Paris. Aber lange vor diesen Ereignissen, vom selben Augenblick als die unglaubliche Fäulniß der imperialistischen Waffen entdeckt war, 20 entschied die preussische Militairkamarilla für *Eroberung*. Jedoch stand ein widriges Hinderniß im Weg - die *Proklamationen des König's Wilhelm*, seine Thronrede an den Norddeutschen Reichstag, sein Manifest an die französische Nation vom 11. August. Der König hatte feierlich vor aller Welt den Defensivcharakter des Kriegs verbürgt. Er hatte angelobt, 25 ihn nicht gegen das französische Volk zu führen, sondern nur gegen den

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französischen Kaiser und seine Armeen. Wie den *frommen Preussenkönig* vom gegebenen Wort entbinden? Durch die *Stimme des deutschen Volkes*. Volkesstimme, Gottesstimme. Zu diesem Behuf genügte ein Wink der *Camarilla* an die liberale deutsche Mittelklasse mit ihren Professoren, 5 Geschäftsmenschen, Bürgermeistern und Zeitungsschreibern. Diese Mittelklasse, die in ihren Kämpfen für bürgerliche Freiheit seit 1846 der Welt ein beispielloses Schauspiel von Entschlußlosigkeit, Kopflosigkeit und Feigheit gegeben hatte, war natürlich hochentzückt die europäische Scene als brüllender Löwe des deutschen Patriotismus beschreiten zu dürfen. Sie bewies endlich auch einmal männlichen Unabhängigkeitssinn, indem sie den preussischen Hof durch öffentliche Sturm-demonstrationen zur Ausführung seiner eignen Geheimpläne zwang. Sie thut Buße für ihren langlebigen Glauben an Louis Bonaparte's Infallibilität, indem sie für Zerstückelung der französischen Republik heult. Lauschen wir einen 10 Augenblick den Argumenten dieser hochherzigen Patrioten!

Sie wagen nicht vorzugeben, das Volk von Elsaß und Lothringen schmachte nach der deutschen Umarmung. Umgekehrt! Zur Züchtigung seines französischen Patriotismus ist Straßburg während einer ganzen Woche von stammverwandten „deutschen“ Bomben in Brand gesteckt 20 und eine grosse Zahl seiner wehrlosen Einwohner getötet worden, eine vandalische, nutzlos grausame That, da die Stadt Straßburg durch eine von ihr unabhängige Festung beherrscht wird. Jedoch der Boden jener Provinzen gehörte einmal zum weiland heiligen deutschen Reich. Darum, scheint es, muß dieser Boden und die Menschen, die er trägt, als unver- 25 jährbar deutsches Eigenthum confisirt werden. Will man die Karte Europa's einmal in solch' antiquarischer Laune ummodeln, so darf man auch ja nicht vergessen, daß der Kurfürst von Brandenburg für seine preussischen Besitzungen der *Vassall der Polnischen Republik* war.

Die schlauren Patrioten jedoch fordern Elsaß und Lothringen als 30 „materielle Garantie“ gegen französische Invasion. Da dieser „gute Grund“ viele Schwachköpfe berückt, müssen wir etwas ausführlicher darauf eingehn.

Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, daß die allgemeine Configuration des Elsaß, verglichen mit dem gegenüberliegenden Rheinufer, und die Ge- 35 genwart einer stark befestigten Stadt wie Straßburg, halbwegs zwischen Basel und Germersheim, eine französische Invasion Süddeutschlands sehr begünstigen, ||2| während sie umgekehrt einer Invasion in Frankreich von süddeutscher Seite her grosse Hindernisse entgegenstellen. Es unterliegt ebenso wenig einem Zweifel, daß die Annexion von Elsaß und 40 dem deutschredenden Theil Lothringens die süddeutsche Grenze Süddeutschland's sehr verstärken würde. Sie gäbe ihm die Meisterschaft über

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den Kamm der Vogesen in seiner ganzen Länge und über die Festungen, welche die niedrigeren, nördlichen Pässe des Gebirgs beherrschen. Durch weitere Annexion von Metz wäre Frankreich unzweifelhaft für den Augenblick seiner beiden Hauptoperationsbasen gegen Deutschland beraubt, was es jedoch nicht verhindern würde, eine neue zu Nanzig oder Verdun zu errichten. So lange Deutschland Koblenz, Mainz, Germersheim, Rastadt und Ulm besitzt, lauter *Operationsbasen* gegen *Frankreich*, die reichlich im gegenwärtigen Krieg benutzt wurden, mit welchem Schein von Anstand kann es Frankreich Straßburg und Metz mißgönnen, seine zwei einzigen wichtigen Festungen auf dieser Seite? 10

Zudem bedroht Straßburg Süddeutschland nur so lang, als Süddeutschland eine von Norddeutschland getrennte Macht bildet. Von 1792-95 wurde Süddeutschland niemals von dieser Seite her überfallen, weil Preussen theilnahm am Krieg gegen die französische Revolution. Erst von dem Augenblick, wo Preussen seinen Separatfrieden von 1795 abgeschlossen und den Süden seinem Schicksal überlassen hatte, begannen die Einfälle in Süddeutschland mit Straßburg als Basis und dauerten fort bis 1809. Es ist also Thatsache, daß ein *Einiges Deutschland* Straßburg und jede französische Armee im Elsaß unschädlich machen kann durch die Concentration seiner Truppen zwischen Saarlouis und Landau, 20 wie [es] im jetzigen Krieg geschah, und durch Vorrücken, oder auch Annahme einer Schlacht, auf der Linie zwischen Mainz und Metz. Während die Masse der deutschen Truppen hier steht, ist jede französische Armee, die von Straßburg nach Süddeutschland vorrückt, überflügelt und in ihren Kommunikationslinien bedroht. Wenn der jetzige Feldzug irgend et- 25 was bewiesen hat, ist es die Leichtigkeit deutscher Invasion in Frankreich.

Aber ist es nicht überhaupt eine Abgeschmacktheit und ein Anachronismus militairische Gesichtspunkte zum Prinzip nationaler Grenzregelung zu machen? Diese Regel einmal angenommen, so gebührt Oestreich 30 heute noch Venetien und die Minciolinie, so gebührt Frankreich die Rheinlinie zum Schutz von Paris, das einem Angriff von Nordost sicher mehr ausgesetzt ist als Berlin einem Angriff von Südwest. Die Bestimmung der Grenzen durch militairisches Interesse führt zu maaßlosen Ansprüchen, denn jede *militairische Linie* ist *nothwendiger Weise fehlerhaft* 35 und bleibt daher stets verbesserungsfähig durch stets erneute Annexion auf dem ihr vorgeschobenen Territorium. Zudem wird sie dem Eroberten stets diktirt von dem Eroberer. Sie kann daher nie billig und endgültig sein. Sie *birgt stets in ihrem Schooß die Saat neuer Kriege*.

Das ist Lehre der ganzen Geschichte. Es verhält sich mit Nationen wie 40 mit Individuen. Um ihnen die Macht des Angriffs zu entziehen, müßt ihr

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sie der Mittel der Vertheidigung beraubten. Ihr müßt sie nicht nur verwunden, sondern morden. Wenn je ein Eroberer „materielle Garantien“ nahm, um die Sehnen einer Nation zu zerbrechen, so that es Napoleon I. durch den Tilsiter Frieden und die Art und Weise, wie er ihn gegen Preussen und den Rest des deutschen Reichs in's Werk setzte. Dennoch, wenige Jahre später, zersplitterte seine gigantische Macht wie ein morschtes Rohr am deutschen Volk. Was sind die „materiellen Garantien“, die Preussen in seinen kühnsten Träumen von Frankreich erpressen kann oder zu erpressen wagt, verglichen mit den „materiellen Garantien“, die Napoleon 5 ihm selbst abzwang? Deshalb wird das Resultat [3] nicht minder heillos sein. Die Geschichte wird ihre Vergeltung messen nicht am Umfang der Frankreich aberoberten Quadratmeilen, sondern an der Intensivität des Verbrechens in der zweiten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts die *Eroberungspolitik* wieder herzustellen!

15 Aber, sagen die Wortführer des teutonischen Patriotismus, man muß bei Leibe nicht den Deutschen verwechseln mit dem Franzosen. Was *wir* verlangen, ist nicht Ruhm, sondern Sicherheit. Die Deutschen sind ein wesentlich friedfertiges Volk. In ihrer nüchternen Obhut verwandelt sich die Eroberung selbst aus einer Bedingung künftigen Kriegs in ein Pfand 20 ewigen Friedens. Es waren natürlich nicht Deutsche, die ihre Hand befleckten durch die Unterjochung Italiens, die Unterdrückung Ungarns, die Theilung Polens! Ihr jetziges Militairsystem, das die ganze waffenfähige männliche Bevölkerung in zwei Kategorien theilt - eine stehende Armee „auf Dienst“ und eine andere stehende Armee „auf Urlaub“, 25 beide vereidet zu passivem Gehorsam gegen Herrscher von Gottes Gnaden, - ein solches Militairsystem ist zweifellos die sicherste Gewähr friedlicher Politik und das höchste Gebild civilisirender Tendenzen! In Deutschland, wie in allen andern Ländern, vergiften die Sykophanten der bestehenden Macht die öffentliche Meinung durch den Weihrauch ver- 30 lognen Selbstlobs.

Dieselben deutschen Patrioten, die sich so entrüstet gebahren beim Anblick französischer Festungen zu Straßburg und Metz, sehn kein Arg in dem kolossalen System moskowitischer Befestigung zu Warschau, Modlin und Iwangorod. Verloren in der Erinnerung an die Schrecken 35 imperialistischer Invasion, vergessen sie die Infamie autokratischer Bevormundung.

Wie im Jahr 1865 Versprechungen ausgetauscht wurden zwischen Louis Bonaparte und Bismarck, so im Jahr 1870 zwischen Bismarck und Gortschakoff. Wie Louis Bonaparte sich geschmeichelt hatte, der Krieg 40 von 1866 werde ihn durch die wechselseitige Erschöpfung Oestreichs und Preussens zum Schiedsrichter Deutschlands machen, so schmeichelte sich

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Alexander, der Krieg von 1870 werde ihn durch die wechselseitige Erschöpfung Deutschlands und Frankreichs zum Schiedsrichter des Westlichen Kontinents machen. Wie das Zweite Empire den deutschen Nordbund unverträglich mit seiner eignen Existenz glaubte, so muß sich das autokratische Rußland durch ein Deutsches Reich unter preussischer 5 Leitung gefährdet glauben. Das ist das Gesetz des alten politischen Systems. Innerhalb seines Bereichs ist der Gewinn des einen Staats der Verlust des andern. Des Czaren überwiegender Einfluß auf Europa wurzelt in seinem traditionellen Halt an Deutschland. In einem Augenblick, wo in Rußland selbst vulkanische sociale Kräfte die Grundlage der Autokratie zu unterwühlen dröhnen, kann der Czar einen solchen Verlust an auswärtigem *Prestige* ertragen? Bereits wiederholen moskowitische Blätter genau die Sprache der bonapartistischen Blätter nach dem Krieg von 1866. Glauben die teutonischen Patrioten ernsthaft, die Unabhängigkeit, die Freiheit und den Frieden Deutschlands dadurch zu „garantiren“, daß 15 sie Frankreich in Rußlands Arme werfen? Wenn das Glück der deutschen Waffen, die Arroganz des Erfolgs und dynastische Intrigue zu einer Territorialberaubung Frankreichs treiben, dann stehn Deutschland nur noch zwei Wege offen. Es muß auf alle Gefahr hin sich zum *bewußten* Werkzeug russischer Vergrößerungspläne machen, eine Politik, die der Tradition der Hohenzollern ||4| entspricht - oder nach kurzer Frist für einen neuen „Vertheidigungskrieg“ bereit sein, nicht einen jener neumodischen, „lokalisirten“ Kriege, sondern einen *Racenkrieg*, einen Krieg mit den verbündeten Slaven und Romanen. Das ist die Friedensperspektive, welche die hirnkranken Patrioten der Mittelklasse Deutschland „garantiren“. 25

Die deutsche Arbeiterklasse, ausser deren Macht es lag den Krieg zu verhindern, nahm ihn nach seinem Ausbruch entschlossen auf als einen Krieg für die Unabhängigkeit Deutschlands und die Befreiung Europa's von dem pestilenzialischen Alp des Zweiten Empire. Es sind deutsche Arbeiter von Stadt und Land, welche die Sehnen und Muskeln heroischer 30 Heerschaaren lieferten, während ihre Familien darbend zurückblieben. Decimirt durch die Schlachten im Ausland, wird die Heimath sie noch einmal decimire durch das Elend. Und die patriotischen Schreier werden ihnen zum Trost sagen, daß das Kapital kein Vaterland hat und daß der Arbeitslohn geregelt ist durch das *unpatriotische, internationale* Gesetz der Nachfrage und Zufuhr. Ist es daher nicht die höchste Zeit, daß die deutsche Arbeiterklasse das Wort ergreift und den Herrn von der Mittelklasse nicht länger erlaubt in *ihrem Namen* zu sprechen, daß sie ihrerseits *Garantien* verlangt, Garantien, daß sie nicht umsonst die ungeheuersten Opfer gebracht, daß der Sieg über die imperialistische Armee 40 nicht wie nach 1815 in die Niederlage des deutschen Volks umschlägt,

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Garantien der Freiheit. Und die ersten dieser Garantien sind *ein ehrenvoller Friede für Frankreich und die Anerkennung der französischen Republik.*

Der Ausschuß der deutschen social-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei hat 5 bereits am 5. September ein Manifest veröffentlicht, worin er diese „Garantien“ energisch fordert. „Die deutschen Arbeiter“, sagt er u.a., „werden im Interesse Frankreichs und Deutschlands, im Interesse des Friedens und der Freiheit, im Interesse der westlichen Civilisation gegen die kosakische Barbarei, die Annexion von Elsaß und Lothringen *nicht dulden.*“

Leider können wir uns keiner sanguinischen Hoffnung auf ihren *unmittelbaren* Erfolg hingeben. Konnten die französischen Arbeiter mitten im Frieden nicht den Angreifer hemmen, wie die deutschen Arbeiter den Sieger in Mitte des Waffengeräuschs? Der deutsche Arbeiter-Aufruf verlangt 15 die Auslieferung Louis Bonaparte's als eines gemeinen Verbrechers an die französische Republik. Die deutschen Herrscher beschäftigen sich umgekehrt damit den erlauchten Gefangnen in die Tuilerien zurückzuführen, überzeugt wie sie sind, daß *Er für die Ruinirung Frankreichs der beste Mann.* Wie dem auch sei, die Geschichte wird beweisen, daß die 20 deutsche Arbeiterklasse nicht aus demselben nachgiebigen Stoff gemacht ist wie die deutsche Mittelklasse. Sie wird ihre Pflicht thun.

Mit ihr begrüssen wir die Republik in Frankreich, aber unter trüben, hoffentlich grundlosen Ahnungen. Jene Republik hat den Thron nicht gestürzt, sondern nur seinen durch deutsche Bajonette erledigten Platz 25 eingenommen. Sie ist proklamirt worden nicht als eine sociale Eroberung, sondern als eine nationale Vertheidigungsmaßregel. Sie befindet sich in der Hand einer provisorischen Regierung, die zum Theil aus notorischen Orleanisten besteht, zum Theil aus Bourgeois-Republikanern, wovon Einigen die Juniinsurrektion von 1848 ihr unauslösliches 30 Brandmal aufgedrückt hat. Die Theilung der Arbeit unter diesem Personal ist bedenklich. Die Orleanisten haben sich der Vester der Regierungsgewalt bemächtigt, die Republikaner sich mit den Schwatzposten begnügt. Einige ihrer ersten Handlungen zeigen, daß sie von ihrem Vorgänger nicht nur Ruinen geerbt haben, sondern auch die Furcht vor 35 dem Arbeitervolk. Wenn Unmöglichkeiten in wilder Phrase im Namen der Republik versprochen werden, geschieht es nicht, um den Schrei nach einer „möglichen“ Regierung vorzubereiten? Die Republik, soll sie nicht nach dem Plan einiger ihrer bürgerlichen Unternehmer als blosser Lückenbüßer dienen und als Brücke zu einer Orleanistischen Restaura- 40 tion? |

Karl Marx

[5] Die französische Arbeiterklasse bewegt sich daher unter äusserst schwierigen Umständen. Jeder Versuch zum Umsturz der jetzigen Regierung inmitten einer furchtbaren Krise, wenn der Feind fast schon an die Thore von Paris klopft, wäre eine verzweifelte Narrheit. Die französischen Arbeiter müssen ihre staatsbüürgerlichen Pflichten erfüllen und sie thun es, aber sie dürfen sich nicht durch die nationalen Erinnerungen von 1792 blenden lassen, wie der französische Bauer sich durch die nationalen Erinnerungen des Ersten Kaiserreichs blenden ließ. Sie haben nicht die Vergangenheit zu rekapituliren, sondern die Zukunft neu aufzubauen. Sie müssen die Gelegenheit republikanischer Freiheit beim Schopf 10 fassen zur raschen Förderung ihrer eignen Klassenorganisation, die ihnen frische herkulische Kraft verleihen wird für die *Wiedergeburt Frankreich's* und unser gemeinsames Werk, die *Emancipation der Arbeit*. An ihrer Energie und Weisheit hängt das Schicksal der Republik.

Die englischen Arbeiter suchen durch heilsamen Druck von Aussen das 15 Widerstreben ihrer Regierung gegen die Anerkennung der französischen Republik zu brechen. Das gegenwärtige Zaudern der britischen Regierung ist wohl die Sühne für ihre Führerrolle im Antijakobinerkrieg und die unanständige Hast, womit sie den Coup d'Etat sanktionirte! Die englischen Arbeiter verlangen ferner, daß Großbritanien seine ganze Macht 20 geltend mache gegen eine Territorialberaubung Frankreichs, die natürlich von einem Theil der englischen Presse ganz so geräuschvoll bevorwortet wird, wie von den deutschen Patrioten. Es ist dieselbe Presse, die während zwanzig Jahren den Louis Bonaparte als Europa's Vorsehung vergötterte, dieselbe Presse, die der Sklavenhalter-Rebellion frenetisch zu- 25 jauchzte! Jetzt wie damals schanzt sie für Sklavenhalter.

Mögen die Sektionen der *Internationalen* in allen Ländern die Arbeiterklasse zur That anspornen! Wenn sie jetzt ihre Pflicht versäumt, wenn sie passiv bleibt, wird der gegenwärtige entsetzliche Krieg auch nur der Vorläufer noch gewaltigerer *internationaler Kämpfe* sein, innerhalb jeder 30 Nation eine erneute Niederlage des Arbeiters gegenüber den Gewalthabern des Schwertes, des Grund und Bodens, und des Kapitals herbeiführen.

Es lebe die Republik!

Der Generalrath.

35

Robert Applegarth, Martin J. Boon, Fred. Bradnick, Caihil, John Haies, W. Hales; G. Harris, F. Lessner, Lullier, B. Lucraft, G. Milner, Th. Mottershead, Ch. Murray, George Odger, Parnell, Pfänder, Rühl, J. Shepherd, Cowell Stepney, Stoll, Schmitz.

Zweite Adresse des Generalrats über den Deutsch-Französischen Krieg

Korrespondirende *Sekretaire.*

Eugene Dupont für Frankreich, Karl Marx für Deutschland und Rußland, A. Seraillier für Belgien, Holland und Spanien, Hermann Jung für die Schweiz, Giovanni Bora für Italien, Zèvy Maurice für Ungarn, Anton 5 Zabicki für Polen, J. Cohen für Dänemark, J.G. Eccarius für die Ver. Staaten und Sekr. d. Generalraths.

London 9. September 1870.

*William Townshend, Sitzungspräsident.
John Weston, Kassierer. |*

Karl Marx
Concerning the arrest of the members of the
Central Committee of the German Social-Democratic
Workers' Party

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 7744, 15. September 1870

The Central Committee of the German section of the "International Workmen's Association" resident at Brunswick issued on the 5th inst. a manifesto to the German working class, calling upon them to prevent the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, and to bring about an honourable peace with the French Republic. Not only has their manifesto been confiscated by the order of the commanding-general, Vogel von Franckenstein, but all the members of the committee, even the unfortunate printer of the document, were arrested and chained like common felons, and sent to Lotzen, in Eastern Prussia.

Karl Marx

The freedom of the press and of debate in Germany.

To the Editor of the "Daily News"

The Daily News.
Nr. 7714, 19. Januar 1871

The freedom of the press and of debate in Germany.

To the Editor of the Daily News.

Sir,—In accusing the French Government of "having rendered impossible the free expression of opinion in France through the medium of the press and of national representatives", Bismarck did evidently but intend to break a Berlin Witz. If you want to become acquainted with "true" French opinion please apply to Herr Stieber, the editor of the Versailles *Moniteur*, and the notorious Prussian police spy!

At Bismarck's express command Messrs. Bebel and Liebknecht have been arrested, on the plea of high treason, simply because they dared to fulfil their duties as German national representatives, viz., to protest in the Reichstag against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, vote against new war subsidies, express their sympathy with the French Republic, and denounce the attempt at the conversion of Germany into one Prussian barrack. For the utterance of the same opinions the members of the Brunswick Socialist Democratic Committee have, since the beginning of last September, been treated like galley-slaves, and are still undergoing a mock prosecution for high treason. The same lot has befallen numerous workmen who propagated the Brunswick manifesto. On similar pretexts, Mr. Hepner, the sub-editor of the Leipzig *Volksstaat*, is prosecuted for high treason. The few independent German journals existing outside Prussia are forbidden admission into the Hohenzollern estates. German workmen's meetings in favour of a peace honourable for France are daily dispersed by the police. According to the official Prussian doctrine, as naively laid down by General Vogel von Falckenstein, every German "trying to counteract the prospective aims of the Prussian warfare in

Karl Marx

France", is guilty of high treason. If M. Gambetta and Co. were, like the Hohenzollern, forced to violently put down popular opinion, they would only have to apply the Prussian method, and, on the plea of war, proclaim throughout France the state of siege. The only French soldiers on German soil moulder in Prussian gaols. Still the Prussian Government 5 feels itself bound to rigorously maintain the state of siege, that is to say, the crudest and most revolting form of military despotism, the suspension of all law. The French soil is infested by about a million of German invaders. Yet, the French Government can safely dispense with that Prussian method of "rendering possible the free expression of opinion". Look 10 at this picture and at that! Germany, however, has proved too petty a field for Bismarck's all-absorbing love of independent opinion. When the Luxemburgers gave vent to their sympathies with France, Bismarck made this expression of sentiment one of his pretexts for renouncing the London neutrality treaty. When the Belgian press committed a similar 15 sin, the Prussian ambassador at Brussels, Herr von Balan, invited the Belgian ministry to put down not only all anti-Prussian newspaper articles, but even the printing of mere news calculated to cheer on the French in their war of independence. A very modest request this, indeed, to suspend the Belgian Constitution, "pour le roi de Prusse!" No sooner had 20 some Stockholm papers indulged in some mild jokes at the notorious "piety" of Wilhelm Annexander, than Bismarck came down on the Swedish cabinet with grim missives. Even under the meridian of St. Petersburg he contrived to spy too licentious a press. At his humble supplication, the editors of the principal Petersburg papers were summoned 25 before the Censor-in-Chief, who bid them beware of all strictures upon the feal Borussian vassal of the Czar. One of those editors, M. Saguliaw, was imprudent enough to emit the secret of this *avertissement* through the columns of the *Gobs*. He was at once pounced upon by the Russian police, and bundled off to some remote province. It would be a mistake 30 to believe that those gendarme proceedings are only due to the paroxysm of war fever. They are, on the contrary, the true methodical application of Prussian law principles. There exists in point of fact an odd proviso in the Prussian criminal code, by dint of which every foreigner, on account of his doings or writings in his own or any other foreign country, may be 35 prosecuted for "insult against the Prussian King" and "high treason against Prussia!" France—and her cause is fortunately far from desperate—fights at this moment not only for her own national independence, but for the liberty of Germany and Europe.—I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

London, January 16, 1871

KARL MARX

40

Friedrich Engels
The aspect of affairs in Russia.
To the Editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette"

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1900, 16. März 1871

The aspect of affairs in Russia To the Editor of the Pall Mall Gazette.

Sir,—The English Government declare that they know nothing of an alliance between Russia and Prussia. In Germany nobody disputes the 5 existence of such an alliance; on the contrary, the pro-Prussian press exults in the fact, the anti-Prussian papers are indignant at it. One of the latter, the *Volksstaat*, thinks that Mr. Gladstone merely intended to insinuate by his dénégations that this was not a treaty of alliance, but rather of vassalage, and that in this case he would be in the right. 10 Indeed, the telegrams exchanged between Versailles and St. Petersburg, between "Yours till death, William," and his more reserved nephew Alexander, leave no longer any room for doubt as to the relations existing between what are now the two great military monarchies of the Continent. These telegrams, by the way, were first published in the *Journal de St. Pétersbourg*; and what is quite as significant is the fact that 15 they have not been reprinted in their full tenor in the German press, the Emperor William's assurance of devotion till death being especially suppressed. At all events, the full context of the correspondence cannot leave a doubt that the Emperor William means to express the deep sense 20 of the obligation under which he considers himself to be towards Russia, and his readiness to place his services in return at Russia's disposal. The Emperor being past seventy, and his presumptive heir's sentiments being doubtful, there is certainly a strong incentive for Russia to strike the iron while it is hot.

25 Moreover, the internal situation in Russia is far from satisfactory. The finances are almost helplessly deranged; the peculiar form in which the emancipation of the serfs and the other social and political changes connected with it have been carried out has disturbed agricultural produc-

Friedrich Engels

tion to an almost incredible degree. The half-measures of a liberal character which in turn have been accorded, retracted, and again accorded, have given to the educated classes just elbow-room enough to develop a distinct public opinion; and that public opinion is upon all points opposed to the foreign policy the present Government have hitherto appeared to follow. Public opinion in Russia is essentially and violently Panslavist—that is to say, antagonistic to the three great "oppressors" of the Slavonic race: the Germans, the Hungarians, and the Turks. A Prussian alliance is as distasteful to it as would be an Austrian or a Turkish alliance. It demands, besides, immediate warlike action, in a Panslavist sense. The quiet, slow, but eminently safe underground action of Russian traditional diplomacy sorely tries its patience. Such successes as were obtained at the Conference, important though they be in themselves, are as nought to the Russian Panslavists. They hear nothing but the "cry of anguish" of their oppressed brethren in race; they feel nothing more intensely than the necessity of restoring the lost supremacy of holy Russia by a grand coup, a war of conquest. They know, moreover, that the Heir Presumptive is one of them. All this considered, and the grand strategic railway lines towards the south and south-west having now been completed far enough to serve efficiently for purposes of attack against Austria or Turkey, or both, is there not a strong inducement for the Russian Government and for the Emperor Alexander personally to apply the old Bonapartist means, and to stave off internal difficulties by a foreign war while the Prussian alliance appears still safe?

Under such circumstances the new Russian loan of twelve millions sterling obtains a very peculiar significance. It is true, a patriotic protest has been circulated at the Stock Exchange—it is stated to have been without signatures, and appears to have remained so—and we are told that the amount of the loan has been more than covered. What purposes, among others, these twelve millions are to be used for we are informed by the *Ostsee Zeitung*, of Stettin, a paper which for many years not only has had the very best information about Russian affairs, but which also has had the independence to publish it. The Franco-German war, says the Petersburg correspondent of this paper (under date of March 4, new style), has convinced the Russian military authorities of the total inefficiency of the system of fortification hitherto followed in the construction of the Russian fortresses, and the Ministry of War has already settled the plan for the necessary alterations. "It is reported that the new system, based upon the introduction of detached forts, is to be applied, in the first instance, to the more important frontier fortresses, the reconstruction of which is to be commenced forthwith. The first fortresses which

The aspect of affairs in Russia

are to be provided with detached forts are Brest-Litowski, Demblin, and Modlin."

Now, Brest-Litowski, Demblin (or Iwangorod), and Modlin (or Nowo-Georgiewsk, by its official Russian name), are exactly the three fortresses which, with Warsaw as a central point, command the greater portion of the kingdom of Poland; and Warsaw does not receive any detached forts now, for the very good reason that it has had them for many a year past. Russia, then, loses no time in fastening her hold upon Poland, and in strengthening her base of operations against Austria, and the hurry with which this is done is of no good augury for the peace of Europe.

All this may still be called purely defensive armament. But the correspondent in question has not done yet:—"The warlike preparations in Russia, which were commenced at the outbreak of the Franco-German war, are continued with unabated zeal. Lately the Ministry of War has ordered the formation of the fourth battalions. The execution of this order has already begun with all regiments, those in the kingdom of Poland included. The detachments set apart for the railway and telegraph service in the field, as well as the sanitary companies, have already been organized. The men are actively instructed and drilled in their various duties, and the sanitary companies are even taught how to apply the first bandages to wounded, how to stop bleeding, and how to bring round men who have fainted."

Now in almost every great continental army the regiments of infantry consist, on the peace footing, of three battalions, and the first unmistakable step from the peace-footing to the war-footing is the formation of the fourth battalions. On the day Louis Napoleon declared war, he also ordered the formation of the fourth battalions. In Prussia, their formation is the very first thing done after the receipt of the order for mobilization. In Austria it is the same, and so it is in Russia. Whatever may be thought of the suddenly revealed necessity of detached forts for the Polish fortresses, or of the equally sudden *empressemement* to introduce into the Russian service the Prussian Krankenträger and railway and telegraph detachments (in a country where both railways and telegraphs are rather scarce)—here, in the formation of the fourth battalions, we have an unmistakable sign that Russia has actually passed the line which divides the peace footing from the war footing. Nobody can imagine that Russia has taken this step without a purpose; and if this step means anything, it means attack against somebody. Perhaps that explains what the twelve millions sterling are wanted for.—Yours, &c,

E.

ANHANG

Protokolle und Aufzeichnungen mündlicher Äußerungen

Minutes of the General Council
of the International Working Men's Association
September 17, 1867 to August 31, 1869.
From the Minute Book of the General Council
September 18, 1866 to August 31, 1869

Meeting of the General Council September 17, 1867

11081 Council Meeting September 17.

Citizen Jung in the Chair.

The minutes of the two previous meetings were read. Citizen Fox objected to the version given of the discussion on the second Congress question. After a good deal of discussion Cit. Fox handed a written statement to the secretary to be substituted for the version given by the Secretary which was agreed to, & the minutes confirmed.

Report of the General Secretary.

The French Polishers had sent their annual contribution; the Lynn Carpenters & Joiners had sent 9 s. 9 d. in postage stamps demanding rules & cards; the National Association of Operative Plasterers, Liverpool, in delegate meeting assembled had voted a guinea a year to the funds of the International Association & wanted to know whom to send the money to; the House Painters Birmingham had sent their adhesion enclosing a post Office order of 19 s. 7 d. as entrance fee & annual contribution.

Cit. Jung announced that a new paper "La Liberté" had been started in Belgium the editorial staff of which had asked for literary contributions offering to insert anything that might be of interest to the Association.

Cit Shaw objected to the manner in which Cit. Fox had rendered the reports of the American Labour Congress in the Beehive making it appear as if our Correspondent was the Correspondent of the Beehive. After a good deal of discussion the matter [was] dropped.

Upon the proposition of Cit. Eccarius it was agreed that 2£ the remainder of the balance due to R. Cottam, should be paid. It was further agreed that two quires of the Beehive of Saturday Sep 14, & two quires of Saturday Sep. 21, be purchased for the use of the Council. As the time was too far advanced to hear the report of the Congress delegate the meeting ||109| adjourned to Tuesday Sept. 24.

Members present Buckley, Carter, Cohn, Eccarius, Fox, Hales, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Shaw, Zabicky. I

Meeting of the General Council September 24, 1867

/109/ Council Meeting Sep. 24.

Cit. Odger in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. A Delegate from the French Polishers announced his presence. The secretary of the Liverpool Cigarmakers announced by letter the affiliation of that body, & also that he had sent a Post Office Order payable to R. Shaw to 18 Bouverie St. which had not come to hand. Cit. Fox consented to make inquiries. 5

Cit. Eccarius gave an account of his mission to Lausanne & the proceedings of the peace Congress at Geneva. Cit. Lessner spoke about the indecorous behaviour of some of the delegates at Lausanne. He stated that the Congress had been 10 really representative. The minutes would be published in full in the French language at the expense of the French speaking delegates. A vote of thanks to the delegates.

In consequence of the announcement that the Congress had voted 1 d. per member a year to the Central fund Cit. Fox raised the question whether it would 15 not be advisable to abolish the 5 s. Entrance fee for societies. Cit. Eccarius, Odger, Marx were against the abolition. Cit. Shaw gave notice of motion to abolish the shilling contribution of delegates to the Council from affiliated Societies.

Cit. Fox gave notice to call the attention of the Council to Eccarius's reports of 20 the Congress in the Times.

Cit. Marx gave notice to call the attention of the Council to a letter addressed by Cit. Fox to Ph. Becker of Geneva with a view to ||110| ascertain its purport.

Appointment of Officers.

Upon the proposition of Cit. Hales, it was unanimously agreed not to appoint a 25 standing president.

Upon the proposition of Cit. Shaw it was unanimously [agreed] that the functions hitherto performed by the financial secretary should be transferred to the general secretary & the office of financial secretary abolished.

Meeting of the General Council September 24, 1867

The following were appointed as officers without a dissentient voice: R. Shaw Treasurer; J. George Eccarius Gen. Sec; Eugene Dupont sec. for France; Karl Marx for Germany; Zabicki for Poland; Hermann Jung for Switzerland; James Carter for Italy; Peter Fox for America; Paul Lafargue for Spain.

- 5 On account of the constant absence of Cit. Besson the late secretary for Belgium the appointment of a secretary for Belgium was postponed.

Cit. Cohn, the delegate of the London Cigarmakers Association stated that by economical management his society had succeeded in accumulating a fund amounting to about 2000 / . which was deposited in the savingsbank at an annual 10 interest of 2 4*i* per cent. They thought that money might be applied more beneficially & they wanted to know how. He submitted the question to the Council with a view to being taken into consideration & that the Council might give some advice in the matter, & state its opinion whether it was possible to devise a scheme to put the money to a better purpose.

- 15 The Committee had offered a price of 2 Guineas for the best essay upon the best means to apply the funds of the Association. This was confined to the members of the Association but they wanted the advice of the Council too. The time fixed for the examination of the essays was February 1868.

Cit. Hinton (a citizen of the United States) inquired how he could aid the 20 efforts of the International Association on his return home. He thought it was high time that the Americans || 1111 should give up their somewhat narrow movement which was confined to National limits. He thought with proper management the moral weight of the American Republic might be gained for the support of struggling democracy in Europe. He would do his best to bring about a co-25 operation that would have such an effect & he would also endeavour to get an American delegation to the next International Workingmen's Congress. He stigmatized the attacks of the Times against the American Labour Congress & stated there was no foundation for the assertion made in the Times respecting immigration from Europe.

- 30 After several propositions & a good deal of discussion the question as to the special powers to be entrusted to Cit. Hinton was postponed.

The meeting adjourned at 10 *h* o'clock.

Members present: Buckley, Cohn, Eccarius, Fox, Hales, Jung, Mrs. Law, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Shaw, Zabicki.

35

H. Jung. Chairman
J.G. Eccarius Secretary

Council Members appointed by the Congress with power to add to their number.
Besson, Buckley, Carter, Dell, Dupont, Eccarius, Fox, Hariette Law, Hales,
Howell, Jung, Lucraft, Lessner, Lassasie, Lafargue, Lawrence, Marx, Morgan,
40 Maurice, Odger, Shaw, Stainsby, Williams, Walton, Weston, Yarrow, Zabicki. |

Meeting of the General Council October 1, 1867

1112| Council Meeting Oct 1.

Citizen Jung in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

The General Secretary read a letter from Birmingham the writer of which asked for the addresses of the Continental secretaries for the Reverend Neil to 5 transmit peace addresses. The Council took no action upon the matter.

A letter was read from the Tailors of Cologne asking for the rales of the English tailors' Associations & little advice for the guidance of a tailors' Congress to be held on the 14th of October at Leipzig to establish an amalgamation. The secretary was instructed to answer officially. 10

The Secretary reported that Mr. Potter had sent a Bill charging 2 d. a copy for 100 Beehives. Cit. Fox volunteered to try & get the charge reduced to trade price.

Cit. Fox reported that Mr. Miall was in possession of the letter from the Liverpool Cigarmakers containing a post office order but would only give it up to some authorised officers. Cit. Eccarius was ordered to go & get it. 15

Citizens Maurice & Eccarius nominated Mr. Newberry to become a member of the Council.

Cit. Fox announced that the question of the affiliation of the bootclovers had been postponed for a fuller meeting. Cit. Fox asked leave to postpone the consideration of Cit. Eccarius' Correspondence in the Times. 20

Cit. Marx preferred postponing his question respecting Cit. Fox's letter to Ph. Becker.

Resolved that the Beehives containing the annual report & balance sheet to [be] sent to the metropolitan societies be directed & brought to the next meeting.

Upon the proposition of Cit. Fox seconded by Cit. Lessner it was unanimously 25 resolved to give Credentials to Cit. Hinton of America. |

11131 Cit. Fox gave notice that on an early day he would call attention to the relations of the Beehive towards the Council.

On account of Cit. Shaw's absence the motion standing in his name was ad-journed. 30

Meeting of the General Council October 1, 1867

Members present: Eccarius, Fox, Hales*, Jung, Lafargue, Lessner, Marx, Zabicki.

Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary *I*

Meeting of the General Council October 8, 1867

/v3/ Council Meeting October 8

Cit. Shaw in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read & confirmed.

The General Secretary reported that the Secretary of the Birmingham Trades Council had applied for the rules of the Association. He had sent some copies of the Address & provisional rules. 5

Mr. Hillam of Lynn had applied for nine Cards & rules for the 9 s. 9 d. sent the other day. He sent the names of nine men belonging to various trades as candidates to become members. The affiliation of the Trades branch was not yet decided upon. 10

Mr. Arthur Miall would only give up the letter on condition that the secretary signed a paper to make himself responsible for the 3 /. 10 s. owing for rent & gas which condition the Secretary did not comply with. Cit. Shaw undertook to try & get the letter.

Correspondence.

15

Cit. Isard sent a letter from New York stating that he had [seen] many influential men but none were serious about the International except Mr. Jessup. Writing letters to the others was labour in vain. He had been present at a States delegate meeting of the National Labour Union where he & Cit. Drury another member of the French branch had been well received. Both had spoken & laid the annexed propositions upon the table. He asked for Credentials both for himself & Cit. Drury. Upon the proposition [of] Cit. Fox seconded by Cit. Dupont it was agreed to send him credentials, annual & Congress reports. | 20

[114] Cit. Lafargue read a Spanish letter from a Spaniard who had read something about the Congress of Lausanne. The writer was very enthusiastic for the 25 working classes. In Madrid he had effected an alliance between the students & the working men. He had travelled over all Europe & was conscious that much was to be done in Spain but the country was too much agitated at present. There was

Meeting of the General Council October 8, 1867

good material in Catalonia, Aragon, & Castile. He would persevere & encounter a Martyr's fate if need be.

Cit. Fox announced that he had received two American papers but had not read them yet. The Workingman's Advocate of Chicago contained a full report.

5 Cit. Marx announced that a Member of the Association Cit. Liebknecht had been returned to the North German Parliament by the Workingmen of Saxony. He was the only member that had dared to attack Bismarks war policy for which he had been invited by the Arbeiter Bildungsverein—a Schulze Delitzsch-society to receive the acknowledgements of the Workingmen for his services.

10 Cit. Fox introduced the motion of which he [had] given notice at [the] last meeting condemning the reports sent by Cit. Eccarius from Lausanne to the "Times", & supported it in a speech of considerable length; Cit. Carter supported & stated that he considered it the duty of any council member who had a stigma cast upon him to resign. He then announced his resignation as Italian secretary & 15 member of the Council & left the room. Cit. Shaw also concurred in Fox's view & thought it wrong that reports had been sent to the "Times".

Cit. Marx, Jung, Lafargue, & Zabicki opposed it. Cit. Hales moved a more general resolution which Fox preferred to his own [to] which Cit. Marx moved the order of the day as ||115| an amendment which was carried against two.

20 The Council then adjourned. Members present, Buckley, Carter, Eccarius, Fox, Hales, Jung, Lafargue, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Shaw, Stepney, Zabicki. I

Meeting of the General Council October 22, 1867

/115/ Council Meeting October 22.

Cit. Jung in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read & confirmed.

The secretary announced that the Cheltenham Cordwainers had sent 2 s. 6 d. towards the Congress fund. Cit. Shaw read a letter from Miall demanding money before Wednesday to stop prosecution. The letter containing the Postoffice Order from the Liverpool Cigarmakers had been cut open & pasted together again by Mr. Miall. It was agreed to pay Mr. Miall 10 s. & the secretary was instructed to answer his letter which contained insinuations against the members of the Council.

10

Cit. Jung read a letter from Lausanne asking for a loan to liquidate some debts incurred by the section as a co-operative Association.

Cit. Jung was instructed to answer the letter & to state that the Council [was] unable to render any assistance.

Cit. Marx read some extracts from the stenographic reports of the North German Parliament. Mr. Liebknecht, a member of the Association, had delivered a speech in favour of the abolition of standing armies & the introduction of popular armaments, & subjecting Bismark's conduct in the Luxembourg affair to a severe criticism.

It was then agreed that the secretary should summon all the members of the Council appointed by the Lausanne congress.

The issuing of the plenary powers of delegation demanded by the Cit. Isard & Drury in the United States was postponed.

It was agreed that in future no extra charge should be made for cards of membership.

25

The resolution requiring the delegates of affiliated societies to take out cards of membership was rescinded. |

|116| It was unanimously agreed that the money voted to Cit. Maurice for the use of his room be paid as soon as possible.

The meeting adjourned at half past ten.

30

Members present: Buckley, Eccarius, Hales, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Shaw, Stepney, Zabicki. I

Meeting of the General Council October 29, 1867

/116/ October 29.

Cit. Shaw was unanimously elected to the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

The Secretary reported that having no addresses of the members of the Council he had written to five only. Cit. Howell had answered & promised that he would put in [an] appearance at the next meeting. He read a letter from Mr. Miall containing an apology for his insinuations in the last [one], and a statement that [he] should consider himself entitled to open the letters of the Council though it was unlawful.

- 10 Cit. Jung read letters from Digne (Basses-Alpes) & Bonneville the writers of which asked [for the] rules as they intended to establish branches of the Association.

It was proposed by Cit. Lessner & seconded by Cit. Hales & unanimously carried that Cit. Jung write to Lausanne to enquire about the Minutes of the late 15 Congress.

The secretary was instructed to ascertain the price of printing 1000 Copies of the Rules of the Association.

Mr. Bradnick was unanimously accepted as delegate from the Elastic Web Weavers Association.

- 20 Mr. Weston, through the medium of Mr. Hales, apologised for his absence & promised to come in future.

It was proposed that the present secretaries should including the General Secretary form the Standing Committee. Carried.

Cit. Fox stated that we required constant information about the labor movement in the United States & the best mode ||117| to get it would be to get our correspondents Whaley & Jessup to furnish us with News Papers. Wherever a social movement takes place Jessup gets papers from all parts of the country. Jessup was a tried man. He doubted that Whaley would turn out to be equally good. If he was & our funds run short we might confine ourselves to one. But at 30 present we ought to enter into arrangements with both. We should have to send papers in return but what? He thought the weekly Beehive, the fortnight Co-

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operator & the Industrial partnership record would answer the purpose. They would amount to 4 s. 4 d. a month.

Cit. Jung said he was ready to second the proposition but before doing so he wanted to know what use was going to be made of the papers we should receive.

Cit. Fox was willing to have that question settled first.

Cit. Hales spoke in favour of the scheme. He thought it was the business of the Council to get the information to supply it to the Continent. The Council adjourned at half past ten. Members present Buckley, Eccarius, Fox, Hales, Jung, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Marx, Maurice, Shaw, Stepney, Zabicki. /

Meeting of the General Council November 5, 1867

/117/ Council Meeting Nov. 5.

Citizen Shaw in the Chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

It was agreed to have a thousand copies of Rules printed. The secretary was
5 instructed to have the Bill sent by Mr. George Potter, charging for more than
double the number of Beehives received, rectified.

Correspondence

A letter was read from Locle apologising for the delay caused in printing the
Congress reports. It stated that the resolutions were ready & should be sent. The
10 Geneva ||118| Papers had stated that the Council of the Reform League had
passed a resolution in favour of Fenianism & that the Government had com-
menced a prosecution against its authors.

The College authorities of Locle had fallen out with professor Guillaume he
[was] in danger of losing his place.

15 Lyons. The old branch had divided itself into two. The one party was in favour
of taking an active part in political affairs the other was of a different opinion.
The writer considered Schettel a good soldier but not a general. Palix is Secretary
of the new branch. A third branch has formed itself at Lyons under the title of
Independent Group. It desires to correspond directly with the Council & requires
20 Rules. They will send their contributions together with the other branches.

Rouen. A letter [was read] announcing that 60 new members had been admit-
ted.

Marseilles. A letter announcing a satisfactory increase, & the establishment of
a bureau at Marseilles. Vasseur has been attacked by the Clerical Journals since
25 his return from the Congress. Will send their contributions on the last day of the
year.

Geneva. The Carpenters Society has amalgamated its benefit fund with the
International Association, the same as the Joiners. The Plasterers have amalgam-
ated their fund in like manner.

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Chaux de Fonds. More Groups of co-operative Watchmakers have been formed under the Auspices of the Association. Also a society of Mainspring-makers. They will all pay contributions to the General Council.

The Title of the third Lyonnese group gave rise to some conversation. Cit. Jung was instructed to advise the adoption of a more neutral title. 5

Cit. Fox announced his intention to resign his American Secretaryship to free his relation with the Beehive. Had the Council possessed funds to pay him for his | 1119| trouble it would have been better that his articles should have come from the Association. But as the Council could not pay he must do it in the service of the Beehive. He had some Council Members on his side his aim was to widen the 10 Platform of the Beehive, & must disregard the majority of the Council if it should be against him.

Cit. Jung said it was anything but handsome on Fox's part to have availed himself of his position as American Secretary to obtain information & enter into relations & now to tell the Council you are too poor to pay me. I go to the 15 Beehive.

Cit. Marx said we ought to have used more precaution in the first instance. We ought to have entered into an agreement about our reports. They now appeared inside amongst the miscellaneous News. Fox had only been attacked about one passage in the American Congress report. There was no other fault committed. 20 We had nothing to do with Fox's articles unless he wrote against us.

Cit. Shaw had never heard any body blame Fox for writing for the Beehive except the Congress report already mentioned which had done the Association some injury. Had the Council asked the Beehive directors whether they would pay us for our reports they might have done so. He was sorry for what had taken 25 place.

Cit. Fox gave notice of the following motion:

That this Council directs its American Secretary to correspond with Mr. J.C. Whaley, President of the National Labour Union Washington D.C. & to send him the weekly Beehive, the bi-monthly Manchester Co-operator & monthly 30 Industrial Partnership Record praying him in return therefore to send the Chicago Workingman's Advocate & any other workingclass Journals which are of a nature to give the General Council the information which it desires to have concerning the workingclass cause in America. |

|120| The Council then adjourned. 35

Members present Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Fox, Howell, Jung, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Marx, Maurice, Shaw, Stepney. I

Meeting of the General Council November 12, 1867

/120/ Council Meeting Nov. 12

Cit. Shaw in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read & confirmed.

The Secretary read a letter from Mr. George Potter concerning the number of 5 Beehives, of the 14, & 21 of September, sent to the Office of the Association. The matter was left in the hands of the Secretary to deal with.

Fox's Letter. A long letter was read from P. Fox reaffirming his resignation as American Secretary & making some charges against the conduct of the Chairman of the last meeting, the silent endorsement of the said conduct on the part of the 10 Council members & repudiating the statements made by Cit. Jung at that Meeting.

Cit. Jung said that he had told Cit. Fox to his face what he had considered wrong & he ought to have replied then.

The members present were of opinion that what had taken place at the last 15 meeting did not justify such a letter as that sent by Cit. Fox. It was agreed to refer the matter to the standing committee.

Cit. Jung stated that the working men of Geneva had held a mass meeting & adopted an address to the Italians calling upon them to rise en-masse. A Concert had also been given for the benefit of the Garibaldi fund.

20 The engravers of Geneva were announced to be on strike.

Several professors were making arrangements for the establishment of a free-school in connection with the Association where mathematics, geometry, & book keeping should be taught.

Cit. Morgan proposed Mad. Huleck as a member of the Council.

25 Cit. Jung proposed & Cit. Lessner seconded that the Fenian Question be discussed on Tuesday Nov. 19. Unanimously carried.

Members present: Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lafargue, Lessner, Maurice, Morgan, Shaw. The first copy of the Congress minutes was received. Also three papers from Mr. Jessup in America. The Workingman Advocate Chicago, 30 the Welcome Workman Philadelphia, & the Pittsburgh Weekly Advocate. Read & adopted on December 17.

H. Jung. G. Eccarius |

Meeting of the General Council and of members and
friends of the Association November 19, 1867

1121 Meeting of the Council & Members & Friends
of the Association
November 19

Citizen Weston was unanimously elected to take the Chair.

The Secretary read the resolution, from the minutes of the previous Council 5
meeting, fixing the order of the day for the 19th, being the discussion of the
Fenian question.

The Chairman said, I think the Council has acted wisely in determining the
discussion of this question at this time, & I have no doubt that it will receive the
attention it merits. He then called upon Cit. Jung to open the discussion. 10

Mr. Jung said: When I proposed that this question should be discussed I
thought an expression of opinion on the part of the council of this association
was desirable. I am no abettor of physical force movements, but the Irish have no
other means to make an impression. Many people seem to be frightened at the
term "physical force" in this country, yet even English agitations are not free 15
from its influence. The Reform League has accomplished much by way of moral
force, but it was only under a threat that physical force might be resorted to on
the occasion of the Hyde park meetings that the Government gave way. I should
be sorry to find the working men of this country go wrong upon this question.
They have been right upon every other. The Irish require more than simple 20
reform. Some endeavours have been made to divert the attention of the work-
people of this country with regard to the Fenians. While they are denounced as
murderers, Garibaldi is held up as a great patriot; and have no lives been sacri-
ficed in Garibaldi's movements? The Irish have the same right to revolt as the
Italians, and the Italians have not exhibited greater courage than the Irish. I may 25
not agree with the particular way in which the Irish manifest their resistance, but
they deserve to be free. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Lessner said: Our association is not confined to any particular nationality;
we are of all nations, and the Irish question concerns us as much as any other. In
the course of twenty years the Irish population has dwindled down from eight 30
millions to five and a half millions, and this decline is in consequence of the

Meeting of the General Council November 19, 1867

British rule. No country can be prosperous with a declining population. Ireland declines at a rapid rate, and the Irish have a right to revolt against those who drive them out of their country; the English would do the same if any foreign Power oppressed them in a similar manner. (Cheers.)

5 Mr. Dupont: The council would be wanting in its duty if it remained indifferent to the Irish cause. What is Fenianism? Is it a sect or a party whose principles are opposed to ours? Certainly not. Fenianism is the vindication by an oppressed people of its right to social and political existence. The Fenian declarations leave no room for doubt in this respect. They affirm the republican form of government, liberty of conscience, no State religion, the produce of labour to the labourer, and the possession of the soil to the people. What people could abjure such principles? Only blindness and bad faith can support the contrary. We hear that those whom the English law is going to strike down for their devotedness to such a cause are exclaiming, "We are proud to die for our country and for republican principles." Let us see of what value the reproaches are that are addressed to the Fenians by the English would-be liberators. Fenianism is not altogether wrong, they say, but why not employ the legal means of meetings and demonstrations by the aid of which we have gained our Reform Bill? I avow that it is hardly possible to restrain one's indignation at hearing such arguments.

10 20 What is the use of talking of legal means to a people reduced to the lowest state of misery from century to century by English oppression—to people who emigrate by thousands, to obtain bread, from all parts of the country? Is not this Irish emigration to America by millions the most eloquent legal protest? Having destroyed all—life and liberty—be not surprised that nothing should be found

25 30 but hatred to the oppressor. Is it well for the English to talk of legality and justice to those who on the slightest suspicion of Fenianism are arrested and incarcerated, and subjected to physical and mental tortures which leave the cruelties of King Bomba, of whom the would-be liberators talked so much, far behind? A citizen of Manchester, whose domicile was invaded by constables, asked one of them to show his warrant. "Here is my warrant," he replied, drawing a pistol from his pocket. This shows the conduct of the English Government towards the Irish. Without having right on their side, such conduct is enough to provoke and justify resistance. The English working men who blame the Fenians commit more than a fault, for the cause of both peoples is the same; they have the same enemy

35 40 to defeat—the territorial aristocracy and the capitalists. (Cheers.)

Mr. Morgan thought it was rather unfortunate that the Irish had chosen the name of Fenians, which many Englishmen considered synonymous with all that is bad. Had they simply called themselves Republicans, they would have shut up at once all those Englishmen who profess to be in favour of Republicanism.

40 Englishmen as a rule did not look as favourably upon things in their own country as in other countries. They applauded insurrection abroad, but denounced it in Ireland. Deeds that would be considered as heroism if committed in France, in Italy, or in Poland, would be stigmatized as crimes in Ireland. The Irish had every reason to have recourse to physical force. Moral suasion had never been used

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towards them by the British Government; it had always applied to the robe and the musket. The English ought at least to look as favourably upon the Irish as upon the Italians. Were they treated in the same manner by a foreign Power they would revolt sooner than the Irish. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Lucraft said the question was not whether the Irish were justified in using physical force, but whether they could do any good by it. He thought they could not. He thought it rather strange that the Irish of London, for instance, had not made common cause with the English and Scotch in the reform agitation. 5

Mr. Weston thought the word Fenianism meant the heat produced by centuries of oppression, and the hatred engendered by it, which could not be cured by the concessions of reform which the English demanded for themselves. A Government that had trampled upon the rights of a people could never be reached by moral suasion, but by physical force resistance. In England there was no need of bludgeons, but in Ireland moral force had not [had] fair play. The rescue of the Fenian prisoners at Manchester was an exact duplicate affair of the rescue that was now attempted by the British Government of the prisoners held in Abyssinia. If killing was murder to rescue prisoners in Manchester, it was murder in Abyssinia; if it was wrong in one place it was wrong in the other. The crime of starving the Irish was far greater than the accidental killing of one man in trying to rescue the Fenian prisoners. He did not believe in the justice of the law. The laws were made and administered by hostile partisans, and there was a possibility of finding an innocent man guilty. He thought Ireland had been governed with more heartlessness than any other country, and he was glad that the Irish question had come uppermost. The democracy of the sister kingdoms must take the matter up and redress the wrong. (Loud cheers.) 25

Mr. William Parks said that the Irish in Ireland, in America, and in England were all of one opinion—they wanted Ireland for the Irish, and to govern themselves.

Cit. Jayet argued in a speech of some length that physical force resistance was a bounden duty for every people who was oppressed by tyrants were they of home or foreign origin, & showed that this was laid down as a maxim in the constitution of the French Convention, of which Robespierre had been a leading member. 30

Upon the proposition of Dr. Marx, the discussion was adjourned to Tuesday next. I 35

11221 Upon the proposition of Cit. Lucraft it was agreed after some discussion, & the Standing Committee with the Chairman of the Meeting were instructed, to draw up a memorial to the Home Secretary concerning the Fenian prisoners under sentence of death at Manchester & present it to a special meeting of the Council for adoption on Wednesday Novem. 20. / 40

Special Meeting of the General Council
November 20, 1867

/122/ Special Meeting
November 20, at the Office 16 Castle St., East West.

Cit. Weston in the Chair.

The following memorial proposed by the standing committee was unanimously
5 adopted:

Memorial of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association

To the Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy her Majesty's Secretary of State.

The memorial of the undersigned, representing workingmen's Associations in
10 all parts of Europe, sheweth,—That the execution of the Irish prisoners con-
demned to death at Manchester will greatly impair the moral influence of Eng-
land upon the European continent.

The execution of the four prisoners, resting upon the same evidence & the
15 same verdict which, by the free pardon of Maguire, have been officially declared,
the one false, the other erroneous, will bear the stamp not of a judicial act, but of
political revenge. But even if the verdict of the Manchester jury & the evidence it
rests upon had not been tainted by the British Government itself, the latter would
now have to choose between the blood handed practices of old ||123| Europe, &
the magnanimous humanity of the young transatlantic Republic.

20 The commutation of the sentence, for which we pray, will be an act not only of
justice, but of political wisdom.

By order of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Asso-
ciation

	Chairman	
25	Secretary	for
	America	
	France	
	Germany	
	Switzerland	
	Spain	
30	Poland	
	Holland	
	Belgium	
	//	

J. George Eccarius, Hon. Gen. Secretary

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Cit. R. Shaw was appointed unanimously as American Secretary.

Members present. Eccarius, Dupont, Jung, Lafargue, Marx, Maurice, Shaw,
Weston, Lessner.

H. Jung Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary

Read & adopted December 17 |

Meeting of the General Council November 26, 1867

|124| Council Meeting November 26

Citizen Shaw in the Chair:

Resumption of the debate on the Fenian question.

Cit. Marx stated that he would give up his parole in favour of Cit. Fox. Cit. 5 Fox, in long speech, stated that the Irish under the leadership of D. O'Connell had been the originators of moral force agitation but that the English Government had forced them to change their tactics; that in consequence of the absence of political life in this country Fenianism had drifted into open hostility towards England; that Fenianism was the vindication of the Irish nationality in the face of 10 the English, & that the Irish oligarchy, unlike the aristocracies of other countries, was anti national. That the unsettled state of Ireland was a constant danger to the relations between England & America & that Irish influence in the States was prejudicial to the British workingmen who emigrated to America, & that the Irish question also prevented England from taking her proper stand upon the Polish 15 question. The English dominion over Ireland was as ruinous as the Austrian dominion over Italy. He concluded by moving resolution:

Memorial "That this meeting desires that a settled peace & amity between the British & the Irish nation should be substituted for the war of seven hundred years between Englishry & Irishry & with a view to that end this meeting exhorts 20 the friends of Irish nationality to bring their cause before the British people & advises the latter to accord an unprejudiced hearing to the arguments advanced on behalf of Ireland's right to autonomy."

Cit Yarrow seconded the resolution & endorsed what Cit. Fox had stated regarding American affairs.

25 Cit. Cohn thought there was a difference between England [and] Austria. Ireland was on the road to America & might interfere with British Commerce if it came into other hands.

After some conversation in which the Chairman, Cit. ||125| Marx, Eccarius, Weston, & Jung took part, it was agreed upon the proposition of Cit. Cohn that 30 the resolution be referred to the standing committee.

The Meeting then adjourned. I

Meeting of the General Council December 3, 1867
(Newspaper report)

The Bee-Hive Newspaper
Nr. 321, 7. Dezember 1867

On account of a meeting convened by the French democrats, resident in London, to protest against the French occupation of Rome, the Council of the International Working Men's Association had put a short meeting to transact some administrative business. Letters were handed to the General Secretary announcing the formation of a new section of the Association at Digne (Basses-Alpes) in France, and a cordial vote of thanks, passed by the Marseilles section bids fair to assume gigantic proportions. At Leipzig arrangements have been made to publish a weekly working men's paper, under the auspices of the Association. A preliminary number, containing prospectus, platform, etc., will be issued in the course of the present month; the regular weekly publication is to commence in the first week of the ensuing year.

5

Meeting of the General Council December 17, 1867

/125/ Council Meeting December 17.

Cit Shaw in the Chair: The Minutes of the previous meetings were severally read & confirmed. A letter was read from Jos. Hart Goswell Road desiring to become a member. Cit. Jung volunteered to see him.

- 5 Cit. Marx proposed & Cit. Maurice seconded that the rules be printed, Cit. Marx offering to advance the money if not should come in. Carried.

Cit. Jung read a letter from Paris stating that the Committee had decided to clear up the debt of last year. Counting 300 members their obligations would amount to £4. 12 s. Deducting £2. 10 s. for expenses incurred they hoped the 10 Council would not object to taking £2. They wished to have it brought before the Council & to have an early answer. They would then try to collect some money & send it as soon [as] possible. It was agreed that the Council had power to abate the amount due & Cit. Shaw undertook to inform the French Secretary of it.

Cit. Jung also announced that the engravers of Geneva had joined the Association.

The Secretary was then called upon to read the resolution respecting the Fenian question proposed by Cit Fox.

The resolution having been read Cit Jung said that he wished to say a few words before the question was entertained. He said it was desirable that Cit Fox 20 should be present & to enable him to do so he would retract what he had said about Fox having committed a dishonest act, & he moved that the consideration of the resolution be postponed. This was agreed to & the secretary instructed to communicate it to Cit. Fox.

The Council then adjourned.

- 25 Members present: Buckley, Eccarius, Jung, Mrs. Law, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Shaw.

Mathew Lawrence Chairman
J.G. Eccarius Secretary. |

Meeting of the General Council December 31, 1867

|126| Council Meeting December 31

Citizen Lawrence in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

Citizen Lawrence stated that in consequence of having resigned the secretar-
yship of the Tailors Association he was free to attend the meetings of the Council 5
& would do all that lay in his power to promote the objects of the Association.
He also thanked the Council on behalf of the Tailors Association for the assist-
ance rendered during the Strike.

Citizen Jung stated that he had been to see Joseph Hart but that he was not in
town. 10

From Switzerland he announced that the engravers of Geneva had joined the
Association & that two Bakers had entered into a contract to supply the members
of the Association with bread at a lower charge than the general selling price.

The resolution of Cit. Fox was, on account of his absence, again postponed.

Cit. Dupont announced that domiciliary visits had been made by the Paris 15
police at some of the members' houses.

The Council then adjourned.

Members present Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lawrence, Lessner, Maurice, Za-
bicki, Huleck, & Mrs. Huleck.

R. Shaw Chairman 20
J. George Eccarius Secretary |

Meeting of the General Council January 21, 1868

|127| 1868
Council Meeting January 21, 1868
at 16 Castle Street East West.

Ctiz. Shaw in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

Correspondence. Cit. Dupont stated that he had not received any direct communication from Paris but that a letter received by the French branch here showed that the regular correspondence on both sides must have been seized by the Police. The Parisian Members who have been summoned to give an account of themselves will employ no lawyers.

Cit Jung read a letter from Geneva appealing for help for the Engravers & Jewel Casemakers who are on Strike. The Strike had taken place with the consent of the Geneva Committee.

The French Secretary was instructed to write to the Paris Bronze-workers & enquire whether they had repaid any & what loans to the English trade societies, & solicit them to refund the money as soon as they could as the non-payment might prove an obstacle to raising funds for the Engravers of Geneva.

Cit. Jung then proposed & Cit. Dupont seconded that Members be appointed to go on deputation. Carried: Citizens Dupont, Jung, Lessner, Morgan, & Shaw were appointed Cit. Shaw to be the Secretary of the Deputation.

Citizen Neemeier was admitted as delegate from the French Branch.

Citizen Meyerson was nominated to become a member of the Council by Cit Jung & Lessner. Mr. & Mrs. Huleck were nominated by Cit. Morgan seconded by Dupont.

Memorial It was then agreed that the following questions be submitted to the affiliated Societies for discussion. 1. Organisation of Credit, Co-operative Exchange, Papermoney from a practical point of view. 2. Machinery & its Effects. 3. Technical & comprehensive Education. 4. The advisability of drawing up a Programme of rational Education. 5. Land, Mines, Canals, Highways, & Railways, ought they to be private or public property & worked for the benefit of private individuals or for the profit of the Community. 6. The Policy of Strikes &

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Courts of Arbitration. The Council then adjourned. Members present: Buckley,
Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Morgan, Maurice, Neemeier, Shaw.

R. Shaw Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary |

Meeting of the General Council January 28, 1868

11281 Council Meeting January 28

Citizen Shaw in the Chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & Confirmed.

Election of New Members.

- 5 E. Meyerson, Huleck and Mrs. Huleck were elected as members of the Council.
Louis Lefevre was nominated by Citiz. Dupont & seconded by Cit. Jung.

Correspondence.

Cit. Dupont related that a Bookbinder having come from Geneva to Paris & required funds to commence work, the Paris Bookbinders had upon the recommendation of the Geneva Section made the necessary advances. It was the first case of international Credit.

Cit. Tolain & Chemalé had baffled the juge d'instruction by demanding distinct overt acts to be brought forward on the part of the prosecution.

In Belgium our members endeavoured to resist the Conscription.

- 15 The French Branch announced that it had been resolved to celebrate the anniversary of the February Revolution on the 24, in Cleveland Hall.

Report of Deputations.

The Shoemakers' Executive had inserted the Statement respecting the Geneva Engravers' Strike in their monthly report.

- 20 Cit. Jung was well received by the Shoemakers in Leather Lane he thought they would [do] something.

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Cit. Shaw found no body at the King's Head, Lessner was ill.

Cit. Dupont protested against the resolution to have only two names printed on the rules.

It was agreed that 1 d. be charged for the rules but a copy sent free to each Secretary. | 5

[129] The following circular was adopted to be sent out to the Secretaries & Members of the Association.

Citizens,—As the General Council intends issuing a report on the present state of the working population, you are desired to furnish whatever authentic information you may be able to procure respecting the state and the condition of the workpeople of your respective localities, if possible within a month. The secretaries of the affiliated trades societies will oblige by answering the following questions:—1. The name of the society? 2. The number of its members? 3. What are the customary hours of labour? 4. What is the customary rate of wages? 5. Is employment constant or fluctuating? 6. What number has been out of work during the last three months? 7. Are those in work fully employed? 8. Has any advance or reduction of wages taken place in the trade within the last five years? 9. Has co-operative production been tried, and with what success?

The Council will esteem it a favour if, in addition to answering these questions, they can give any other information, either about their own or any trade in particular, or of the state of the working population in their neighbourhood in general, and whether any special endeavours are being made to improve the condition of the poor and with what success.

The following address has also been sent in the form of a circular letter:

To the Members of the International Working Men's Association. 25

Fellow working men! With the view of eliciting an unmistakable expression of opinion from the great body of the members of the International Working Men's Association, the last congress recommended the council to submit to you the following questions for deliberation, and we solicit your favour to return your conclusions respecting them at the earliest opportunity. 30

1. The practicability of organising a system of credit and co-operative exchanges^—facilitated by the use of paper money—amongst the various associations of working men.

2. What are the effects of the use of machinery upon the condition of the labouring poor? 35

3. The advisability of drawing up a definite programme for the technical, and a comprehensive secular education of the children of the poor.

4. The land, mines, canals, highways, railroads, &c, ought they to be the property of private individuals and worked for their personal profit, or would it be expedient to convert them into public property and work them for the community at large. 40

5. The policy of strikes, and the advisability of insisting upon the establishment of the courts of arbitration.

It will depend upon the answers returned to these questions, whether any of them shall form a part of the programme of the next congress to be held at Brussels in the first week of September next. 45

Meeting of the General Council January 28, 1868

By order of the general council of the International Working Men's Association, R. Shaw, chairman, J. George Eccarius, hon. general secretary.

N.B.—Secretaries of trade societies and others who may be desirous of assisting in the furnishing [of] material for the intended report, are invited to send 5 whatever they have to communicate to the Secretary of the International Working Men's Association, 16, Castle-street, E.W., London.

Cit. Jung consented to go as Deputation to the Bookbinders.

Members present. Dupont, Eccarius, Huleck and Mrs. Huleck, Jung, Lessner, Morgan, Maurice, Neemeier, Shaw.

10

R. Shaw Chairman
J. George Eccarius |

Meeting of the General Council February 4, 1868

11 30| Council Meeting February 4.

Citizen Lessner in the Chair.

In the absence of the Secretary Citizen Shaw acted as Secretary.

Cit. Dupont payed 2£ contribution for the Marseilles Branch for 1867.

Jung stated that he had seen in the papers that the Geneva Strike was over. 5

The Secretary of the Day working Bookbinders had replied that his Society could entertain no deputation as there were two on already & a monthly meeting could grant five pounds.

Members present. Huleck & Mrs., Jung, Dupont, Shaw, Lessner, Maurice.

Chairman 10
J. George Eccarius Secretary /

Meeting of the General Council February 11, 1868

/no/ Council Meeting Feb. 11.

Cit. Shaw in the Chair.

The Minutes of the two last meetings were read & confirmed.

Correspondence

5 Cit. Jung read a letter from Geneva stating that the Strike was over not altogether to the satisfaction of the men, but considering the unfavourable season they might have fared worse. The letter from London had not given much encouragement, but they thanked the Council for the steps that [had] been taken. Almost all the Trades Societies had now joined & newspapers had been established in several 10 places. They would soon send money.

Belgium. The members hold numerous meetings about co-operation, universal suffrage, & to organise opposition to the law of conscription & agitate for the abolition of the standing army. New sections have been established at Liege, Vervier & amongst the Miners of Borinage. The Finances are in an unsatisfactory 15 state, they have much expense but have no doubt that they will be able to pay their Contribution. ||131| They have also received a letter from Guillaume of Locle announcing that the Compte Rendu is at last ready but will cost 2 francs.

France. Cit Dupont read a letter stating that the inquiry before the *Juge d'instruction* was not yet ended. There had been but 4 domiciliary visits this was not 20 enough for the prosecution so the police had summoned all the members of the committee, including one who had never accepted & never attended. The Judge was of opinion that English names on the Council list of the I.W. A. were men of straw, that it was only the revolutionary refugees who gave instructions to their friends how to act. It was a secret society with a public platform. The Paris 25 members sought to obtain the control over the French workmen for revolutionary purposes. Rothschild has received notice to quit. In default of any punishable offence the accused expect to be punished for their sentiments.

The Marseilles Branch consists of 280 Members.

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Cit. Jung was instructed to send the translations of the circulars to Switzerland & to instruct the German Secretary of Geneva to get it published in as many papers as he could.

It was further agreed that Cit. Dupont have the questions on the circular & some Congress resolutions printed for transmission to France. 5

Cit Lawrence gave notice that on that day fortnight he would move some resolutions respecting the Credit institutions for the working class.

The Council then adjourned to Tuesday Feb. 18.

Members present: Dupont, Eccarius, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Hales, Jung, Lessner, Lawrence, Neal, Maurice, Shaw. 10

R. Shaw Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary. |

Meeting of the General Council February 18, 1868

|132| Council Meeting February 18

Cit. Shaw in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

Correspondence.

- 5 The Chaux de Fonds section has formed co-operative Stores under the title of La Prévoyante & asks for the addresses of British Manufacturers of Shirtings, Muslins & other stuffs for women's dresses & Coullery adds that we should send patterns. All purchases made with ready money. Coullery wants to know whether London is asleep. The Secretary was instructed to communicate the Substance of
10 the Letter to Rochdale Pioneers' Cooperative Society.

Belgium. The Government wants 2,000 more soldiers & requires several millions for war purposes the Section has protested.

It was agreed that Maurice be paid 1£ on account of rent.

Nomination. Mrs. Morgan nominated by Cit. Shaw seconded by Cit. Huleck.

- 15 Cit. Williamsen by Cit. Huleck seconded by Cit. Morgan.

On account of the Tailors General Meeting the Council adjourned to Wednesday Feb. 26.

Members present Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Mrs. Huleck, Huleck, Maurice, Morgan, Lawrence, Neal, Shaw. /

Meeting of the General Council February 26, 1868

/132/ Council Meeting Feb. 26

Cit. Shaw in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. Mrs. Morgan & Cit. Williamsen were admitted as Members without a dissentient.

Cit. Milner presented credentials as delegate of the National Reform League & paid 2 s. 6 d. as the second half of the annual Contribution for 1867. The delegate was admitted by unanimous vote. 5

Correspondence. A letter from the West End Bootclosers, answering the questions & offering to pay the first quarter's contribution but it must be fetched.

Mr. P. Shorrocks writes from Manchester that the Workpeople in that Town have little faith in London but he will endeavour ||133| to get adhesions to the International & information for the Report. 10

Report of Deputations. Cit. Huleck had an Interview with the N. W. branch of the Bootmakers but the meeting was not numerous enough to decide the question of affiliation. Has no doubt they will join. 15

Cit. Jung was well received by the City Women's Men. They joined, are 400 strong, & will send a delegate.

Cit. Lawrence had received a letter from the Corresponding Secretary of the International Tailors Union of America, in which the readiness is announced to enter into a Tailors' Union extending throughout the world; the London Tailors on the previous night had endorsed the sentiment & instructed their Secretary to continue the Correspondence, & Cit. Lawrence thinks if the most important passages of that letter be made known on the Continent it may induce other trades to follow. 20

Cit. Jung desires to hear the letter before any action is taken. Cit. Lawrence gives notice that we call the attention of the Council to the subject at the next meeting. 25

The American Secretary was instructed to write to Mr. Jessup at New York with a view to obtain information for the Report.

The Council adjourned at 10 42.

Meeting of the General Council February 26, 1868

Members present: Eccarius, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Jung, Lessner, Lawrence,
Milner, Mrs. Morgan, Morgan, Maurice, Shaw.

Chairman. H. Jung.
J. George Eccarius Secretary /

Meeting of the General Council March 3, 1868

/iv/ Council Meeting March the 3.

Citizen Jung in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

The Secretary reported that the New London Society of Basket Makers had paid their first quarters contribution for 300 Members. The Kendal Shoemakers 5 had paid their annual Contribution for 40 Members. Letters were read from the Lynn Branch & the Secretary of the Birmingham Trades Council referring to the |133a| circulars.

Citizen Jung read extracts from the Voix de l'Avenir from which it appeared that the Building Trades of Geneva are trying for a rise of Wages of 10 per cent 10 upon the present average of 3 fr. 60 c. per day. A letter from Belgium in the same paper states that several important Societies have joined & others are about to join the Association. A cooperative society of agriculturists is preparing to emigrate to America & to establish a communistic Colony there. The Belgian Section intends to issue an address to the British Workmen about the Fenians. The Bel- 15 gian Section is stated to be 4000 strong.

In Zürich a proposition has been carried into law for the Canton, by the agency of the Members of the Association that no measure carried by the legislature can have the force of law until approved of by a vote of the electors.

Cit. Huleck announced that he had made overtures to the Portmanteau & 20 Trunkmakers, & that the society was ready to receive a deputation. It was agreed that a deputation consisting of Cit. Milner, Lessner & Jung be sent.

Cit. Huleck stated on behalf of Cit. Morgan that a shoemaker had presented himself to the Cordwainers Association pretending to be delegated by a Paris society but having no credentials he would move that the French Secretary be 25 instructed to make inquiries. Agreed.

Members present Buckley, Eccarius, Huleck & Mrs. Huleck, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Mrs. Morgan, Maurice, Neemeier, Shaw. The Council adjourned at half past 10.

Chairman H. Jung
J. George Eccarius Secretary I

Meeting of the General Council March 10, 1868

/133a/ Council Meeting March 10

Cit. Jung in the Chair. The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. A letter was read from Paris about the trial of the members of the Paris Committee. The Hall had been filled by the Members of the Association. Various 5 questions had been asked of the members of Trades Societies. Cit Chemalé had demanded to know the indictment the Judge had refused unless the accused would employ lawyers which they had refused to do. The writer of the letter supposed that the result was known in London which was not the Case.

A new Committee had been elected on the previous Sunday consisting of 10 Bourdon, Varlin, Malon, Combault, Mollin, Humbert, Landrin, Granjon, & Charbonneau. j

|133b| Members present Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Jung, Lessner, Maurice, Mrs. Morgan, Milner. The Council adjourned at 9 o'clock.

15

H. Jung. Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary I

Meeting of the General Council March 17, 1868

/I33b/ Council Meeting March 17.

Cit. Shaw in the Chair. The Minutes of the previous meeting not being ready the reading of them was postponed to the next meeting.

Correspondence. A letter from Coullery was read in which he complained of hearing no news from London, the Circular was not in the last number of the Voix de l'Avenir. Application was made again for patterns, the Secretary undertook to write to Halifax. The Section had made an appeal to the Clerks & Railway officials to form an Association & join which they seemed inclined to do. Police officials not wanted. The Engravers have joined the Association & the German Section wants to amalgamate with the French. At Basle, a new Branch was to be opened.

Deputations. The Deputation had been well received by the Trunkmakers, the question was to be brought before the next General Meeting.

Cit Lawrence was then called upon to open the discussion of which he had given notice. He said, the Credit question was rather a difficult subject to approach. He was hardly prepared to propose anything practical. The question ought to be discussed in all its bearings & the conclusions arrived at embodied in resolutions. The object was to offer increased facilities for cooperation. There were two kinds of cooperation that of retailing the products bought whole sale, & the other of production. The former was carried on with ready money & required no credit, but the latter required credit in the course of production. All the other Classes of producers could give a marketable value to their produce by means of securities & Credit before the produce itself was ready to realise its market price. The trades societies & others of known wealth & acknowledged integrity ought to make their business to guarantee the paper of solvent cooperative Societies. An insurance Society upon the principles of Lloyds would enable cooperative societies to obtain credit without trouble. Without Credit cooperative production would not acquire the dimensions it was destined to attain. To bring the question fully before the working classes he would move the following resolution: "That the subject of Credit Societies for the assistance of productive ||I33c| cooperative Societies be considered by the Council with a view of issuing an opinion on the matter from this Council to the working classes."

Meeting of the General Council March 17, 1868

Cit. Neal seconded the motion. He thought the matter was worth taking up. There were difficulties to contend with, but these things must be taken up by some one. They might appear Utopian at the outset but if perseveringly advocated they [would] succeed in the end. He alluded to enormous amount of wealth produced annually & its unequal distribution as detailed by Leone [Levi] & Baxter [Langley] & said it was hardly conceivable that [the] wage receiving class, a large number of whom were organised & accumulated large sums, should hand these sums over to the rich who used them for their own purposes. He believed that this money could [be] applied for the redemption of the oppressed. The capitalists had gained their position by the organisation of their Credit institutions & the working classes could not do better than imitate them.

Several members having spoken in favour of the motion it was unanimously carried & the debate adjourned.

Members present Buckley, Eccarius, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Jung, Lawrence,
15 Lessner, Neal, Milner, Maurice, Mrs. Morgan, Shaw.

H. Jung, Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary *I*

Meeting of the General Council March 24, 1868

/133c/ Council Meeting March 24

Cit Jung in the Chair. The Minutes of the two previous meetings were read & confirmed.

Correspondence. The Secretary read a letter from Cit. Walton on the Credit Question & another from Nottingham acknowledging the receipt of the circular, 5 Rules, & addresses.

Cit Jung read extracts from the Voix de l'Avenir about the Building trades. They want to discuss their differences with their employers. They require a reduction in the number of the hours of labour from 12 to 10 hours & an increase of wages per hour. 10

Cit. Hales stated why his Society had not replied to the circular the questions had been discussed & he would furnish the conclusions next week, j

1133dL Belgium. A Cooperative Society is to be established at Brussels. L'Union, a workingmen's Association, has joined the Association.

Members present Buckley, Eccarius, Hales, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Jung, Lesser, Mrs. Morgan, Maurice. 15

R. Shaw Chairman
J. George Eccarius Hon. Gen. Sec. /

Meeting of the General Council March 31, 1868

/I33d/ Council Meeting March 31.

Cit. Shaw in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

Mr. Burns of Halifax sent 12 stamps to be enrolled as a member of the Association. In his reply to the letter concerning the Patterns to Chaux de Fonds he stated that none of the productive Associations were sufficiently advanced in their business transactions to undertake it & he advised the Council to communicate with Mr. Owen Greening of Manchester. He also suggested the establishing of an international cooperative Agency. Cit. Lucraft volunteered to write & the Secretary was also instructed to write.

France. A letter was read from Rouen enclosing 8 shillings as contribution for 100 new members. The branch is prosperous & rapidly increasing. Preparations are being made to publish a periodical. The correspondent wants to be put in communication with some English spinners.

15 An application was received from Avignon for the authorisation of new Branch. Citizens Dupont & Eccarius were appointed to investigate the enclosed rules of the appellants & to grant the application if they consider it advisable. From the Paris section it was announced that they would continue as if nothing had happened & if the Government felt inclined to persevere in prosecutions they 20 would furnish more victims.

Extracts were read from the Voix de l'Avenir to the Effect that a lockout of building trades had taken place at Geneva. The condition put by the capitalists is renunciation of the Association.

Many lying statements were read from English papers, which gave rise to a 25 long conversation. Deputations were appointed to wait upon trade societies & the secretary instructed to write to some to ascertain when & where deputations would be received. |

|133e| The secretary agreed to draw up a statement of the facts of the case to be sent to all the Daily papers & submitted for approval on Friday evening. The 30 Council adjourned at half past 11 o'clock.

Minutes of the General Council, September 17, 1867 to August 31, 1869

Members present Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Jung, Lu-
craft, Lessner, Maurice, Milner, Mrs. Morgan, Shaw.

R. Shaw Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary /

Meeting of the General Council April 7, 1868

/133e/ Council Meeting April 7.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

The Secretary read letters from Mr. Owen Greening stating that the cooperative Societies were not sufficiently advanced to supply the goods required but he
5 would send patterns from other sources & would be glad to give his office in London for an International Agency. The other from Birmingham promising a report.

Jung read a letter from Switzerland respecting the Lockout. The masters have tried to provoke disorder but in vain. They had called a meeting of German Swiss
10 to sever them from the French speaking ones but after 4 hours discussion & speeches the German Swiss could not be gained.

The Genevese had sent a delegate who had brought some papers from which it appeared that the masters were not as unanimous as had been asserted.

A deputation had attended the Council of the Amalgamated Carpenters &
15 Joiners & had been well received.

At the Bookbinders through a mistake the case could not be brought forward.

At the French Branch signatures were obtained amounting to 30 s. a week.

In Paris Varlin has published an appeal.

In Switzerland the societies are doing their best.

20 Members present Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Maurice, Shaw. I

Meeting of the General Council April 14, 1868

|i33f| Council Meeting April 14.

Cit. Shaw in the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

The Secretary announced that the West End Ladies Bootmakers would receive a deputation on the 20th. The West End Cabinet Makers had replied they were 5 too poor to grant any thing for the Genevese but they would pay their subscription. These were all the answers received to 9 letters.

Cit. Jung read a letter from Geneva showing that great provocation had been used to incite a quarrel & disorder that the federal Government might interfere. The writer approved of the action taken by Cit. Varlin at Paris. 10

Another letter from Varlin to the Geneva delegate stated that 60£ had been obtained from one Society & 80£ from another. 20£ had been received from the amalgamated Carpenters in London. Varlin had inserted an appeal in the Opinion Nationale in the name of the Association & signed by himself on behalf [of] the new Committee. The Rules & Platform of the Social Party of New York were 15 received.

Cit. Jung had been well received by the Cigar Makers & also by the Elastic Web Weavers who granted 5£, voted unanimously. He had also written to the Voix de l'Avenir, a fortnight ago but it [had] not yet been inserted. The same notice, which appeared in the London Papers of Saturday of the termination of 20 the Geneva dispute appears in the Voix de l'Avenir. The men will in future only work 11 hours a day with a rise of 10 per cent upon the former wages per day.

Cit. Lessner reported that he had had to combat some objections at the Trunk-makers' Society. The Secretary prevaricated a good deal & it was at last resolved to join but not to take effect before July. 25

Cit. Hales reported that he had written to several trades societies in the provinces to join.

Members present: Buckley, Eccarius, Hales, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Maurice, Shaw. I

Meeting of the General Council April 21, 1868

|i33g| Council Meeting April 21.

Cit. Jung in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. Letters were read from the Bund Deutscher Männer announcing that £ 1 had been granted for the 5 Workmen of Geneva; another from the Secretary of the Sunday League respecting the hiring of an office & one from the Secretary of the Coach Trimmers announcing the withdrawal of that Society.

Upon the proposition of Citizen Lessner seconded by Cit. Milner it was agreed that the secretary should write to the Coachtrimmers to enquire for the reason of 10 their withdrawal.

The Secretary was instructed to write to Mr. Morell & state what kind of accommodation was required.

Correspondence. Cit. Jung had received a letter on Friday which stated that the masters had thought that the men would refuse the terms proposed which 15 would have put them in a false position. The masters instead of opening their shops on the 13, most of the masters refused to take back their men.

Deputations. Attended the Hatters, was well received & had no doubt that something would be done if a written statement was sent. The City Women's Shoemakers do not meet till in a fortnight's time. The City Men's Men number-20 ing about 150 members will discuss the question of Joining. It was proposed that 2£ be given to the Geneva Workmen which was carried.

Cit. Lessner had sent circulars to several German Societies the result of which was that the Arbeiter Bildungs Verein had subscribed 1£. 11 s. 4 d.—1£. 3 s. from the Hanoverians other sums were got elsewhere.

25 Marseilles. The Branch has written to Dupont how to act under existing circumstances. The old Committee had resigned a new one has been appointed but in case the Council desires the old Committee to resume they are willing to do so. The Council thought the matter ought to be left to the discretion of the members of Marseilles.

30 A letter from Cit. Chemalé of Paris stated that he had appealed against the decision of the Court the appeal will be heard on the 22. A member of the

Minutes of the General Council, September 17, 1867 to August 31, 1869

Association had absconded from Paris with various sums belonging to cooperative Societies.

An appeal has been published to the Paris Workmen to aid the Genevese, signed by delegates of various trades of Paris.

The members of the I.W. A. in Belgium have furnished the prosecuted miners with counsel.

Members present Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Lessner, Milner, Maurice.

Geo. Odger Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary. |

Meeting of the General Council April 28, 1868

|i33h| Council Meeting April 28.

Cit. Odger in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The Secretary reported that the Organ Builders & Coach Makers had consented to receive 5 deputations in favour of the Genevese. The No. 1 Lodge of the O.B. S. required 8 blank cards. The secretary [having stated] that new cards were wanting the question was postponed. A Report on the Condition of the poor of Birmingham, sent by Mr. Mc Rai was received.

Cit. Jung read some extracts from a Belgian paper the Tribune showing that 10 the coal-[owners] had reduced the wages while they divided 15 per cent net profits. Many of the soldiers had shot over the heads of the people. A medical practitioner & his son had rendered great assistance to the wounded. A committee from the International was getting up evidence for the prisoners. The people's Union of Anvers has joined & the free workmen of Verviers have voted to join.

15 A letter from Locle stated that the Congress report was ready that the cost was 25 I. & Cit. Guillaume wanted to know whether the Council could pay it at once. Cit. Eccarius stated that the Council was not in any way responsible for the expense the printing having been undertaken at the instigation of the French speaking delegates. The Council was only responsible for a certain number of 20 copies. Cit. Jung was instructed to reply to that effect. A pamphlet on the Geneva Lock-Out came to hand which costs 3 d.

Paris. The Bronze workers have only reimbursed the French branch & the Tailors in London. Elsewhere they have paid off more, in all 800 I.

Chemalé's appeal has been adjourned. The new committee meets without con- 25 cealment the Government does not know what to do.

The newly established branch at Avignon requires a recognition that may be published, they will do everything publicly.

The Lyonnese complain that they have received no answers to their letters.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

30 Members present Buckley, Eccarius, Jung, Milner, Lessner, Maurice.

Minutes of the General Council, September 17, 1867 to August 31, 1869

The Schweizer Gesang Verein sent 1 £ 6 s. for Geneva, the City Men's Men of the Shoemakers paid their contribution 1 L. 14 s. 2 d.

Benjamin Lucraft Chairman
J.G. Eccarius Secretary |

Meeting of the General Council May 5, 1868

|i33i| Council Meeting May 5

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

Deputations

5 Cit. Jung was well received at the Silver Cup Carpenters but they are too poor to grant money. He also waited on the Hatters Committee a majority had voted against granting money because the funds were low & they had already a weekly levy. The Bookbinders put questions about the French branch & about the political character of the Association. He had stated that Dupont had written his
10 private opinion about the Hyde Park demonstrations & that the celebration of the anniversary of the last revolution was the act of the French refugees in London. This explanation was considered satisfactory they voted a loan of 10 /. for Geneva. [Jung] had not received the money yet from the shoemakers in the City.

Cit. Jung met accidentally a member of the executive of the Amalgamated
15 Engineers, who stated that the Council was inclined to join that the question was on the programme & he advised this Council to send a delegate to the next conference.

A letter was read from Mr. Owen Greening at Manchester, stating the reasons why no patterns had been sent for La Chaux de Fonds.

20 Cards. It was agreed that 500 new cards be printed. The old form of the card was then modified & Cit. Jung deputed to get the order executed.

Members present. Buckley, Eccarius, Jung, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Maurice.

H. Jung. Chairman
J.G. Eccarius Secretary |

Meeting of the General Council May 12, 1868

113 3j j Council Meeting May 12.

Cit. Jung in the Chair. The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The secretary announced that the Organ Builders had sent six months' Contribution for 42 members. The Cigar Makers enquired how much they were in Arrears.

5

Deputations. Cit. Jung stated that he had received a letter from the secretary of the Cigarmakers advising not to press a deputation for Geneva at present.

Cit. Marx proposed that as the Belgian Government has dragged this Association into the miners affair, an official denunciation of that Government ought [to be] published by the Council. Seconded by Maurice & carried unanimously. 10
Cit. Dupont was instructed to write to Belgium to obtain the facts of the case.

Cit. Lessner proposed Dupont seconded that the Secretary write to the Executive of the Amalgamated Engineers to enquire whether they would receive a deputation from this Council at their next conference.

The Council then adjourned to Tuesday May 19.

15

Members present Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Maurice. I

Chairman

Meeting of the General Council May 19, 1868

/133j/ Council Meeting May 19

Cit. Cohn in the Chair. He made a statement respecting the reasons that had prevented him attending of late. His society has voted the new contribution. Upon the questions sent by the Council the Cigar Makers have appointed a 5 committee of six to report upon them. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The Secretary read a letter from the Secretary of the Sunday league respecting office accommodation. Eccarius, Lessner were deputed to wait on the Council of the Sunday League on Thursday. The deputation ||134| was instructed not [to] enter into any arrangements if the rent be more than £ 1 1 s. a 10 month.

Correspondence. Marseilles. The branch thinks it has been neglected by the Council of London. Want to know the number of members of the Association. Are going to forward the second instalment of contributions. Want Rules of 15 cooperative societies, & are going to discuss co-operation. They also sent the list of the newly elected committee. The French Secretary was instructed to reply & refer them to the Congress minutes for number of members &c. It was further agreed that as many members as could should bring rules of co-operative societies to the next meeting.

Members present. Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Lessner, 20 Mrs. Morgan, Maurice, Shaw.

Chairman
J.G. Eccarius Secretary I

Meeting of the General Council May 26, 1868

/134/ Meeting of the Council May 26.

Cit. Shaw in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. Eccarius reported that the Sunday [League] had agreed to the terms proposed, & that Mr. Morell would bring a copy of the agreement.

Cit. Jung reported that he had waited on the City Shoemakers on behalf of the Geneva strike but they had been too busy with other things. He had also seen the Bookbinders. He thought the contribution would be carried but they would not send a delegate. 5

A letter from Geneva stated that the dispute was at an end. Most trades had resumed work on the conditions agreed upon in April. The Locksmiths & Tin 10 plate-workers had reduced their hours to 10. The master Joiners had made a "log" which the men resisted. If it came to a strike no foreign aid would be required. 1,260 members had joined the association since the lock-out. Paris had sent 10,000 francs.

A letter from Brussels stated that De Paepe was too much occupied at present 15 to write himself therefore somebody else wrote. A few particulars were mentioned concerning the Iron & the coal trade. De Paepe will send papers.

The 9 members of the new Paris Committee have been sentenced to one month's imprisonment & 100 fr. fine with one month's grace. The main points of the prosecution were the Telegrams sent from London to prevent coming when 20 strikes have been on in the various trades. |

11351 Cit. Dupont proposed that the Swiss Secretary be instructed to write to Guillaume to enquire the reason why Paris had received congress reports & London not, also to demand the written Congress Documents. Agreed.

The Chairman suggested that an address of Denunciation be issued against the 25 French & Belgium Governments. Agreed. Cit. Marx, Jung & Dupont were appointed as a committee to draw up the address.

Cit. Marx gave notice that he should move a resolution concerning the meeting of the next Congress which could not meet at Brussels as the alien law had been renewed. 30

Mrs. Huleck announced that a Paris shoemakers society had entered into an alliance with the English Amalgamation of Cordwainers.

Meeting of the General Council May 26, 1868

Cit. Jung nominated & Mrs. Huleck seconded Cit. Jules Johannard to become a member of the Council.

Mr. Morell came but had lost the agreement.

The Council adjourned 10 h. to 256 High Holborn on Tuesday next.

Members present Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Shaw.

Geo. Odger Chairman *I*

Meeting of the General Council June 2, 1868

/135/ Meeting of the General Council June 2
at 256 High Holborn

Cit. Odger in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read & confirmed.

Cit. Cohn paid six months Contribution for the London Cigar Makers Association £1 9 s. 5

The Chairman read the agreement with the Sunday League.

Cit. Johannard was unanimously voted a member of the Council.

Cit. Jung, Belgium. When the Belgian minister asked the Chamber of Deputies for the renewal of the alien law he spoke of the International Association as 10 stirring up discontent in Belgium. The Belgian Branch has replied to his statements.

The Brussels Committee had called a public meeting at Charleroi to enjoin the miners to form a trades society & join the International, a section was established. The Free Workmen of Verviers have joined. | 15

[136] Cit. Jung proposed the following resolutions

1. Considering, that the Belgian Parliament has just prolonged for three years the law by which every foreigner may be expelled [from] the country by the Belgian Executive Government;

2. that the dignity of the I.W. Assoc. is incompatible with the meeting of the 20 Congress at a place where they would be at the mercy of the local police;

3. that Article 3 of the Rules of the I.W. A. provides that the General Council may, in case of need, change the place of meeting of the Congress;

The General Council Resolves that the Congress of the I.W. A. do assemble in London on the 5 of September 1868. Cit Dupont seconds it. 25

Cit. Cohn thought that the decision might be postponed to see whether or not some other place could be found.

Cit Odger urged to insist upon attempting to hold the Congress there to raise the question in such a manner that it could be taken up in the House of Commons. He thought that a few might be sent when the time came to make preparations for the Congress to see what the Government would do. 30

Meeting of the General Council June 2, 1868

Cit. Jung had no objection to an adjournment but was determined to press the resolution next week. We could reckon upon no favour from any government & that a discussion in the House of Commons might come too late & be of no avail.

Paris. From Chemalé. The new Committee has been sentenced to three months imprisonment & 100 fr. fine to be paid within a month. Chemalé's appeal has not yet been heard. Chemalé separated himself from the rest to try the legal question whether the correctional tribunal had jurisdiction over him. The question having [been] decided against him he will have to submit to the sentence his case will come on June 5, 1868. He wants to know what the Council is going to do about the meeting of the next congress. Thinks he shall come to London. A monthly Review is to be established. April 27 a second domiciliary visit was made at his place.

Cit. Besson announced that he had received 4£. Contribution from Belgium & that 8,000 miners had joined the Association at Charleroi. The miners are very eager to hear something of the General Council. The Belgian papers which inserted the address to the miners were sold in thousands in ||137| the mining districts. They want the address of our American correspondent. The Committee wishes to know whether we would receive the seven papers which are in favour of our Association that the Council may see what they are made of.

Cit. Jung proposed that the address of our Correspondent in America be given to the Belgian Secretary for transmission to the resident Americans of Brussels & that in our next Correspondence we mention the fact to our American correspondent. Seconded by Besson. Agreed. The papers to be received.

Members present: Besson, Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Johannard, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Lessner, Mr. Morgan, Maurice, Odger, Shaw.

Chairman Geo. Odger
J. George Eccarius Secretary. I

Meeting of the General Council June 9, 1868

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/137/ Council Meeting June 9.

Members present Buckley, Hales, Johannard, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Mrs. Morgan, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Odger, Maurice, Jung, Lucraft, Milner, Besson.

Cit. Odger was unanimously appointed to take the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The Secretary announced that he had received 7 s. 6 d. for Cards sent to Number 1 Lodge of the Bricklayers Society, & a letter from the Secretary of the Engineers stating that no conference will be held this year but that the subject of our letter will be laid before the General Executive when it meets. He also corrected some errors made in the verbal statements of the Contents of two letters from Brussels. 10

Cit. Jung announced that a branch had been formed at Nyon in Switzerland he also read the following list of sections |

11381 Adjourned question of the Congress. Cit. Jung thought that it would be better to postpone the question for another week & ask the opinion of the Belgian Section. 15

Cit. Odger reiterated his former opinion & thought our best course would be to abandon the resolution. He was of opinion that two men should be sent when the time came & if it was forbidden it would do more strengthen the Association while a temporising policy would weaken it.

Cit. Jung said he cannot possibly withdraw the resolution. In the event of 20 Odger's Advice being followed there would be no Congress.

Lessner. Would remind the Council to consider what they have to decide the Council would be held responsible for the Consequences. The money would be wasted.

Odger replied that instead of wasting money it would be economised. In the 25 event of two men being sent & sent back the Congress could still be held in London, it could not result in a breaking up of the Association. They might imprison the men for a few days this would not break up the Association.

Eccarius said that [the] duty of the Council was to see that the Congress was held. It could not be held at Brussels under existing circumstances nor did [he] 30 believe that it would be a success in London. He was in favour of having the advice of the Belgian section.

Meeting of the General Council June 9, 1868

Odger thought it would be bad policy to ask the Belgians & to let them know that we have an intention not to hold the Congress at Brussels.

Jung said that if the Congress was not removed the Belgian Government would wait until the Congress assembled & we would have to send the delegates home or provide the means to bring them to London.

Lucraft. Did not believe that the question could be tested in the way proposed. The Government would wait till the Congress was together. If we forced it we might put the Belgians in a wrong position. A small Congress in London would be quite as influential abroad as one held in a smaller place. The London press 10 went through all the world. We should ask the opinions of the Belgians.

Odger recapitulated his view & spoke against asking the Belgian's Advice.

Mrs. Law. It seems the general opinion [is] to test the question if we had the means. To test this point ought to be part of our business, we should not throw it upon any section, & is against asking the Belgians.

15 Hales is in favour of removing the Congress without asking the Belgians. If a more Central place could be found on the Continent let it be held there if not in London. The former Congresses were Continental Congresses then let us have an English one. Thinks it is idle to hope anything from the British Parliament. If we violated Belgian laws we would have to stand the consequence.

20 Odger. If the Congress meets there will be some talk if it is stopped there would II 139| be some talk too. The raising of the question would be worth more to us than the Congress.

Dupont the Duty of the Council is to see that the Congress do take place the Rules provide for doing so. We are responsible if the Congress do not take place.
25 The Belgian law has been renewed for the purpose of preventing the Congress it is a French law.

Lessner says a noise will be of no use.

Milner. Thinks the main idea is to hold the Congress without interruption. There has not yet been a fair chance of fully expressing what the International is 30 to accomplish. To contest the right of holding it is to lead us off our track.

Hales looks upon the Congress as something more than talking match. It is to elucidate opinions & to come to a common understanding.

Huleck the point raised is a better representation of the British Elements. After the defeat in Belgium we would have a better Congress here.

35 Vésinier. The Belgian law against foreigners is not new. It enables the Government to expel a foreigner as soon as he lands. The only freedom that is unlimited in Belgium is the liberty of meeting. Wants the Council to ask the Belgians. If the French delegates said anything in Belgium they would be taken up on coming home; they will be served the same if they go to London. The English & Americans would probably not be molested.

Agreed that the Belgian Secretary be instructed to write to Brussels & ask the opinion of the Committee there.

Citizen Limburg was admitted as delegate of the Arbeiter Bildungs Verein.

Copeland nominated by Mrs. Law seconded by Hales.

Meeting of the General Council June 16, 1868

/139/Council Meeting June 16

Members present. Buckley, Besson, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales, Huleck, Stepney, Mrs. Huleck, Jung, Lafargue, Johannard, Lessner, Marx, Maurice.

Cit. Jung in the chair. Minutes of the previous Meeting read & confirmed.

Cit. Copeland was unanimously voted to become a member of the Council. 5

Correspondence. June 9 Paris. Slowness of legal proceedings & much business pleaded as an excuse why no official announcement has ||140| been made of the last trial. The condemned are to be held solidarily responsible for the fine. They have appealed against the sentence. The letter is signed by the whole Committee.

Belgium. The Carpenters & Joiners Association of Antwerp & the Affranchis 10 of Jumet have joined. Two large meetings have taken place one at Brussels the other [at] Liege the middle Class press denounced our Association. The Paris Correspondent of a paper belonging to the peace league has written an article on our Association & says that everything now a days becomes international. He blames the French Government for its prosecution. 15

The answer to a letter from Brussels urges that the Congress be held in Belgium & that the existence of the Association in Belgium depends upon it.

Cit Besson proposed that two numbers of the Beehive [be exchanged] against the Belgian workingmen's Papers. Seconded by Dupont. Agreed.

Adjourned Debate. Cit. Marx. When I proposed three weeks ago that the Con- 20 gress should be moved several things which have since transpired were unknown. The law against foreigners is a general law. The Minister has provoked us to resistance by declaring that the Congress should not take place: Our Section has declared it shall meet in spite of the Government, & it is for us to back them. I therefore withdraw my resolution. 25

Cit. Johannard said that he had altered his opinion but desired that instructions be given to all the delegates not to leave such as may be meddled by the police in the lurch but to offer a joint resistance.

Cit. Dupont said that but for a letter which he had received from De Paepe he would still have adhered to his former resolution but the French themselves are 30 willing to go to Belgium & the Belgians promise them protection.

Meeting of the General Council June 16, 1868

Cit. Maurice raised the question of making some compensation to the Secretary.

Cit. Hales proposed that [the] accounts be audited. Lessner Seconded.

Cit. Johannard proposed as an amendment that the Secretary receive 15 s. a 5 week.

Objection being made on account of the state of the funds.

Cit. Hales withdrew his former proposition & proposed that the secretary be paid £5 in a lump & that a further grant be made when the funds permit it.

Lafargue proposed as amendment that £5 be given now for past services & 10 15 s. a week after. Cit. Johannard assents to Lafargue's proposition.

Hales' proposition was carried unanimously.

H.Jung I

Meeting of the General Council June 23, 1868

11411 Council Meeting June 23

Members present. Buckley, Copeland, Dupont, Eccarius, Cohn, Jung, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Marx, Maurice, Johannard, Hales, Limbourg, Stepney.

Cit. Jung in the Chair. The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & 5 confirmed.

The Secretary read a letter from Citizen Shaw dated St. Leonards on the Sea. Cit. Shaw tendered his resignation as treasurer & American Secretary. Cit. Marx proposed & Lessner seconded that the resignation be not accepted. Unanimously carried. The General Secretary to officiate as American Secretary during Shaws 10 absence.

Correspondence. A letter was read from Algiers stating that the branch established there was at an end in consequence of all the members but one having left for France. The writer complained that workmen were brought over from France to work against his friends. The Paris prosecutions were mentioned as a cause of 15 discouragement. He requests to be informed of all that.

Germany. Dr. Reincke, a member of our Association, had been elected by the Rhenish workmen to the North German Parliament, & made there the proposition that the Parliament have the right to appoint commissions of inquiry. The proposition was rejected & he has in consequence resigned. When elected he 20 promised to push the social question & not being able to fulfil his promise he resigned.

The Compositors of Leipzig have written many letters to the Paris compositors only one of which was delivered. This letter stated that national differences must be left to the possessors of wealth, for the wages slaves such differences must not 25 exist.

Switzerland. The Shoemakers of Geneva have opened their business.

Proposed by Citizen Maurice Seconded by Cit. Hales that a deputation be sent to attend the celebration of the anniversary of the Insurrection of June agreed.

Members proposed Hales, Jung, Lafargue, Copeland, Mrs. Law, Cohn. Carried. 30

Meeting of the General Council June 23, 1868

The Secretary raised the question of inviting delegates from the Labor Reform Association in America. Cit. Marx proposed Lafargue seconded that the Secretary be instructed to invite delegates from that Association. Carried unanimously.

5 A conversation then arose about the drawing up of the Congress programme & an address to the Trades Societies.

Cit. Copeland proposed & Cit. Marx seconded that Cit. Hales draw up a draft of an address & present it at the next meeting. Citizen Lafargue to do the Continental part. Agreed. The meeting adjourned at a quarter to 11 o'clock.

Meeting of the General Council June 30, 1868

|142| Council Meeting June 30

Members present Buckley, Copeland, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Johannard, Lessner, Marx, Lafargue, Stepney, Mrs. Law, Limbourg.

Cit. Jung in the Chair.

Correspondence. Belgium. The Belgian Section declines to be responsible for a letter of Vesinier which has appeared in the Cigale. If the letter was published with the knowledge of the Council it is an imprudence. If without the knowledge of the Council it is highly reprehensible on the part of Vesinier who has no business to publish the transactions of an executive meeting of the Association. They also protest against the animus shown against some of the members. They do so to leave no doubt since it might be considered that the Section had something to do with the publication. They are also going to publish a protest in the Cigale. They acknowledge the services rendered by Vesinier amongst the miners. 5 10

Dupont proposed Hales Seconded that an extract from the minutes of the 9th be sent to Brussels. Agreed. 15

Cit. Jung stated that Lloyd's contained a paragraph announcing a new strike at Geneva.

Report on the Address to the Trades Societies. Both drafts were read & Citizen Copeland appointed to fuse them into one.

The Council adjourned at 10 42 o'clock. 20

H. Jung Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary. I

Meeting of the General Council July 7, 1868

/142/ Council Meeting July 7.

Members present Copeland, Eccarius, Johannard, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Mr. Morgan, Stepney, Marx, Maurice, Jung, Buckley, Hales, Lucraft.

Cit. Jung in the Chair: Minutes of the previous meeting read & confirmed.

- 5 Correspondence. Belgium. The Belgian Ministry has directly interfered with the Association by telling the manufacturers of Verviers to dismiss the workmen belonging to the Association. The Espiegle declares that the International has applauded ||143| Felix Pyat. They do not believe it, but if it be the case they will declare that they have nothing in common with the Ideas of the French branch.
- 10 Cit. Marx stated that this would be detrimental to our Association abroad & he left it to the Council to take some action.

Cit. Marx proposed that a declaration be made that the Association was not responsible for an incident at a public meeting, & that Felix Pyat who read the address in question was not even a member.

- 15 Seconded Maurice.

Resolved. That the General Council of the I.W. A. repudiates all responsibility for the Address delivered at the public meeting in Cleveland Hall by Felix Pyat, who is in no way connected with this Association.

- Paris. Our members have entered upon their imprisonment. They are going to publish the trial in Pamphlet form, the workmen of Paris have collected 80 l. for the purpose. They intend to draw up a manifest for the Congress. They urge the Council to publish the Programme immediately for the purpose of inducing the workmen of Paris to send delegates to the Congress. They have not considered it advisable to elect a third committee.

- 25 A Programme with questions for the Congress has been published by the Belgian Section. There is to be a local delegate meeting to arrange the preliminaries.

The Address was adopted with a few verbal alterations, & the secretary instructed to revise it & get it printed.

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The standing [Committee] was summoned for the following Saturday to draw up the programme for the Congress.

H. Jung. Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary *I*

Meeting of the General Council July 14, 1868

/143/ Council Meeting July 14.

Members present, Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Johannard, Huleck
Mrs., Marx, Mrs. Law, Shaw, Meyerson, Copeland, Cohn, Milner, Lucraft, Lim-
burg, Stepney, Mrs. Morgan.

- 5 Cit. Shaw in the Chair. The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

Correspondence. Marx. The Prussian Government has suppressed ||145| the Berlin branch of the General Workingmen's Union. The Society is going to hold a conference at Hambourg about the middle of August.

- 10 Switzerland. The Geneva committee has issued an address to the members of the Association about the prosecution of the Paris committee. The address was read.

Lucern a branch has been established.

- Cigar Makers of Murten have struck because they were refused extra pay while 15 working at bad material. They have established a co-operative factory.

Marx. The English Government has quietly a month after the Russian decree struck off the list of pensioners the title polish refugees. They have not withdrawn the pensions but wiped out the reason why they were granted.

- 20 Cit Marx proposed & Copeland seconded the following declaration: "The Council of the I.W. Ass. denounces the last manifestation of the subserviency to Russia of the British Government by suppressing the adjective Polish before the word Refugees in the budget one month after the Russian Government had by an ukase suppressed the name of Poland."

- Cit. Lessner proposed that the Secretary be paid 15 s. a week till the Congress, 25 seconded by Johannard. Carried unanimously.

Cit. Cohn proposed & Lessner seconded the following resolution: The Council hails with delight the passing of the eight hours labor bill by the American Congress believing that it will lead to 8 hours becoming the future normal working day of the United States.

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Report of the Standing Committee

1st proposition to reduce the contribution to the Council to one halfpenny.

Jung, Lessner, & Eccarius spoke in favour, Lucraft & Milner against. Mrs. Law wanted to know whether the individual members had to pay or whether it came out of the funds. Cohn & Hales stated it came out of the funds in their societies. Shaw said in some instances levies were made. Huleck spoke against the proposition. Hales against the proposition. Withdrawn.

2. Reduction of the hours of labour. Carried.

3. The influence of machinery in the hands of capitalists. Carried.

5. Education of the working class. Carried.

4. Property in Land. Carried. |

[146] 6. The establishment of Credit institutions with the view of promoting & facilitating the social emancipation of the working class. Carried.

Cit. Hales proposed & Cit. Lucraft seconded that another proposition be added. The best means to establish cooperative Production.

H. Jung. Chairman

J. George Eccarius Secretary. I

Meeting of the General Council July 21, 1868

/146/ Council Meeting July 21

Members present Buckley, Eccarius, Copeland, Jung, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Mrs. Law, Weston, Milner, Stepney, Johannard, Besson, Dupont.

- 5 The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

The Secretary asked permission to have 500 more of the Addresses printed. He had taken upon himself to order a thousand at 16 s. they were already disposed of. The permission was granted.

- Correspondence. Cit Marx. Germany. The General Workingmen's Union is 10 going to do in a round about way what the Prussian Law prohibits to be done directly. There is another Working men's Union in the Southern & Eastern States of Germany which has some affiliations in Switzerland they also are going to join. A new paper Le Réveil published by Ledru Rollin's party, makes favourable comments upon the International Association.

- 15 Cit. Jung expressed his satisfaction that that party was obliged to come to us instead as they had supposed we going to them.

The Secretary mentioned that he had not yet received any papers from Belgium. The Secretary was instructed to write.

- Cit Marx proposed that the Congress questions be discussed next meeting & 20 that the question about machinery take precedence of all the other questions. Seconded by Jung agreed.

Belgium. Cit. Besson read a letter which contained the following proposition: To report upon the Condition of all Trades in every Country.

- Credentials were presented by Marie Bernard as the delegate of the House 25 painters on the Brussels Committee.

Cit. Jung proposed that the Secretaries be instructed to state in their respective |147| letters to urge their Correspondents to answer the questions submitted to them.

- Cit. Marx thought it required caution it would be impolitic to state publicly 30 that nothing had been done.

Cit. Dupont thought that if we simply stated that the statistical enquiry was still open & invite the sections to send their answers by their delegates to the Congress would satisfy the Belgians.

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Cit. Jayet thought it was time that the delegates received positive instructions how to act. The Council ought to know what the societies do & they must know what the Council is about.

Dupont believed that the question was about the appendage proposed by the Belgian Section. 5

Cit. Marx. I am not against the proposition but it depends upon the form in which it is published.

Cit. Dupont. The French papers were seized by the police, & that the work could not be finished this year.

The following resolution was then agreed to: "The Council reminds the different sections that the statistical enquiry is still open & that those branches whose labours are in a sufficiently advanced state shall lay them before the next Congress." 10

H. Jung. Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary. | 15

Meeting of the General Council July 28, 1868

1148 | Council Meeting July 28

Members present. Buckley, Copeland, Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lafargue, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Marx, Mrs. Morgan, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Stepney, Weston, Meyerson, Hales, Milner, Johannard.

- 5 Cit. Jung in the Chair. The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

Correspondence. Germany. Cit. Marx read two letters from Leipzig one from W. Liebknecht the other from August Bebel president of the Workingmen's Unions of Saxony & the Southern States of Germany. They invite a deputation from 10 the Council to attend their Conference at Nürnberg where the question of the affiliation of the whole of the 100 Societies is to be decided.

Cit Marx announced also that he had received an invitation from Vienna (where the Workingmen are going to celebrate the fraternization of the working men of all countries) to send a representative to be present.

- 15 Cit. Lafargue proposed Copeland seconded that Peter Fox André be appointed. Agreed.

Cit. Marx proposed that a delegate be sent to Nürnberg if the funds permit. Seconded by Cohn. Carried.

Cit. Jung read an address from the social democratic party of New York to the 20 Workmen of Geneva.

France. A letter from Marseille stated that warning had been published to the masons of Marseille not [to] go to Algiers. They ask for the Congress programme & declare that they will adhere steadfast to the Association. The letter announces the sad event of Vasseur's death.

- 25 Cit Jung read a letter from the French branch concerning the disavowal of the proceedings at Cleveland Hall.

Cit. Lafargue proposed the order of the day Eccarius seconded the proposition. Carried by 14 against 5.

Cit. Dupont proposes that Cit Johannard be appointed secretary for Italy 30 seconded by Lafargue 9 for 4 against.

Huleck moved seconded by Mrs. Morgan the adjournment of the question for a week. 6 for the Amendment 10 against.

Dupont's proposition was carried by 9 against 4 votes. |

[149] An address of the Social Democratic Union to the working men of Geneva was communicated, which contains the following passage:— "Working men.— Your struggle is also ours. Throughout the so-called civilised world society divides itself, more or less, into two opposing camps of oppressed and oppressors, workers and drones, poor and rich. The struggle between these two parties is inevitable. The social question no longer recognises geographical frontiers, nor national separations. It is everywhere the same, and it is for this that we applauded the foundation and the development, and approve the action of the International Working Men's Association." 5 10

The discussion of the proposition, "The influence of machinery in the hands of capitalists," was opened by Citizen Marx. He said what strikes us most is that all the consequences which were expected as the inevitable result of the use of machinery have been reversed. Instead of diminishing the hours of labour, the working day was prolonged to sixteen and eighteen hours. Formerly, the normal 15 working day was ten hours, during the last century the hours of labour were increased by law here as well as on the Continent. The whole of the trade legislation of the last century turns upon compelling the working people by law to work longer hours. It was not until 1833 that the hours of labour for children were limited to twelve. In consequence of overwork, there was no time left whatever for mental culture. They also became physically deteriorated; contagious fevers broke out amongst them, and this induced a portion of the upper class to take the matter up. The first Sir Robert Peel was one of the foremost in calling attention to the crying evil, and Robert Owen was the first millowner who limited the hours of labour in his factory. The ten hours' bill was the first law which 25 limited the hours of labour to ten and a half per day for women and children, but it applied only to certain factories. This was a step of progress, in so far as it afforded more leisure time to the workpeople. With regard to production, the limitation has long since been overtaken. By improved machinery and increased intensity of the labour of individuals there is now more work done in the short 30 day than formerly in the long day. People are again overworked, and it will soon become necessary to limit the working day to eight hours. Another consequence of the use of machinery was to force women and children into the factory. The woman has thus become an active agent in our social production. Formerly female and children's labour was carried on within the family circle. I do not say 35 that it is wrong that women and children should participate in our social production. I think every child above the age of nine ought to be employed at productive labour a portion of its time, but the way in which they are made to work under existing circumstances is abominable. Another consequence of the use of machinery was, that it entirely changed the relations of the capital of the 40 country. Formerly there were wealthy employers of labour, and poor labourers who worked with their own tools. They were to a certain extent free agents, who had it in their power effectually to resist their employers. For the modern factory operative, for the women and children, such freedom does not exist, they are

Meeting of the General Council July 28, 1868

slaves of capital. There was a constant cry for some invention that might render the capitalist independent of the workingman, the spinning machine and [the] powerloom has rendered him independent, it has transferred the motive power of production into his hands. By this the power of the capitalist has been immensely increased. The factory lord has become a penal legislator within his own establishment, inflicting fines at will, frequently for his own aggrandisement. The feudal baron in his dealings with his serfs, was bound by traditions and subject to certain definite rules; the factory lord is subject to no controlling agency of any kind. One of the great results of machinery is organised labour which must bear fruit sooner or later. The influence of machinery upon those with whose labour it enters into competition is directly hostile. Many hand-loom weavers were positively killed by the introduction of the powerloom both here and in India. We are frequently told that the hardships resulting from machinery are only temporary, but the development of machinery is constant, and if it attracts and gives employment to large numbers at one time it constantly throws large numbers out of employment. There is a continual surplus of displaced population, not as the Malthusian asserts a surplus population in relation to the produce of the country, but a surplus whose labour has been superseded by more productive agencies. Employed on land machinery produces a constantly increasing surplus population whose employment is not fluctuating. This surplus flocks to the towns and exercises a constant pressure, a wage lowering pressure upon the labour market. The state of the East of London is one of the phenomena it produces. The real consequences are best seen in those branches of labour in which the machine is not employed. To conclude for the present, machinery leads on one hand to associated organised labour, on the other to the disintegration of all formerly existing social and family relations.

Citizen Weston said, the previous speaker had only referred to machinery in the factory districts. In the carpentering trade the machine had not tended to lengthen the hours of labour. It did the most laborious part of the work, and tending the machine was not an exhausting occupation; he certainly thought he could do more in twelve hours than he could do in ten by extra exertion. If a man with a machine could do in ten hours what required ten days, if done by hand, this would not diminish the aggregate demand for labour. If it rained hats from heaven for people to wear for nothing that would not diminish the aggregate demand for labour. The surplus population resulted from the existing system of wages labour.

Eccarius asked the question, if it rained cloths from heaven and the money now spent for cloths be devoted to the building of houses, the carpenters and the masons work done by machinery, how many superseded tailors would find employment in the building trade?

Marx told Mr. Weston that he must consider the question of the hats being monopolised as the property of a capitalist.

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Upon the motion of Citizen Milner the debate was adjourned to Tuesday
August 4.

Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary *I*

Meeting of the General Council August 4, 1868

/149/ Council Meeting August 4.

Members present: Buckley, Copeland, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Marx, Johannard, Lucraft, Weston, Hales, Limburg.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. |

5 1150) A letter was read from Mr. John Holmes at Leeds who expressed his willingness to correspond with the Council.

Correspondence. A letter was read from Cit. Cowell Stepney enclosing 5 /. 5 s. towards the expense of the Congress.

The Day working Bookbinders' society paid their annual Contribution 1 /.
10 15 s.

A letter was read from Mr. John Holmes of Leeds expressing his willingness to correspond with the Council. He enclosed a report of a lecture delivered at Leeds upon which the secretary promised to report at the next meeting.

France. Paris. The Prisoners are well treated, they get all the papers, they can
15 read & write as much as they like & receive visits whenever any body wants to visit them. The appeal costs more than 80 /. but it has been paid by the Association. Every body seems to expect something to happen in 1869. The Congress Programmes have been well received. Nearly all the papers have inserted. The Tribune & Le Réveil are going to have articles upon [them.] Le Réveil offers its
20 services to the Association.

The third Committee was not appointed a fortnight ago it will consist of 15 Members.

Lyons. Complain that they are watched & that they cannot unite all the members of Lyons in one body. They adhere to their flag & state that considerable
25 progress has been made in the neighbourhood. Lyons & Neuville are going to club together to send a delegate to Brussels, they will also send a delegate to Bern to broach social Reform. They have nominated a candidate for the next election.

Germany. Hanover. A strike of the power loom weavers. They work 14 hours a day for 9 shillings a week. Bakers' Strike at Berlin the Commissioner of the
30 Police has enquired whether the Army Bakers would supply bread in case of a Strike.

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Credentials to Cowell Stepney to Brussels.

Secretary to get information about the Expense of going to Brussels. |

11511 Cit. Stepney presented a paper announcing that a congress of philosophers is going to meet on the 16th of September at Prague, where the following propositions will be submitted:—"The exaggeration of work, and the painful pecuniary conditions, which affect the majority of men, constitute a fact unworthy of humanity and full of dangers for the future." "Mendicancy, one of the greatest disgraces to humanity, must be abolished by the State and the communes; one must distinguish here between private assistance, that of societies and that of the State. It is necessary that those who cannot gain their livelihood be furnished with the indispensable objects for their support; and that on the other hand the idle be bound over to devote themselves to some useful occupation."

Citizen Milner resumed the debate on the proposition, "The influence of machinery in the hands of capitalists." After a few words of approbation of the manner in which Citizen Marx had treated the subject on the previous night, 15 and some allusions to Citizen Weston's assertions concerning things in the aggregate, he said he heard a clever Scotchman say the other day that if by some contrivance four men could be enabled to do the work of five this would be a clear gain in the aggregate, but he had not been able to answer the question what was to be done with the fifth man. The working man had nothing but his 20 labour to depend upon as a means of subsistence. He had to sell his labour day by day, he could not do two days work in one, and consequently every day that he could not sell his labour was a dead loss to him, it was an irreparable deduction from his means of subsistence, and any one thrown out by machinery might perish before he could be absorbed into other trades, or employed in his 25 own in consequence of an increased demand, for the demands of life were incessant, the cravings of nature had to be satisfied every day. The fifth man might, according to circumstances, mean the fifth part of a trade, or the fifth of the working population. It was clear that all the benefits of modern inventions were in the hands of the few, and this would continue until the working men 30 found means to employ themselves.

Citizen Hales said he had worked amongst machinery from his childhood, and his experience was that the ordinary influence of machinery tended to the displacement of manual labour. If the productive power of a certain kind of machinery was increased tenfold, the demand for its production in consequence of 35 reduced price would at best increase twofold, and at least one-half of the men displaced would go to the bad, that was five out of every ten. Machinery had converted the labourer into an adjunct of the machine. The workman was a slave; he had to do his master's bidding, because the master held the means of the workman's subsistence in his hands. By the aid of machinery the labour of grown 40 men was constantly displaced by that of women and children, so that machinery not only replaced manual labour but also transposed the individuals whose assistance was required. He was not against machinery, but machinery must become the workman's assistant, instead of being, as at present, his competitor.

Meeting of the General Council August 4, 1868

Citizen Eccarius said he would only make a few remarks upon Citizen Weston's speech of the previous night. Citizen Weston had observed that Citizen Marx had only spoken of the influence of machinery in the factory districts. Citizen Marx had done what every man of science did who wanted to exhibit the peculiarities of any subject. They always took the best developed specimens for their illustrations, and machinery was best developed in the cotton trade. In answer to the assertion that machine-labour did not diminish the demand for labour in the aggregate, he read a few statements from a pamphlet published in 1844. One of them was, that in a large machine-shop at Manchester, one plaining machine,
5 equal to fourteen men, requiring one man or a boy, to direct it, had been introduced. In the same pamphlet there was a statement of a Stockport spinner who worked 672 spindles in 1840, earning 22 s. a week, in 1843 he worked 2,040 spindles, earning 13 s. a week. Between 1833 and 1843 the productive powers of the cotton spinners had considerably more than doubled; the self-acting mule had
10 dispensed with the services of spinners altogether, yet the available raw material of 1840 had not doubled until the year 1854, so that the aggregate demand for labour in the cotton trade must have been diminished considerably. There were many things connected with this subject which some people overlooked, and which never came to the knowledge of others. A hundred years ago, when Man-
15 chester had taken to manufacturing cotton, people died of starvation in the streets of the large towns in the East Indies in consequence. It has been computed that between 3,000,000 and 4,000,000 of human beings perished in the East in consequence of the cotton trade being transplanted to Lancashire. The prosperous towns of the linen trade, Dundee and Leeds, had probably never heard the
20 cries of agony that emanated for years from the famishing weavers of Silesia; a whole generation had perished there because flax was successfully spun by machinery in the north of this island. The carpentering trade was no criterion. To the people of New York, for instance, it would matter little whether the stuff of which their clothes were made was manufactured at Bengal, in Siberia, or at
25 Manchester; but if the London reformers wanted a hall to meet in, that hall must be built in London, and by men who resided in London. If machines, attended by women and children, could erect stairs, lay floors, &c, at a distance ready for the use of the London people, Citizen Weston would, no doubt, have come to a different conclusion.
30

35 Citizen Weston said he would stick to his point. If all the hatters of London were superseded, their employers would be superseded also; the same fund would remain to pay wages with. (The possibility of the master hatter selling more hats than he does now, without employing journeymen to make them, is lost sight of.)

Citizen Marx replied in a few words, and said that the congress had a right to
40 discuss this question on its own merits.

Mrs. Law said Machinery had made women less dependent on men than they were before & would ultimately emancipate them from domestic slavery. She must enter her protest against the view taken of women's labour.

Cit. Marx offered to bring the conclusions arrived at in the form of a resolu-
45 tion.

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Cit. Eccarius volunteered to open the discussion on the next question.
The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

Benjamin Lucraft Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary

Meeting of the General Council August 11, 1868

[152] Council Meeting August 11

Members present Buckley Copeland Dupont Eccarius Jung Johannard Lessner Lucraft Marx Stepney Shaw.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

- 5 The Secretary read extracts from the Chicago Workingman's Advocate concerning the presidential candidature & another from John Holmes of Leed's lecture on labour & Capital at Sheffield. John Holmes was appointed Correspondent of the Association for Leeds.

The result of the enquiry concerning the expense of going to Brussels not being 10 satisfactory. Citizen Copeland volunteered to get information from the Great Eastern.

Upon the motion of Citizen Marx seconded by Lessner Buckley & Copeland were appointed auditors.

Cit. Marx read some extracts from a French paper concerning the International Congress.

Cit. Jung stated that the Viennese workmen had published an address urging international union.

Cit. Marx proposed the following as the conclusion of the last discussion seconded by Jung carried.

- 20 Resolved: that on the one side machinery has proved a most powerful instrument of despotism & extortion in the hands of the capitalist class;

that on the other side the development of machinery creates the material conditions necessary for the superseding of the wages system by a truly social system of production.

- 25 The Secretary read a report of the last conference of the National Labour Union of America. The conference rejects the election platforms of both the great parties, and has issued a platform of its own, the first resolution of which declares "that the producers are the most important portion of all communities". It demands that as the loans fall due the bonds should be exchanged for bonds bearing three per cent interest, and convertible into legal-tender notes at the option of the holders; that only those bonds, [the] redemption of which in gold was special-

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ly stipulated, should be paid in coin; and further, that the notes of the national banks should be withdrawn from circulation and replaced by legal-tender treasury notes. If either of the candidates of two great parties for the presidency should adopt this platform—no matter whicti—the conference advises the working men to vote for him. If neither adopts it, the Congress of the National Labour Union, which will assemble on the third of next month at New York, is to nominate an independent labour candidate for the presidency, and urge upon the working men of the United States the necessity of rallying to his support. | 5

11531 Citizen Eccarius then opened the debate on the reduction of the Hours of Labour Question. He said: Forty years ago a man working twelve hours a day would have received sufficient for making a dozen pair of trousers to support a family for two weeks. In 1863 Mr. Lord visited a shop in Whitechapel where a young woman, with a machine and three female assistants, by working long hours, made a dozen pair of trousers a day, for which they received, after deducting sewing trimmings, 8 s. In 1861 there were 12,000 females employed in the tailoring trade of the metropolis, 3,000 of whom never worked less than 14, frequently 16, or 18 hours a day, occasionally all night, for 7 s. to 10 s. a week. I know, from good authority, that there are practices quite as bad in other trades where women and children are employed, but they have not come under any personal observation. A law was passed in 1867 to put a stop to this abomination, but it is a sham. The same Parliament that added £3,000,000 a year to our permanent expenditure could not afford a few thousands for a staff of workshop inspectors to enforce its own law. I think it high time that those of my friends who take an active part in electioneering should interrogate the candidates about this matter. He then proved, from government statistics, that the development and increase of the powers of production in our staple trades had far outstripped the increased demand for labour or the increased number of persons employed. In the ten years, from 1850 to 1860, the raw material consumed in the cotton trade had increased 103 per cent.; the export of yarn 52 per cent.; that of piece goods 104 per cent.; the number of persons employed 12 per cent. In the stocking trade an increase of 344 per cent., of the exports had led to an increase of persons employed of 30 per cent. The foreign wool retained for home consumption had increased 97 per cent.; the export of yarn 99 per cent.; piece goods 20 per cent.; the persons employed 1 per cent. A very considerable increase of production had taken place since then; the number of persons employed had positively diminished. In proof of this he read a statement from Dr. Marx's work on political economy, whose figures are all based on government returns, according to which the number of adult persons employed diminished by 1,700 between 1856 and 1862; but the number of children under 14 years of age had increased. The produce of the coal mines had increased 43 per cent.; the number of persons employed 34 per cent.; that of the iron mines had increased 55 per cent.; the number of persons employed 6 per cent. The produce of the lead mines had increased 5,000 tons; the number of persons employed had diminished by 2,000. The exportation of machinery had increased 266 per cent.; the number of persons employed 40 35 40

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43 per cent.; and with a progressive increase of exports the society of the Amalgamated Engineers had on an average 2,000 members out of employment on the funds every day during the year 1867. In the rural districts the diminution of labourers employed had been going on continuously during the last thirty years.

5 He thought this was a sufficient reason why the working classes should insist upon a general reduction of the hours of labour. Another reason was that all the medical inquiries that had taken place proved that the working population was greatly overworked. Two remarkable phenomena had established this beyond a doubt. When the cotton famine had set in, the death rate in the cotton districts
10 had greatly diminished. Again, last winter, when the population of St. George's-in-the-East had been in a state of semi-starvation, the death rate which was usually higher than in any other metropolitan district, had fallen almost below the most favoured districts. This was inconvertible evidence that full work, which was synonymous with over work, was more destructive to life than privation.
15 He then pointed to the increase of wealth that had lately taken place, which led him to the conclusion that society could very well afford to pay the labourer the increased wages, which would be the inevitable result of a general reduction of the hours of labour.

Citizen Milner could not take the same view of the subject. A general reduction of the hours of labour, however desirable, meant a diminution of the production of wealth; the opposition it would encounter from those who had amassed large fortunes out of other people's labour would be too great for the working classes to overcome. He thought a rise of wages could easier be obtained; the reduction of the hours of labour would follow that.

25 Citizen Marx could not coincide with Milner, that it would lead to a diminished production because where the restrictions had been introduced the instruments of production had been vastly more developed than in other trades. It had the effect of introducing more machinery, and made production on a small scale more and more impossible, which, however, was necessary to arrive at social
30 production. The sanitary question was settled. But a reduction of the hours of labour was also indispensable to give the working class more time for mental culture. Legislative restrictions were the first step towards the mental and physical elevation and the ultimate emancipation of the working classes. Nobody denied, now-a-days, that the State must interfere on behalf of the women and
35 children; and a restriction of their hours led, in most instances, to a reduction of the working time of the men. Eng||155|land had taken the lead, other countries had been obliged to follow to some extent. The agitation had seriously commenced in Germany, and the London council was looked to for taking the lead. The principle had been decided at former Congresses; the time for action had
40 arrived.

Citizen Copeland thought the condition of the working classes would be ameliorated by a reduction.

Citizen Weston did not think that any effort on the part of the council would result in an improvement.

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Citizen Lucraft was of opinion that the question ought to be agitated.
On the motion of Citizen Shaw the debate was adjourned to Tuesday next.

H. Jung. Chairman
J.G. Eccarius Secretary I

Meeting of the General Council August 18, 1868

1155/ Council Meeting August 18

Members present: Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Johannard, Limbourg, Lessner, Lucraft, Mrs. Law, Marx, Milner, Weston.

Cit. Jung in the Chair.

- 5 The Secretary read a letter from Mr. Jessup, corresponding representative of the National Labour Union of America for the state of New York, in which the writer expressed regret that no provision had been made for the expense of a delegate to Brussels, and could not be made in time. Respecting the bricklayers' strike of New York, Mr. Jessup states that it is looked upon as the grand struggle
10 for the enforcement of the eight hours' law for the state of New York, and that the working men of the United States were never so united as they now are to support the New York bricklayers. Up to July 30 the bricklayers received 20,000 dois., and the sums pledged to be remitted when called for amounted to 150,000 dois. Besides, the men had taken 25 contracts for new erections, alterations,
15 and enlargement of buildings, amounting in all to 300,000 dois.

Mr. Jessup stated that none of the Letters written by citizen Shaw had come to hand. He suggested that in future Letters should be exchanged at regular intervals. He requested that the reports of the proceedings of the Congress be forwarded to him & promised to return the compliment by sending the reports of
20 the annual Session of the Labor Union.

The Secretary was instructed to reply.

Citizen Marx read a letter from a workingman of New York who stated that a worse state of things prevailed there than in London.

The correspondence from Germany announced that the Austrian police had
25 prohibited the fraternisation feast of the working class at Vienna, and that a pamphlet has appeared at Berlin on the history and development of the International Working Men's Association. Dr. Marx has been invited to the annual conference of the General Working Men's Union by the following letter:— "To Dr. Carl Marx, in London. Berlin, July 6, 1868.— The undersigned president and
30 executive of the General German Working Men's Union do themselves the honour, in consideration of the extraordinary services you have rendered to the cause

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of labour by your work, 'The Process of Production of Capital', to invite you as a guest of honour to the annual conference of the Union, which will assemble at Hamburg in the month of August next." The executive consists of 24 members, residing in different parts of Germany, to each of whom the original had to be sent to obtain his signature. Only one gave a modified refusal. In Italy the Congress programme has been published in several papers, and M. D'Assie, the vice-president of the Italian Working Men's Union, has been appointed as delegate to the Congress. At Bologna and vicinity the right of meeting is suppressed; the officers of the working men's societies are in prison. The German Arbeiter Bildungs Verein of Switzerland, comprising about 4,000 members, have at a general delegate meeting, held in Neufchatel, voted their affiliation to the International Association. | 5

11561 Upon the proposition that the delegates to the Congress be now appointed a long conversation ensued as to the advisability of adjourning the appointment, & also whether the delegation could not be made numerous by allowing 15 members who wished to go to the Congress a part of their expenses but making sure that the expense of one representative of the Council be paid. It was ultimately agreed that any [one] wishing to go at his own expense should have credentials from the Council to attend the Congress. The proposition of appointing delegates at once was carried. Cit. Lessner proposed & Cit. Johannard 20 seconded that three delegates be appointed, which was carried. The following members were then nominated: Shaw by Lessner & Buckley; Dupont by Marx & Johannard; Eccarius by Johannard & Mrs. Law; Mrs. Law by Jung & Marx; Hales by Johannard & Eccarius.

The result of the ballot gave Dupont 9 votes, Eccarius 9 votes; Mrs. Law, 25 Shaw, & Hales 5 votes each. A second ballot was taken which gave Shaw 5 votes; Mrs. Law 4 & Hales 3.

The affiliation of the Portmanteau & Trunkmakers was announced by Cit. Townshend who was present as the delegate of that Association.

Cit. Milner proposed & Weston seconded that the Credit & Cooperative questions take precedent of the other questions in the order of discussion. Cit. Lucraft proposed the questions as they stand as an amendment which was carried.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

H. Jung. Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary I 35

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Meeting of the General Council August 25, 1868

/156/ Council Meeting August 25, 1868.

Members present Dupont, Eccarius, Buckley, Lessner, Lucraft, Cohn, Mrs. Law, Marx. Milner. Johannard, Stepney, Weston.

Cit. Jung in the Chair.

- 5 House painters of Birmingham sent a letter announcing their resolution to withdraw. The Preston Trades Council declined to deal with the address.

Cit Jung read a letter from the Secretary of the Society of Freethinkers of Geneva asking the Council to advise the Congress to admit a delegate to attend the Congress. Ph. Becker endorsed the letter. |

- 10 1157j Cit. Marx proposed & Dupont seconded that the recommendation be given. Carried.

Cit. Cohn made a statement respecting the reasons of his delegation to the Congress. He was elected by a great majority. The Cigar Makers complain that many Belgians come over. They wish to have the Assistance of the other delegates.

15 Proposed by Marx seconded by Lessner that Cit. Lucraft receive credentials.

The following resolution was proposed respecting the reduction of the hours of labour question seconded by Dupont:

- A resolution having been passed unanimously by the Congress of Geneva 1866
20 to this effect: "That the legal limitation of the working day is a preliminary condition indispensable for the ulterior social improvements", the Council is of opinion that the time is now arrived when practical effect should be given to that resolution & that it has become the duty of all the branches to agitate that question practically in the different countries where the International Working-men's Association is established.

25 Cit. Cohn proposed & Lessner seconded that 5£ be given to the Secretary for Brussels. Carried.

The Secretary made a statement that with regard to the Nuremberg delegation he was willing to undertake it if the Council granted him an additional 2£.

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Citizen Lessner proposed & Cohn seconded that the two pounds be granted.
Carried unanimously.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

R. Shaw Chairman
H. Jung. Secretary pro tem. /

Meeting of the General Council September 1, 1868

/157/ Council meeting September 1. 1868.

Members present: Shaw, Cohn, Milner, Dupont, Buckley, Mrs. Law, Lucraft, Lessner, [Marx] Johannard, Jung, Stepney, Limburg, Weston.

Cit. Shaw in the chair.

- 5 The minutes of the previous meeting were confirmed.

Jung, in the absence of the Secretary, read correspondence from the Liverpool Cigar Makers enclosing their annual contribution of 8 s. 4 d.

A letter from the french polishers, informs the council that they have withdrawn from the association; 5 s. contribution enclosed.

- 10 Proposed by Cohn & seconded by Lessner that the money in hand (£.4. 1 s. 14*i* d.) be given to Dupont, adopted.

After the reading of the annual report by Cit. Marx, it was proposed by Mrs. Law & seconded by Cit. Milner that the report be adopted. Carried unanimously.

- Proposed by Marx & seconded by Dupont that credentials be given to Jung, 15 carried.

A paper was read by Weston, on Co-operation.

Marx read extracts from a letter from Eccarius.

The auditors made their report expressing satisfaction with the manner with which the books were kept & have confirmed the correctness of the balance sheet.

- 20 Proposed by Marx & seconded by Lessner that the books be handed over to Dupont. Carried.

The council adjourned: till this night fortnight.

R. Shaw Chairman
H. Jung. Secretary pro tem. |

Meeting of the General Council September 22, 1868

|159| Meeting of the New Council Sept. 22

Members present. Buckley, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Lucraft, Law, Marx, Bernard, Lafargue, Limbourg, Johannard, Weston.

Eccarius read a letter from the Sunday League inviting the Council to co-operate in a discussion of the Sunday question.

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H. Jung in the Chair. Eccarius announced that Congress had again appointed London as the seat of the Council & the following members had been unanimously elected as the Executive for the ensuing year.

R. Applegarth	Lessner
Bernard	Limbourg
Buckley	Law Harriet
Cohn	Marx
Copeland	Maurice
Dell	Milner
Dupont	Odger
Eccarius	Stepney Cowell
Fox	Shaw
Hales	Walton
Howell	Weston
Jung	Williams
Lafargue	Zabicki

|160| It was then agreed that the names be published & the resolutions passed by the Congress urging the branches to carry out § 4 of the regulations & that § 8 of the said regulations shall be strictly adhered to at the next Congress.

Cit. Marx announced that he had received a letter from Essen in Germany 25 announcing a strike of 1,300 miners to recover a reduction of wages, & applying for pecuniary assistance. An opinion was expressed that at present there was very little hope of getting money & Cit. Marx was instructed to reply to the letter to that effect.

Cit. Marx also stated that he had received a note from the Secretary of the 30 Workingmen's Institute Boston U.S. that the members of that association desired to enter into correspondence with the Council.

Meeting of the General Council September 22, 1868

Cit. Jung stated that the Tin Plate Workers who had agreed to join about a twelve months ago had voted some money & also written some letters which seemed to have miscarried in consequence of the Council having shifted its quarters several times in the interval. He handed in the name of the Secretary & the address of the place of meeting.

5 Eccarius called attention to an American workingmen's election address published in the Chicago Workingman's Adyocate & read some extracts from it.

Eccarius then gave a brief account of his mission to Nuremberg stating that he had been exceedingly gratified with the tact the German Workingmen had acquired during the short time they had been in possession of the liberty of publicly meeting. The question of joining the International Association had been carried by 68 against 46 the minority consisting of men who were afraid to meddle with politics. As he had been obliged to leave for Brussels the moment the question had been decided he could not say what further steps had been taken.

15 Cit. Marx stated that a committee of 16 had subsequently been appointed to carry out the resolution & to act as the executive committee of the International Workingmen's Association for Germany & they had applied for power to act as such.

Cit. Lucraft proposed & Mrs. Law seconded that the said Committee be empowered [to] act as the executive for Germany. The proposition ||16| was agreed to.

20 Cit. Jung then gave an account of his mission to Brussels. He said I arrived Sunday morning & went to the Swans' Hotel where the Brussels section was engaged with verifying credentials. I had to help, the English delegates had not yet arrived. A meeting had been arranged at the National Circus Theatre to commence at two o'clock but it was three o'clock before proceedings commenced. I accepted the office of Chairman for that day. I gave a brief account of our doings during the past year & then called upon the delegates to do the same for their respective localities. Those statements were intended for the public. Stepney, 25 Lucraft, & Dupont who had in the mean time put in an appearance spoke, Stepney representing himself as of the Reform League on the road to the Peace Congress at Berne. Next morning at the Swans the Congress Committee was appointed, the proceedings were rather tedious, most of the delegates spoke French & everything was translated in French. It was rather hard work as there 30 35 was a great diversity of opinion.

Lucraft said there was a little confusion but if Jung had stopped the English delegates would have fared better. It would be better if in future a professional translator could be engaged there would be a better chance of having one's opinion properly conveyed. I do not believe that the essential points of the 40 speeches were translated. I was rather out of order by falling foul of standing armies but I do not regret it. I think it has done good. There were many opinions expressed which I did not like but I think in the long run we will arrive at sound conclusions. We are young yet. I believe we will accomplish our end.

Eccarius said the great difficulty is the great infusion of young men at every 45 Congress. There was a remarkable absence of those who were present at former

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Congresses. Belgium was only represented by one delegate at the Congress of Lausanne but the rapid progress the association has made since then in Belgium has introduced a prodigious number of young men, who formed almost a predominating party at the Congress. It is only natural that they should treat some questions about which our minds were made up years ago as something new & argue them with all the fervour of youth & novelty. It is tedious to the old ones but it cannot be avoided. Trades Unionism for instance which to English work |162|men has assumed the form of an ordinary business necessity has only been lately taken up in Belgium, the workmen there treat it as new idea, it pervades all their resolutions, all their speeches, they are going to cure everything 10 by trades unions.

Cit. Milner asked whether Eccarius had not confounded some one's scheme with the doings of the late Bronterre O'Brien in his speech on the Credit question. Bronterre O'Brien had never instituted anything.

Eccarius said he had not stated anything of the kind in his speech but that he 15 had alluded to Bronterre O'Brien as one who had devoted a good deal of his time to the question but his writings & speeches had not tended to any practical results & that the proposition then before the Congress would in his opinion share the same fate.

Cit. Lessner said when I arrived at the station I found no one to receive me, I 20 found no one at the Swans' Hotel. De Paepe came at last & took me away as I was to the big meeting & I was called upon to speak & spoke several times. Next morning every thing seemed to have been arranged by the Brussels Section. There was a great deal of misunderstanding. The French speaking delegates are generally noisy when English or German speeches are delivered. Much time was lost by 25 the resolutions having to be brought on in the morning meetings. We carried our points because some of the Belgians forsook their leaders. A professional translator is required. In future the Council must make different arrangements the Brussels arrangements were deficient.

Jung had not availed himself of the preparations made for the reception of 30 delegates but he thought the arrangements had been deficient. He did not endorse the opinion of engaging a professional translator.

Cit. Marx said we have heard nothing but censure of the French but we must bear in mind that it was an act of courage on their part to be present at the Congress at all & that any short comings in their tact in deliberative assemblies is 35 owing to the circumstances by which they are surrounded.

Mrs. Law read a leading article from the Morning Advertiser ||163| refuting the assertions of the Times respecting the question of strikes & machinery.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

H. Jung. Chairman I 40

Meeting of the General Council September 29, 1868

/163/ Council Meeting September 29

Members present: Buckley, Bernard, Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Applegarth, Lessner, Lucraft, Lafargue, Marx, Weston, Mrs. Law, Milner.

Cit. Jung in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting read & confirmed.

- 5 Cit. Marx stated that the Strike at Essen was at an end the men having succeeded.

Letter from Pelletier New York acknowledged the receipt of the Lausanne Congress reports. About Cit. Isard he stated that he was an active worker & an honest man, & that what has been said about him is untrue.

- 10 A German Dr. Hirsch has declared that all the principal trades Unions of England had withdrawn from the International Association.

Cit. Applegarth stated there was no truth in the statement as far as he knew. He wished to know what position he held on the Council if he was elected by the Congress he would take his seat & do his duty.

- 15 The Chairman informed him that he was elected by the Congress.

Cit. Marx proposed & Dupont seconded that 24 copies of the proceedings of the Congress be ordered.

Lucraft proposed Dupont seconded that Eccarius be General Secretary. Carried on.

- 20 Marx proposed Cowell Stepney as Treasurer. Lessner seconded. Carried on.

Cit. Applegarth proposed Cohn seconded that the Secretaries for the various Countries be reappointed. Carried on.

Cit. Dupont proposed Lessner seconded that Bernard be appointed Secretary for Belgium. Carried on.

- 25 Cit. Weston proposed Lucraft seconded that the General Secretary take the Correspondence with the National Labour Union & other English speaking associations of America. Carried on.

Cit. Marx proposed Dupont seconded that Siegfried Meyer & Pelletier at New York be nominated corresponding members for America for the French & German Languages. Carried unanimously. |

30 [164] Mr. Dodshon, secretary of the Amalgamated Cordwainers, presented a letter from the Liverpool shoemakers complaining against some Prussians work-

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ing against the Union men & asking the assistance of the Council by communicating the fact to Germany. Eccarius was instructed to write a letter to be communicated to the Germans at Liverpool.

Cit. Cohn reported that he had succeeded in inducing the Cigar Makers of Brussels to form a trades union & to join the International Association. He had 5 also entered into communication with the Cigar Makers of Antwerp.

About the Congress he was of Lessners opinion that a professional translator was required. The questions had not been sufficiently discussed by the Council before the delegates went to the Congress & therefore they could not state the opinion of the Council. His employer had done differently to Eccarius's he had 10 had a long conversation with him & expressed his readiness to enter into industrial partnership upon certain condition.

Cit. Weston thought that the best thing that could be done was to commence the discussion, at once upon the best means of establishing co-operation.

The question of answering the letter of the Sunday League was then raised. 15 After some conversation it was proposed to appoint a deputation of three to give information, & to inform them that if the League calls a meeting delegates will be appointed to take part in the discussion. Unanimously carried.

Lafargue proposed that Jung, Lessner, Sahlmann & Dupont be appointed. Unanimously carried. 20

B. Lucraft Chairman
H. Jung Secretary pro tern. /

Meeting of the General Council October 6, 1868

/164/ Council meeting 6. October 1868.

Members present: Bernard, Marx, Dupont, Mrs. Law, Johannard, Lafargue, Milner, Lucraft, Jung.

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair.

- 5 The minutes of the previous meeting were read, when Lafargue observed that he was sorry to see that the secretary had omitted the remarks || 1651 that he made, at the previous meeting, concerning Cit. Eccarius. Cit. Lafargue then repeated his remarks & insisted that they should be inserted in that evening's minutes.—Cit. Lafargue asked Eccarius for what reason he attributed to himself at the Brussels 10 congress & in the "Times" the resolution of the General council on Machinery. Cit Eccarius said that it was by mistake because he was so much confused. But Lafargue answered him that he could not believe that assertion because the reports of Eccarius in the Times were too well written and his suppressions too arbitrary and cleverly done.

- 15 Marx then proposed, Dupont seconded, the adoption & the minutes were confirmed.

A letter was read from Cit. Dell wherein he stated that he could not devote any time at present for the International as his time was taken up by the reform League; Cit. Marx proposed & Mrs. Law seconded that the secretary should 20 answer his letter, adopted unanimously.

A letter was read from the Sunday League fixing Thursday 22 Oct. for the meeting of the members of the joint committee on the continental Sunday.

A letter was read from Cit. Eccarius stating that he was unable to attend being too ill to go out & asking to be informed whether the printing of the congress 25 reports had been completed by the Editor of the Peuple Belge.

Proposed by Lafargue & seconded by Dupont that the instructions of the general council, ||166| given at Geneva be printed with the Brussels resolutions, adopted unanimously.

Cit. Jung thought that we ought to send an address to Cit. Odger with a view 30 of furthering his election to parliament, if we could do so without sacrificing our dignity; Cit. Milner was in favor but on the condition that we remind him that he

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is there to discuss the labor questions; Marx thought that a single working man was not much use in the house but thought that it might be useful for this association.

Lucraft made some remarks in favor of the address being sent, Jung then proposed & Marx seconded that an address be sent adopted unanimously.

Marx was appointed to make a draft of said address adopted unanimously.

Dupont made a notice of motion that a librarian be appointed.

Cit. Weston remarked that a discussion had been opened "on the employment of the unemployed poor" at the Adelphi Club on Saturday evenings & he desired the working classes to be informed of it so that they should attend.

The meeting then adjourned.

Council meeting October the 6th.

J. Cohn Chairman

H. Jung. Secretary pro tern. |

Meeting of the General Council October 13, 1868

[i66[a]] Council meeting October 13th

Members present Marx, Johannard, Jung, Dupont, Lafargue, Lucraft, Limburg, Lessner & Milner & Odger.

Cit. Milner in the Chair.

- 5 Cit. Marx announced that trades unions on the model of the English trades unions were being formed throughout Germany.

Cit. Marx then read the address to Odger.

Cit. Lucraft read a statement from the Star where it appeared Odger had stated, at a meeting of the electors & non electors of Chelsea, that if he were 10 returned to the House he would not simply go there as a representative of labor but that he would give his unflinching support to the great liberal party; Cit. Lucraft hoped Odger's speech was wrongly reported else he would be compelled to withdraw his support from the address, for he would never support a man who was pledged to any government or any party.

- 15 Cit. Odger replied that he was most improperly reported, he had said he would support Mr. Gladstone in the Irish Church question—upon being proposed by Lessner & seconded by Lucraft the address was agreed to.

Cit. Odger then stated that a delegate meeting would take place, on the following evening, to take into consideration a bill whose object it is to amend the law 20 concerning trades unions, their funds, etc.

Lessner proposed & Lafargue seconded that Marx, Dupont & Jung compose that deputation adopted.

Chairman
H. Jung, secretary pro tern. |

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Meeting of the General Council October 20, 1868

|167| Council Meeting October 20th 1868.

Members present Cohn, Dupont, Zabicki, Lessner, Marx, Limburg, Weston, Bernard, Johannard & Jung.

Cit. Cohn in the Chair.

The minutes of the two previous meetings were read & confirmed. 5

A long & interesting letter was read from Cit. Jessup, New York, it referred chiefly to their late congress & stated that our congress reports did not arrive in time to be submitted to their congress.

Cit. Dupont stated that he had received a letter from a late member of the french branch in London, now in New York, who says that the reports circulated 10 concerning Isard were a tissue of falsehoods; the writer also stated that he had attempted to make some propaganda for our association but had found out that it was useless unless he were provided with credentials from the general council.

Cit. Dupont stated that Cit. Lagauche, who was present, wished to make a statement concerning a member of the committee of the french branch. 15

Cit. Lagauche stated that in 1848 he had known Cit. Eugène Thiou, who was clerk to Aries, the man dealer, that the said Thiou used to act in conjunction with brothelkeepers in order to rob the prostitutes of their money, that he had witnesses who had also known Eugène Thiou in the same ||168| character in Paris, among whom was Alise, a turner. 20

Cit. Lagauche was greatly surprised to see such a man taking a prominent part in such an association & he thought it deterred many from joining; many of his friends had complained to him about Thiou, still he did not consider it his business to interfere until he saw Thiou's name appended to some bills, (as member of a committee of the International) calling upon all democrats to attend a meeting 25 under the auspices of the Int. W. M. A.

Cit. Lagauche attended said meeting & told the chairman, Cit. Besson, that in case *Thiou* should appear on the platform he would expose him publicly—Cit. Besson begged of Cit. Lagauche not to make any noise about it promising that he would prevent Thiou from coming on the platform. 30

Subsequently he appeared before the french branch & there made the same statement that he was now making. Cit. Thiou denied that he was the man saying

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there were other Thious. He admitted being banished from France for having been compromised in a bad house robbery, known under the name of "*robbery Valentin*", but stated that nothing being proved against him, the police, out of spite had him banished as a keeper of bad women. Cit. Lagauche had brought the 5 matter forward on public grounds & disclaimed all personal feeling on the subject.

Cit. Marx [proposed] & Lessner seconded that the matter be referred to the sub. committee. Carried unanimously. Marx next read from a bill convoking a meeting whose object ||169| would be to decide "whether the International W.M. 10 Ass. should become a political association".

The Chairman thought the matter most important & said such an announcement, made on the part of a few members only, most impudent. Referred to sub. committee.

It was then moved by Cit. Weston & seconded by Lessner that powers be 15 granted to the sub-committee: to act at once in this matter in case of need. Adopted unanimously.

Marx proposed that Cit. Cohn be added to the sub. committee. Adopted.
The meeting then adjourned.

Chairman.

H. Jung. Secretary protem. I

Meeting of the General Council November 3, 1868

/169/ Council Meeting Nov. 3^d. 1868.

Cit. Dupont in the Chair.

Members present: Townshend, Weston, Marx, Jung, Buckley, Johannard, Limburg, Bernard & Odger.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. A letter was read 5 from Cit Eccarius in which he stated he had drawn up the report of the congress as determined by a resolution of the [congress]; he feared it would be some time before he would be able to attend the meetings.

Marx announced the formation of a democratic working men's club at Berlin, which had declared against Schultze Delitzsch, against Schweitzer & against the 10 government.

Jung read extracts from an address sent by ||170| the Swiss branches of the Int. W.M. A. to the Spanish Working men expressing a hope that their revolution will be "not simply a political one, but an economical one".

Weston proposed & Johannard seconded that an address be prepared & be 15 held in readiness to be sent to the Spanish Cortes. Adopted unanimously.—Weston proposed & Jung seconded that Marx should write the said address, adopted unanimously.

Jung stated that he could ill afford the time required for the proper fulfilment of the extra labours devolved upon him through the illness of the general secretary & he hoped someone would be appointed provisionally to fill the place, after some discussion he said he had no objection to write out the minutes of the meetings of the council but he hoped somebody would be appointed to write the reports to the Beehive. It was then shown that the congress reports would take up a few weeks & the matter [was] dropped. 25

The first part of the report was then read & adopted & Citizen Weston was appointed to get it inserted in the Beehive & to make arrangements with the editors with a view of printing 1,000 copies of these reports.

Jung proposed & Weston seconded that Marx be appointed to revise the translation of the remainder of the report, adopted unanimousjy. 30

The secretary for Belgium then read a letter from Bruxelles. A committee had been appointed by the congress to inquire into certain charges made by Cit

Meeting of the General Council November 3, 1868

Vesinier against certain members of the I. W. M.A. Cit Vesinier had one month accorded to him to prepare his defence but although he promised to supply the proofs in support of the charges made by him he failed to do so & the committee had to investigate the matter without the proofs; after a patient & lengthy investigation the committee adopted the following conclusions unanimously with but two dissentients—(one abstaining & the other voting against) the committee fail to discover the slightest trace of truth in the charges made by Cit. Vesinier & they consider him unworthy of belonging to an association which has for basis: Morality, Justice & Truth.

- 10 Johannard proposed & Marx seconded that the Belgian secretary should ask the committee to insert the decision in the papers & to communicate it to the French branch, adopted unanimously.

The meeting then adjourned.

Chairman

H. Jung, secretary pro tern. /

15

Meeting of the General Council November 10, 1868

/171/Council meeting Nov. 10. 1868.

Cit Lessner in the Chair.

Members present Lucraft, Stepney, Shaw, Johannard, Jung, Dupont, Limburg, Bernard.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

5

The second part of the report was then read. Cit. Lucraft thought that the resolution concerning strikes was somewhat altered from the original; but on being compared to the french it was found [172] to be a good translation, Cit. Lucraft then said that the resolution had been softened down & that he had no objection to it now; at first it was sought to pledge the association to do certain things but now it was left more to the members.

Cit. Jung proposed & Shaw seconded, the report to be adopted; adopted unanimously.

Dupont proposes that we should insert in the report that the labour statistic is still open & inviting societies to send in their reports. Seconded by Jung, adopted. 15

The meeting then adjourned.

Chairman

H. Jung. Secretary pro tern. /

Meeting of the General Council November 24, 1868

/172/ Council Meeting Nov 24. 1868.

Cit. Shaw in the Chair.

Members present Lucraft, Dupont, Hales, Buckley, Weston, Marx, Milner, Lessner, Jung, Stepney.

- 5 The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

Marx read a letter from Saxony from some miners who wish to join the association of which they had read in different papers but especially in a book (by W. Eichhoff); they agree with the principles of the I.W. M.A. & thinking their country would be a fair field for propagating those principles. Cit. W. Jungnickel, 10 president of the Lugau branch of the Miners association brought the subject before II1731 the committee of the Lugau, Würschnitz & Oelsnitz branches, when they unanimously agreed to join the association & authorised Cit. W. Jungnickel & G. A. Bachmann to get the proper information in order to enable them to join.

Since the year 1865 the desirability of having a common fund between the 15 miners of this place and the surrounding districts was felt but many difficulties are in the way the chief one is that all the collieries whether they are worked by Companies or private individuals have a fund of their own towards which every miner is obliged to contribute; the masters keeping the entire control of the fund without being in any way obliged to contribute towards it at the same time the 20 master is at liberty to discharge his men without the men having any claim to a fund to which they may have contributed half their lifetime before they can begin work in a new pit they must pay an entrance-fee varying according to age from 5 s. to £6, which entrance-fee must be paid during the first 6 months of their stay; in case of illness the allowance they get from the fund is not enough to sustain life 25 the same is the case when they get incapacitated from overwork, through accident or old age they are even liable to be struck off the books simply for displeasing the master the consequence of this state of things is worse for old men than for young ones for if they leave or are discharged from a pit besides losing all their contributions they stand very little chance of getting any work. Some of those 30 funds have accumulated so much as £5,000. The only way to remedy this evil is to amalgamate all those funds into one to be under the control of the workmen

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themselves. A petition was drawn up signed by seven thousand miners and two committees were appointed with the view of accomplishing this object. In spite of a three years fight no result has yet been obtained and the ||174| plan proposed by the president that a petition should be sent to the government convinces the workmen that nothing will be done as they know what to expect from that quarter and that their salvation can only come from the union of the working classes of the whole world; if Lugau has joined with only two thousand men it is certain that Zwickau will soon join with seven thousand and Potschappel will join with as many more; in conclusion the writer mentions that Lugau belongs to the 19th electoral district which is represented in the North German Parliament by W. Liebknecht, Karl Marx's friend.

Weston then explained about his mission to the Beehive; he called many times without finding any body at home; Potter advised him not to keep the type unless it were to print some slips as there would be no saving if the report was published in a pamphlet form.

Milner spoke about a dinner that is to be given to Reverdy Johnson the american Minister and he asked if the council would take any part in it.

Lucraft asked by whom the dinner was to be given, he said there were workmen who never worked; he disliked workmen who live by their wits instead of their work.

Hales said that Allan who was one of the promoters had the right to call himself a representative man and that it was well known that dinners were only an excuse for speechmaking.

Marx replied that speeches were often an excuse for dinners and that Johnson did not represent the working classes of America.

Jung said that promoters of the said dinner were well aware of the existence of the I.W. A. and if they wanted us to take part in it they ought to have communicated with us and until they do so no steps ought to be taken; the matter [was] then dropped.

Weston then said he had heard of the death of Mazzini ||175| & should the report be confirmed he would move that an address be written condoling for the great loss we had sustained in the death of Mazzini.

Jung was opposed to any address being written by this council; however much he admired him as a patriot & a middle class republican he knew him to be opposed to the class struggle that was going on; while we are the leaders of one class he is one of the leaders of the other class & as such only could we treat him in an address.

After a few remarks by Marx & Hales the matter dropped.

Lessner was requested to call upon Eccarius in order that we should know whether the papers were still sent to America & Belgium; Shaw at the same time said that if Eccarius could not come himself he ought to send the books so that we should know what is our financial position.

The meeting then adjourned.

Chairman
H. Jung. Secretary pro tem. / 45

Meeting of the General Council December 1, 1868

/175/ Council meeting 1 December 1868.

Cit. Shaw in the Chair.

Members present: Buckley, Hales, Dupont, Marx, Johannard, Bernard, Lessner, Stepney, Limburg, Jung.

- 5 The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. |
[176] A letter was read from Cit. Applegarth inviting the council to send a delegate to a meeting convened for the purpose of deciding what form the reception of Mr. Reverdy Johnson should assume.

Jung saw no objection to sending a delegate whose mission should be to oppose such a demonstration.—Marx thought Johnson did not represent the working classes of America; by shaking hands with Laird he had betrayed his country, the northern press of America was protesting against his doings in England & he then spoke of a letter, in the Daily News of the 1st December, written by an American as showing the spirit entertained by Americans towards Johnson's conduct; Marx concluded by saying the working classes ought not to go in the wake of the upper & middle classes.

After a few remarks by the Chairman a resolution proposed by Marx & seconded by Dupont "that a delegate be sent to act in conformity with the views expressed by the different speakers" was unanimously adopted; Marx proposed & Dupont seconded that Shaw & Jung be appointed, adopted unanimously.

Marx read a letter from Liebknecht stating that the new rules had been drawn up on the model of the rules sent from England but with some modifications so as to bring them more in accord with the decisions of our congresses, & that he had called upon the 50,000 men who [jl77] had adhered to our association to reconstitute themselves on that new plan.

Jung announced the formation of new branches at St. Francisco, U.S. A.; one at Siegburg, Prussia; Lörrach & Seckingen, Baden; Rheinfelden, Switzerland; & one at Lutzelfluh, Switzerland; 2 sections composed exclusively of Ladies had been formed; one at Geneva, the other at Basel.

- 30 The propriety of having the plate altered was then discussed & a form was agreed to; Marx proposed & Dupont seconded that 1,000 cards be printed, & Jung was authorised to see Mr. Cottam about it; adopted unanimously.

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Lessner proposed & Marx seconded that Shaw be secretary for America, adopted unanimously.

Dupont proposed & Johannard seconded that Marx be appointed keeper of archives; Hales wished his duties to be defined; Jung thought that the written correspondence would remain in the correspondents hands & that printed matter chiefly would be put under his care, adopted unanimously.

Lessner reported about his mission to Eccarius; Eccarius was sending the papers abroad but the books were not then made up; the chairman thought the books were wanted to enable us to know our position; Hales proposed that Jung should write, adopted. The meeting adjourned.

Chairman.
H. Jung Secretary pro tern. |

Meeting of the General Council December 8, 1868

[179] Council Meeting 8 Dec 1868.

Members present Limburg, Milner, Buckley, Weston, Stepney & Jung.

Cit. Weston in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

- 5 Jung stated that he had received 2 letters from Geneva, one asking him to contribute towards the new paper, to which he had replied in the affirmative; the other he thought could stand over till next week;—he then reported the result of his mission at the Johnson demonstration; Mr. Coningsby said that when he saw how Mr. Johnson was feasted by the upper & middle classes he thought the
10 working classes ought to do something; Mr. Lloyd Jones thought that if the working classes of this country did not entertain Mr. Johnson it would be taken as an insult by the americans; Messrs. Cooper, Worley & Beales were opposed to entertaining Mr. Johnson but said they were pledged to a certain extent as Mr. Johnson had been asked in the name of the working classes if a demonstration
15 would be pleasing to him & he had answered in the affirmative.

Mr. Coningsby moved that the meeting be adjourned for a week in order to give it a more representative character; Jung moved as an amendment that this meeting [180] adjourns until Grant should assume office; no seconder being forthcoming the amendment was lost & the resolution was carried.

- 20 The chairman thought Jung ought to go again on Thursday.
The meeting then adjourned.

E. Dupont Chairman
H. Jung. Secretary pro tern. I

Meeting of the General Council December 15, 1868

/180/ Council Meeting 15 Dec. 1868.

Members present: Bernard, Johannard, Dupont, Stepney, Marx, Lessner & Jung.

Cit Dupont in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

Jung reported his mission to the Johnson demonstration committee & stated 5
the failure of the attempt to fête him.

Mr. Johnson.

A letter was read from Becker in which he stated that the D.A. B.V., which numbered 1,800 & had joined the I.W.M.A. some time past, had offered to pay as their contribution the sum of £2 per year to the general council & £2 to the 10 Geneva central committee; Becker hoped the council would accept the offer as Liebknecht had given a bad example in Germany by publishing that societies could join the I.W.M.A. without paying any contribution.

A long discussion ensued. Jung and Dupont were in favor of accepting, as the same was done by most societies in England, such as the Joiners who paid £2 & 15 the Bricklayers £1. |

11811 Johannard was opposed; he did not consider it to be just to allow some to pay less than others.

Marx did not think justice consisted in making every one pay alike whatever his means might be. 20

At last it was unanimously agreed that Jung be instructed to inform the D.A. B.V. that we can only accept the £4 offered as an instalment.—Marx then referring to the second subject stated that he had written to Liebknecht requesting him to retract what he had published about the contributions.

The letter further stated that a society calling itself "L'alliance internationale 25 de la démocratie socialiste" had been formée. & that they had joined the I.W.M.A.; a programme with their rules was enclosed in the letter.

Jung thought there were certain things in that programme to which he could not answer until he knew the opinions of the council.—Dupont, Johannard thought that this new society could only be a source of weakness to the 30 I.W.M.A.; that the very objects they sought to attain were being worked out by

Meeting of the General Council December 15, 1868

the I.W. M. A. in a far abler manner than ever they could by this new one. Marx thought that it was against our rules to admit another international association into our society. It was then unanimously agreed that the secretary for Switzerland should prepare an answer by next Tuesday to submit to the meeting & it was
5 further unanimously agreed that in order to counteract the pernicious impression produced by that manifesto that the answer should be made public.

Jung read an extract from a |jl82| letter Stepney had received from Robert of La Chaux de Fonds; by which it appears that the magistrates of Basel in Switzerland had driven from that place a member of our association who had been
10 leader in a strike that took place there a few weeks ago.

Dupont read letters from Lyons, Paris & Orléans.—Dupont proposed that a summary of the doings of the council since last Congress should be written & published.

Jung wished members, who made such propositions, would at the same time
15 propose somebody to do the work; Marx offered to help Jung in making a short resume of the transactions & Jung agreed to it.

Johannard said that a few weeks ago it was decided that an address be prepared to be sent to the Spanish Cortes at their first assembling & he wished to know how it was proceeding.

20 Marx said he would get it ready in time to enable the council to make any alterations that might be thought necessary.

The meeting then adjourned.

H. Jung. Secretary pro tern.
*Geo Odger Chairman *

Meeting of the General Council December 22, 1868

1183j Council Meeting 22 Dec 1868.

Cit Odger in the Chair.

Members present, Odger, Dupont, Buckley, Marx, Lessner, Jung, Weston, Bernard.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

5

The secretary read a letter from Stepney enclosing a cheque for £5. 5. as his contribution.

A letter from Belgium stated that they were making good progress in that country; last year they had not more than 3 branches now they have 60; they get 1,000 new adherents every week; the weavers of Gand & the spinners of Pepinster have been successful in their strike.

A letter from Liebknecht announces that our new societies in Germany number already 110,000 men.

Jung read some papers from Switzerland showing that our association was being attacked by the middle class press & Marx proposed & Lessner seconded that Jung write an official answer to those papers; adopted unanimously.

Jung then read the answer to the "Alliance internationale de la démocratie" after some discussion it was unanimously agreed to with the following addition proposed by Dupont, reminding them that many who had signed the programme of the Alliance had voted, at Brussels, in favor of the resolution concerning the Peace league. |

[184] Weston was authorised to get the congress resolutions printed.

It was unanimously agreed that in future one penny should be charged for the cards.

Marx then proposed that the Turco Greek question should be discussed the 1st Tuesday in the new year. Adopted unanimously.

The meeting then adjourned to the 5th of January 1869.

Chairman

H. Jung. Secretary pro tern. I

Meeting of the General Council January 5, 1869

/184/ Council meeting 5 January 1869.

Cit. Zabicki in the Chair.

Members present Buckley, Johannard, Dupont, Stepney, Bernard, Marx, Milner, Applegarth & Jung & Limburg. The minutes of the previous meeting were
5 read & confirmed.

Jung stated that owing to some letters received from France & Switzerland the
sub.committee had met on Saturday last.

Marx brought up the report of the sub-corn.

It appears that the cotton yarns & goods manufacturers of France are forming
10 an alliance with a view of underselling the English manufacturers in their own
markets; the French manufacturers admit that although the English manufacturers
have better machinery & larger capitals than the French they have been
enabled to hold their own owing to the low wages paid to the men in France &
they hope by lowering the ||185| wages still more to be able to produce their goods
15 cheaper than the English manufacturers can.

Mr. Bertel, mayor of Sotteville lès Rouen & one of the largest manufacturers
of the place was the first to inaugurate this new crusade against the working
classes; on the he offered a reduction of 3 7: pence per day; on the men
refusing these terms they were locked out & they have now appealed to the Int.
20 Working Men's Asso. for help; after some discussion the following resolution
proposed by Cit. Applegarth & seconded by Marx was unanimously agreed to.

Dupont stated that in Vienne, Dauphiné, 400 spinners had been locked out be-
cause they would not agree to a reduction of wages.

Marx thought we ought to give immediate relief to the men at Sotteville lès
25 Rouen & he thought the 20 £ lent by the Amalgamated Carpenters & Joiners to
the Bronze workers of Paris, had been lent under our guarantee & that we could
transfer them from the Bronze workers to the men of Rouen.—Applegarth said
that whenever they had advanced money to anybody of men on the continent it
had always been with the recommendation of the International, in fact he consid-
30 ered the money as having been lent to the International & hence he thought we
were perfectly justified in transferring ||186| it from one body of men to another.

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It was then unanimously agreed that the bronze workers of Paris should be asked to send that money to Sotteville lès Rouen & Johannard was instructed to take the resolution to Paris & communicate it to the Bronze workers.

Jung then stated that a great many ribbon weavers at Basel were locked out, but his information was so scanty that he could not make out a case. 5

Marx said that 200 men had been discharged without notice, (for taking one quarter of a day usually given throughout Switzerland), although the custom in Basel requested 14 day's notice to be given on either side; he then proposed a vote of censure to be passed upon the central committee of Switzerland for having left the general Council without the proper information on such an important matter; 10 the proposition was seconded by Dupont & unanimously adopted.

The meeting then adjourned.

Geo Odger Chairman
H. Jung. Secretary pro tern. /

Meeting of the General Council January 12, 1869

/186/ Council meeting 12 January 1869.

Cit. Odger in the chair.

Members present: Lucraft, Lessner, Marx, Buckley, Milner, Dupont, Stepney, Jung.

- 5 The minutes of the previous meeting were read ||187| confirmed.
It was unanimously agreed that the card be amended & that London be added to the card.
It was proposed by Marx & seconded by Lucraft that 10,000 be printed & unanimously agreed to.
- 10 Jung read a letter from Belgium where they had established new branches & at a conference composed of delegates from different parts of Belgium they had elected their general council for Belgium; Jung thought it would be advisable to change the word "general" for the word "central"; Marx thought the word federal would suit them better; the secretary for Belgium was instructed to communicate that decision to the Belgian council.

Dupont read a letter from Rouen stating that out of the 160 locked out spinners 60 had found work & 100 still remained out; some help would be very welcome.

A letter from Paris stated that the Bronze workers were to meet on Friday 20 when they would decide about the £20 advanced them by the Amalgamated Carpenters & Joiners.

Lessner thought [we] ought to begin again at 8 o'clock instead of nine.

John Weston Chairman
H. Jung. Secretary pro tern. |

Meeting of the General Council January 19, 1869

|188| Council meeting 19 January 1869.

Cit. Hales in the Chair.

Members present: Limburg, Hales, Lessner, Buckley, Dupont, Johannard, Warren, Odger, Stepney, Weston, Jung, Bernard.

The minutes were read & confirmed.

5

Cit. John Warren delegate from the trunk makers' society took his seat at the Council.

Johannard made his report concerning his mission to Paris; the bronze workers of Paris gave him the £20 & he took them to Rouen. Our men, both in Paris & Rouen are doing an active propaganda.

10

Lessner proposed & Jung seconded that 3 languages be printed on the back of each card.

Weston & Odger propose that the 2,000 cards we have, be also printed on the back.

Lessner was requested to pay one month's rent & to make arrangements concerning firing.

Lessner gives notice of motion concerning the ballot question.

Johannard stated that both in Paris & in Rouen our members were eagerly waiting for the programme of next congress.

The meeting then adjourned.

20

John Weston Chairman
H. Jung. Secretary pro tern. |

Meeting of the General Council January 26, 1869

|189| Council Meeting 26 January 1869.

Cit. Lessner in the Chair.

Members present, Lessner, Buckley, Johannard, Jung, Shaw, Odger, Hales.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

- 5 A letter from Rouen [was read] thanking the Council for what we had done for the locked out spinners.

A letter was read from Messrs. Mallalien & Cie. asking for our rules & the congress reports; the secretary was instructed to supply them.

10 A letter was read from the Sunday League asking the council to appoint a deputation. A long discussion ensued when the following resolution proposed by Odger & seconded by Hales was adopted with but one dissentient:

That the deputation put down in writing what their knowledge & views of the use made of the Sunday on the continent by the working classes are as compared with England & present their report on this subject to the council for approval
15 before forwarding it to the Sunday League.

The following resolution was then unanimously agreed to: That the deputation be requested to wait on the Sunday League to inform them of the course adopted by the Council.

20 A letter from Brussels was read enclosing £4 for contributions & promising a like amount for next month; some questions were also asked about a marble polishers society ||190| & Cit. Shaw undertook to procure the said information.

John Weston Chairman
H. Jung. Secretary pro tern. /

Meeting of the General Council February 2, 1869

/190/ Council meeting 2 February 1869.

Cit. Weston in the Chair.

Members present, Maurice, Eccarius, Lessner, Buckley, Bernard, Johannard, Warren, Marx, Stepney, Milner, Jung, Weston.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

5

Cit. Jung reported on behalf of the deputation to the Sunday League. The Council of the League had expressed a desire that the Council of the International Association should take an official part in the discussion of the Sunday observance question, & give its influence in favour of the movement. He had been requested by the Council of the League to state that they desired to send a 10 deputation to argue the question. Upon the proposition of Maurice seconded by Eccarius it was resolved to receive a deputation from the Sunday League.

Cit. Marx stated that he had received a letter from Manchester concerning Ernest Jones's funeral in which he had been informed that the Working [men] who had followed on foot had not been permitted to enter the cemetery.

15

Correspondence. Brussels. The Belgian Secretary warned the members of the Council not to tell everybody what was going on there being detractors abroad who endeavoured to prove uselessness of the Association. There were more Vé-siniers than one. A. de Charnal had attacked the Association in the Cigale in the shabbiest manner. Jung, Dupont, Tolain &c. he maintained had to have proved 20 their innocence by duels.

Switzerland. A letter from Bale gave particulars respecting the Silk-dyers' & ribbon-weavers' dispute of that town.

1. The Silk dyers were locked out on the 26th of December on account of | 191 | being members of the International Association. Number originally locked out 480. Victimised & out since January 4th 150.

2. Ribbon weavers victimised & kept out for being members since the end of November 150.

3. Rate of wages, silk-dyers from 10 to 18 francs a week & daily a measure of wine.

30

Ribbon-weavers at piece work earn from 9 to 17 francs a week hours of labour - 12 to 14 hours a day.

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4. In the ribbon trade many women & young children are employed.
5. The exact number who at present belong to the Association is unknown. Before the lock-out the dyers numbered 400 the ribbon-weavers upwards of 350 at present it is supposed dyers about 250, ribbon-weavers about 200.
- 5 6. There is no specific sum allowed for support the relief consists principally in articles of food.
7. The ribbon-weavers' branch has made a loan of 700 fr. to aid their fellow workers. Not only the dyers & weavers in work but also other trades, particularly the engineers contribute as much as they are able.
- 10 8. The employers of Bale as well as those of Zurich have entered into agreement not to employ any of the men turned out.

The Bale committee is of opinion that pecuniary aid from London would have a great moral effect. They complain greatly of the behaviour of the middle-class press. The president of the branch Cit. Frey has been elected as a member of the 15 Great Council.

Cit. Jung said he was aware that there was not much hope of obtaining money under existing circumstances yet he thought the Council ought to try.

Marx spoke in favour of the matter being taken up the more so as it was not an ordinary strike or lock-out but an attempt to crush the Association. It was 20 ultimately agreed that the Secretary write to the principal trade Societies to receive deputations on behalf of the locked-out of Bale.

A proposition that the secretary receive 15 s. a week for his services was carried against one.

The secretary was authorised to buy an account book.

25 The meeting adjourned at eleven o'clock.

H. Jung Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary |

Meeting of the General Council February 9, 1869

1192 | Council Meeting February 9.

Members present: Dupont, Eccarius, Bernard, Jung, Johannard, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Stepney, Warren, Lucraft, Weston.

Cit. Jung in the Chair; Minutes of the previous meeting read & confirmed.

The secretary read letters from the Webweavers, Cigar Makers, & Hatters' 5 Societies consenting to receive deputations on behalf of the lock-out at Bale.

Cit. Jung reported that he had attended the Elastic Web Weavers meeting who had voted one pound. Cit. Lessner handed over two pounds six shillings collected at the Anniversary of the Arbeiter Bildungs Verein.

Cit. Jung & Milner were appointed to attend the Cigar Makers executive, & 10 Eccarius & Weston at the Hatters.

Cit. Jung read a letter from Bale complaining that the Arbeiter, a weekly paper published by the vicepresident of the Section was in difficulties & in danger of being extinguished.

Rules had arrived from Geneva purporting to establish a strike fund & others 15 aiming at solidarisation of the welsch branches of the International Association in Switzerland. The approval of the Council of the said rules was asked. Cit. Jung was authorized to examine to strike out anything he might find not agreeing with the General Rules & send them back with suitable comments.

Cit. Jung was authorized to forward four pounds to Bale. The silk dyers of 20 Zurich had formed a society & joined the International.

Cit. Weston & Dupont were appointed to audit the books.

Cit. Dupont reported that the Strike at Rouen was at an end, the working [men] had given in but were preparing for a future time. The discussions of the Credit question were going out of date. In France forming trade societies was 25 the ascendant.

He proposed that a manifesto should be published of the Bale & Rouen affair as soon as all the facts were ||198| known. He also urged the desirability of publishing the programme for the next congress before the French elections. It was agreed that the advisability of carrying these suggestions into effect be put on 30 the Order of the day for the next meeting.

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Cit. Weston announced that a meeting was to take place on Saturday the 13 at the Southampton Buildings to consider means of providing employment for the unemployed poor he wished that the Council should be represented at that meeting.

5 Mrs. Law & Cit. Milner were appointed to represent the Council on the occasion but to limit their remarks to the Land question.

The Secretary was instructed to write to Cit. Shaw respecting the information about the marble polishers for Belgium.

It was agreed that the Congress Resolutions should be advertised four consecutive times in the Beehive & St. Crispin.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

B. Lucraft Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary I

Meeting of the General Council February 16, 1869

/193/ Council Meeting February 16.

Present: Applegarth, Bernard, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Mrs. Law, Lessner, Lu-craft, Limbourg, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Stepney, Warren.

Cit. Lucraft was unanimously called upon to take the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The Secretary 5
read letters from the Secretaries of two Cabinet Makers Societies expressing sym-
pathy with the men of Bale but regretting the inability of their societies to render
any pecuniary support.

The deputations reported that the executives of the Cigar Makers & the Hat-
ters had consented to bring the matter before their societies. 10

Citizen Lessner remitted 1 /. 1 s. more from the Arbeiter Bildungs Verein.

Cit. Jung was authorized to forward another 50 fr. to Bale.

Cit. Marx remitted one thaler for cards from the miners of Lugau in Germany.

Cit. Milner reported on behalf of the deputation to Southampton Buildings
that Mrs. Law had made the speech of the evening. An opinion was expressed 15
that it [did] not appear that any particular party had got up [at] the meeting as|
j 1941 a feeler but that a committee might have been formed with a view to further
proceedings if any one had taken the matter up.

Cit. Jung read extracts from the Arbeiter of Bale & the Egalité of Geneva. The
former stated that the metal workers (Engineers), Carpenters, & Bookbinders of 20
Zurich had formed trade societies & joined the Association. A collection had also
been made at a public meeting for the men of Bale amounting to 62 fr. From two
country villages in the Canton of Bale, Eptingen & Oberweiler supplies had been
received of firewood, apples, potatoes, pease, & dried fruit. The female branch of
Geneva had sent 30 fr. & in consequence of an appeal by Cit. Héligon, a member 25
of the Association, 135 fr. had been collected at a public meeting at Paris. A
watch manufacturer at St. Imier had posted up bills to the effect that he would
employ no one who was a member of the Association. In reply to an article in the
Etats Unis d'Europe the Egalité repudiates the Idea of aspiring to nothing better
than Swiss Republicanism. 30

Cit. Applegarth reported that an agent of the manufacturers of Zurich had
been to see him. He was making inquiries to ascertain in how far the Swiss

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workmen acted under directions from the London Council. He had stated that if wages were forced as high as they were in other countries they would have to stop their mills as they were under considerable disadvantages in procuring raw material yet they could not do without manufacturing as the agricultural resources
5 were insufficient to support the population. Cit. Jung & Marx said the manufacturers were wilfully spreading falsehoods. They knew that their men did not act under directions from London but they had gained a little courage since they had been brought in union with the men of other countries & the capitalists did all they could to isolate them. With regard to silk they had greater facility to procure
10 raw material than the manufacturers of other countries & their profits were considerably higher than those of the English manufacturers.

A deputation from the Holborn Branch of the Reform League attended soliciting the cooperation of the Council to get up a demonstration in memory of Ernest Jones, whom the deputation represented as having been the champion of
15 the oppressed in every Country of Europe. Cit. Jung, Lessner & Dupont were appointed to arrange matters with the demonstration Committee.

Another deputation attended from the Council of the Sunday League. |
11951 The deputation stated that the questions to be submitted for discussion in which the council of the Sunday League desired that speakers from the International should take part would be as follows: 1. The Continental Sunday & the English Sunday compared; 2. Does the opening of Museums & Galleries involve a compulsory system of working seven days for six days pay as has been asserted?
20 3. Is the social & moral character of a nation destroyed by the employment of a few for the recreation of the many?

25 Mr. Morell stated that he for one would not advocate the question of opening the Museums if he thought it would lead to Sunday labour generally. The League desired that the Council should appoint a speaker from each of the large Continental Cities to state at the meeting how Sunday was observed in different places. To most people in this Country Paris was the Continent. The Lords Day
30 Observance Society would be invited to the discussion. Another of the deputation stated that care should be taken that the discussion did not drift into a theological controversy. Marx observed there was plenty of over work now on Sunday without the Museums being open. It was agreed to get information from abroad & consider the question of appointing speakers on a future day.

35 Cit. Dupont referred to his statement of the previous week respecting the programme for the next Congress. Marx considered it premature to publish the whole programme now. The two great questions Education & Credit stood in a manner adjourned to the next Congress & the Land question was sure to crop up again. These three then might be announced as part of the programme & that
40 those who have any propositions to make be invited to do so.

The following resolution was then agreed to. "That the secretaries be instructed to write to all the Continental Sections to inform them that the three questions Land, Credit, & Education should again form part of the Congress programme & that any section who may have any suggestions to make respecting

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other subjects to be brought before the Congress shall be invited to send them as early as possible, papers or essays written upon the subjects to be likewise sent to London before the time fixed for the meeting of the Congress." The Council [adjourned] at 11 o'clock. |

Meeting of the General Council February 23, 1869

|195[a]| Council Meeting February 23.

Members present: Bernard, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales, Mrs. Law, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Stepney, Weston.

Cit. Lessner in the Chair.

- 5 The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

A letter was read from the Secretary of the Amalgamated Engineers stating that the Council of that Association had no funds at their disposal to assist the people locked-out at Bale.

A letter from the Secretary of the Sunday League suggested the advisability of 10 issuing tickets of admission to the intended discussion & asked the concurrence of this Council. The Council agreed & instructed the Secretary to inform the Council of the League of it.

Leno delivered the Congress Resolutions. Cit. Jung was authorised to pay the bill amount 3*L*. 5*s*.

- 15 It was agreed that the resolutions be sold at 1*d*. per copy & that the sending free of charge to affiliated societies & correspondents be left to the discretion of the Secretary.

Cit. Lessner reported from the demonstration Committee in honour of Ernest Jones that prints had been issued from the sale of which the expenses were to be 20 defrayed. A proposition to apply to middle class people for aid had been rejected.

Cit. Marx read a lengthy report upon the regulations of the Coal Miners in Saxony from which appeared that the weekly wages of adults are from 6*s*. to 10*s*. 3*d*. of boys from 4*s*. to 5*s*. That they work 24 hours out of every 48 during 6 days of the week; the shifts varying from 6 to 12 hours.

- 25 That each mine has a separate benefit club to which the masters contribute in various ways but in only one case do they contribute as much as the men while the men have no proprietary rights in the funds in any case & the masters invariably administer them by their managers. The men lose all claim when they leave the works no matter for what reason. Some of the Club rules contain prohibitions 30 against strikes & combinations, but none contain any provisions for men permanently disabled by accident, other than such as apply equally to inability from

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old age or other bodily infirmities. The men propose to consolidate all ||196| the clubs into one; that members shall not lose their claim to benefit as long as they reside in Germany & continue to pay their contributions; & that the funds shall [be] administered by officers appointed at periodical general meetings of the miners. Some believe that the masters will continue to contribute under such arrangements. The Secretary was instructed to try & get the whole report published in some Daily Paper.

Cit. Milner proposed & Cit. Marx seconded the nomination of Mr. Boon as a member of the Council.

The Council adjourned at a quarter to eleven o'clock.

H. Jung.
J. George Eccarius. I

Meeting of the General Council March 2, 1869

/196/ Council Meeting March 2.

Members present: Bernard, Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius Jung, Lessner, Marx, Stepney, Warren, Weston.

Cit. Jung in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

A letter from the Sunday League announced that the Freemasons' Hall had been engaged & that the Sunday observance discussion would take place March 16 & that it was desirable that the speakers should be appointed & their names communicated.

10 Marx proposed & Lessner seconded that Mrs. Law, Dupont, Jung & Eccarius be appointed as speakers & that the question be discussed by the Council in the next meeting. Carried unanimously.

Cit. Warren presented three copies of the rules of the Portmanteau & Trunk Makers society.

15 Cit. Marx stated that police of Nuremberg had prohibited a charge of admission to a meeting held in that town for the benefit of the men locked-out at Bale as illegal. The president had submitted under protest upon which one of the men present had publicly announced that as he was not permitted to tender his mite at the entrance he would lay [it] down inside the room this example had been followed by others so that the collection had been made in spite of the police.

He further called the attention of the Council to the fact that at the ||197| time the trades Union Commission had been appointed a great outcry had been raised in the middle class upon the statement of some actuaries that the best of the trades unions must become bankrupt with their present contributions in consequence of mixing up other affairs with the benefit funds. A few days ago an accountant had published a letter addressed to Gladstone in which it was proved that the present position of '10 Life Assurance Companies amounted to insolvency. It remained to be seen if the papers would take any notice of that.

Cit Jung stated that money had been collected at Nice for the men of Bale.

30 In consequence of the rules & programme of the International Association having been published in the Newspapers at Naples meetings had been held at

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which several Trade Societies had declared their adhesion & appointed a Committee to act provisionally as the Central Committee of the Association for the whole of Italy. The members of the Committee are: Etienne Caporusso, a tailor, president; Christian Tucci, a carpenter Vice president; Anthony Giustiniani, a modeller, Treasurer; Anthony Cirma, a carpenter Secretary. These proceedings 5 were causing much alarm amongst the middle class liberals.

Cit. Dupont was appointed as secretary pro tern, for Italy & instructed to correspond with the new Committee.

The Secretary announced that he had sent the Congress resolutions to all the London Societies with [which] the Association is in Correspondence. 10

He was authorised to pay a debt of 12 s. 6 d. to the Beehive.

Cit. Weston gave a report of the Demonstration Committee. A strong desire had been expressed that some Continental member of the Council should make a speech on the occasion. There were five presidents & five other speakers appointed & it had been suggested that the secularists should secure as many halls as they 15 could in the evening to celebrate the day by suitable music & speeches.

The Council adjourned at half past 10 o'clock.

H. Jung. Chairman |

Meeting of the General Council March 9, 1869

|198| Council Meeting March 9

Members present Buckley, Bernard, Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Mrs. Law, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Maurice, Warren.

Cit. Jung in the Chair. The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. A Letter was read from the Secretary of the International Alliance of Social Democrats demanding answers yes or no to certain questions. Citizen Marx read a letter containing the required answers which he proposed & Dupont seconded to be sent in reply. The proposition was unanimously carried & instructions given that it be forwarded to all correspondents who had received the previous letter which had called forth the present.

Cit. Jung announced that the first subscription sheet to the Basle Lock-out had been published the subscription amounted to 300 /. Subscriptions were still coming in & men were still turned out.

Cit. Marx announced that the German Bookbinders were going to establish an International Bookbinders Union & were going to hold a Congress to which they invited delegates from every Country.

The Secretary called attention to a statement in the Egalité that 13,500 men had joined the Association in Austria.

Dupont said we heard so much of adhesions in the papers but we were never officially informed. We ought to be informed whenever a new section was formed. Bernard said in Countries where Committees existed it was their duty to do so. Cit. Marx observed that we had empowered several [members] in Germany to form new sections it would simply require to remind them of their duty if they should neglect it.

25 Dupont was instructed to write to Italy.

A discussion then took place on the Sunday observance question in which Marx observed that the best guarantee against Sunday Labour was the extension of factory laws. In the present State of Society there was always a tendency of transforming as much of man's life time as possible into working ||199| time. He instanced some cases respecting the Bakers of Dublin & the Ironmongers of London to show that the religious observance of Sunday did not prohibit Sunday working.

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Jung made a few observations respecting Sunday keeping in Switzerland.

Cit. Cohn & Bernard were added to the List of Speakers.

Cit. Maurice nominated Mr. Fraser as Member of the Council. Mrs. Law seconding.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

H. Jung. Chairman *I*

Meeting of the General Council March 23, 1869

/199/ Council Meeting March 23.

Members present: Bernard, Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Hales, Lucraft, Boon, Bedford.

Cit. Jung in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The secretary read letters from the secretary of the Trades Council of Edinburgh, from Cit. Yarrow of Eastbourne, John Smith of Whitechurch in Dorset, the latter desiring information respecting the Association. The secretary mentioned that G.J. Harney had written to Mr. Truelove requesting him to send some of the reports &c. of the Association. He was of opinion that the required documents should be forwarded officially. The secretary was to forward what was required to the applicants.

Cit. Jung called attention to a shoemaker's advertisement in Lloyds inserted to entrap unwary people to work for a shop on Strike.

A letter in the Egalité announced that Money had been sent from Italy to Bale. Another letter from Madrid stated that a section had been formed & wished to correspond with London.

The factory lords of Bale had agreed to let the men return to work with the exception of about a dozen who volunteered to leave the country.

A letter from Geneva stated that a fresh dispute had occurred in the Building Trade. There were 150 men out who required assistance.

Cit. Jung was instructed to reply that under existing circumstances there was no chance to obtain supplies here.

Citizen Hales proposed the admission of Boon as a member of the Council carried.

Cit. Edward Bedford & J. Ross were admitted as delegates from the Boot-closers Society.

Cit. Marx proposed & Hales seconded that the resolution of sending a congratulatory Address to Spain be rescinded as there was nothing now in Spain upon which the working class could be congratulated. Agreed.

Cit. Jung complained about the arrangements & treatment of the members of the Council at the Sunday discussion. The members of the League had spoken a

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great [deal] longer than the allotted ten minutes while he & Dupont had been cut short.

The Secretary was ordered to call upon Mr. Cottam about the cards.

The Council adjourned at 10 o'clock.

H. Jung. Chairman *I*

Meeting of the General Council March 30, 1869

/200/ Council Meeting March 30.

Members present Bernard, Dupont, Buckley, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Stepney, Ross, Applegarth, Warren.

Cit. Jung in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & 5 confirmed.

Cit. Jung announced the reception of a letter from Bale, stating that the strike was at an end but not the sufferings of the people & enquiring whether there were any hopes of receiving more money from London. A new president had been elected in the place of Frey who seemed to have been induced to resign his place 10 more from weakness & incapacity than from any design against the association. A reading room had been established, works on the labour question would be gladly received as that question was to be taken up in preference to any other. The tailors had established a cooperative society, & would like to have rules &c. of kindred associations in ||201| England.

15 The News from Geneva was that the Compositors & Printers were on Strike for a rectification of the price list.

Elie Reclus & three others at Paris had protested against the policy of the Egalité which consisted in a hostile attitude against the middle-class.

Stepney had received a letter from Pisa in Italy.

20 The Times & other papers were attacking the insurance societies.

Cit. Jung stated further that he had received a visit from a Belgian who wanted some information about the association but preferred making enquiries here as the Belgian police was constantly watching the members of the Association there.

There being no business before the chair the secretary said now was the time to 25 propose questions for discussions to which Citizen Milner responded by stating that on some future night he should raise the question whether trade societies could assist their unemployed members to some kind of self-employment & by that means avoid the necessity which frequently compelled them to accept work on any condition from unprincipled employers.

30 The Council [adjourned] at half past 10 o'clock.

H. Jung. Chairman I

Meeting of the General Council April 6, 1869

/201/ Council Meeting April 6.

Members present Buckley, Bernard, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Stepney, Ross.

The secretary read a letter from a Mr. Fisher of Sydney in Gloucestershire asking how he could obtain the Congress resolutions & make himself useful to 5 the Association. The secretary was authorised to furnish him with the documents of the Association. The following circular had come to hand from Birmingham |212| the consideration of which was postponed till the next meeting.

A letter, including prospectus, of an Association purporting to reclaim waste lands in the neighbourhood of the metropolis & cultivate them on the coopéra- 10 tive principle, establishing communities who would produce all they need for their own support with little exception, the workmen to participate in the profits that might accrue. The secretary was instructed to acknowledge the receipt.

Correspondence: A letter from Naples stated that now a real section was established, & made rapid progress amidst the difficulties thrown in the way by the old 15 working men's organisation which is subsidised by the ruling power. Some parts of Italy were not so well prepared for our principles as others but the leading men were in our favour, & there was no doubt that Italy would be well represented at the next Congress. Information required whether any one could correspond in Italian. The middle class revolutionists were not our way of thinking but they 20 could not be opposed at present.

Dassy, in a letter, expressed regret that Dupont had received no letters. He had done much to advance the cause of the working class & was willing to do more. Had not yet received the reports of the Brussels Congress. A renovation of society was urgently required but he should like to have advice what to do & was 25 willing to do it. The Post Office was not to be trusted.

From Geneva complaints were made that no answer had been received yet to the letter applying for pecuniary assistance. They had to fight all the political parties of the middle class combined, who tried every thing to provoke the men to acts of violence, but they remained firm. The master builders had sent circulars to 30 the other towns of Switzerland cautioning the employers not to employ any one coming from Geneva.

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The tailors' section of Lausanne wished to know whether there was a cooperative Society in England that could furnish them with stuff. They had paid 8,000 fr. for materials to Agent of Cook at Huddersfield 4,000 fr. to Elboeuf & 6,000 fr. to Germany they would much ||23| prefer dealing with a cooperative 5 society. They are going to have a shop in every town of Switzerland & a central Committee to make all purchases.

In a letter from Brussels it was stated that many sections were in an embryo state & therefore a complete list could not be given. The Brussels treasurer was now engaged to separate his accounts what was town & what was country he 10 would be done in about a fortnight. The Brussels members numbered 1,500.

Two delegates from the Helvetia inquired whether their vote of adhesion of their society was to be made effective. Some instructions were given & the delegates promised to put in appearance the next meeting. The Council adjourned at a quarter to 11 o'clock.

15

H. Jung. Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary I

Meeting of the General Council April 13, 1869

/203/Council Meeting April 13.

Members present Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Limbourg, Milner, Marx, Muller, Weston.

Cit. Jung was unanimously voted in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The Secretary stated that he [had] no correspondence of any kind. 5

Cit. Marx announced that in the North German Parliament three Socialist speeches [were made] by real representatives of working men, they were the first that had ever been made in any parliament. Dr. Schweitzer, the President of the General German Workingmen's Union, had availed himself of the opportunity 10 afforded by a debate on a Government proposition for the regulation of the handicraft trades. He had explained what the working class required, & that they meant to have it & as a preparatory step to future action he had demanded a statistical enquiry into the whole circumstances connected with labour & insisted upon proper education. A Mr. Braun had tried to make fun of it but he had been 15 ably met by Fritzsche of Berlin, a Cigar Maker. The middle class speakers who had followed had been answered the next day by Bebel another working man, who had made the best speech in every respect. Bebel had pointed to the International ||204| Association to remove any doubts as to the seriousness of the labour movement & avowed himself an advocate & active member of the Association. 20

Cit. Marx said that a great deal might be done just now in Germany but our progress was frustrated by the want of cards.

Cit. Jung entered upon some explanations to show what part he had taken in the getting up of [cards] which were considered sufficient to exonerate from any 25 blame in the matter.

Cit. Jung announced that at a mining work in Belgium where the men were compelled to contribute to a benefit fund of which the masters claimed the sole management two men, one of whom was 64 years old & had contributed upwards of 30 years, had been refused certificates to entitle them to relief. Marx stated 30 that his report upon the Mines in Saxony had been published in three papers, in Germany.

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Cit. Jung stated that the Master Builders Association of Geneva had appealed to the men to return to work. Marx thought that the Geneva Committee allowed itself too often to get entangled with every little strike without having prepared any means to support it, it could only tend to compromise the Association.

- 5 Jung said that he had always urged this view of the matter in letters to Geneva & told them it was ridiculous to appeal for help in foreign country for about 150 men on strike, & that they must take such matters on their own responsibility.

Cit. Weston endorsed what had been said. If we were to be appealed to for
10 money we ought to be consulted before strikes took place. If we went soliciting
money on every occasion it would be interpreted that we promoted strikes.

Cit. Marx called attention to what is called the London French Branch, who
acted in the name of the Association & compromised the Association. Our rules
left so wide a scope to the branches that the Council could not easily interfere but
15 there must be some Centralisation. They had paid no contributions, & according
to the resolutions of the last Congress we had a right to call upon them to give a
report of their proceedings every three months.

Cit. Jung said that that branch acted in direct opposition to the Council. The
Council had frustrated the intended workingmen's banquet to the American Am-
20 bassador the president of the French branch had invoked his aid against the
French army in Rome & Felix Pyat had declared that the Empire was death to
property & wanted the Emperor shot to save it. He thought it was the institution
of property as it is we ought to strive to remove & leave the Emperor to his fate
he would fall when the system fell.

- 25 Cit. Milner thought we could not be too careful in anything that was done in
the name of ||25| the Association we might get into trouble.

Cit. Weston regretted that alienation had occurred with the French branch
which seemed not to be a branch. It might be good policy to invite them to
conform to the rules. If they could be brought back it might be an advantage, if
30 not, & they did anything wrong we could disavow them.

Cit. Marx replied that his & Weston's remarks concurred. But the French
branch had done a great deal of which the Council had taken no notice. They had
sent a delegate to Brussels with a long indictment against the Council brought
before the Congress the matter had been referred to the Brussels section who had
35 decided against them. They then had sent letters everywhere against Dupont &
Jung. After that they had tried to get up a meeting to alter the rules of our
association in that they had failed & now they called themselves the French
branch. If any thing took place in France they would compromise us.

Upon the proposition of Weston seconded by Milner it was agreed that the
40 secretary be instructed to write to the Branch to mention that they act in the
name of the Association without consulting it & to call upon them to define their
relation to the Council.

Cit. Marx proposed & Milner seconded that the request of the Genevese be
complied with & the laws of inheritance be added to the questions to be discussed
45 at the next Congress. Agreed.

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Eccarius proposed & Milner seconded that enquiries be made as to the probable liabilities arising out of taking part in the Birmingham Congress. Agreed.

Cit. A. Müller presented a declaration of adhesion from the Helvetia & credentials as its delegate. He was admitted.

The Council adjourned at a quarter to 11 o'clock. *I*

Meeting of the General Council April 20, 1869

/205/ Meeting of the Council April 20

Members present Bernard, Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Mrs. Law, Marx, Muller, Stepney.

The Secretary read a letter from Birmingham stating that the Expenses of each 5 delegate visiting the Congress would not exceed six shillings.

Cit. Dupont had received a letter from Genoa. The writer stated that the reason of his long silence was travelling. He had written to Dupont to Brussels| 12061 but the letter had probably missed him. He had not received all the numbers of Brussels' Congress report & wanted those of Geneva & Lausanne as well, 10 besides rules &c. A report was to be published of the working men's Congress of the Liguria, also an appeal to the old Italian Workingmen's Societies to join the Association.

A letter from Rouen reported all going well. The section has published an account of their doings in a Pamphlet & hopes it will give satisfaction to the 15 Trades Unionists of this country. They could not get a printer to print & had to get it done in Paris. The electoral fever was beginning. The working men were going to put up a candidate of their own. They did not expect to return but he would get a handsome minority of votes.

Cit. Jung stated some particulars respecting the puddlers' strike at Seraing in 20 Belgium where the military force had been called to assist the proprietors to coerce the men into submission, which had led to an indiscriminate massacre. Upon this the Liège section had sent a delegate to Brussels, who had arrived there on Saturday 10 April between 9 & 10 at night, to induce the Central Committee of the Association to send some one to the spot to see what could be done to calm 25 the workpeople who in the then state of excitement might be goaded on to commit excesses. The Central Committee had appointed Eugen Hins who had left with the first train the next morning the following is his report:

"I arrived at Liège about half past 10 in the morning. I there met two members of the Liège section who offered to accompany me to Seraing where we arrived 30 towards noon.

I was prepared for seeing the spectacle of a City military occupied; great was my astonishment not to meet any soldiers, only the caps of some gendarmes were

seen to rise in the distance. A great many working men were going to & fro, others forming groups, but everything appeared very quiet. Later I discovered the reason of this tranquillity, the troops did only execute their work under the cover of night. This tranquillity would have deceived any one & I believed already that the affair had been exaggerated & rejoiced to see all conflict discarded. We directed our steps towards Lize, where the seat of our Seraing section is, & there I received an account of the horrors of which the place that looked so peaceable had been the theatre. 5

On Friday night an immense crowd had assembled in the rue Cockerill. | 107| Whether the crowd was provoked & stones thrown in consequence, I will not undertake to answer but I will say this that the soldiers had no business there, & if they had not been there they could not have been thrown at, & if a few illadvised persons threw stones is that any reason why every body else should [be] maltreated.

The riot act was read three times; Nothing more odious than this manner to 15 give villainous deeds an air of legality. Could this compact crowd disperse in a few minutes? Could the people believe in the perverseness of their governors? They treated it as a laughing matter.

At that moment in the dead of the night, 10 o'clock, the cavalry started & swept down the middle of the street the Infantry with crossed bayonets running 20 along the footpaths. Judge of the carnage in such a compact crowd struck before any one could fly? The unfortunates were pursued into the houses where they took refuge & when they had been fortunate enough to shut the door behind them the soldiers forced them open & unable to recognise whom they had been following they hit everybody. This was not only done in beerhouses but private 25 houses. The number of the wounded it is impossible to estimate but it must have been considerable. Two are said to [be] dead but how many have died besides?

On the part of the troops the wounds amount to some contusions. Only a brigadier is seriously wounded by his own gun. He is shot through the shoulder which was only possible by going off while he knocked defenceless people about 30 with the butt-end.

The same scene was renewed on the next night, here are the accounts of two victims: One who has three sabre cuts in the front of his arm gave me the following account: T went quietly along the rue Cockerill, turning toward the Ougrie where I live, when hearing the noise of horses I stepped on the pavement. A 35 policeman, who is my friend, passed & stretched out his hand to save me. At the same instant I was assaulted by foot gendarmes who knocked me down by one sabre cut, & gave three more & then they left me there.' The other said: 'On Saturday night returning from the Confession, he said naively, I went to take a glass in [a] house in the rue du Bac a side Street of the rue Cockerill. I was sitting 40 with my back towards the door when it suddenly opened & I felt something] striking my legs it was the ||28| sabre from which I received two cuts. I turned round & saw an officer before me. As I asked him the motive for such a brutal assault he seized me by the Collar & wanted to drag me into the Street. Seized

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with indignation I took up my glass & hurled it at his head. I was surrounded & carried to Cockerill's establishment where the gendarmes put themselves in a position to strike me with fury when one of the employés of the house was attracted by my cries & came to deliver me from these démons.'

5 While this was told the sun shone so lively & warm, & seeing the tranquillity that reigned everywhere who could have believed that assassins in uniform were lurking in ambuscades in the town only coming out in the night to accomplish their crimes? I naturally thought of the massacre of the rue Transnonain at Paris much surpassed by those here. The former had the extenuating circumstance of
10 an enraged battle on their side nothing can be pleaded here. In the mean time Adrien & Varlet had arrived from Verviers. At two o'clock we held a council & came to the conclusion that the best thing we could do was to hold a meeting & to engage the workpeople not to be led away by these displays of brutal force. The meeting was fixed for half past four & it was announced in all directions. A
15 considerable number responded to the call. Hins & Lepourque encouraged the puddlers to hold out but advised the coalminers to return to work that they might assist the puddlers, which they have done thus limiting the number requiring support. The meeting lasted till half past seven & dispersed peaceably because there were no soldiers present. From there we went to the railway
20 station. Learning that we should have to wait an hour & a quarter for the next train we went out to take a glass of beer. We hardly [had made] half a dozen steps from the station when charge of cavalry came sweeping along the street. A few steps from us fell a man cut with a sabre, we retreated. About five minutes afterwards we went out by another way & ran as fast as we could into Caffee
25 shop. We had not been there many minutes when one of Liège friends felt queer & opened the door to go out. All at once he uttered a cry & tottered. The Landlord & another ran to his assistance he had received a bayonet wound in the side. While they supported him a gendarm came in & gave the landlord a bayonet cut on the shoulder. We then shut the door & imprisoned ourselves.
30 About half an hour after the street seemed clear & we returned to the |
209| station without any hindrance. On arriving there we saw a man in the waiting room half naked with three bayonet wounds in his back he was a workingman. On the departure platform sat two wounded one had his arm pierced by a bayonet the other was wounded in the side, a charge had been made at the
35 passengers during our absence." Only one member of the Chamber of Deputies, belonging to the clerical party, has questioned the minister of the interior about these transactions, who answered that had been done according to law. The mayor of Seraing who read the riot act is an agent of Cockerill. The minister of the interior is the largest shareholder of the colliery & the count of Flanders has
40 1,500,000 fr. invested in the ironworks.

It was agreed that these atrocities should be denounced by an address from the Council which Cit. Marx was commissioned to draw up & lay it before the next meeting, to which the secretary should invite the attendance of delegates from trade societies.

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A letter from Belgium announced that there was a party at Brussels who would not conform to the policy of the Central Committee but desired to be affiliated as an independent branch. In case an application should be made to this effect the Council was asked not to comply till after the Congress.

The master builders of Geneva it was announced had given in, & the Boot-makers had joined the Association. 5

The Secretary read a draft of a letter to the French branch which [was] approved of.

The Council adjourned '4 to 11 o'clock.

B. Lucraft Chairman 10
J. George Eccarius Secretary /

Meeting of the General Council April 27, 1869

/209/ Council Meeting April 27.

Members present: Bernard, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Lucraft, Marx, Muller, Ross.

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were [read] & 5 confirmed.

The secretary announced the receipt of Letters from Yarrow of Whitechurch & Yale the Secretary of the United Trades Council of Dundee. Yarrow gave his reasons why he had [not] been able to do anything yet. The Dundee Trades Council desired ||210| information as to the aims of the Association & how they 10 might assist in the good work. The secretary was instructed to reply & forward documents.

Cit. Jung had received a letter & documents from the typographical society of Geneva to be forwarded to the London Compositors' Society the Secretary was instructed to see Mr. Self & deliver the papers to him.

15 The Address on the Belgian outrages being in order. Cit. Marx stated since he had accepted the Commission fresh outrages had been committed the particulars of which had not arrived in time to be available he therefore proposed that the matter be postponed till the next meeting. He was also of opinion that something more ought to be done but in the absence of so many English members the 20 Council could hardly decide what course to pursue. If Mrs. Law could read the original reports he was sure she would make use of them to bring the matter before the British public. Mrs. Law stated that she would be glad at any time if she could advance the Interests of the Association. The Secretary stated he had forwarded the Report of Hins to four daily papers but none had inserted it.

25 Cit. Jung interpreted a letter from Brussels, according to which the secretary of the central committee, Hins, was arrested & domiciliary visits had taken place at all the residences of the members of the central Committee. Three had attended meetings since one of whom had been arrested. All the Belgian sections had issued protests against the Conduct of the Government, & the Swiss section had 30 sent an address of condolence. The letter stated too that a man named Delesalle, who had formerly been a member, had brought some trouble upon himself by

Minutes of the General Council, September 17, 1867 to August 31, 1869

going about in an excited & partly intoxicated state. He had received a Telegram that men had been killed & wounded by the soldiers to which he replied by Telegram courage my friends & had gone about beerhouses making foolish & inconsidered remarks which had led the police to infer that there was a conspiracy on foot.

5

It was agreed that the Secretary should summon all the Council members & delegates from the affiliated societies for the next meeting.

Cit. Marx read an article from La Démocratie, by General Cluseret, a member of the New York Branch, against the slanderous attacks in Le Peuple, a Bonapartist paper, which the secretary was instructed to translate & forward to the 10 weekly papers for publication.

Cit. Jung stated that he had been applied to to furnish an account of the spread of trades unionism in Germany for the use of Mr. Mundella, the seconder of ||21| the Trades Union Bill now before the house of Commons, it was to be made use of on the occasion of the second reading. Marx said that he sent all his 15 reports away & Eccarius stated he knew very little about the particulars.

Cit. Muller announced that [he] was going to Switzerland but that his society would appoint another delegate.

The following statement appears in the Cigale of April 25.

To the members of the new Brussels section of the International Workingmen's 20 Association, called the Revolutionary Branch.

Citizens, Your brothers of the French Branch of London can but say to you, you have well done.

In effect: When a section retards the march of the Association prescribed by its rules;

25

When indifference in political matters is lauded;
When propagandism is anti-revolutionary;
When one covenants with the cause of the working men;
When men are excluded on account [of] being guilty of being revolutionists;
When religious fanatics & supporters of monarchy are admitted into the ranks; 30
When coteries arrogate to themselves all the rights to agitate & direct;
When people free themselves from all the acts signalised by you, we must repeat that you have well done.

Six years ago the French branch was founded at London for the purpose

1. To renew the ties with the revolutionary tradition;

35

2. To establish & draw closer the ties of solidarity among all the revolutionists.

After five years of struggle, the French branch, true to its principles, was forced to break with the central Council, for the same reasons which have made you break with the Brussels committee.

We the members of the French branch call out to you Courage & Perseverance.

Fraternal Salut
in the name of the French branch
The secretary Monthus

Meeting of the General Council April 27, 1869

The Council adjourned at half past 10 o'clock.

R. Applegarth Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary

Meeting of the General Council May 4, 1869

|212| Council Meeting Mai 4.

Members present, Applegarth, Bernard, Boon, Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Stepney, Zabicki, Delegates from N. 1 Lodge of the Bricklayers Society, the Alliance Cabinet Makers, Dayworking Bookbinders.

5

Cit. Applegarth in the Chair. Minutes of the previous meeting read & confirmed. The Secretary read a letter from George Julian Harney of Boston, U.S., who expressed his satisfaction at the progress & the principles of the Association & enclosed 1 /. as contribution asking for a receipt as he had sent money to the Reform League once without ever receiving an acknowledgment.

10

Cit. Marx read an appeal to the workmen of America on behalf of the horse railway conductors & cartdrivers in New York now on strike. They work 105 hours a week & the Second Avenue Company wants them to work an hour longer than they have done each day.

Cit. Jung stated that letters had appeared in the Egalité from Naples & Barcelona where the International was welcomed. The Paris workmen have issued an election programme based upon the platform of principles of the Association. Raspail has accepted the conditions.

Marx then read the draft of the Address on the Belgian Massacres.

Cit. Applegarth pronounced it [an] able address but thought it would be better 20 that some particulars were given about the affair before the discussion was entered upon. The Secretary then read a translation of Hins' report from the minutes & Cit. Jung furnished some details both of Seraing & the Borinage strikes & massacre remarking that the Belgians though worse paid than the workmen of almost any other country had never appealed for help to foreign countries.

25

Cit Applegarth remarked that was the old trite story. The workpeople were miserable they endeavoured to better their condition & the masters resisted, but to get the soldiers to help them must be repudiated altogether & we could not stand quietly by while the employers cut workpeople down in such a manner. He thought it was the duty of all to help. The address was more than a denunciation 30 of wanton 1)2131 outrages it was a description of a state of things & ought to be circulated throughout the Country.

Meeting of the General Council May 4, 1869

Cit. Brightwell & Gardner stated that appeals for money must be made to their executive.

Eccarius was in favour that the address be printed.

Cit. Marx said there were two issues involved. First the right of the workmen
5 to strike & second the fate of the Association, which must do something to manifest its power.

Cit Hales said the address would do much to spread information at home we ought to educate the people at home on such matters.

Cit. Weston had been delighted by hearing the address read. The Association
10 ought to show by its taking action that it was a power & taking action would make it a power. The heinousness of the actions of the capitalists must be exposed to the workmen of other Countries.

Cit. Applegarth thought it was an excellent opportunity to give the people of this country a notion of what was going on abroad. He had learned much at the
15 Council board & if from time to time an abstract of the proceedings of the Council was printed it might [be] circulated with the trade society reports.

The proposition of Cit. Hales seconded by Eccarius that the address be adopted, printed & circulated was then carried unanimously. Instructions were given to the secretary to get 1000 printed to send to the press & to the Societies affiliated
20 as well as those with whom we were [in] correspondence some copies gratis & sell the rest having the prize printed on them.

Maurice proposed that Bills be printed to advertise the resolution in the rooms of the trade societies.

B. Lucraft I

Meeting of the General Council May 11, 1869

|214| Council Meeting May 11

Members present: Buckley, Bernard, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Cohn, Lessner, Lucraft, [Marx,] Maurice, Odger, Ross.

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair. The Minutes of the previous meeting were read. Cit Jung stated that he had announced that the Shipbuilders society of Amsterdam had joined the Association which was not reported. Agreed to have it reported in the next. Cit Maurice objected that a proposition he had made was not added. The proposition was added & the minutes confirmed. 5

Cit. Lessner called the attention of the Council to the Secretary's Report in the Beehive. The Secretary had put himself forward & suppressed Cit. Marx's name as the mover of the Belgian Address. The Secretary denied that he had put himself forward in any shape but that he had omitted the name of the mover of the address intentionally not to give people a chance to say it was Marx's address & not that of the Council. If he had committed a wrong he would rectify it by a declaration in the next report in the Beehive & the Council might pass a vote of censure upon his conduct. Cit. Lessner handed the Beehive to the Chairman to read the parts of the report complained of. The chairman read "the Corresponding secretary for America for the English language read a letter from Mr. Harney", &c. further on that Marx & others had spoken in favour of the address. Eccarius contended that he was corresponding secretary for the English language for America. Cit. Lessner said everybody knew that Cit Shaw was the American Secretary & he had not been at the meeting. Eccarius was under the impression that Shaw had been nominated to complete the names on the Cards because all the American correspondence that had been done during the last 12 months he had done. 20 25

Cit. Marx said Mr. Eccarius must not be permitted to use the names of Council members as he liked. ||215| He did not care about having [his] name mentioned but instead of being the originator of the address his name appeared amongst the supporters. It looked as if the Council was ashamed of what he did. He was not particular about his name there was no need of mentioning names at all in the Beehive reports but the German Secretary was an entity not a nonentity. 30

Meeting of the General Council May 11,1869

The secretary wanted to know on what particular occasion he had failed to acknowledge the services of the German Secretary & that it would be best that somebody should approve the reports before publication.

5 The Chairman on reading the report had been struck with the Idea that it was a bungling report.

Cit. Jung said Eccarius had been appointed American secretary for the English & he did not think that any intentional fault had been committed.

No other member rising to speak upon the question, the Secretary read a letter from Cit. Applegarth stating the reason of his absence & requiring a dozen copies 10 both of the Congress Resolutions & the Rules.

John Smith of White Church Dorset Shire announced in a letter that the Cooperative Society of which he is the Secretary was not inclined to join the Association but if his individual adhesion was any use he desired his name to be put on the list of members & he forwarded his contribution in stamps. The 15 principles of the Association were not new to him, he had joined the Chartists in 1838, & the fraternal Democrats in 1846 & thought that any society must be good to which the name of Odger was attached. He enclosed a copy of an address that had appeared in the Blandford paper to the Belgian miners by a Brussels Committee styling itself the revolutionary committee of the International Working-men's Society, recommending killing, massacring, &c, till complete liberty was granted them, & offering to send them arms.

20 Cit. Odger proposed that it be repudiated. Cit. Jung seconded observing that it was a cowardly trick for people ||216| who were in safety themselves to excite others to fight & promise them arms. If he approved of the means recommended 25 he should not be afraid to go & fight himself.

It was unanimously agreed "that the authors of that address were in no way connected with the International Working Men's Association, and that the council entirely repudiates such means of redress".

Cit. Cohn stated that having seen some reports in the papers that the Cigar-makers of Antwerp were going to strike he had made some inquiries to which the men of Antwerp had replied that they knew nothing about it & that the Masters must have spread the report. Both societies of Brussels as well as Antwerp were going on well & they would join the International Association as soon as their financial year expired.

35 Cit. Jung announced that the members of the Brussels committee were still in prison; there were about 200 men arrested altogether, some of whom would no doubt be set free.

Cit. Marx had received one pound sterling for the Belgian sufferers from Manchester.

40 Citizen Cottam was announced as being present having brought the cards. He stated that on a former occasion he had waited a long time for the money but that he could not do so now. He should like to have a part at once & the whole settled by the 15 of June. Citizen Jung stated when the order had been given there had been money enough in hand to pay the whole but that was not the case now.

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It was agreed that Citizen Cottam should be informed of the decision of the Council the following morning.

Citizen Marx then rose & said that most members would have seen a letter from Professor Goldwin Smith in the Beehive respecting the impression made in America by the speech of Senator Sumner, & he, Cit. Marx, had received letters to the same effect from America & he thought it was a proper occasion for the Council to appeal to the working men of America to put a stop to these menaces of the Republican party. With this intention he had drawn up an address to the National Labor Union of the United States which if approved of by the Council should be adopted & sent to America. He then read as follows:

The International Workingmen's Association to the National Labour Union of the United States:— |

[217] Fellow-Workmen.—In the initiatory programme of our Association we stated:—"It was not the wisdom of the ruling classes, but the heroic resistance to their criminal folly by the working classes of England, that saved the West of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic." Your turn has now come to stop a war, the clearest result of which would be, for an indefinite period, to hurl back the ascendant movement of the working-class on both sides of the Atlantic.

We need hardly tell you that there exist European powers anxiously bent upon hurrying the United States into a war with England. A glance at commercial statistics will show that the Russian export of raw produce, and Russia has nothing else to export, was rapidly giving way before American competition, when the civil war suddenly turned the scales. To convert the American plough-share into a sword, would just now rescue from impending bankruptcy that despotic power which your republican statesmen, have, in their wisdom, chosen for their confidential adviser. But quite apart from the particular interests of this or that government, is it not the general interest of our common oppressors to turn our fast growing international co-operation into an internecine war?

In a congratulatory address to Mr. Lincoln on his re-election as president, we expressed our conviction that the American civil war would prove of as great import to the advancement of the working class as the American war of independence had proved to that of the middle class. And, in point of fact, the victorious termination of the anti-slavery war has opened a new epoch in the annals of the working class. In the states themselves, an independent working class movement, looked upon with an evil eye by your old parties and their professional politicians, has since that date sprung into life. To fructify it wants years of peace. To crush it, a war between the United States and England is wanted.

The next palpable effect of the civil war, was, of course, to deteriorate the position of the American workman. In the United States, as in Europe, the monster incubus of a national debt was shifted from hand to hand, to settle down on the shoulders of the working-class. The prices of necessaries, says one of your

Meeting of the General Council May 11, 1869

statesmen, have since 1860 risen 78 per cent., while the wages of unskilled labour rose 50 per cent., those of skilled labour 60 per cent. only. "Pauperism," he complains, "grows now in America faster than population." Moreover, the sufferings of the working classes set off as a foil the new-fangled luxury of financial aristocrats, shoddy aristocrats, and similar vermin bred by wars. Yet for all this the civil war did compensate by freeing the slave and the consequent moral impetus it gave to your own class movement. A second war, not hallowed by a sublime purpose and a great social necessity, but of the Old World's type, would forge chains for the free labourer instead of tearing asunder those of the slave.

10 The accumulated misery left in its track would afford your capitalists at once the motive and the means to divorce the working class from its bold and just aspirations by the soulless sword of a standing army.

On you, then, devolves the glorious task to prove to the world that now at last the working classes are bestriding the scene of history no longer as servile retainers, but as independent actors, conscious of their own responsibility, and able to command peace where their would-be masters shout war.

In the name of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association,

British nationality: R. Applegarth, carpenter; M.J. Boon, engineer; J. Buckley, painter; J. Hales, elastic web weaver; Harriet Law; B. Lucraft, chairmaker; G. Milner tailor; G. Odger, shoemaker; J. Ross, bootcloser; R. Shaw, painter; Stepney Cowell; J. Warren, trunkmaker; J. Weston, handrailmaker. French nationality: E. Dupont, instrument-maker; Jules Johannard, lithographer; Paul Lafargue. German nationality: G. Eccarius, tailor; F. Lessner, tailor; W. Limburg, shoe-maker; Marx Karl. Swiss nationality: H. Jung, watchmaker; A. Muller, watchmaker. Belgian nationality: P. Bernard, painter. Danish nationality: J. Cohn, cigarmaker. Polish nationality: Zabicki, compositor. B. Lucraft, Chairman; Cowell Stepney, Treasurer; J. George Eccarius, General Secretary. London, May 12, 1869.

30 Cit. Odger took objection to the word *vermin*. Citizen Lucraft rather preferred it & Cit. Marx stated that no other word could be substituted without altering the Context. After some conversation the address was adopted upon the proposition of Cit. Dupont ||28| seconded by Cit. Odger. It was agreed that all the Council members should sign it & that their occupation should be stated.

35 Cit. Jung was then called upon to give an account of the balance in the treasury. He answered that the balance amounted to 5. 17. 10. It was then resolved that Cit. Cottam be paid £4. It was suggested that the Treasurer should be asked for a loan of £5 but Cit. Jung was rather reluctant to do it. /

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Meeting of the General Council May 18, 1869

/218/Council Meeting May 18.

Members present: Applegarth, Bernard, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Marx, Stepney.

Cit. Applegarth in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. Cit. Marx stated that the leader of the Committee that had been disavowed at the previous meeting was an excommissary of police. 5

Cit. Dupont read a letter from Marseilles stating that the Joiners had voted 463 against 7 to strike work & had struck accordingly.

A letter from the Editor of the Opinion Nationale stated that the Belgian address would be inserted as soon as the election matter was disposed of.

Cit. Jung read from the Egalité that the Carpenters, Painters, Plasterers & 10 Tanners of Lausanne had resolved upon establishing truck societies.

A number of the gilded youth of Geneva had assaulted two Compositors on Strike (accompanied by their families) in the public streets. Two had been arrested but soon let go.

The president of the Paris Compositors' Society had been sent to Geneva to 15 endeavour to bring about an understanding between the men now on Strike & their employers but the employers had objected that they could not treat with foreigners. Out of the 8 masters only 4 were Swiss.

Cit. Eccarius stated that according to the Volksstimme of Vienne the work people of that town demanded unrestricted freedom ||29| of Combination & had 20 held several mass meetings to make their demand heard.

Cit. Marx stated that the United States Government wanted war for more reasons than one. It would reconcile North & South & satisfy the military party.

Cit. Jung stated for Bernard that a society of Belgian miners had issued an address in which hopes of better times were held out when the mines become 25 common property.

The Shipbuilders of Amsterdam had struck for reduction of the hours of labour. They had been in the habit of working from 5 o'clock a.m. till 7 o'clock p.m. but required that in future their working day should commence at 6 o'clock a.m. & end 6 o'clock p.m. for 2 florins a day. 30

Cit. Marx stated that at a meeting at Antwerp a capitalist had made a speech against the International Association. A workman had spoken after to answer him but he had not stopped to hear the reply.

Meeting of the General Council May 18, 1869

The Secretary was instructed to send subscription sheets to the affiliated societies.

1 £ was collected for the Belgian sufferers.

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B. Lucraft Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary *I*

Meeting of the General Council May 25, 1869

/219/ Council Meeting May 25

Present. Bernard, Boon, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lucraft, Lessner, Stepney.

Cit. Lucraft in the chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. Cit. Jung called attention to two mistakes in the report of the Beehive which the Secretary was instructed to correct.

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The Secretary announced that the Executive of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters & Joiners had granted 2£ for the Belgian sufferers.

Cit. Boon stated that his time did not permit him to attend regularly but he had some one to propose who would be able to render good services. He proposed Mr. George Harris & Mr. Townshend as members. Eccarius & Jung se- 10 condoned.

Cit. Lessner proposed Mr. Fraser seconded by Cit. Maurice. |

[220] Cit. Dupont read a letter from the secretary of the Paris Bronze-workers Society who wanted some information from the Council about the Belgian affairs. Many people in Paris knew nothing at all about it as only short & scattered 15 despatches had been published in the Paris papers. The Bronzeworkers had opened a subscription the marble cutters had already sent off 50 fr. He thought that the question might be added to the Congress programme respecting the influence of trade societies in the struggle for the emancipation of the working-class. The causes of the universal want of employment might also be discussed 20 with advantage. He sent a printed draft of Rules for the federation of trade societies & wishes to have the opinion of the Council upon it. The Bronzeworkers will send a delegate to the Congress. The society has voted shortly to reimburse the English trade societies who have lent money during the Strike.

Cit. Jung stated that the Democrat of Baselland was praising the German 25 working men for their perseverance in contending against all the obstacles that stood in their way while the Swiss with greater freedom of action moved but slowly.

A manifesto from the Barcelona section had been published in the Egalité in which it was stated that the revolution had freed Spain from one tyranny the 30 political & that the time had now come to overcome the social tyranny which could only be done by the united action of the working class.

Meeting of the General Council May 25, 1869

The secretary thought that the Council ought officially to express its sentiments about Madame Hins of Brussels whose death if it had not been caused by the proceedings of the Government officials had certainly been accelerated. After some conversation the following was agreed to:

- 5 "This Council deeply sympathises with Eugen Hins in the sad affliction that has befallen him through the premature death of his wife Jeanne born Brismée, & expresses its abhorrence at the cruel treatment she met with from the authorities shortly before her untimely end."

It was stated that all the members of the Brussels committee who had been 10 imprisoned were released, but that further domiciliary searches had taken place, & all the Committee members were summoned to appear before the Judge of instruction.

Cit. Lessner announced the death of Peter Fox at Vienna after 5 days illness.

Cit. Dupont read a statement from the London International containing some 15 falsehoods about the Association to which he wished to send a reply. The proposition was [conse]m to. The Secretary was instructed to write to the societies for their contributions. I

Meeting of the General Council June 1, 1869

|22i Council Meeting June 1

Members present Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Stepney, Lucraft, Applegarth, Walton, Zabicki.

Cit. Jung in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. Letters were read from Yarrow of Eastbourne, Ironfield of Sheffield, 5 & the Secretary of the Alliance Cabinetmakers who had voted £3 for the Belgian sufferers. Cit. Zabicki handed in 8 s. Collected amongst his friends.

Cit. Jung stated that the Amsterdam section had constituted itself the Central section for Holland. They were publishing fly sheets containing the grievances of the work people & the aims of the Association. This was preparatory to publishing a newspaper under the title the People's Standard. A Bulletin had been published at Naples containing an appeal to the workmen to join, the rules of the Association were also to be published & a regular Newspaper to be started in June. An Italian section had been founded at Geneva. 10

The police of Geneva had taken to making assaults on workpeople & arresting 15 them & keeping them in prison over night & the magistrates discharged them in the morning. At Lausanne the Bricklayers had struck for 40 Centimes an hour the labourers & wheelbarrow men for 30 Centimes an hour, the Council had called the military under arms to protect individual liberty & illtreat suspected workmen. On the proposition of Cit. Lessner seconded by Eccarius it was agreed 20 to borrow 7 s. 6 d. from the Belgian fund to pay Leno.

50 Copies resolutions to the Cooperative Congress.

H. Jung Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary |

Meeting of the General Council June 8, 1869

|222| Meeting of the Council June 8.

Members present: Bernard, Boon, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Limburg, Ross, Stepney.

Cit. Jung in the Chair.

- 5 The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

A letter was read from W.H. Sylvis president of the National Labour Union U.S. acknowledging the receipt of the Address.

A letter from B. Smith White Church was received enclosing 1 s. in stamps for the Belgians. Another from the Westend bootclovers society announcing that

- 10 10 s. had been voted for the Belgians. A letter from Citizen Applegarth containing 10 s. from H. Buckmaster of the Science & Art Department Kensington Museum, & a letter from the Secretary of No. 1 Lodge Bricklayers, acknowledging receipt of subscription sheet & promising to try what can be done, a letter from Harry, Chelsea Carpenters, demanding more Belgian Addresses, but too
15 late & a letter from the Liverpool Cigar Makers recommending James Samuelson to be furnished with Continental Addresses.

A letter from Murat in Paris was read stating that he had written a long letter which was waiting for the Friend who brought the last; but had not yet fetched the answer. The Bronze workers had sent for him to hand over the money they
20 owed to English societies for transmission detailing the various items. While supporting other trades they had reduced their debt from £ 1,800 to £200. Referring to the elections he stated that they had taken place under high Socialist pressure, & Everybody now talked about the social question. The Voix du Peuple had published a favourable article on the Congress programme the Engineers
25 were going to appoint two delegates.

A letter from Marseilles stated that the strike of the Joiners was still going on. Many of the men had been members of the Association before the dissolution of Paris. They required Assistance in two ways 1. Loans, 2. Moral support. All the men in the Trade had joined. The society had only been in existence for a few
30 months & depended entirely on the pecuniary support of others. The masters had resolved to starve them out the men had come to the conclusion that they could

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work [J223] without the masters by starting cooperative workshops but the difficulty was to put it into practice.

A conversation ensued which elicited a general opinion that there was no chance of obtaining money at present from English societies.

Cit. Lessner moved & Ross seconded that the French secretary be instructed to 5 write to that effect.

According to the Internationale of Brussels the ship joiners of Amsterdam had gained the rise of wages but not the reduction of working time. A report would be published to show what part the government had taken in the strike.

Citizen Harris, Townshend, & Fraser were unanimously accepted as members 10 of the Council.

Cit. Lessner proposed & Eccarius seconded that the standing committee should meet to draw up the Congress programme & report not later than Tuesday June 22.

Cit. Ross called the attention of the Council to the fact that citizen Odger had 15 incurred about £10 expense in his election canvass for Stafford towards the defraying of which any subscriptions would be acceptable. The committee for promoting workingmen's representation would be made permanent so that any surplus that might accrue would be reserved for future purpose.

H. Jung Chairman 20
J. George Eccarius Secretary. I

Meeting of the General Council June 15, 1869

/223/ Meeting of the Council June 15

Members present: Bernard, Boon, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Milner, Stepney.

Citizen Jung in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. A letter was received from Caspar Sentinon a Spaniard residing in Eastern Prussia desiring to put in Correspondence with the secretary of the Barcelona section which he intends to join in preference to any other as he is going to return to Spain.

A letter was read from Citizen Varlin of Paris, the secretary of the bookbinders society, complaining that he had received no news from the Council which was the ||224| more surprising as the Paris Bookbinders' Society was now the only Paris section. He wanted an explanation why the Congress programme had been communicated to the Paris papers & not to him. Respecting the riots he stated that they had been got up by the police to have an excuse to arrest & prosecute certain people among whom were the members of the late Committee Combault, Murat, Tolain, Limousin & others.

Cit. Dupont said the reason why he had not [written] was because he had not received any letters which according to the rules it would have been the duty of Cit. Varlin to send. Citizen Dupont was instructed to reply.

A letter from the German Committee of Geneva was read containing a proposition to be added to the Congress programme viz: How can the working class arrive at collective property & thereby annihilate the antagonism of Classes. Complaints were made about the German section represented by the Felleisen as well as those who had voted in favour of the association at Nuremberg of not rendering the necessary support. Complaints were also made of not having received the addresses issued by the Council officially. Cit. Jung stated that he could not have sent them before because he had no translation & the original had been forwarded by the Secretary. Cit. Jung was instructed to reply.

In a letter from the Brussels Committee two questions were proposed to be added to the Congress programme viz: The organisation of Justice in the future & the federation & organisation of provident, friendly & insurance societies.

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Cit. Hales proposed & Lessner seconded to refer the matter to the standing Committee to report next Tuesday. Agreed. *I*

Meeting of the General Council June 22, 1869

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/224/ Council Meeting June 22.

Members present Bernard, Boon, Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Harris, Lessner, Marx, Milner, Ross.

Cit. Dupont in the Chair: Letters were read from the Secretary of the Workingmen's Club & Institute Union inviting the members of the Council to attend a conference on technical education; from the Secretary of ||225| the Birmingham Trades Council requesting to be informed whether the Council of the International will send a delegate to the working men's Congress to be held at Birmingham, & one from the secretary of the Rendal Shoemakers' Society enclosing 5 s. for the Belgian sufferers.

Cit. Marx read a letter from Solingen the writer of which stated that the conviction that the labour question could only be settled by International combination was spreading more & more. Alluding to the socalled free religious communities he remarked that they consisted of shopkeepers & suchlike people who were opposed to the advance of the working class, they had simply thrown the old God of the Bible overboard to put mammon in his place.

The bookbinders of Leipzig are anxious to contract international alliances with the bookbinders of other countries. Some of their branches have entered our Association.

20 A letter from Brussels acknowledged the receipt of 100 francs from London for the Belgian sufferers.

Upon the report of the Standing Committee the following was agreed to as the programme of the next Congress:

1. The question of landed property
2. The right to inheritance
- 25 3. To what extent can credit be immediately utilised by the working class.
4. The question of general Education
5. The influence of trades Unions upon the emancipation of the working class.

It was further agreed that the Order of proceedings be as follows:

- 30 1. Verification of Credentials;
2. Election of Congress officers;

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3. Report of the General Council & reports of branches & sections;
4. Discussion of the questions on the programme
5. Appointment of the seat of the General Council for the ensuing year;
6. Election of the members of the General Council;
7. Appointment of time & place of meeting of the next Congress.

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It was further agreed that a notice be appended to the programme stating that the statistical inquiry is still proceeding.

A resolution that the discussion of the questions of the programme commence at the next meeting closed the proceedings.

Benjamin Lucraft. 10
J. George Eccarius |

Meeting of the General Council June 29, 1869

|226| Council Meeting June 29.

Members present: Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Lucraft, Mrs. Law, Stepney, Townshend, Weston.

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. A letter was received from the office of Lloyd's Newspaper demanding £ 1 7 s. prepaid to insert the Congress programme.

The secretary stated that he had forwarded Copies to all the daily papers & some of the weeklies. The Daily News had inserted it. The Dispatch & Reynolds's contained abridgements, the Hermann had inserted it in German & the Beehive 10 had crowded it in a corner & suppressed the report of the last meeting.

A circular was received from Cit. Applegarth requesting a delegate to attend the trades union Deputation to the home secretary. Cit. Weston was appointed to attend.

A letter was read from Marseilles regretting that the ties which bound the 15 members together had slackened, they had no regular place of meeting, yet the presence & action of the members was perceptible every where. The working classes had managed to conspire with their antagonists the liberals & if they went on they might have their Spanish revolution. But the democrats were now preaching peace while the socialists were for action. The irreconcilable Gambetta 20 was already going down in estimation; if the radicals did not speedily act their popularity would fade. Would like to send the Republican salut.

A letter from Cit. Richard of Lyons contained complaints that his letters or answers to them must have miscarried. They have no regular organisation now at Lyons but meet often. Has been obliged to write shamefully moderate in connection with the Elections. Will pay their contributions at Bale in a lump.

Attention was called to an announcement in the Egalité that the Geneva police had confiscated the first five copies of the Berne & Geneva Lantern of which Henri Perret, the Geneva secretary, was agent. From the same papers particulars were read concerning the riots at St. Etienne in France.

30 Cit. Milner objected to so much time being devoted to correspondence it must be abbreviated or else the discussion of the Congress questions would be impossible. I

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[227] The discussion of the Congress questions was then opened. The 1st. question having [been] read the secretary read so much of the resolutions passed at the last Congress as referred to arable land. Between 20 & 30 Delegates had abstained from voting at the Congress, & complained afterwards that the resolutions had taken them by surprise. It could therefore be disputed that the resolutions were a fair reflex of the convictions of the delegates & for that reason the question was to be reconsidered. He was of opinion that the Council should either propose the affirmation of the resolution or substitute an other for the adoption of the next Congress. 5

Cit. Milner had no doubt about the Council being in favour of converting the 10 land into national property, but the reasons ought to be stated in detail to answer the objections of those who thought different. He was not exactly prepared to enter upon the subject just that moment but if there was no objection he was willing to commence on the next meeting night by moving the affirmation of the 15 resolutions of the last Congress.

It was then agreed that the hour of 9 be fixed for the commencement of the discussion. The meeting adjourned at 11 o'clock.

B. Lucraft
J. George Eccarius I

Meeting of the General Council July 6, 1869

/227/ Council Meeting July 6.

Members present: Bernard, Boon, Dupont, Eccarius, Fraser, Harris, Jung, Mrs. Law, Lessner, Marx, Milner, Weston.

Citizen Lucraft in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & 5 confirmed.

A Letter was read from the secretary of the bronzeworkers of Lyons containing an appeal for a loan of 40,000 fr. to enable the Bronze workers of that town, to carry on business on their own account. The appeal is endorsed by Cit. Schettel. New groups of the Association have been formed in the West of Paris & at 10 Roubaix. Jaclard is recommended as a good man in the cause.

Cit. Marx stated that according to the Worker of Antwerp the Amsterdam section had a paper of its own which was attacked by all the capitalist Journals who were astonished that the Association had spread into such a quiet country as Holland.

15 Cit. Jung announced that he had been furnished with patterns & lists of prices of the goods kept in stock by the Cooperative Marble Cutters of Brussels. As they had been working for masters who exported their goods to England the men wanted to do business in a similar way. The main ||28| difficulty was that the masters here were very reluctant to do business with them & offered less than the 20 cost of the raw material for their goods. Another difficulty was [to] make sure that in accepting low prices they were not injuring the working men here. Cit. Weston, Harris, & Lucraft volunteered to make enquiries.

Cit. Weston gave an account of the deputation he attended to the home secretary which he said had been well received & had made a good impression upon 25 the government who were desirous of doing something but could not during the present session even if they gave their assistance to the bill now before the house it could not become law this session, but a government measure was to be passed next session. The deputation had resolved upon pressing the second reading in the house of Commons to a division.

30 Cit. John Palmer was nominated as a candidate to become a member of the Council by Cit. Harris & seconded by Townshend.

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Cit. Milner resumed the adjourned debate on the land question by moving the following as an addendum to the resolution of the last Congress:

"Confirming the views already expressed by the last Congress that the Lands, Mines, &c, should be the property of the State for the benefit of the whole People;

That the individual ownership of large tracts of land, mines, &c, has given a power to the few over the many incompatible with the Freedom of a Nation;

That the only way to realise the natural right of every individual to an interest in the soil of his country is to make Land the property of all for all."

Cit. Milner thought to go into the whole question would be too much like a recapitulation of what had been said already it would require to state our reasons for the change & leave those who disagreed to state the reasons of their disagreement. The views as stated in the congress resolution were rather mild. He agreed with the statements that the land was the free gift of nature, that it should be made common property, the property of a state established on the principles of justice, but he wished to lay more emphasis upon the rights of men to the soil. The ground stated in the resolution for the change was social necessity. This was not ahead of the way in which the middle class dealt with great questions. On this ground the Telegraphs had been bought by the government & the railways would now follow but we ought to be ahead of this, we must claim the conversion of the land into common property not as a matter of expediency but as a natural right. Thiers had gone so far as to deny the natural rights of man. But if it was conceded that man had a right to existence he must have also a right to the means of subsistence which was the land, & the only solution was to convert the land into national property. As things were at present not [only] did the few possess ||29| a great power to the injury of the nation but they could disinherit their own children individual ownership then was despotism. The gold which formed our circulating medium could not be obtained except from the soil for every thing we were depending on the soil. There was no alternative either the natural rights of individuals must be denied or the land be made common property. Though generations had violated the natural rights of man they were not forfeited, they had existed all along but the plea of social necessity was no necessity at all for their reclamation. The claim of a right would move men to action social necessity would not. It was very gratifying to him to have lived the day when such publications as these resolutions were circulating throughout Europe & the working men of the different countries were publicly advocating the question.

Cit. Boon endorsed what Milner had said. He considered the claim of right preferable to social necessity. To go into the whole question of abstract right would occupy too much time, but we had an abstract right to the land since we could not live without land. The time was coming when the mines & the land must be nationalised. He was in favour of the addendum to claim the soil as a natural right.

Cit. Marx was of opinion that Milner had not quite understood the nature of the controversy. There was no opposition to the mines & woods being made

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Meeting of the General Council July 6, 1869

common property. The injury caused by the accumulation of land in the hands of the few was granted; it was only with regard to arable land that there was any dispute, the opposition came from the partisans of small farming, small property was the point in dispute. The plea of social necessity was superior to the claim of abstract right. Every thing, every possible form of oppression had been justified by abstract right it was high time to abandon this mode of agitation. The question was under what form this right should be realised. There was a social necessity to transform feudal property into peasant property. In England the proprietor has ceased to be a necessity in agriculture. As for natural right, the animal has a natural right to the soil since it cannot live without it. To push this natural right to its logical consequences would land us at the assertion of every individual to cultivate his own share. Social right & social necessity determined in what manner the means of subsistence must be procured. Social necessity enforced itself in the course of which factory had arrived, where cooperation was compulsory. The fact that no one could produce anything by himself gave the social necessity for cooperation. He was not against giving a more emphatic form to the resolutions.

Cit. Harris was against using any of the old phrases. If the bowels of the earth were to be made national property why not the surface. He preferred claiming it as a right.

Cit. Weston was strongly of opinion that the resolution would have a better effect ||20| if made more pungent. He was not particular whether right or necessity obtained the preference but it was milk & water language as it stood it must be made more expressive. He was sure there were several members of the council who if they would take the trouble could alter it to advantage. Small farming like manufacturing on a small scale was doomed. Science & machinery could not be applied in small farming it must be abandoned. He had reason to believe that the individual exertions of the small farmers were more excited when they were working for themselves. In cooperation individual indifference made but a small difference in the amount they received from their labour. If cooperation succeeded to gratify the feelings of the little farmer he would readily fall in if it could be shown that it was to his advantage to do so. He had heard many stand up for the advantages of small farming but he did not believe in them. He felt certain the resolutions could be put in a more forcible form, they would not have been carried in their present form by an English meeting.

Cit. Jung said Milner, Boon, & Harris were in favour of claiming the right of every individual to the soil this might lead to giving everyone his share & if he was not mistaken Cit. Boon was in favour of small farming. (Cit. Boon stated that he advocated the nationalisation of the land & cooperative farming.) Cit. Jung continued that it was not on the score of right that the French opposed but they denied the necessity of making the land common property. The small farmer worked no more for himself than the wages labourer, he worked all the days of his life to pay taxes to the state & interest to the capitalists. As for indolence if a man was indolent in one thing it was no proof that he would be so in everything,

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it was simply a proof that he was in a wrong place. The opposition to the nationalisation of the land came from people who wanted to split up the land more than it was they objected to state interference they would not have anything to do with the State.

Citizen Elisée Reclus of Paris who was present as a visitor was requested to 5 state his opinion. He said I have but a very few words to say. The peasants know very little what is going in the world, they do not come to your Congresses they do not even know that they are held we have very little to care about them. The men in the towns are for collective property. At Brussels there was an excess of individualists they were not the representatives of the whole, most workingmen 10 are for collective property it is looked upon as a recognised right.

Cit. Marx. The small peasantry is not at the Congresses but their idealistic representatives are there. The Proudhonists are very strong upon the point & they were at Brussels. The Council is not responsible for the resolutions they were shaped by the Brussels committee, by men who well knew the opposition they 15 had to deal with. I am not against recasting them. Cit. Weston has only spoken of social necessity. We see that both forms of private property in land have led to bad 1)2311 results. The small man is only a nominal proprietor but he is the more dangerous because he still fancies that he is a proprietor. In England the land could be transformed into common property by act of Parliament in the course of 20 a fortnight. In France it must be accomplished by means of the proprietors indebtedness & liability to taxation.

Cit. Milner said I did not want to remodel the resolution but to add something to make it strong.

Mrs. Law being invited to speak said she would rather decline saying anything 25 that night.

Cit. Dupont moved the adjournment of the debate.

B. Lucraft

J. George Eccarius Secretary *I*

Meeting of the General Council July 13, 1869

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/231/ Council Meeting July 13.

Members present: Applegarth, Bernard, Dupont, Eccarius, Harris, Jung, Mrs. Law, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Stepney, Townshend, Weston.

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. A letter was read from the Secretary of the London Tailors' Association stating that the committee of that Society had resolved to resume its connection with the International Association if it could be relieved of the past liability. Eccarius proposed & Maurice seconded that the request be complied with giving as the reasons why these liabilities had not been discharged the lost strike & the disorganised state of the Society afterwards, coupled with law expenses arising out of the prosecutions at the Old Bailey. The Council agreed.

A letter was read from G. Phipson of Monk Sherborne stating that he had read an announcement in the Daily News that the International was going to start a Newspaper in English, French, & German he wished to have the French edition & other documents the Association had published. The Chairman observed there was something afloat in the shape of a new move & thought Cit. Harris would be able to give some information.

Cit. Harris said there had been an announcement that an International Republican Association was to be established. A meeting had been convened to which Bradlaugh had been invited, himself had been invited, but he had learnt on the previous night that it resulted from splits of various societies. The necessity of starting a workingman's Paper had been mooted in the National Reformer. Holyoake had given very elaborate instruction how it must be conducted. Harris knew nothing more of the matter.

Cit. Marx: The statement in the Daily News is that this Association is going |
|232| to start a paper. Upon the proposition of Cit. Harris it was agreed that the statement be officially contradicted by a letter from the secretary to the Daily News.

A letter was read from Lyons announcing the adhesion of the ovalistes of that town, consisting of about 750 women & upwards of 300 men, to the International Association. An official declaration accompanied the letter, the contributions are

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to be paid at the Congress at Bale. The Ovalistes being on strike they appealed for aid.

Cit. Jung proposed & Eccarius seconded that the adhesion be accepted. Agreed.

Respecting the question of pecuniary aid Mrs. Law expressed an opinion that it would be advisable to communicate with Mr. Stuart Mill to bring the matter before the Female Suffrage Association who would meet on Saturday. 5

Cit. Milner thought it would be better if Mrs. Law attended the Meeting to bring the question on herself. He proposed & Lessner seconded that she be deputed to attend. Mrs. Law consented & the Council agreed. 10

Mrs. Law suggested to make a collection among the audience she was going to Lecture to on the following Sunday. The Council approved.

Cit. Marx stated that he had received a letter from the president of the German Cigarmakers Union, there was a strike too & an appeal for help. 15

Cit. Lessner resumed the debate on the Land question. As to the controversy between right & necessity he said our enemies know we are right but they say we can't alter it therefore it becomes our duty to show that there is a necessity for an alteration & things must be altered, that a change is unavoidable because necessity has made it so. The demonstration of the necessity is more forcible than claiming it as a right. 20

Cit. Lucraft. I agree with those who think that necessity makes out a stronger case, but there is one thing stronger & that is might. I am for the Land belonging to the people but I am not for letting it out, it ought to be managed by the officers of the state. The land ought to [be] made to yield as much as possible & the government should look after it, without rent the produce would become 25 much cheaper. The people of course require the power to do it, before they get that power the aristocracy will have ceased to exist.

Mrs. Law. I am in favour of Cit. Lucraft's remarks. I have natural inclination to look upon a freehold as a happy thing. As to right & necessity what is necessary is right. If you let the land to cooperative societies you will have competition. The increase comes principally through the labour that has been added. The value of the land has increased but that of labour has diminished. Every one has a right to depend upon the fruits of the soil produced by himself. Ernest Jones said |J231 when people ask for the Land they might as well ask the Tiger to cast off its claws & live peaceably with other animals. We will have to draw the claws 35 of the aristocracy before we get the land. Whether it is let or not some portion of the produce will have to be sacrificed for the management, or the distribution of the produce.

Cit. Harris. The difference between necessity & right appears to me much like the difference between a street & a road. I am here of necessity & this gives me a 40 right to the land. If it is necessary to nationalize it why let it out to cultivate it. If on the other hand you entrust the government with its cultivation if you have a board who sells the produce you will have to pay for the labour somehow, you have to pay officials & that must come out of the produce. As a democrat I want

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as little as possible of Government. The enhancement of the value of land has either been caused by additional labour or something else. Competition is right if properly guided.

Cit. Applegarth. It is rather a late hour to talk of such a large question. I think
5 the discussion has drifted away from the question. Before we dispute about letting or not letting we ought to know how to get the land. We must catch the hare before we cook it. Instead of discussing the right & the necessity you ought to devise some practical plan how to get the land. When we find that there is such a stumbling block between us & the land as the aristocracy our first duty is to
10 remove that stumbling block & we must convince the people of the necessity of removing it.

Eccarius. The natural right to the soil is the same today as with the first family of human beings, but the social necessity differs. As long as mankind could subsist on the spontaneous products of nature the land was enjoyed in Common.
15 Even among shepherd tribes, where man has to rear & guard the animals to supply his wants the soil is enjoyed in Common there is no distinction between one part or another. But when land has to be cultivated to obtain food a necessity arises to devote certain portions to particular purposes & this social necessity has led to individual appropriations, to individual property. Individual property has
20 now become an obstacle to further progress there is a social necessity for its abolition. That the direction of production & the distribution of the produce will ultimately become a government function I have no doubt, but before that can come to pass not only the aristocracy, but the capitalist class, & wages labour must ||234| cease to exist.—Cooperative production is the beginning of the change
25 & the only available means to bring about the transformation. To end the discussion I propose that the sense of the meeting be taken whether the resolution shall be based on right or necessity & that it be left to the standing committee to model it accordingly.

Cit. Milner replied & urged necessity of giving people a clear idea of the
30 change. The infancy of nations was passed we could not depend upon the chapter of accidents, we must know what we were about.

The chairman then put the questions to vote when 6 hands were held up in favour of each upon which he gave the casting vote in favour of social necessity.

B. Lucraft Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary I

Meeting of the General Council July 20, 1869

/234/ Meeting of the Council July 20.

Members present Bernard, Eccarius, Jung, Hales, Mrs. Law, Lessner, Lucraft, Limbourg, Marx, Milner, Ross, Stepney, Townshend, Weston.

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

Cit. Marx announced the arrival of 25 rt. - 3£ 15 s. - from Leipzig for the Belgian sufferers.

A letter from Marseilles contained applications of two men to be admitted as members. The Editor of the Courrier de la Sarthe applied for powers to act as an agent of the Association.

Mrs. Law reported from the Female Suffrage Association that the Question of the ovalistes of Lyons could not be officially entertained but that she would have received private donations had she been provided with a subscription sheet. The women's Club in Union Street was willing to collect subscriptions if a sheet was forwarded.

Cit. Marx opened the discussion on the question the Right to Inheritance. He said the question had been put by the Alliance of Socialist Democrats of Geneva & the Council had accepted it for discussion. The Alliance of Geneva demanded above all the entire abolition of the Right to Inheritance. There were two forms of inheritance. The testamentary right, or inheritance by Will had come from Rome & had been peculiar to Rome. The father of the Roman family had exercised absolute authority over everything belonging to his household. |

123 51 The Roman family father must not be compared with the father of a family of the present day. The Roman household had included Slaves & clients * whose affairs & interests the head had been obliged to defend & maintain in public. There had been a superstition that when this man died his ghost remained as a watch in the house to see that things were done right or to torment if things were managed wrong. In the early times of Rome people had sacrificed to this housegod even blood feasts had been celebrated in his honour & to appease his wrath. By & by it had become fashionable to compromise with this spirit by an heir at will. It had been the Roman immortality of the soul. By this heir the will

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of the deceased had been perpetuated by a testament but this testament had not necessarily brought a fortune to the successor who inherited but the will of the deceased had been looked upon as a religious duty. In course of time these heirs at will had laid claim to the fortune too but even in imperial times had never been 5 allowed more than a fourth by law. That pagan superstition had been transmitted to Christian countries & was the foundation of the right of will as at present existing in England & the United States.

The German right to inheritance was the intestate right, the family right, which treated an estate as a sort of copropriorship of which the father of the family 10 was the manager. When this manager died the property fell to all the children. The Germans had known of no other hereditary rights; the Church of Rome had introduced the Roman right & the feudal system had falsified the German right because feudal property bearing a military charge could not have been divided. The French revolution had returned to the German right to inheritance. In Eng- 15 land we had all sorts of nonsensical things; the individual had the most absolute right to will away his property, even to disinherit his own offspring, & by this rule long after he had ceased to exist. This right of will might be left for the middle class to deal with as it was a point which would work against the aristocracy. In Prussia only a little of a man's property could be willed away. The working class 20 who had nothing ||236| to inherit had no interest in the question.

The Democratic Alliance was going to commence the social revolution with the abolition of the right to inheritance. He asked would it be policy to do so? The proposition was not new. St. Simon had proposed it in 1830. As an economic measure it would avail nothing. It would cause so much irritation that it 25 would be sure to raise an almost insurmountable opposition which would inevitably lead to reaction. If at the time of a revolution it was proclaimed he did not believe that the general state of intelligence would warrant its being sustained. Besides if the workingclass had sufficient power to abolish the right to inheritance it would be powerful enough to proceed to expropriation which would be a 30 much simpler & more efficient process. To abolish the right to the inheritance of land in England would involve the hereditary functions connected with the land, the house of lords, &c. & 15,000 lords & 15,000 ladies would have to die before it became available. If on the contrary a working men's parliament decreed that the rent should be paid into the treasury instead of to the landlord the Government 35 would obtain a fund at once without any social disturbance while by abolishing the right to inheritance every thing would be disturbed & nothing got. Our efforts must be directed to the end that no instruments of production should be private property. The private property in these things was a fiction since the proprietors could not use them themselves they only gave them dominion over them by which 40 they compelled other people to work for them. In a semi barbarous state this might have been necessary, but it was no longer so. All the means of labour must be socialised so that every man had a right & the means to exercise his labour power. If we had such a state of things the right to inheritance would be of no use. As long as we had not, the family right to inheritance could not be abolished.

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The chief aim of people in saving for their children was to ensure them the means of subsistence. If a man's children were provided for after his death he would not care about leaving them wherewith to get a living but as long as this was not the case it could only result in hardships, it would irritate & frighten people & do no good. Instead of the beginning it could only be the end of a social revolution. The 5 beginning must be to get the means to socialise, the means of labour.

The testamentary right to inheritance was obnoxious to the middle class with this the state could safely interfere any time. We had legacy duties already j |27| all we had to do was to increase them & make them progressive, as well as the income tax, leaving the smaller amounts £50 for instance free. In so far only it 10 was a workingclass question. All that was connected with the present state of things would have to be transformed, but if testaments were suppressed they would be avoided by gifts during life therefore it would be better to tolerate them on certain conditions than do worse. First the means for a transformed state of things must be got then the right would disappear of itself. 15

Cit. Milner said it was but natural that people should question the right to inheritance seeing that so many were disinherited. Possession was nine points of the law & in all ages people had striven to get possession of things. If all had the same right, there would be a family right to divide but if not some would be dispossessed & others would keep possession for ever. Had one man a right to 20 disinherit another? It led to dualism in the family. Possession led to dominion & dominion to slavery. Why did not the trades unionists come here to express their ideas, we wanted all opinions. Until we get something like a right to raw material we would remain slaves. What else could we do but to proclaim our right to the raw material. 25

The Chairman thought that Citizen Marx considered it injudicious to proclaim this at the Congress & preferred to propose levying a tax.

Cit. Marx replied if the state had the power to appropriate the land inheritance was gone. To declare the abolition of inheritance would be foolish. If a revolution occurred expropriation could be carried if there was no power to do that the right 30 to inheritance could not be abolished.

Cit. Hales. Thought there was a great question involved that had a painful influence upon society. There was a right of disposal different from the right to inheritance by which a man could dispose in such a way of his property that it became injurious to the living. We found land tied up, & institutions tied up, 35 every progress barred, should we not declare against this right of disposal? We ought to declare that no man ought to have any right to dispose of property after he was dead.

Cit. Jung said the question had first been mooted by a party that had sprung up at Geneva. They had intended to do something grand & had proclaimed this. 40 He thought it could only divert the workingclass from other questions. He was not in favour of the right but he was against this question being used in a way that would do mischief. He should like to see the same plan followed as at Geneva to have resolutions prepared to lay before the Congress.

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Cit. Weston thought that Marx proposed to arrive at the same result by sapping the inheritance little by little. The rents from land were only about a fourth of the property if ||23| the other was left it would be inconsequential. All transfer of property which enabled people to live without work ought to be condemned.

5 The Chairman said Cit. Weston was mistaken, about Cit. Marx proposing a round about way. Cit. Marx thought that the present state of things would last a long time yet & something ought to be got at once. If land became common property inheritance ceased at once.

Cit. Weston said we had nationalised the Telegraphs but not got rid of the power of people living on it.

A conversation arose as to desirability of submitting a resolution before the discussion proceeded any further. Cit. Marx consented to furnish one at the next meeting.

The debate was then adjourned to Tuesday, July 27.

15 B. Lucraft
J. George Eccarius Secretary. /

Meeting of the General Council July 27, 1869

/238/ Meeting of the Council July 27.

Members present: Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Applegarth, Mrs. Law, Limburg, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Lucraft, Stepney, Harris, Weston.

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair: The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. 5

An appeal urging once more the necessity of making the Birmingham Labour Congress a success was received & ordered to stand over.

Letters were read from Citizen Walton on the land question, from Miss Phipson of Basingstoke to become a member & the Curriers' Society that they could not contribute to the Congress fund. 10

A letter from Cit. Varlin of Paris was read stating that the engineers were going to send two delegates to the Congress, the bronzed workers one, the shoemakers one, the bookbinders & others were debating the desirability of being represented. The members were more than ever subjected to Police annoyances. Cit. Dupont was instructed to remind Varlin that according to the rules no Society 15 could be represented at the Congress that had paid no Contributions.

A letter from Marseilles stated that no answer had been received to the last. Wanted to know how adhesions could be ratified as the Congress was drawing near. All was going on well, a meeting had been held which had led to the federation of some trade societies. Required more frequent Communications. 20

Cit. Dupont stated that a reaction was taking place in France in favour of the Association, but if men joining had to write to London it would become expensive. If the Council send Cards the police would confiscate them the best thing would be to appoint Correspondents & empower the French to print their own cards. 25

Cit. Marx stated that the Socialist Democratic Alliance of Geneva had complied with the requests of the Council he therefore proposed that they be admitted.

Eccarius seconded the proposition which was unanimously carried & the General ||29| [Secretary] instructed to communicate the decision to the secretary of 30 the Alliance.

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Cit. Cohn stated that his society could not send a delegate to the Congress. Their Expenditure had exceeded their income by £700 within the last 18 months but a proposition would be submitted to the next meeting to contribute to the Congress expense.

- 5 Mrs. Law handed £2. 4 s. 6 d. to the French Secretary for the Ovalistes of Lyons & observed that ladies did not like identifying themselves with Strikes.

It was then agreed to suspend the order of the day to consider Cit. Dupont's proposition which ended in a resolution that Dupont empower his correspondents to make adherents, that cards be forwarded by private opportunities until 10 the meeting of the Congress & that the question be submitted to the Congress for consideration & decision.

H. Jung Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary /

Meeting of the General Council August 3, 1869

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/239/ Meeting of the Council August 3rd.

Members present: Eccarius, Harris, Jung, Mrs. Law, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Ross, Stepney, Townshend, Weston.

Cit. Jung in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

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A letter was read from Mr. Le Lubez demanding the payment of a bill sent in some years ago. The question was ordered to stand over till the next meeting.

Mr. Cottam, in a note, demanded the balance due to him for the Cards by the 4th of August. The secretary was instructed to remind Cottam that the delay in completing the cards was the reason why he had not been paid in full on delivery, 10 & that that delay was also preventing the Council from disposing of the Cards this year.

After some observations as to the possibility of raising money immediately it was agreed that the Continental Secretaries should forward the following resolution to their correspondents: Resolved: "That the sections & Branches of this 15 Association who have not yet paid their Contributions to the Council be reminded to do so before the meeting of the Congress, the more so as according to §8 of the Regulations no delegates of sections or branches who have not paid their Contributions, can be admitted to the Congress, & the Congress of Brussels had resolved that the rule shall be enforced." The secretaries were further instructed 20 to accompany the resolution by explanatory letters as to the state ||20| of the finances of the Council.

A letter from Geneva was read by Cit. Jung in which the Geneva Committee complained that for the second time within a year their place of meeting was taken away on account of the property being put up for sale, & if the Council 25 would issue a circular advising the branches to grant them loans they might be able to purchase the building in which they now met & which was the meeting [place] of all the societies belonging to the International. Cit. Jung was instructed to reply that the Council did not deem it advisable to issue such a circular at present.

30

Cit. Marx announced that in consequence of splits in the old parties in Germany a Congress of Workingmen had been convened to meet on the 7th at Ei-

Meeting of the General Council August 3, 1869

senach where a regeneration was to be effected without any sectarian differences & the position towards the International Association defined. Ph. Becker of Geneva had published a Programme proposing the Geneva Committee as the Central one for the German language, upon which the men of Leipzig had appealed 5 how to act. He had replied that the Council did not deal with languages but with nationalities for that reason there were secretaries for Germany, Switzerland, France, &c.

Cit. Marx then read the text of a statement consisting of 5 points to be given as reasons against the abolition of the right to inheritance.

10 Cit. Milner thought it was rather an essay than a resolution.

Cit. Marx thought it was better to give the reasons & a resolution.

Upon the proposition of Eccarius seconded by Weston it was agreed that the text be accepted & the discussion closed.

Cit. Marx remarked that the Basle Committee had added a new proposition on 15 what they called in Switzerland direct legislation.

Upon the proposition of Cit. Marx seconded by Lessner it was agreed that the Education question take precedence of the Credit question & that the Education question be discussed in the next meeting.

It was further agreed that three extra meetings be held Saturdays commencing 20 Saturday August 14 when the discussion of the Credit question should commence, & that the Saturdays meetings be entirely devoted to the discussion of the Congress questions; Chair to be taken at eight o'clock precisely.

Eight shillings were received from the Westend Bootclosers to the Congress fund.

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B. Lucraft Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary !

Meeting of the General Council August 10, 1869

|24i| Council Meeting August 10.

Members present: Boon, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Jung, Mrs. Law, Lessner, Lu-
craft, Marx, Milner, Townshend, Weston.

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair.

A letter was received from Mr. Cottam expressing a reluctant submission to be 5
paid when money comes in.

Cit Jung stated that a Section of the Association had been formed at Triest.

Several letters were read from Lyons announcing the successful termination of
the recent strikes & that the formation of trade societies on the English model
was progressing. The marble cutters, Hatters, Cabinet makers were debating the 10
question of joining, & sending delegates to Basle. The officials of the various
societies that have joined the International Association have been summoned
before [the] prefect of the Police. The receipt of 100 Cards was acknowledged but
stated that they could not be used at present as they would furnish matter for
incrimination. 15

Respecting the affair at St. Etienne it was remarked that the Chief Engineer of
the mines had distributed the brandy, that the soldiers employed against the
miners had received a franc a day from the Companies & that 72 men, as innocent
as any one else were awaiting their trial.

Declarations of adhesion were received from the upholsterers' society of Lyons, 20
200 from the Ovalistes of St. Symphorien d'Ozon (Isère), & an announcement
that the adhesion of the Ovalistes of Lyons had been received.

Contributions were received from Individual members of Lyons 20 fr., Ovali-
stes on account 30 fr., Upholsterers 20 fr.

Cit. Richard alluded to some differences existing between him & some other 25
Lyons members whom he designated as middle class men & who were going to
form an indictment against Richard to get him into the hands of the police.
Thinks they ought to be excluded from the Congress.

A letter from Marseilles was received stating that two societies had been
formed which would join & send delegates to the Congress. With right of meeting 30
half a dozen might be sent. Wanted to know how affiliations |242| were to be
effected & desired credentials.

Meeting of the General Council August 10, 1869

Cit. Marx proposed & Jung seconded that the female president Philomene Rozan, of the Lyons Ovalistes, receive special credentials. Agreed.

Cit. Marx read a very amusing article from the International, the London Organ of the French police, in which it was said that the Association enjoyed a universal dictatorship, that it was now occupied in filling its cashbox & as soon as that was accomplished it would decree its laws.

Cit. Weston stated that he had made inquiries respecting the prices of Marble work the Belgian prices of Chimney pieces were in no case below the English but in one case two pounds above.

10 Upon the proposition of Cit. Marx the secretary was directed to prepare the balance sheet & Citizens Weston & Milner were appointed auditors.

The education question came then on for discussion. Cit. Eccarius read so much of the Geneva resolutions as referred to the training & education of children & adolescents & proposed that it be adhered to as what was to be taught. 15 This would limit the question to determine whose business it was to look after the education & who should provide the means. As there was a difficulty in raising a large amount of taxes there were no other means but to take it out of the standing army & the established church. The reason why the two last congresses had come to no resolution was because many particularly the French objected to 20 entrust the matter to the state.

Cit. Harris read an article from an American paper containing some remarks on the education question which agreed with the Geneva resolution.

Cit. Marx said there was a peculiar difficulty connected with this question. On the one hand a change of social circumstances was required to establish a proper 25 system of education on the other hand a proper system of education was required to bring about a change of social circumstances, we must therefore commence where we were. The question treated at the Congresses was whether education was to be national or private. National education had been looked upon as | 243| governmental but that was not necessarily the case. In Massachusetts every 30 township was bound to provide schools for primary education for all the children. In towns of more than 5,000 inhabitants higher schools for technical education had to be provided in larger towns still higher. The state contributed something but not much. In Massachusetts Vs of the local taxes went for education in New York Vs. The school Committees who administered the schools 35 were local, they appointed the Schoolmasters & selected the books. The fault of the American system was that it was too much localised, the education given depended upon the state of culture prevailing in each district. There was a cry for a central supervision. The taxation for schools was compulsory but the attendance of children was not. Property had to pay the taxes & the people who paid 40 the taxes wanted that the money was usefully applied. Education might be national without being governmental. Government might appoint inspectors whose duty it was to see that the laws were obeyed just as the factory inspectors looked after the observance of the factory acts, without any power of interfering with the course of education itself. The Congress might without hesitation adopt that

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education was to be compulsory. As to children being prevented from working one thing was certain it would not reduce wages & people would get used to it.

The Proudhonists maintained that gratuitous education was nonsense because the state had to pay for it of course somebody had to pay but not those who could least afford it. Was not in favour of gratuitous college education. As Prussian education had been talked so much of he would conclude by observing that the Prussian system was only calculated to make good soldiers. 5

Cit. Milner thought in any scheme of education the consent of all classes was required but the working class ought to insist that with production the children ought to learn the laws that regulate the value of the produce of their labour. Cit. 10 Harris seconded that this should be taken note of. Cit. Jung moved the adjournment of the debate agreed to. .. ,

B. Lucraft
J. George Eccarius Secretary I

Meeting of the General Council August 17, 1869

[244] Council Meeting August 17

Members present: Eccarius, Dupont, Jung, Harris, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Lucraft, Marx, Milner, Zabicki, Limbourg.

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. A letter was read from Barcelona stating that the Section was small in number but of good quality, would be represented at Bale. A letter from the Sunday League reminded the Council of the fact that it was in arrears of Rent. The treasurer was authorised to pay two months. A letter from Vienna applied for Cards, the Secretary for Germany was instructed to enquire how many were wanted & forward them. Cit. Dupont had received the money owing by the Bronze Workers of Paris to London trade Societies. Cit. Jung, Dupont, Lucraft were appointed to wait on the Societies to return the money & apply for contributions to the Congress.

A letter was read from Rouen stating that the contributions would be paid at Bale & that delegates would come from Paris, Roubaix &c. The Secretary announced that he had received news of the sudden death of the President of N.L. U., he was instructed to send an address of sympathy to the members of the National Labor Union of the United States. A letter from Lyons stated that the delegates to the Congress would pay the Contributions. Cit. Jung stated that he had attended the Carpenters Council & thought they would send a delegate to the Congress. Cit. Zabicki mentioned that the building operatives of Posen (Polish) had gained their first Strike they had been assisted by the men of Berlin. Cit. Lucraft detailed a conversation he had had with the Secretary of the Peace Society. A tract in three languages will be distributed at the Congress. Cit. Marx was against having anything to do with Peace Societies. The Brussels Congress had declared against the Swiss Peace Society the English Peace Society was against the working man.

Cit. Reclus stated at the Paris Peace Congress there had been persons of all denominations. Cit. Lucraft stated he had seen in the Newspaper bills that there had been a fight between English & Belgian workmen was in favour of interfering if it was anything serious. Cit. Marx approved if the Council had the power to do so.

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Cit. Jung resumed the discussion on the education question. He said [he] had little to say. He differed from some of the remarks that had been made. We could not wait till class distinctions disappeared & must therefore be content with a plan that would have the consent of other classes. In America & Switzerland Education was national & compulsory. Abel Smith proved that the commerce of Switzerland was larger in proportion to population than that of England this showed some claims in favour of compulsory education. Primary education ought to [be] gratuitous the higher would not come to the workpeople. Compulsory primary education might be established all over the world. He disagreed with Cit. Milner. Who should give the education to instruct children as to the value of labour. There was a great difference of opinion as to what that value consisted of. Reading, writing & bodily exercise would enable people to judge for themselves. Standing armies would disappear if everybody was drilled. As to the means the property of the Church might be devoted to education. He was opposed to any kind of theories being J|245J introduced into the schools. He should like to know what Cit. Milner meant.

Cit. Milner said he was not going into a question that had been so much discussed. He simply urged that the Association should not lose sight of the question of value & distribution. He hoped Jung would withdraw the remark that we were not agreed what the value of labour was. Should we confess that we know nothing of the question? America was full of it. Primary education had not enabled the workpeople to understand the question the middleclass & the aristocracy would not enlighten them, if we could not do so we better give it up. He had no catechism or else he would propose it. The children's minds must be imbued with it but he only asked that a few remarks be made about it in our statement.

Cit. Jung confessed his ignorance. The economists differed so much on the question that no one knew who was right. Cit. Milner assumed that the people at present must have had primary education but that was not so. He wanted it compulsory that children should learn to read & write.

Cit. Harris seconded Cit. Milner's view & wished to have primary education defined. He had endeavoured to teach children grammar & algebra & had been suspended for going too far & on that account unfitted to be a schoolmaster. The agricultural labourer knew nothing of the value of his labour. He had a hundred & twenty children under him but they had been taken away to work in the fields, the poor could not afford to have their children educated. In America compulsory education had made the people more grasping for money, in Switzerland it had stopped the men from selling themselves to fight for the tyrants of Europe & in Prussia it gave instruction to murder. Unless education could be forced to higher standard than at present it was [of] no use. All our universities & colleges with the exception of the London University were bad though they were places of education the University of London was a living protest against them. Emerson had said we must know all the relations of life before we could educate.

Mrs. Law understood by education everything that would improve a human being. The working classes had to maintain all kinds of educational establish-

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ments but derived no benefits from them. The property of the Church must be secularised & devoted to schools. We wanted fewer parsons & more school-masters. The law times prophesied that the established Church would not last another ten years it was therefore time to stir in the matter. The dissenters would
5 be on our side & it would induce the clergy of the established Church to bestir themselves to find the means. Pope said the proper study of man was mankind. Milner wanted us to study what kind of a man a labourer was. Cit. Milner preferred that children should be taught what their labour was worth & how to get it. If they had been taught they would not work so many hours. She proposed
10 that the Churchfunds should be devoted to education as a part of our demand.

Cit. Reclus said it would be bad if the Council did not speak for equal education. We did not want a part of our rights but the whole of them. We wanted to know the truth in all ||246| questions our education must be as complete as possible not only for the child of the Workingman but for the rich. It might be
15 objected we had not the means, we had the Church, the Army, the Navy representing an annual fund of 60,000,000 /. in France all that would do better service if devoted to education than at present. If we had not the means to teach all let us teach the best. Primary education must go on to an advanced age & by a proper system of examination the best should be selected & advanced to the highest
20 degrees at the expense of the State. The state must give equal facilities to all males & females.

Cit. Eccarius observed that the value of labour was estimated differently by the two great classes of society. At present our opponents ruled the state hence they had the power of enforcing their views of what was right when the turn of the
25 workingmen came they would enforce theirs & make it right.

Cit. Could not accept that the value of labour was an accident. An hour's labour of one man was an equivalent for an hours labour of another man, that must be impressed upon the rising generation. Warren in America had shown what equitable Commerce was.

30 Cit. Lucraft thought we ought to have a resolution. We ought to endeavour to do something practical. If we waited till the Church was disestablished we might have to wait a long time without education. Those who had capacity ought to be advanced the only country in which that was at present the case was Turkey. There if a boy showed capacity no matter who he was he was pushed on. Was not
35 for restricting the demand to low primary education. Was for compulsory general & gratuitous education & the best talents to rise. According to Cit. Harris the Americans knew the value of labour that made them grasping for money. We should shape our demands & leave to the rulers to find the means.

Citizen Marx said upon certain points we were unanimous. The discussion had
40 started with the proposition to reaffirm the Geneva resolution which demanded that mental education should be combined with bodily labour, with Gymnastics & Technological training nothing had been said against that. The Technological training advocated by proletarian writers was meant to compensate for the deficiencies occasioned by the division [of] labour which prevented apprentices from

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acquiring a thorough knowledge of their business. This had been taken hold of & misconstrued into what the middle class understood by technical education. As to Mrs. Law's Church budget it would be good policy for the Congress to declare against the Church. Cit. Milner's proposition was not suitable to be introduced in connection with the schools it was a kind of education that the young must get from the adults in the every day struggle of life. He could not accept Warren as a bible it was a question upon which few could agree. We might add that such education cannot be given at school, but must be given by adults. Nothing could be introduced either in primary or higher schools that admitted of party & class interpretation. Only subjects such as the physical sciences grammar &c. were fit matter for schools. The rules of Grammar for instance could not differ whether explained by a religious Tory or a free Thinker. Subjects that admitted of different conclusions must be excluded & left for the adults to such teachers as Mrs. Law who gave instruction in religion. The abolition of the Army had been resolved by the Brussels Congress. It was not advisable to bring it on again. | 15

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Meeting of the General Council August 24, 1869

|247| Meeting of the Council August 24.

Members present: Dupont, Eccarius, Cohn, Hales, Harris, Jung, Townshend, Lessner, Lafargue, Marx, Weston, Lucraft.

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & 5 confirmed.

The Secretary announced that he had received a letter from a landreformer in America promising to send a paper to the Congress. A letter from Barcelona announced that a delegate would be sent by the section to the Congress. Cit. Harris gave an account of an interview with Mr. Trolop respecting the Belgian 10 marble works, that they had been found cheap & Walker—of Salisbury Street Portman Market would be the right man to apply to.

It was unanimously agreed that Cit. Marx draw up the annual report.

Cit. Harris proposed that the discussion of the Programme be proceeded with seconded by Citizen Milner.

15 Cit. Hales proposed as an amendment that the Congress delegates be appointed seconded by Lessner. The amendment carried by 7 against 4.

The treasurer was then appealed to to give an account of the money in hand. The money in hand amounted to £13. 10 s. He had repaid the Bronze workers loan to the Bookbinders who he expected would give something to the Congress. 20 He was going to wait on the Bricklayers' Executive who might give something of the £10 which was originally voted as a gift, & the Cordwainers' Executive might give the whole of the £5 they had to receive. There were besides £2 at Marseilles that might be had if required.

Cit. Milner thought we ought to try & get volunteers who paid their own 25 expense & use the money to pay our debts.

Cit. Marx was for sending delegates with the money we had.

Upon the question as to the amount of money to be given to each delegate 6 voted for £10 & 5 for £12 with the proviso that if only one be sent he receive £12.

The ballot gave Jung 11 votes; Eccarius 11; Applegarth 7 Milner 6 Cohn 6 30 Lucraft 5. A second ballot between Jung & Eccarius gave Eccarius 9 Jung 2 between Cohn & Milner, Milner 7 Cohn 4. It was then agreed that credentials

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should be furnished to Council members who had been nominated if they would go at their own expense.

Cit. Harris then opened the debate on the Credit question by reading a |
248| statement upon it & asserting that Credit was as good a natural right to him as the land. If he could not issue his paper he had no credit. 5

The Chairman read the question on the programme & desired those who spoke to keep to the question.

Cit. Weston said when the workmen were ready to 20 s. worth of labour as security for 15 s. worth of credit there would be no difficulty of obtaining it. The capitalist must have something to compensate him for the risk but he did not mean him to appropriate the 5 s. only to hold as security. A moderate fixed interest must be allowed. If working men would lend each other money on such securities cooperation might go on. Rise of wages & strikes would remedy the evils under which the workingclass was suffering & cooperation could not be carried out without credit. 15

Cit. Hales said we might go on for a month on the general question but the question before us was a practical one. Labour banks where trade & other societies could invest their money to be lent to other workingmen's societies was the only means to utilise credit immediately. Upon the proposition of Cit. Milner the discussion was adjourned to Tuesday August 31. 20

B. Lucraft

J. George Eccarius General Secretary *I*

Meeting of the General Council August 31, 1869

/248/ Meeting of the Council August 31.

Members present: Boon, Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Jung, Mrs. Law, Lessner, Lucraft, Lafargue, Maurice, Odger, Stepney, Townshend, Applegarth, Milner.

- 5 Cit. Lucraft in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

The secretary announced that he had received a paper on the land question from New York by Commerford. He also received £1 from the Alliance Cabinet Makers towards the Congress fund & a cheque for £10 from Cowell Stepney £5 10 to the Congress fund & £5 towards printing the report of the Congress.

Cit. Jung stated that the Bricklayers' Executive had granted £5 to the Congress fund. The Hatters' Executive could not vote any money & he had not considered it advisable to send an appeal to the trade but the question of joining would be entertained immediately after the Congress when a statement would have to be 15 sent. I

|249j Cit. Lafargue stated that on account of illness Cit. Marx had not yet finished the report. It was agreed that a special meeting be held on Wednesday to hear the report.

Cit. Hales announced that the following resolution had been passed by the 20 Trade Union Congress at Birmingham:

"The following resolution, proposed by Mr. Cremer, seconded by Mr. Largan, was passed:—That as local organisations of labour have almost disappeared before organisations of a national character, so we believe the extension of the principle of free trade, which induces between nations such a competition that the 25 interest of the workman is liable to be lost sight of, and sacrificed in the fierce international race between capitalists, demands that such organisations should be still further extended and made international. And as the International Working Men's Association endeavours to consolidate and extend the interests of the working masses, which are everywhere identical, this Congress heartily recommends that association to the support of the working men of the United Kingdom, especially of all organised bodies, and strongly urges them to become affiliated to that body."

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Cit. Jung stated with reference to the money in hand that he had £15 the secretary stated he had between £7 & 8 exclusive of the £5 for the Congress reports. The liabilities of the Council were £ 17. 5. 0. It was agreed that the money that might come in till Friday night be devoted to defray the expense of delegates to the Congress.

5

The delegates were instructed to press the financial question seriously upon the Congress.

Cit. Milner then resumed the discussion of the Credit question. He was sorry the question [ca]me on when we were in no mood to go into it properly. Then there was the Trade Union [question to be discussed]. He did not feel that he had done his duty respecting this credit [que]stion but it was no fault of his he had had no opportunity. Robert Owen had [spe]nt a fortune to raise the workingclass. Assuming that government was willing [to] assist how could it do so. If government aid was given other classes [wo]uld be down upon it. The reformed parliament had done nothing. Walton [sa]id that government aid would not interfere 15 with the monetary arrangements [of] the Country but it would. Some time ago when there had been an influx of gold public creditors had cried out that they must reconsider their position. [Co]uld anything be started to inspire the working classes with sufficient confidence [to] do something for themselves. Some were employed at decent wages part of their time [and] other times they had to work 20 cheap to accumulate stock which was sold at high [pr]ices when trade was brisk. Could not this state of things be mitigated. Unless [so]mething was [done] the machine would bring all to a low level. If each trade would set [so]mething apart to employ their surplus hands something might be done. Trades Unions [stri]ve for high wages or else refuse work. They ought to try to bring mutual exchanges 25 [of] the products of labour about. If men could get advances on their labour something [mi]ght be done. Cooperation had only produced a new class of money makers. The societies [oug]ht to take the matter up. By making advances to their unemployed members they might raise [wages]. Each trade should affix a stamp to the articles to warrant their genuineness. Their [dealings must be based on 30 honesty & equity something new in trade. Hitherto working men ||20| had only striven for high wages they ought to strive to emancipate themselves from the wages system. If a man sent an article to a society it might add something on it. This could be done by labour notes which might in time become the current coin of the realm. The Organisation of the International ought to be made use of to 35 spread the idea.

The Chairman this is a proposition that trade unions should advance money to their unemployed members to set them to work.

Cit. Cohn said it was a great question that involved so much that it was difficult to deal with it in so short a time. The credit could only be extended to the 40 extent of the capital possessed by the working class & that was confined to such as were organised. Individual working men had no capital. The Capital of Societies was invested in banks & stocks. He had proposed to his society to use part of their money for productive purposes, more than 250 had voted for it. The

Meeting of the General Council August 31, 1869

goods they produced were not consumed by workmen, the question then was would those who were consumers deal with them? A central bank ought to be established in which societies could deposit their money & where they could get advances upon it.

- 5 Cit. Harris said to talk of free trade under the present money system was as silly as to talk of free labour in a state of bondage. The question was not to trust the mechanic with his own money but to abolish the money power that fattened upon other people's labour.

Cit. Boon said Cohn seemed to be under the impression that only men who had deposits could have credit, they had capital & did not use it. What was wanted was that if a man deposited his labour [he ought] to get a value for it something that [he] could go on with. If the producers could immediately realise [their labour] they would [be] free of the capitalist. People have no idea of the value of their work. An hour's work of the dust man is worth an hour of any other man's labour. At present some received £1 a week, others only 15 s. & they talked about equivalents. So long as men were not able to exchange labour for labour so long they would not be free. A man who made chairs could place them in some central [store] where he would get a note of the full value which he could exchange for something else he wanted instead of hawking about & selling for less than the material costs. Shopkeeping was immoral. The producers [of] wealth were looked upon as inferior to the sellers.

Mrs. Law wanted to look at the difficulty. Cohn said they might ||| take the capital to employ their members but they could not dispose of the goods when produced. If the purchasing power could not be increased they could not get on under the competitive system. If there were a demand for the goods they could produce capital would find it out they would not be idle their idleness was proof that there was no demand. Boon treated the question as a moral question but his proposition was communism. He wanted to make every body independent of every body she preferred all depending upon one another. A man who took chairs to a store & claimed the full value as a right might get value for work that is not worth anything. Unless there was a market for the chairs the store might be choked with them [till] they were worthless. To have such a store we must [have] a power that regulated what should be produced, we must have communism as Robert Owen wanted it. The purchasing power could not be increased without increasing the raw material to work with. In a state of communism the directing power would know what was required & the labour would be distributed accordingly. Under no other form could the right to labour & the value of labour be guaranteed it could not be done under the competitive system, she was in favour of Communism.

- 40 Cit. Hales & Cohn seconded the following resolution: That the General Council recommend the establishment of Labour Banks in conjunction with Labour Exchanges so that the Capital already in the possession of the working classes may be immediately utilised for their own benefit.

Cit. Odger did not consider it right to pass a resolution without further discussion he therefore moved the adjournment of the debate.

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Cit. Odger proposed & Hales seconded that Messrs. Latham & Lambord be nominated as members.

A.C. Cameron. Chairman |

Johann Georg Eccarius
Bericht über Karl Marx' Vortrag zur irischen Frage
im Deutschen Arbeiterbildungsverein London
am 16. Dezember 1867

[[1]] Am 16. December hielt Karl Marx eine Vorlesung im Londoner Arbeiter Bildungsverein über die Zustände Irlands, aus welcher hervorgeht daß alle Versuche, welche die englische Regierung in früheren Jahrhunderten gemacht die irische Bevölkerung zu englisiren fruchtlos waren. Die bis zur Zeit der Reformation eingewanderten Engländer, einschließlich der Aristokraten, wurden durch die irischen Weiber in Irländer verwandelt & ihre Nachkommen kämpften gegen England. Die Grausamkeiten der Kriegsführung gegen die Irländer unter der Königin Elisabeth, Vernichtung der Saaten, Versetzung der Bevölkerung aus einer Gegend in die andere, um Platz für englische Kolonisten zu finden änderten nichts an der Sache. Zu jener Zeit erhielten Gentlemen & Merchant Adventurers große Stücke Land unter der Bedingung sie mit Engländern zu kolonisieren. Zur Zeit von Cromwell fochten die Nachkommen dieser Kolonisten mit den Iren gegen die Engländer. Cromwell verkaufte viele derselben als Sklaven nach Westindien. Unter der Restauration wurde Irland vielfach begünstigt. Unter Wilhelm III. kam eine Klasse an die Herrschaft, die nur Geld machen wollte & um die Irländer zu zwingen ihre Rohprodukte um jeden Preis an England zu verkaufen wurde die Industrie Irlands unterdrückt. Mit Hilfe des protestantischen Strafgesetzes erhielten die neuen Aristokraten freies Spiel unter der Königin Anna. Das Irische Parlament war ein Unterdrückungs-Mittel. Wer katholisch war konnte kein öffentliches Amt bekleiden, konnte kein Landeigentümer sein, durfte kein Testament machen, konnte keine Erbschaft erheben, katholischer Bischof zu sein war Hochverrat, alles dieses waren Mittel die Irländer ihres Landes zu berauben, dennoch ist mehr als die Hälfte der englischen Nachkommenschaft in Ulster katholisch geblieben. Das Volk wurde in die Arme der katholischen Geistlichkeit getrieben, sie erhielt dadurch ihre Macht. Alles was der englischen Regierung gelungen, ist eine Aristokratie in Irland zu pflanzen. Die von den Engländern erbauten Städte sind irisch geworden. Daher gibt es unter den Feniern so viele englische Namen.

Zur Zeit des amerikanischen Befreiungskriegs wurden die Zügel etwas nachgelassen. Weitere Konzessionen wurden zur Zeit der französischen Revolution nötig. Irland erhob sich so rasch daß seine Bewohner die Engländer zu überflügeln drohten. Die englische Regierung trieb sie zur Rebellion & durch Beste-

Johann Georg Eccarius

chung erwirkte [sie] die Union. Durch die Union erhielt die wiederauflebende irische Industrie den Todtesstoß. Mitchel ||2| sagte bei einer Gelegenheit alle irischen Industriezweige sind zerstört nur das Fabriziren von Särgen ist uns geblieben. Land zu haben wurde Lebensbedingung, die großen Grundeigenthümer verpachteten ihre Ländereien an Spekulanten, es ging durch vier oder fünf Abstufungen von Pachtkontracten bis es an den Bauer kam wodurch die Preise unverhältnismäßig hoch wurden. Die Ackerbau Bevölkerung lebte von Kartoffeln & Wasser, Waizen & Fleisch wurde nach England geschickt, die Rente wurde in London, in Paris, & in Florenz verzehrt. Im Jahre 1836 wurden 7 000 000 Pf. St. an abwesende Grundeigenthümer ins Ausland geschickt. Mit den Produkten & der Rente wurde auch der Dünger exportirt, das Land wurde erschöpft. Partielle Hungersnoth fiel häufig vor aber durch die Kartoffelkrankheit von 1846 kam es zu einer allgemeinen Hungersnoth. 1 000 000 Menschen verhungerten. Die Kartoffelkrankheit war eine Folge der Erschöpfung des Bodens, ein Produkt der englischen Herrschaft.

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Durch die Abschaffung der Korngesetze verlor Irland das Monopol des englischen Markts, die alte Pacht konnte nicht länger bezahlt werden. Hohe Fleischpreise & der Bankrott der noch übrig gebliebenen kleinen Grundeigenthümer haben dazu beigetragen daß die kleinen Bauern vertrieben & ihr Land in Schafweiden verwandelt wird. Seit 1860 sind über eine halbe Million Acker Land außer Bebauung gesetzt. Der Ertrag per Acker hat sich verminder: Hafer 16 pro cent, Flachs 36 pro cent, Kartoffeln 50 pro cent. Jetzt wird nur Hafer für den englischen Markt gebaut & Waizen wird eingeführt.

Mit der Erschöpfung des Bodens hat sich die Bevölkerung physisch verschlechtert. Die Lahmen, die Blinden, die Taubstummen, & die Geisteskranken haben sich bei abnehmender Bevölkerung absolut vermehrt.

Ueber 1 100 000 Menschen sind durch 9 600 000 Schafe ersetzt worden. In Europa ist etwas ähnliches unerhört. Die Russen ersetzen die transportirten Polen durch Russen nicht durch Schafe. Nur unter den Mongolen in China wurde die Frage einst berathen die Städte abzureißen um Platz für Schafe zu machen.

30

Die irische Frage ist daher keine einfache Nationalitätsfrage sondern eine Land- & Existenzfrage. Untergang oder Revolution ist das Lösungswort, die Irländer sind alle überzeugt daß wenn etwas geschehen soll so muß es schnell geschehen. Die Engländer sollten Trennung verlangen & den Irländern allein überlassen die Frage des Grundeigenthums zu lösen. Alles andere ist nutzlos. Geschieht es nicht bald so wird die irische Emigration einen Krieg mit Amerika herbei führen. Die Beherrschung Irlands ist heute das Pacht eintreiben für die englische Aristokratie. |

Johann Georg Eccarius
Record of Karl Marx's speech
on Prussian protectionist tariffs
at the meeting of the General Council, May 12, 1868

The Bee-Hive Newspaper.
Nr. 344, 16. Mai 1868

The International Working Men's Association.

- ... The trades' unions established in Germany by the agency and with the assistance of the International Working Men's Association have furnished the chiefs of the iron trade in the Rhenish province, with an argument against the Prussian Government with regard to a reduction of the import duties on foreign iron. The Chamber of Commerce of Elberfeld and Barmen is of opinion that a reduction of the import duties on iron will completely ruin the Prussian iron masters. The English capitalists maintain that they must reduce the wages of their workmen to be able to cope with the foreigners. The German iron masters demand the continuance of protection against the English to save themselves from utter ruin; yet the wages received by the Prussian workmen are less than half what the British workman receives, and the hours of labour are more. In its report of April 14th to the Government, the Chamber of Commerce states:— "The iron trade of Germany once prostrate a remedy is impossible. Much capital will then be lost, and thousands of working men deprived of the means of subsistence—a matter that would be the more critical, as the labour question becomes more and more serious, and the International Working Men's Association assumes a more and more active and menacing attitude."
- This statement proves that the Association has not laboured in vain. The capitalists demand a public enquiry into the present state of the Prussian iron trade. The workmen insist that the inquiry shall include an investigation of the condition of the workpeople employed in the trade.

Johann Georg Eccarius
Record of Karl Marx's speech on changing
the place of the International's congress in 1868
at the meeting of the General Council, May 26, 1868

The Bee-Hive Newspaper.
Nr. 346, 30. Mai 1868

... Notice of motion was given that a resolution should be moved on Tuesday next to cancel the resolution of the last congress appointing Brussels as the place of meeting for the next congress, and that London be appointed instead. The Council considers it incompatible with the honour and dignity of the association to assemble a congress, surrounded, as it would be, by French spies, and in a country whose Government is capable of committing such wanton outrages as have been perpetrated against the half-starved miners of Charleroi. ...

Johann Georg Eccarius
Record of Karl Marx's Speech to withdraw
his resolutions on changing the place
of the International's congress in 1868
at the meeting of the General Council, June 16, 1868

The Bee-Hive Newspaper.
Nr. 349, 20. Juni 1868

... The mover of the resolutions then stated, that besides the foregoing assurances things had transpired since he had given notice which compelled the council to abstain from revoking the vote of the Lausanne Congress. The Belgian section had already taken action. M. Bara, the Minister of Justice, was reported to have 5 said in the Chamber of Deputies, that he would not permit the Congress to assemble, in a remonstrance signed by all the members of the Brussels' committee and the executive of the Free Workmen—an affiliated political society of Vervier, the resident members of the association had declared that "in spite of all the vain rhodomontade of the Minister of Justice, the International Congress should be 10 held at Brussels". The question, therefore, was strictly one of resistance of the Belgian working men against the police regulations of their government, with which the council had no right to interfere. He should, therefore, withdraw his resolutions; which met with general approval, several members declaring that only the altered state of the case had changed their opinion. ...

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Johann Georg Eccarius
Frederick Engels's report on the miners' guilds
in the coalfields of Saxony.
Record of Karl Marx's speech
at the meeting of the General Council, February 23, 1869

The Bee-Hive Newspaper.
Nr. 385, 27. Februar 1869

The International Working Men's Association

... The German secretary read a report on the condition of the coalminers in the kingdom of Saxony. Their wages vary from 6s. to 10s. 3d. a week, for twelve hours labour a day; boys from 4s. to 5s. a week. Each colliery has a benefit club, to which the men are compelled to subscribe, but they have no voice in the administration of the funds, the funds are the lawful property of the coal owners, and the benefits are, without exception, dispensed by the head-managers of the collieries. Sick, relief, and superannuation allowances rise in proportion to length of service, but any one leaving his employment, no matter what reason, loses all claims upon the fund. Thus a man may have contributed to the fund for 30 or 40 years without receiving a farthing in his old age.

An agitation among the miners for better terms has led to the publication of a draft of rules for a united club for all the Saxon collieries. The draft is the work of a committee of colliers, presided over by Mr. J.G. Dinter. The chief distinctive features are:—

1. All clubs to be consolidated into one.
2. Members not to lose their rights so long as they reside anywhere in Germany and continue to pay their contributions.
3. A general meeting of all adult members to be the supreme authority to elect a general and an executive committee.
4. Masters contributions to be equal to one-half of those of the men.

This draft, which does not represent the views of the most intelligent colliers, but rather of a section, which would fain carry out reforms with the consent of the masters, carries on its face the stamp of impracticability. It is really too naive to suppose that the masters, who now have complete control of the clubs, will consent to hand the whole management over to a democratic general meeting of working men, and yet continue paying their contributions. To open the eyes of such of the colliers as may still believe in the possibility of reforming the clubs upon the basis of joint contributions of masters and men, an indignant refusal on the part of the masters will be the best means.

Johann Georg Eccarius
Record of Karl Marx's speech on the
German Labour Congress in Eisenach
at the meeting of the General Council, August 10, 1869

The Bee-Hive.
Nr. 409, 14. August 1869

... The secretary for Germany stated he had received a telegram from the German Labour Congress announcing that the organisation of the social democratic party on the platform of the International Workingmen's Association had been carried, also that delegates should be sent to the congress of Basle. ...

Johann Georg Eccarius
Record of Karl Marx's speech
on national and governmental education
at the meeting of the General Council, August 10, 1869

The Bee-Hive.
Nr. 409, 14. August 1869

... Mr. Marx said that the question, as it had been treated at the late congresses, was between national or private education, and national education had been looked upon as identical with governmental. To prove that a very efficient system of national education might be established without being governmental, he entered into particulars respecting America; but he was of opinion that attendance 5 at school should be compulsory, that no religion should be taught in national schools, and that Government inspectors should be appointed to visit the schools and see that the school authorities did their duty. All that was compulsory at present in America was, that each township provided schools; taxation for schools was compulsory, but the attendance of children was not. The Prussian 10 system of national education was only calculated to make good soldiers, not citizens. ...

Johann Georg Eccarius
Record of Karl Marx's speech
on education and church funds
at the meeting of the General Council, August 17, 1869

The Bee-Hive.
Nr. 410, 21. August 1869

... Mr. Marx said that nobody had spoken against the principles embodied in the Geneva resolutions, which it was proposed should be re-affirmed. As to the means, the Church fund had been originally an educational fund, but was at present misapplied. It would be good policy to declare that it should be converted
5 into a school fund according to the requirements of the present day. As to political economy, religion and other questions, they could not be admitted into the primary, nor even the higher schools, that was a kind of education which must rest with the adult, and must be left to the lecture room, to such schoolmasters as Mrs. Law. Nothing but the physical sciences, truths that were independent of all
10 party prejudices, and admitted but of one interpretation, were fit subjects for schools. In conclusion, it was agreed that education must be compulsory and gratuitous, and that the Church funds ought to be devoted to the education of the people. ...

Minutes of the General Council
of the International Working Men's Association
September 21, 1869 to March 14, 1871.
From the Minute Book of the General Council
September 21, 1869 to May 21, 1872

Meeting of the General Council September 21, 1869

s |i| Minutes of the Meetings
b of the
General Council of the International
Workingmen's Association
5 from the Month of September 1869
Meeting of the Council Sep. 14.

Members present: Applegarth, Boon, Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Fraser, Hales, Harris, Jung, Lafargue, Lessner, Lucraft, Maurice, Milner, Odger, Weston. Mr. Cameron of Chicago the Delegate of the National Labour Union U.S. was also 10 present.

Mr. Cameron was unanimously elected to take the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

Eccarius proposed that the Correspondence be postponed & the reports of the Congress delegates heard; agreed.

15 The Chairman then called upon Cit. Jung who said: My account will be short. We arrived on Saturday night & were received by men waiting for us at the Station. On Sunday morning a preliminary meeting was held at which a committee for the examination of credentials was appointed. Some wanted to open the Congress on that day but it was overruled. In the afternoon we walked 20 outside the town in procession headed by flags & music & followed by the trade societies of Basle & neighbourhood. A public welcome was given to the delegates in a large beergarden where several speeches were delivered after which we returned. On Monday morning the credentials of upwards of sixty delegates were verified after which the president of the Basle section made the opening speech & 25 then the election of officers was proceeded. I was elected ||2| president. The number of delegates was large & mostly real representative men. The representation was somewhat better than usual particularly as we had an American delegate. Some may think that but little was done because only three questions were disposed of. Our sittings were from 9 to 12 in the morning & from 2 to 6 in the

Minutes of the General Council, September 21, 1869 to March 14, 1871

afternoon. After Wednesday we had evening sittings from 8 to 11. A good deal of time was spent in drawing up regulations which will save time at future congresses. The arrangements for receiving & housing the delegates & for the meeting of the Congress were all in good order. Great progress has been made since the Geneva Congress. At Geneva the Germans sat in one corner the French in another & the delegates addressed each other as Frenchmen & Germans. There was nothing of that at Basle. The press was well represented. Not only the Paris papers had reporters there but provincial papers as well. How they have spoken about us you know better than I do. The Paris societies were largely represented. Since the imprisonment of the Paris committee great eagerness has been displayed among the workmen of Paris to join the Association. When the delegates were questioned about the contributions they stated there was great difficulty to collect money. If the International was mentioned at any of their meetings the meeting was at once dissolved. I asked them how they managed to collect money to send delegates they said they went round to the shops & then I told them they might do the same to collect money for the Council. They promised to pay in future. The most important vote was that on the land question. Last year there were 34 for, 6 against & 23 abstained this year 54 for, 4 against & 13 abstained. No new argument has been advanced.

On our return we had a pleasant evening at Paris. The lithographic printers society gave us an entertainment at their cooperative establishment. Most of the men of Paris are in favour of Common property in Land. The delegates who voted against do not represent the real opinion. Murat would not have been elected but for the fact that he has suffered imprisonment for the Association. Tolain had to get credentials from the Bakers of Marseilles & Chemalé seemed rather chapfallen. On the Credit question he remarked that with Common property credit would not be needed.

Applegarth said, I can only say ditto to what I have heard. I was on the Tradej [3] Union Commission but could not make myself heard. I should have liked to show what could be done with trades' unions. I drew up some resolutions but the time was too short to go into them. It gave me great joy to have an American delegate present. The great question was that of the land. It is rather amusing that the Times takes credit for our good sense & hopes that we voted against it. The speeches reported in its own columns lead to the opposite conclusion. I regret that the education question was not dealt with. I hope the presence of an American delegate will lead to a substantial union & affiliation between the American working class & us. When I heard that Eccarius had written to several papers about receiving reports & got no answer I sent to the Sheffield Independent which has published what I sent. From what I have read the tone of the speakers was better than at former Congresses.

Lucraft said I am not so well pleased as Jung there was much time lost. The Council ought to draw up resolutions on the different questions. Three days were wasted with preliminaries & reports. I felt vexed at it, but I was pleased with the way in which the delegates submitted to the president. Jung forgot to tell that we

Meeting of the General Council September 21, 1869

had a banquet of cooperators at Paris. We sat about 50 on each side of a long table on the premises of the lithographic printers. A strike has brought [them] to try to work for themselves & they have succeeded. When I consider all perhaps I am as much pleased with the Congress as others.

5 Applegarth. At future congresses we must supply our secretaries with proper minute books, & we must have translators for the resolutions who have nothing else to do. After the Congress was over I went to Zurich & I have learnt more there what can be accomplished with limited means in education & cooperation than out of all the blue books.

10 Lessner said there were evening meetings outside the Congress where speeches were made every night. Eccarius gave a lecture & I & others spoke a great deal of propaganda was made there. The long reports are done away with & a good many other things. I am in favour of the Council preparing the resolutions, & we must have people who are not delegates to translate & take down the speeches & 15 we must pay them for it.

Eccarius said we have tried in vain at former Congresses to get rid of long reports & papers readings the thing has worked its own cure those who formerly objected have now made arrangements to do away with it & we will get rid of the commissions too. I have only to add that the evening meetings as well as the 20 Congress itself have exercised a great moral influence. After the other delegates had left I found that the Café National was the favourite resort of the Basle millowners who wanted to exterminate |14| the Association nine months ago. They have listened to all we had to say & I have no doubt that they are by this convinced that we are not easily got rid of. What concerns us most is that the 25 Council has been reelected.

Jung said there was nothing like the confusion I have seen at former congresses. There were people who translated the resolutions. If the General Council translates them it will not have to be done at the Congress.

Applegarth my desire is to relieve other people who have something else to 30 attend to of the trouble.

The Chairman was then requested to speak. He said I will not inflict a speech. My presence here is evidence that we desire a closer union with you. There are but two classes in Society the robbers & the robbed. Those who labour longest frequently get but a pauper's grave those who do nothing get everything. We have 35 cut ourselves loose from old party ties to put a stop to class legislation we mean to legislate for the whole people. We have an aristocracy of wealth, you have one of birth ours is the worst of the two. I should like you to devise some plan to regulate emigration so that trade unionists leaving here would at once join our ranks & make common cause with us when they arrive in America. The Capital-40 ists have their agencies all over Europe their aim is to keep American labour down & degrade it. In every instance where a dispute has arisen the threat of fetching men from the old world has been held out. The miners of Pennsylvania worked day & night for 14 dollars a week & produced all the coals required during the year in about 7 months the rest of the year they were idle or had to

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work under price. At last they would put up with [it] no longer they demanded a reduction of their working time. The press being under the control of the Capitalists public opinion was turned against them. At our Congress however the press was open to us & the miners' case was brought before the public & now a turn has taken place. The first thing I saw on landing at Liverpool were bills 5 headed: great inducement to miners wages from 18 to 20 dollars a week. When I examined the names of the very same vagabonds who are at the bottom of all the oppression in Pennsylvania were at the bottom of the bills. We have too a damnable system in the mining districts of the work people not getting paid in the current money. ||5| All the adjacent land to mines & factories belongs to the 10 companies & they tolerate no stores. They pay the workpeople in skinplasters, cheques on their own stores, which are only worth 60 or 70 cents a dollar elsewhere, & any one who deals elsewhere & is found out gets the sack. If the people rise against such things they are threatened with an inundation from Europe. Now if any dispute occurs we could send a telegram & you could make it known 15 here to prevent people going into the trap of the capitalists they would be compelled to give in.

Hales proposed that Eccarius be reelected as general secretary—carried.

Applegarth proposed that all the secretaries be reelected—carried.

That Stepney be reelected as treasurer—carried.

Applegarth proposed that a committee be appointed to consider Mr. Cameron's proposition. Agreed. The following were then appointed. Applegarth, Du-pont, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Jung, Cohn, Lafargue, Lessner, Marx, Milner, Odger.

The Council then adjourned.

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R. Applegarth Chairman
John George Eccarius Secretary. I

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Meeting of the General Council September 28, 1869

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/5/Meeting September 28

Members present: Applegarth, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Jung, Lafargue, Lessner, Lucraft, Maurice, Milner, Townshend, Stepney.

Cit. Applegarth in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & 5 confirmed.

Correspondence: A letter from Fraser regretting to have made a mistake in permitting his name to go on the list of Council members & requesting it to be taken off.

A letter from Hull enclosing contributions from Dean, & Foster Senior & 10 Junior.

America: A letter from the Paper Stainers New York requesting the Council to use its influence to prevent an exportation of men to defeat the men now on Strike. The Secretary was instructed to write to all papers of the Association abroad, & circulate it in this Country as widely as he could. A letter from the 15 Secretary of the National ||6| Labor Union, U. S., stating that the last letter to Sylvis had found him in his grave, that it had been laid before the Congress, & that two delegates had been elected in consequence.

A letter from Jessup New York, acknowledging the receipt of the letter of Condolence.

20 Germany. A letter from the Silkprinters & Blockcutters of Hilden soliciting aid in consequence of a strike. Secretary instructed to reply.

France. A letter from Marseilles announcing the lockout of the Basket makers & requesting assistance. The French secretary was instructed to reply that there was no prospect of pecuniary aid. The General Secretary was instructed to write 25 to the London Basket Makers.

Cit. Jung stated that in a report of the Peace Congress published in the Semaphore of Marseilles an American Correspondent, Osborn Ward, was represented as a delegate of the American trade unions.

Cit. Applegarth said he knew Ward & was sure that he was not a delegate nor 30 would he represent himself as such. Cit. Dupont was instructed to send a correction of the mistake in his letter to Marseilles.

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Cit. Jung announced the receipt of a letter from General Cluseret of New York. It was addressed to the Congress but had arrived too late.

The Secretary reported that Leno agreed to print 1000 copies of the Congress report of 40 pages small size or 32 pages larger size for £8. It was agreed to have the large size & increase the number of pages but not to exceed £10 as the cost. 5

Report of Committee on Emigration Bureau. The Committee advised: 1. That an emigration bureau in conjunction with the National Labor Union of the U.S. be established.

2. That in case of Strikes the Council should do its best to prevent workmen being engaged in Europe to be used by American capitalists against the workmen 10 of America. |

[7] 3. Mr. Cameron having promised to furnish reliable information respecting hours of labour, rate of wages, state of trade, access to land &c. in various localities in America no active steps be taken until such information be received.

The report was adopted. 15

Cit. Applegarth proposed & Eccarius seconded the nomination of Joseph Shepherd as a member of the Council.

Cit. Jung & Maurice nominated Cit. Serraillier.

The treasurer was instructed to pay £6 on account to Mr. Cottam & a quarter's Rent £3 3 s. 0. to the Sunday League. 20

Cit. Hales gave notice that at a future meeting he should move that a British Section of the International be established.

Cit. Lucraft desired that the Council should express an opinion on the Conduct of the delegates at the Congress.

Hales said that he was satisfied with the proceedings on the Land question. 25

Cit. Milner had nothing to say against the delegates but he thought they had not grasped the entire subject. The Credit question had received no attention whatever.

Cit. Jung said he considered the credit question a secondary one. Its most ardent advocates at the Congress had helped to put it aside. 30

Cit. Applegarth said if Cit. Milner had been there he would have seen that little more could have been done.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

G. Milner Chairman

J. George Eccarius, Secretary | 35

Meeting of the General Council October 5, 1869

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Or -v.,: •

|8| Council Meeting Oct. 5

Members present Applegarth, Boon, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Hales, Harris, Lessner, Lucraft, Maurice, Milner, Townshend, Weston.

Cit. Milner in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & 5 confirmed.

Correspondence. A letter from Mr. Shorrocks at Manchester promising to circulate the notice of the Paper Stainers Strike of New York & to dispose of 100 copies of the Congress report.

A letter from the Newcastle Chronicle stating the price at which the notice of 10 the afore mentioned Strike would be inserted.

A letter from Varlin of Paris stating that a meeting of the Congress delegates had been held & that they had agreed to urge the affiliation of their societies also that the rules would be printed there being a good prospect to make individual adherents.

15 Upon the Suggestion of Cit. Jung the Secretary was instructed to apply to the secretary of the Copper-plate printers to receive a deputation.

The secretary announced that [the question of] Messrs. Latham & Lambord, proposed by Cit. Odger to become members had not yet been disposed of. Cit. Applegarth volunteered to speak to Latham. It was agreed to postpone the election. 20

The secretary then stated that the question of pronouncing an opinion upon the conduct of the Congress delegates was in order.

Cit. Harris could not see how an opinion could be expressed in the Absence of the official report.

25 Cit. Hales said the opinion would have to be given upon the delegates' own reports. He proposed & Maurice seconded a vote of satisfaction which was carried.

Cit. Hales then proposed "That the Council proceed to establish an English Section of the International Workingmen's Association, with a platform based 30 upon the Congressional resolutions, to be called 'The National Labour League & British Section of the International Workingmen's Association.'

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The Association, though established in London, which had been seat of the Council since, had made more progress abroad than here. The Council had too much to do with international affairs, a body was wanted to take the national | 9| affairs in hand."

Cit. Lucraft seconded the proposition.

5

After a long discussion in which Jung, Applegarth, Lucraft, Eccarius, & Harris took part Cit. Harris proposed as an amendment: "That this Council deems it necessary to establish, as soon as possible, a British section of the International Workingmen's Association."

After some remarks of the Chairman & Citizen Maurice, Cit. Weston announced that a conference of Reformers would meet [at] Bell Inn at the old Bailey on Wednesday Oct. 13 to establish an Association for the agitation of the land question & other working men's measures.

It was then agreed to adjourn the Debate.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

15

John Hales Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary. /

Meeting of the General Council October 12, 1869

/9/ Council Meeting Oct. 12.

Members present: Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Maurice, Milner, Lucraft, Townshend.

Cit. Hales in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

Correspondence. A letter from Varlin of Paris stated that five societies had held meetings to hear the reports of their Congress delegates, but the commissaries of the police had stated that if the reports were to be read they must dissolve the meetings. The shoemakers delegate had not presented any report, it was to be read at private meetings but the shoemakers had declared their adhesion to the Association.

A letter from Aubry of Rouen announced the Strike of woolspinners of Elboeuf & solicited aid. The said spinners insist on a list of prices being fixed. The spinners of four other towns have joined in making the demand & will be on strike in a fortnight if their demand be not acceded to. Aubry had notice to leave his work on the 15th: 1. for going [10] to the Congress, 2. for interesting himself in the Elboeuf strike, 3. for the part he had taken in the late election.

Cit. Hales stated that there was no prospect at present to obtain any pecuniary assistance.

Cit. Harris enquired about the powers of the Conseils de prudhommes in wages disputes.

Cit. Jung replied that they had none. He further stated his opinion that the French secretary ought to write to Aubry to show that nothing could be done here & to advise the men generally not to rush too heedlessly into strikes. After some observations pro & con the proposition was agreed to.

Cit. Joseph Shepherd proposed by Applegarth & Eccarius, & Serraillier proposed by Jung & Maurice were elected as members of the Council. Cit. Hales proposed & Lucraft seconded the nomination of Thomas Mottershead.

The discussion of the question of establishing a British Section was then resumed. Cit. Maurice said some means must be found to make propaganda.

Cit. Jung considered it a necessity to establish English branches to attract some good men to advocate our cause. He was in favour of keeping the question on the order of the day but to adjourn the debate.

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Cit. Milner was in favour of a British Section but was afraid it would absorb the functions of the Council.

Cit. Eccarius said we required a British section to do things concerning this Country with which the General Council as such could not interfere.

Cit. Lucraft saw no difficulty in branches being established by the Council. 5
The time was favourable, but he wanted simply a British Section of the Association.

Cit. Harris moved the adjournment of the debate.

Cit. Hales was willing to drop the National Labour League portion of his proposition & endorse the proposition of establishing simply a section of branch- 10
es. The proposition was carried against one. The appointment of a Committee to carry out the resolution was deferred till the next meeting.

R. Applegarth Chairman.
J. George Eccarius |

Meeting of the General Council October 19, 1869

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| nj Council Meeting October 19.

Members present: Applegarth, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Townshend, Weston.

Cit. Applegarth in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. A letter from the Secretary of the Edinburgh Trades Council acknowledging the receipt of a letter on the paper stainers strike of New York was read.

A letter from Malon of Paris announced that the Section of the United Workmen had increased to 150 & that they met in the face of the Police. Another section was to be formed at Roubaix. Dupont had been written to from Roubaix but the letter must have miscarried. The democratic candidates had betrayed their trust they declined doing anything on the 26th. The butchers, Newspaper employees, Organbuilders, Pianoforte makers were establishing trade societies. The Sailors' Union of Marseilles was going [to] establish branch unions in all the French seaport towns. Money was being collected for the victims of Aubin & the spinners of Elboeuf.

Cit. James Parnell was admitted as delegate from the Elastic Webweavers Association.

Cit. Lessner proposed that the Congress report be signed by all the secretaries. It was agreed that the President & the English secretary of the Congress should sign it.

On the motion that the Committee to establish a [British] Branch whose appointment was adjourned at the previous meeting be now appointed. Eccarius proposed that it should be postponed till more was known about the result of the Old Bailey meetings. He was of opinion that there was a possibility of making the society that was to be established the British Section.

Cit. Harris thought the Council should send a delegate to the meeting, he had heard that an Attempt would be made on the night to reverse what had been done in the first meeting.

Cit. Lucraft spoke in favour of Eccarius's proposition.

Cit. Hales thought it was necessary to come to some agreement ||12| as to the policy that was to be pursued.

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Cit. Milner thought a simple statement about what we could agree was all that was required we could wait till we were unanimous upon all points.

Cit. Lucraft did not think that the Council should interfere.

The appointment was again adjourned.

Cit. Lucraft desired Cit. Marx to say something on any thing he pleased. Cit. 5 Marx said he could only state that the movement was going on well in Germany.

Cit. Lucraft then spoke about the desirability of establishing an international Newspaper, & he thought it might be done on the cooperative plan. We should never be able to do any thing until we had a paper of our own. The necessity of having a paper was acknowledged by other speakers but the difficulty of raising 10 the means seemed too great to entertain the question at present.

The Council adjourned at 7^r past 10 o'clock.

B. Lucraft Chairman

J. George Eccarius Secretary /

Meeting of the General Council October 26, 1869

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/12/Meeting of October 26.

Members present: Dupont, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Townshend, Weston, Stepney.

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The secretary read a translation of a protest by 27 Trade societies' delegates of Paris against the bloody acts at Aubin.

Cit. Jung stated that the Geneva trade societies had advanced 1000 fr. to the spinners at Elboeuf to be reimbursed by levies. At Geneva the slaters of a shop had been threatened with a reduction of wages but the support of the International had averted the Strike. He further stated that the French papers had taken up the cause of the miners against the employers & the Government. According to the latest reports there were 24 killed & 36 wounded. Some of the Government employees had escaped being shot by hiding themselves, many people had | 13 been shot while flying. The workpeople had rather protected the Government officials than tried to injure them.

Cit. Marx announced that a Dutch Labour Congress had been held on the 19th at Arnheim where 800 delegates had attended. The principal trades represented were Cabinet makers, Compositors, Carpenters, Painters, Smiths, Masons, Bricklayers. They had established a National Labour Union & adhered to the International. He also announced the receipt of a letter from the president of the International Bookbinders' Society at Leipzig, who desired to be brought in communication with the bookbinders here. Cits. Jung & Lessner were appointed to wait on the executive of the Dayworking bookbinders Society.

Cit. Thomas Mottershead was unanimously elected to become a member of the Council.

The following were nominated: John Johnson by Cit. Harris & Townshend & William Hales by Eccarius & John Hales.

Cit. Weston suggested that it was desirable the Council should pass a vote of thanks to Mr. Merriman for the speech he made on the Sunday previous in Hyde Park. He thought there was much in the speech that the Council could agree with & endorsing it by a vote of thanks might have some weight with the government. The Council had once before expressed sympathy with Ireland.

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Cit. Jung thought before anything could be done the Council ought to be made acquainted with the speech. He would prefer a resolution in favour of the release of the prisoners.

Cit. Harris objected to a vote of thanks but was in favour of a resolution.

The Chairman thought it was an opportune moment to do something.

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Cit. Marx said the principal thing was what ever was passed would be suppressed by the London press. The main feature of the demonstration had been ignored it was that at least a part of the English Working Class had lost their prejudice against the Irish. This might be put in writing & addressed to somebody not the government. He thought it a good opportunity to do something.

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Cit. Hales was opposed to a vote of thanks. Merriman had resigned his post at the Reform League when the Council had passed a vote in favour of Fenianism. He proposed "That a resolution be drawn up asking for the release of the political prisoners & stating the opinion of the Council on the question, & that Cits. Marx, Lucraft, Jung & Eccarius be a sub committee to draw up the same."

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Cit. Hales wished the resolution to express that the Irish would not be satisfied |
|14| with anything short of self-government.

Cit. Maurice wanted to know whether it was to be addressed to the government or to the trade societies.

Cit. Milner said we must have equal justice for Ireland, Ireland must be treated the same as England.

Cit. Weston thought if it was addressed to government a simple acknowledgement of the receipt would be enough to get it into the papers. We ought to advise the government in a dignified way. It was necessary to praise a man for doing right but we might [give] him our opinion about it.

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Cit. Jung was in favour of Cit. Weston's remarks. England had always represented the struggle as one of race, last Sunday had shown that it was a struggle of Classes.

The Chairman was against addressing the Government they only acted under pressure. We must compel the government to do something. He as an Englishman did not believe he had done his duty. It was our business to show the Irish that it was only a class of the English that wronged them & that the same class of Irish were as bad.

The proposition was unanimously adopted & it was agreed that the people & not the government should be addressed.

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The Council adjourned at a 'At to 11 o'clock.

Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary I

Meeting of the General Council November 2, 1869

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/14/ Meeting of the Council November 2.

Members present: Boon, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Jung, Lucraft, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Mottershead, Odger, Townshend.

Cit. Odger in the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & 5 confirmed.

Mr. Bockett, the Secretary of the Dayworking Bookbinders' Society, handed in £2 voted by his Society towards the expense of the Congress.

Cit. Marx called attention to the long absence of the Belgian Secretary.

Cits. Jung & Dupont were requested to have an interview with him ||15| to 10 ascertain the reason of his absence & to get the documents in his possession in case of not being willing to resume his place.

Correspondence. A letter from the Secretary of the French branch of New York enclosing some money for the Council. The branch publishes a bulletin. The letter stated all the New York papers had spoken about the Congress, it appeared 15 to have been weaker than former ones & Tolain very illogical. Things were bad or else more money would have been sent.

Cit. Jung announced that the Swiss Trade federation now contained 47 Societies. The carpenters of one Geneva shop were on Strike against over time & piece work. The Bijoutiers were endeavouring to establish a union for the female polishers & Chain makers. 20

He further announced that the French government furnished charity girls to take the places of the linen drapers assistants who were on Strike against Sunday work.

Cit. Jung enquired if the League of which J. Johnson was secretary had any 25 connection with the leaders of the so called French International.

Cits. Harris, & Boon gave explanations showing that it had not.

Cit. Marx enquired if any steps had been taken respecting the establishment of a British Section of the International.

Cit. Hales understood that it had been postponed. On the previous Wednesday 30 the Land & Labour League had been established, many Council Members were on the executive of that League it was not necessary to go any farther at present.

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The secretary was instructed to reply to the last letters received from the Labor Union & New York State Union of America.

He was further instructed to write to the Hatters & the United Brassfinishers asking them to receive deputations with a view to join the Association.

The Council adjourned at 10 o'clock.

Chairman J. Cohn
J. George Eccarius Secretary |

Meeting of the General Council November 9, 1869

|16| Council Meeting November 9.

Members present: Boon, Cohn, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Jung, Maurice, Milner, Parnell, Townshend.

Cit. Cohn in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The secretary read an address from the New Democracy of New York, & was instructed to bring up a reply to it on that day fortnight.

Cit. Jung stated that the workpeople of Lyons had congratulated Raspail on separating himself from the middle class opposition. He further stated that in Switzerland the organisation of the working people & the propaganda for the Association proceeded with more zeal than ever before. The chemists assistants of Paris were organising a society. The Telegraph employees had appealed to the post-men to unite with them. Two thousand gilders had agreed not to work longer than 10 hours a day under any circumstances.

A statement in the Egalité gave rise to a conversation about the necessity to publish periodical reports. Cit. Jung undertook to write to Geneva to inform the Editor why reports were not published.

The Secretary reported from the subcommittee that it had been agreed not to proceed with an address on the Irish question because if the views of the Council were properly set forth the government & the press would turn them against the prisoners.

Cit. Jung read a letter from Cit. Marx in support of the report & if adopted Cit. Marx proposed the discussion of the following questions I. The attitude of the British Government on the Irish question II. The Attitude of the English working class towards the Irish. Cit. Marx volunteered to open the debate.

25 The report was adopted & the questions ordered to be put on the order of the day.

Cit. Hales moved & Lessner seconded that any one taking more than 50 Congress reports should have them at the rate of £1 a 100 carriage free. Carried.

Cit. Cohn stated that a proposition was before his society ||7| to withdraw from the International because it did not stop foreigners from coming to London. There were some Belgian lodginghouse keepers in the East of London who im-

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ported them in such numbers that it very seriously interfered with the trade. On their first arrival they worked for anything that was offered them. He wished to know whether the Antwerp Cigar makers belonged to the International what their numbers were both at Antwerp & at Brussels & what funds they had.

Cit. Jung would endeavour to get the information.

Cit. William Hales, formerly a member of the Council & lately returned to town was readmitted.

The election of J. Johnson was postponed.

The Council adjourned at 10 o'clock.

Benjamin Lucraft Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary /

Meeting of the General Council November 16, 1869

/17/ Meeting of the Council Nov. 16.

Members present: Eccarius, Hales J., Hales W., Harris, Jung, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Mottershead, Stepney, Townshend, Weston.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

- 5 The Secretary read letters acknowledging the receipt of Congress reports. Also a letter from the secretary of the Dundee Workingmen's Association applying for particulars to form a branch, which had already been forwarded.

Cit. Marx read a letter from De Paepe of Bruxelles inquiring what had become of the Belgian Secretary, whether he had forwarded all the money collected they 10 had only received 200 fr. & demanding the appointment of a new one. Cit. Marx proposed that Bernard be no longer secretary.

Cit. Jung stated that he had undertaken a commission with Dupont to see him but had not yet met him & did ||18| not know whether Dupont had. It was agreed that Cits. Jung & Dupont be empowered to enquire also about the money.

- 15 Cit. Jung stated that the factory lords of Rouen had appealed to the workpeople to join them in a protest against the continuance of the treaty of commerce with England. The Workpeople had categorically refused. The Dutch branches had announced in their organ the Volksblad that the reorganisation of society required a double struggle social & political. An article in the Egalité 20 suggested the propriety of establishing an English Council to relieve the General Council of some of its work. At Elboeuf only 150 Spinners remained on Strike, at Darnétal 400. The Paris Gilders' Strike continued. Those who had returned to work at an advance gave it for the support of the strike. The Naples section published a paper under the name of Egalité.

- 25 Cit. Marx then opened the debate On the Attitude of the British Government on the Irish question. He said. Political amnesty proceeds from two sources:
1. When a government is strong enough by force of arms & public opinion, when the enemy accepts the defeat as was the case in America then Amnesty is given.
2. When misgovernment is the cause of quarrel & the opposition gains its point as 30 was the case in Austria & Hungary. Such ought to have been the case in Ireland. Both Disraeli & Gladstone have said that the Government ought to do for Ire-

land what in other countries a revolution would do. Bright asserted repeatedly that Ireland would always be ripe for revolution unless a radical change was made. During the election Gladstone justified the Fenian insurrection & said that every other nation would have revolted under similar circumstances. When taunted in the House [of Commons] he equivocated his fiery declarations against the policy of conquest implied that Ireland ought to be ruled according to Irish ideas. To put an end to the policy of conquest he ought to have begun like America & Austria by an amnesty as soon as he became minister. He did nothing. Then the amnesty movement in ||19| Ireland by the municipalities. When a deputation was about to start with a petition containing 200,000 signatures for the release of the 10 prisoners he anticipated it by releasing some to prevent the appearance of giving way to Irish pressure. The petition came, it was not got up by Fenians, but he gave no answer. Then it was mooted in the House that the prisoners were infamously treated. In this at least the English government is impartial it treats Irish & English alike. There is no country in Europe where political prisoners are 15 treated like in England & Russia. Bruce was obliged to admit the fact. Moore wanted an inquiry it was refused. Then commenced the popular amnesty movement at Limerick. A meeting was held at which 30,000 people were present & a memorial for the unconditional release was adopted. Meetings were held in all the towns in the North. Then the great Meeting was announced in Dublin where 20 200,000 people attended. It was announced weeks beforehand for the 10th October. The trade societies wanted to go in procession. On the 8th proclamations were issued prohibiting the procession to go through certain streets. Isaac Butt interpreted it as a prohibition of the procession. They went to Fortescue to ask but he was not at home his secretary Burke did not know. A letter was left to be 25 replied to he equivocated. The government wanted a collision. The procession was abandoned & it was found afterwards that the soldiers had been supplied with 40 rounds of shot for the occasion.

After that Gladstone answered the Limerick memorial of August in a round about way. He says the proceedings varied much. There were loyal people & 30 others who used bad language demanding as a right what could only be an act of clemency. It is an act of presumption on the part of a paid public servant to teach a public meeting how to speak.

The next objection is that the prisoners have not abandoned their designs which were cut short by their imprisonment. How does Gladstone know what 35 their designs were & that they still entertain them. Has he tortured them into a confession? He ||20| wants them to renounce their principles to degrade them morally. Napoleon did [not] ask people to renounce their republican principles before he gave an amnesty & Prussia attached no such conditions.

Then he says the conspiracy still exists in England & America. If it did Scotland Yard would soon be down upon it. It is only disaffection of 700 years standing. The Irish have declared they would receive unconditional freedom as an act of conciliation. Gladstone cannot quell the Fenian conspiracy in America his conduct promotes it. One paper calls him the head centre. He finds fault with the

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press. He has not the courage to prosecute the press he wants to make the prisoners responsible. Does he want to keep them as hostages for the good behaviour of the people outside. He says it has been our desire to carry leniency to the utmost point. This then is the utmost point.

5 When Mountjoy was crowded with untried prisoners Dr. McDonnell wrote letter after letter to Joseph Murray about their treatment. Lord Mayo said afterwards that Murray had suppressed them. McDonnell then wrote to the inspector of prisons to a higher official. He was afterwards dismissed & Murray was promoted.

10 He then says we have advised the minor offenders to be released the principal leaders & organisers we could not set free. This is a positive lie. There were two Americans amongst them who had 15 years each. It was fear for America that made him set them free. Carey was sentenced in 1865 to 5 years he is in the lunatic asylum his family wanted him home he could not upset the government.

15 He further says to rise in revolt against the public order has ever been a crime in this country. Only in this country. Jefferson Davis's revolt was right because it was not against the English [but] the government. He continues, the administration can have no interest except the punishment of crimes. The administration are the servants of the oppressors of Ireland. He wants the Irish to fall on their knees

20 because an enlightened sovereign & parliament have done a great act of justice. They were the ||21| criminals before the Irish people. But the Irish was the only question upon which Gladstone & Bright could become ministers & catch the dissenters & give the Irish place hunters an excuse of selling themselves. The church was only the badge of conquest. The badge is removed but the servitude
25 remains. He states that the government is resolved to continue to remove any grievance but that they are determined to give security to life & property & maintain the integrity of the empire. Life & property are endangered by the English aristocracy. Canada makes her own laws without impairing the integrity of the empire but the Irish know nothing of their own affairs they must leave
30 them to Parliament the same power that has landed them where they are. It is the greatest stupidity to think that the prisoners out of prison could be more dangerous than insulting a whole nation. The old English leaven of the Conqueror comes out in the statement we will grant but you must ask.

In his letter to Isaac Butt he says you remind me that I once pleaded for
35 foreigners. Can the two cases correspond? The Fenians were tried according to lawful custom & found guilty by a jury of their country men. The prisoners of Naples were arrested & not tried & when they were tried they were tried by exceptional tribunals & sentenced by judges who depended upon the government for bread. If a poacher is tried by a jury of country squires he is tried by his
40 countrymen. It is notorious that the Irish juries are made up of purveyors to the castle whose bread depends upon their verdict. Oppression is always a lawful custom. In England the judges can be independent in Ireland they cannot. Their promotion depends upon how they serve the government. Sullivan the prosecutor has been made master of the rolls. To the ancient order of Foresters in Dublin he

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answered that he was not aware that he had given a pledge that Ireland was to be governed according to Irish ideas. And after all this he comes to Guildhall & complains that he is inadequate for the task.

The upshot is that all the tenant right meetings are broken up they want the prisoners [released]. They have broken with the clerical party. They now demand 5 that Ireland is to govern ||2| herself. Moore & Butt have declared for it. They have resolved to liberate O'Donovan Rossa by electing him a member of parliament. Cit. Marx ended by proposing the following resolution:

Resolved:

That in his reply to the Irish demands for the release of the imprisoned Irish 10 patriots (in a reply contained in his letter to Mr. O'Shea d.d. Oct. 18, 1869 & to Mr. Isaac Butt d.d. Oct. 23, 1869) Mr. Gladstone has deliberately insulted the Irish nation; that he clogs political amnesty with conditions alike degrading to the victims of misgovernment & the people they belong to;

That having in the teeth of his responsible position publicly & enthusiastically 15 cheered on the American Slaveholders' Rebellion, he now steps in to preach to the Irish people the doctrine of passive obedience;

That his whole proceedings with reference to the Irish amnesty question are the true & genuine offspring of that "policy of conquest" by the fiery denunciation 20 of which Mr. Gladstone ousted his tory rivals from office;

That the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association express their admiration of the spirited & high souled manner in which the Irish people carry on their amnesty movement;

That this resolution be communicated to all the branches of, & workingmen's bodies connected with, the International Workingmen's Association in Europe & 25 the United States.

Cit. Harris seconded the resolution.

The Chairman thought the discussion had better be postponed till the next week.

Cit. Milner was exceedingly pleased & should like the resolution so amplified 30 as to bring people who had not heard the discussion to understand all. The debate was then adjourned.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

*John Hales, Chairman
J. George Eccarius, Secretary | 35*

Meeting of the General Council November 23, 1869

|23| Meeting of the Council November 23.

Members present. Applegarth, Eccarius, Hales J., Hales W., Harris, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Milner, Mottershead, Odger, Stepney, Townshend.

Cit. Hales in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. A letter was received from the Secretary of the Hatters' Society announcing that a deputation would be received on Friday evening. Cits Jung & Applegarth were appointed to attend. A letter was read from John Smith of Whitechurch Dorset, approving of the nationalisation of the Land, of Odger trying to get in for Southwark & suggesting that if an opening should occur 10 Lucraft & Applegarth ought [to] be put forward.

Cit. Jung read a letter from St. Etienne announcing the establishment of a section consisting of 30 members, organised by Richard of Lyons through whom the contributions were to be forwarded.

Cit. Marx stated that he had received a letter from Hanover where the Engi- 15 neers had been on Strike for six weeks against an increase] of the working day & a reduction of wages. The masters belonged to a labour protection society to guard the workpeople against unionism & the International. An opinion was expressed that under existing circumstances there was no chance of getting any money.

20 Cit. Jung stated that he had seen the bookbinders & that he had received some of their documents for the Leipzig Association. They considered their affiliation to the International as equivalent to a federation with kindred societies affiliated on the Continent.

He further stated that he had missed Bernard but had now appointed a ren- 25 dezvous with him by leaving a note at his House.

The debate on the attitude of the British Government on the Irish question was then resumed.

Cit. Milner said when he had spoken about amplifying the resolution he had not expected that such a report would be published of the discussion as in Rey- 30 nolds's but that was enough.

The resolution was then read from the chair.

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Cit. Odger said it was necessary that no application should be made to a government in the form of a demand. In the ||24| bills calling the Hyde park meeting a demand was made for the unconditional release. I am as much in favour of their release as any one but it is impolitic to proceed in that way it prejudices the case. If this Council had done anything & was called upon to reverse it would treat the demand with contempt. Gladstone came boldly forward with the Churchbill that is a matter of history now & I hope his land bill will be as good as his Church bill. 5

Cit. Jung. Our purpose is not to release the prisoners but to express our opinion on the Conduct of the Government. The first meetings did not make a demand but the minister did not deign to answer their application. The Hyde park meeting for parliamentary reform was a demand Gladstone was not against that. Every thing in this country is carried by pressure from without. When the Russell ministry brought in their little bill they courted pressure. Gladstone & Bright have used strong language. Their election speeches have taught [on]e what Ire- 15 land is. We are not going to petition they have behaved badly.

Cit. Applegarth. Odger simply raises the question whether it is right to use strong language. If we had gone on our knees in the Hydepark affair we would never have got there. We must consider under what circumstances the men were arrested & why they are kept. They have been too long in prison. It is no use to apply soft language the time has come to demand. 20

Cit. Mottershead. I believe all that Applegarth has said & go even farther. I admit the right of insurrection. But the government cannot do what they like only what the country allows. I regret that Englishmen applauded the statements of Dr. Marx as some did last week. Ireland cannot be independent. It lies between 25 England & France if we relinquish our hold it would only be asking the French to walk in. The Irish movement is not of that high souled character the Doctor ascribes to it in the resolution. One thing is wrong altogether if you look to the Times & other papers you will find that the prime minister commenced the 1251 amnesty affair before the Irish moved. Dr. Marx makes it appear that it was a 30 sort of cowardice, fear of America to release the Americans & then he states that America has not been conciliated. I never found the Irish in the field with the English in any movement, but they have often been against us. I remind you of the Garibaldi riots. I am surprised that Napoleon is held up against Gladstone. Dr. Marx forgot that thousands of the French & Hungarians were amnestied by 35 death, in the streets of Paris & at Cayenne. The Austrian Government had 14 Hungarian Generals hung one morning. Robert Blum was shot.

Mr. Gladstone might have played quite a different part if he had chosen. He had sprung from the worst aristocracy in existence the Slave dealers of Liverpool. He became the favourite of Oxford & might have been the favourite of the 40 Aristocracy. His pamphlet on Naples dropped like bomb-shell into the conservative camp. The Naples prisoners were ministers to day & in prison to morrow surely the doctor is not going to compare them with people who came from abroad to create disturbance here? When he got into government he repealed the

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legacy duty & replaced [it] by the succession tax, a tax on land which he acknowledged to be public property.

In 1859 he was one of that masterly inactivity which saved Italy. It is true Italy is not yet a republic but nationality first & freedom after. In 1860 he brought 5 about the commercial treaty with France which tends to create brotherly love & break down national barriers. In the American war it is laid down that he cheered on the Rebellion. He said nothing in the house for the South & nothing against the North only at Newcastle in 1863 he said that Jefferson Davis had created a nation at a time when no one had any idea that the South was as hollow as it 10 afterwards proved to be, & he has since recanted. It has since oozed out that he has always been on the right side in his votes in the cabinet. On the Schleswig Holstein affair he prevented us rushing into war & thereby advanced German unity. With regard to the amnesty affair I wish the prisoners free but I cannot vote for the resolution as it stands.

15 Cit. Milner said Cit. Mottershead has dwelled upon the personal ||26| excellence of Gladstone, he is an excellent man but here we have to deal with him as representing the English policy against the Irish. We must insist that every particular part of the Empire ought to have the same liberty as other parts we must deal equal justice to all. If Ireland was properly treated she would be the right 20 arm of the government. Gladstone may not be able to do differently, he acts in deference to a part of the house to keep his position & it is upon his doings as they are in that position that we have to express an opinion.

Cit. Eccarius said to the Austrian & Italian Governments Garibaldi had been the same as a Fenian to the English Government & he had also come from 25 abroad with arms in his hands. But the English public looked upon the one as a great patriot while they treated the other as a criminal. Gladstone had only raised his voice for the Neapolitan prisoners because they had been swells if they had been workingmen he would not have cared about them.

Cit. Odger objected that Eccarius had not dealt fairly with the case. We owed a 30 certain amount of liberty to Garibaldi. He had nothing to say against the Fenians he got in disgrace for taking their part. His present point was the resolution took too wholesale a denunciation of Gladstone's policy. To release the prisoners was different from a declaration for an agitation.

Cit. Mottershead stated the Irish had thrown stones at the English for being in 35 favour of Garibaldi.

The Chairman said whatever the Irish are the English have made them. If we gave them the same liberties as we have they would be contented, there would be no danger of running away. Cit. Mottershead missed the point of the resolution. Gladstone in his election speeches declared that the Irish were wrongly governed 40 he therefore virtually justified the Fenians. When he got in he did nothing but he insulted the Irish. He rales by officialism. No other Country has made treason felony & this has been done to punish ||27| to put it on a level with ordinary crime.

Cit. Jung said Mottershead took a very narrow national point of view. In Paris thousands had been shot to death, in Ireland hundreds of thousands had been

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starved to death. It is admitted that things are wrong but they are to be remedied according to English views not according to Irish, the English will not do for the Irish what Garibaldi wanted for the Italians. Cit. Odger says we owe a certain amount of liberty to Garibaldi we owe much more to the Fenians. The Clerkenwell affair was certainly a shocking affair but Garibaldi has caused much blood 5 shed & would have caused more if the blowing up of the barracks at Rome had not been prevented. The police were as much to blame in the Clerkenwell affair as anyone.

Cit. Odger. I have been misunderstood. I only said that an act like that necessitates that those who want the prisoners released should take it into consideration. 10

Cit. Marx. Cit. Mottershead has given a history of Gladstone. I could give another but that has nothing to do with the question before us. The petitions which were adopted at the meetings were quite civil but he found fault with the speeches by which they were supported. Castlereagh was as good a man as Glad- 15 stone & I found to day in the political Register that he used the same words against the Irish as Gladstone & Cobbett made the same reply as I have done. When the electoral tour commenced all the Irish candidates spouted about amnesty, but Gladstone did nothing till the Irish municipalities moved. I have not spoken of the people killed abroad because you cannot compare the Hungarian 20 war with the Fenian insurrection. We might compare it with '98 & then the comparison would not be favourable to the English. I repeat that political prisoners are not treated anywhere so bad as in England. Cit. Mottershead is not going to tell us his opinion of the Irish, if he wants to know what other people think of the English let him read Ledru Rollin & other Continental writers. 1 25 have always defended the English & do so still. These resolutions are not to be passed to release the prisoners, the Irish themselves have abandoned that. It is a resolution of sympathy with the Irish & a review of ||28| the Conduct of the Government, it may bring the English & the Irish together. Gladstone has to contend with the opposition of the Times, the Saturday Review &c. if we speak 30 out boldly on the other side we may support him against an opposition to which he might otherwise have to succumb. He was in office during the civil war & was responsible for what the Government did & if the North was low when he made his declaration so much the worse for his patriotism. Cit. Odger is right, if we wanted the prisoners released this would not be the way to do it, but it is more 35 important to make a concession to the Irish people than to Gladstone.

Cit. Odger would prefer a unanimous vote if that could be obtained by a different wording of the resolution without destroying the meaning.

Cit. Marx had no objection to leave out the word deliberately, as a prime minister must necessarily be considered to do everything deliberately. Cit. Harris 40 objected.

The Council adjourned at 11 'At o'clock.

B. Lucraft
J. George Eccarius Secretary. /

Meeting of the General Council November 30, 1869

/28/ Council Meeting November 30.

Members present: Applegarth, Eccarius, Jung, Harris, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Odger, Townshend, Weston.

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

Cit. Jung read a letter from Malon of Paris announcing the foundation of an agricultural labourers branch at Pontoise near Paris consisting at present of 25 members; that he had received good news from Roubaix; that a few of the United Workmen had established a branch at Batignolles & that they nearly 10 numbered 500 members at Paris. They were going to draw up a social reform programme. The present political situation he considered analogous to that in the beginning of June 1848 & November 1851. The bourgeois liberals he stated were so afraid of political liberty that before long they would implore the saviour of society to save them once more. |

15 |29| Cit. Jung read another letter from Bastelica of Marseilles who announced that it was contemplated to federalise 30 Trade Societies & that the first considérant of the International should head the rules. They had sent £40 to Rouen for the men on Strike. The Marseilles papers had been forced by public opinion to engage reporters to report working men's meetings. The Professor he had recommended the other day worked well. He [is] disgusted with politics & complains that the workpeople always ask for help when they are on Strike but when an election comes they vote for the little citizen Kings who are as good socialists as the Bonapartes [are] democrats. Thinks it possible for the next Congress to meet at Paris, & considers it necessary that the Association ought to be prepared with 20 something practical if a revolution breaks out.

Cit. Marx stated that a Congress of political Economists had discussed the labour question & a certain Emerique had recommended the way in which the Belgian Government had acted at Seraing & other places to keep the pretensions of the workpeople in Check.

25 30 Cit. Marx further stated that a member of the Association Grosselin a working man had been elected into the Council of the Canton of Geneva.

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Cit. Marx gave notice that he should call the attention of the Council to the Conduct of the Beehive respecting the reports of the proceedings of the Council.

Cits. Applegarth & Jung reported the result of their attendance on the Committee of the Hatters' Society who had expressed their satisfaction with the proceedings of the International & that they [had] no doubt their society would join. 5

Cits. Lessner & Milner were appointed to wait upon the Tottenham Court Road branch of the Amalgamated Carpenters & Joiners who asked for a deputation with a view to join.

The 1§ of the resolution on the British Government in the Irish amnesty affair was then read. 10

Cit. Odger stated that he had left the paper in which the resolution was printed & had therefore not been able to see what alterations [30] he might consider desirable. Cit. Marx had consented to withdraw the word deliberately. The § was unanimously adopted with that omission.

The 2§ Cit Odger thought ought to be altered so as not to throw the whole blame on Gladstone. He was not quite free but he was better than anyone that had ruled before him. The matter ought to be well considered he should not like the prestige of the Council lost through issuing a condemnatory resolution. Much of his Conduct was due to the old parties from whom he had not yet been able to free himself & Citizen Odger wished that to be stated in the resolution. • 20

Cit. Milner stated the question had been well considered & Gladstone could not be treated differently to any other government.

Cit. Weston said Gladstone's letter implied that the Irish had been wrong while the contrary was the case. Gladstone had never opened his mouth against the execution at Manchester, if Jefferson Davis had been hanged he would not have taken it quiet. Then he had refused a proposition to place all parties on an equal footing for compensation in the Church affair because it would have extended the compensation to the workpeople. He was no better than the Czar, & the International could make no difference between him & others. The Irish would have accepted full amnesty as pledge of sincerity. His policy had not touched the Irish people it had only stirred them up to anger. He heartily supported the resolution. 25 30 35

Cit. Marx said if Odger's suggestions were followed the Council would put themselves on an English party stand point. They could not do that. The Council must show the Irish that they understood the question & the Continent that they showed no favour to the British Government. The Council must treat the Irish like the English would treat the Polish. |

[31] Cit. Lucraft said Gladstone & Bright had only denounced [the Tories] to step into their shoes. If they [had] thrown themselves upon the people they would have been backed against the old parties. If they had remained out of Office the prisoners would have been released by this time. No reforms were of any use the Irish must have Ireland to themselves. The § was carried unanimously. 40

On the 3§ having been read Cit. Odger made some observation to which Cit. Marx replied. It was carried. The remaining §§s were carried without discussion & the secretary was instructed to get them printed & circulate them. 45

Meeting of the General Council November 30, 1869

The Council adjourned 'A past eleven o'clock.

Frid. Lessner Chairman
John George Eccarius Secretary. *I*

Meeting of the General Council December 7, 1869

/31/ Council Meeting December 7.

Members present: Boon, Eccarius, Harris, Jung, Lucraft, Lessner, Weston.

Cit. Lessner in the Chair: The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The secretary read a list of addresses to which he had despatched the Irish resolutions.

5

Cit. Jung handed in the letters from the late Belgian Secretary who had promised to return the subscription sheets at the end of the week.

He further stated that there was some estrangement between the old members of the International & the new of Lyons.

Cit. Jung had seen Shaw who was too ill to attend.

10

Upon a statement of the Secretary Cit. Lucraft proposed & Cit Jung seconded that booksellers be allowed the percentages of the Trade to sell Congress reports at 3 d. each.

The Council adjourned at 10 o'clock.

John Hales Chairman j 15

Meeting of the General Council December 14, 1869

|32| Meeting of the Council December 14

Members present: Eccarius, Hales, John, Hales William, Harris, Jung, Lucraft, Marx, Stepney.

Cit Hales in the Chair: The minutes of the previous Meeting were read & confirmed. A letter from the secretary of the Curriers Society complaining about the Irish resolutions was read.

Cit. Jung read some strictures on the Conduct of the Council from the Egalité, respecting the Irish resolutions, & finding fault that the Resolutions of the Congresses were not carried out, further that it was the duty of the General Council 10 to inform the Association which of the two, Liebknecht or Schweitzer, in Germany were right.

Cit. Marx observed that the paper as such had no right to put such questions. If the Geneva Section required any information or had any complaints to make the secretary of the section must apply to the Council. He further observed that 15 Liebknecht belonged to the Association but Schweitzer did not. Liebknecht had offered to make the Council umpire to decide between him & Schweitzer but the latter had refused.

Cit. Jung stated that the Geneva Section did not employ the Egalité as its medium of communication with the Council, the Article must therefore be taken 20 only as emanating from the writer of it.

Cit. Eccarius stated that the resolution of the Congress to which the complaint of the Egalité had reference contained provisions that the General Secretary was to receive £2 a week & every section should forward a monthly report which reports should form the base of the General Reports, but neither of these conditions had as yet been fulfilled. He moved that the Council should pass to the Order of the day which was agreed to.

Cit. Jung stated that Bernard had not regulated his affairs.

Cit. Marx proposed that the Council at its rising should adjourn to January 4th. He said it would not be advisable to discuss the Irish [question] during the 30 holiday weeks when the attendance of members might be small. He considered the solution of the Irish question as the solution ||3|| of the English & the English

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as the solution of the European. The proposition was agreed to & the standing committee authorised to transact any necessary business in the mean-time.

The Council then adjourned.

John Hales Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary. /

Meeting of the General Council January 4, 1870

/33/ 1870
Council Meeting January 4.

Members present: Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales J., Hales W., Harris, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Milner, Stepney.

5 Cit. John Hales in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The Secretary read a letter from the New Democracy & was authorized to comply with the request of sending a Beehive as a sample. Another letter from Robert Hume of Long Island commenting on the division between the English & the Irish workingmen. Upon the proposition of Citizen Marx seconded 10 by Jung Robert Hume was unanimously appointed correspondent of the Association. The Secretary was instructed to reply to his letter & to inform him of the appointment requesting him to write to the Council on the state of America as often he should deem it advisable. A letter was read from Isaac Butt of Dublin who offered his assistance to bring about a union between the English & the Irish 15 workmen, the Secretary was instructed to reply. In Answer to an application from the executive of the Social Democratic Party of Germany for loans for the miners of Waldenburg, now on Strike, the German Secretary was instructed to reply that it was impossible at present to do anything, & a general instruction was given to the secretaries to state in their correspondence that there was no prospect 20 [of] obtaining pecuniary aid in London under existing circumstances.

3000 Cards requested by the German Social Democratic Committee were ordered to be forwarded.)

1341 Cit. Jung announced that a new paper had been started by the members of the International of Zurich. Amongst the points of their programme were Separation of Church & State, separation of the schools from the Church, gratuitous education in the higher branches of learning, gratuitous care of the sick, nationalisation of the railways, prohibition of children under 12 working in factories, & that from 12 to 16 their hours of labour should be limited to 8 a day & those of adults to 10 & that the factories should be under the supervision of government 25 inspectors. The Progrès of Locle & the Egalité of Geneva were against the programme as being too political they were against politics.

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Cit. Marx observed that the reduction of the hours of labour had been resolved by two our Congresses & it could only be carried out by compelling the existing governments to take it in hand. The Progrès & Egalité had no right to complain.

Cit. Jung further stated that the Bookbinders of Zurich were on strike & the masons of Palma in Spain had joined the International. 5

Cit. Marx announced that the subcommittee had replied to the charges of Egalité. On the part of the subcommittee he proposed Serraillier as Secretary for Belgium. The proposition was carried.

Nomination of Candidates. Cit. Marx proposed & Lessner seconded Charles 10 Pfänder. & W. Hales proposed & Jung seconded Fr. Bradnick.

Cit. Jung then rose & said: "I have rather a sad duty to perform it is to announce the death of one of our members Robert Shaw. He was one of the most honest workers in our cause that ever lived. During the time of the reform movement when almost all our English neglected the Council meetings more or less he 15 was always at his post. On Wednesday I received a letter from his daughter stating that her father was getting worse. Marx & I went to visit him on Thursday. He was sensible & collected & spoke like one who does not expect to live much longer he was fully prepared. On Monday I received a letter that he was dead he died on Friday 15 hours after we saw him. He is to be buried on Wednesday at two o'clock. I think the Council ought to be represented at jj35j the Funeral. Cit. Marx said if Jung would go he was willing to accompany him, Hales & Dupont likewise expressed their willingness.

Cit. Cohn proposed that a deputation be appointed to represent the Council officially & that Cits. Dupont, Hales J., Jung & Marx form the deputation. 25 Carried.

Cit. Marx proposed & Cohn seconded that the General Secretary be directed to write a letter of condolence to Mrs. Shaw & family. Carried.

Cit. Cohn further proposed that the news of Shaw's death be communicated to the Correspondents abroad. Carried. 30

Upon the proposition of Cit. Marx the discussion of the Irish question was adjourned.

Cit. Eccarius announced that the Tottenham Court Road Branch of the Amalgamated Carpenters & Joiners had resolved to join.

Cit W. Hales stated that at the annual meeting of the Elastic Web Weavers at 35 Coventry the London delegates had brought on a motion to affiliate the whole Amalgamation. The resolution had been passed subject to the ratification of the branches. There were five branches & three were known to be in favour, a few weeks would settle it.

Cit. Marx announced that Col Burke had succumbed at last he was dead. The 40 English papers kept silent about him the Irish papers stated that he had been surfeited with mercury.

The Council adjourned at 11 O'clock.

John Hales—Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary. / 45

Meeting of the General Council January 11, 1870

/35/ Meeting of the Council January 11

Members present Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales John, Hales William, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Serraillier, Stepney, Townshend, Weston, Zabicki, Harris.

Cit. John Hales in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. A letter was received from Triest applying for rules & other documents for the information of the Working men's Association of that town. The Secretary was instructed to [36] reply & forward documents. A letter from Hoboken New York announced the affiliation of the German Labor Union of that place, enclosing \$2 as Contribution. The affiliation was ratified.

10 A letter from Neuville-sur-Saone renewed the application of the Cotton printers on Strike for assistance. The Secretary was instructed to put himself in Communication with the Manchester correspondent respecting the strike.

Cit. Bastelica of Marseilles wrote that he had opened a subscription for Cit. Odger, & mentioned several places where affiliations were in prospect.

15 Cit. Johne from the Surgical Instrument Makers of Paris applied for advice to obtain aid for those on Strike. The Council agreed to assist by applying to the kindred trades at Sheffield.

A letter from the Geneva Committee stated that the section did not approve of the proceedings of the Egalité. The Council had judged rightly when it had rejected the propositions of the Alliance Démocratique. The Alliance did not form part of the Geneva section it acted by itself. Seven members of the Editorial Committee had resigned & the resignation accepted.

Cit. Cohn stated that the proposition of the Cigarmakers withdrawing from the International had been fully discussed & rejected by an immense majority.

25 Cit. Weston gave notice of a motion to discuss the question of free-trade & its effects.

The Secretary was authorised to procure 1,000 sheets of Note paper with printed headings.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

30

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G.E. Harris

J. George Eccarius Sec. I

Meeting of the General Council January 18, 1870

|37| Meeting of the Council January 18.

Members present: Dupont, Eccarius, Hales J., Hales W., Harris, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Mottershead, Weston, Zabicki.

Cit. Harris in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. A letter was read from J. W. Gregory of New York inviting Englishmen to become Colonists in Florida. The Secretary was authorised to publish the letter. 5

A letter was reported from A. Goegg at Geneva respecting the payment of contributions the Swiss Secretary was instructed to enquire of Ph. Becker whether Goeggs statement was correct. 10

Cit. Carl Pfänder & Fred. Bradnick were elected as members of the Council & Cit. Schmutz was admitted as delegate of the Helvetia.

Cit. Jung stated that Marx was too ill to attend, that Serraillier had illness in the House & that Boon was lecturing somewhere.

The Naples Section had sent 12 /. to Germany & the Jewellers of Pfortzheim 15 had 147 I. 10 s. for the Miners of Waldenburg.

Cit. Spier of Wolfenbuttel had written him a very pressing letter about the miners' strike, the General Secretary was instructed to apply to the various miners' Associations of this Country.

Cit. Weston then opened the discussion of Free Trade & its Effects. He said, as 20 far as the controversy has been reopened it has all turned upon protection. We are all free traders in buying but protectionists in what we make. The free trade orators used to make such glowing speeches, but if we compare them with the existing state of things we find that their expectations have not been realised. Bright in his speech at Birmingham stated that alongside of the educational 25 question the Commercial treaty with France had been feebly discussed, & that the time was passed for discussing that question the free trade question had been discussed from 1840 to 1850. My reply to that is that the length of the discussion is no guarantee that the truth has been arrived at. He further stated that many people of the present day were not aware how completely the free trade question 30 had been settled twenty years ago. Many questions ||38| have been considered

Meeting of the General Council January 18, 1870

completely settled that became unsettled by the light of subsequent experience proving that their settlement rested upon erroneous conclusions. I would not like to stand up for protection but I should be afraid to defend free trade. Bright says knaves & fools talk about Reciprocity because protection has a bad name. But 5 why do non-producers desire free trade? If not in order to make a profit out of other people's labour? To bring things from abroad because they are cheaper than they can be made at home is only done because they yield a larger profit it is filching. The conservatives think they profit by protection therefore they favour protection. If it rested with the producers & it was found that an article could not 10 be produced at home such as tea & we exchanged it for something else that would not be free trade. Suppose two counties, say Kent & Cornwall, had each produced all it required for its own use but that Kent had particular facilities for producing food & Cornwall for manufactures. There might be an advantage in exchanging products. But in both places the capitalists are owners of the materi- 15 als & they buy what they require where it is cheapest. By buying their fabrics in Cornwall the Kent consumers throw part of their producers out of work & throw more out of work than the increased demand in Cornwall will employ. The rich make a saving which they may employ partly in a reproductive way partly in Luxury. The rich will buy everything for less than they used to do therefore the 20 poor cannot get more nor as much as before. Free trade then is a great benefit to the non-producers but none at all if not an injury to the producers. Richard Cobden wanted every man to be at full work & well paid how is that possible if we buy everything where it can be had for the least. Free trade is like pugilism every manufacturer is on the others throat to strangle him it is fight in which 25 many scramble for prizes that can only be won by a few.

Cit. Hales J. said I have certain principles on my own mind but I want various views evolved in the discussion. I should like some one to move the adjournment to resume at our next meeting. [

|39| Cit. Eccarius moved the adjournment of the debate.

30 Cit. Milner avowed himself a Free trader in the fullest sense of the word, until now the question had only been discussed in the sense of the Manchester School.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

*John Hales—Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary I*

Meeting of the General Council January 25, 1870

/39/ Council Meeting January 25

Members present Bradnick, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales J., Hales W., Jung, Lessner, Milner, Parnell, Rühl, Schmutz, Stepney, Weston.

Cit. J. Hales in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The Secretary announced the receipt of a letter from Manchester 5 promising to bring the application of the stuff printers of Neuville sur Saône under the notice of the proper parties.

Cit. Jung stated that Marx had received a letter from the Engineers of Hanover who wished to enter into connection with the English Engineers he proposed that a deputation should wait on the Council of the Engineers. The proposition was 10 carried & Jung, Applegarth, & Eccarius were appointed to form the deputation.

A letter from Marseilles announced that the federalized trades of that town had guaranteed a loan to the polishers to the amount of 1,500 francs in bonds of one franc each.

A letter from Brussels announced the declaration of affiliation of a trade Society of Rheims & asking the Council to send the deed of affiliation but not publicly. Cit. Dupont was instructed to respond. 15

Cit. Dupont [proposed] that any society in France nominating a corresponding secretary to correspond with the General Council should be held as de facto affiliated. Carried. 20

Cit. Jung proposed that a letter should be sent to Italy to remind the members there that they had not yet fulfilled the conditions of membership. Carried, j

[40] Cit. Lessner had received a letter from Basle applying for reports of co-operative or benefit societies. Cit. Hales thought he could supply some.

It was announced that Cit. Combault had formed a section of the International- 25 al at Paris.

Cit. Eccarius then resumed the discussion on the Effects of free trade, which after a few remarks from Cits. Milner & Jung was again adjourned on the motion of Cit. J. Hales.

Cit. Schmutz announced that the Helvetia was going to hold a festival meeting 30 on Friday February 4th to which the members of the Council were invited.

Geo. E. Harris. Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary. /

Meeting of the General Council February 1, 1870

/40/ Meeting of the Council. February 1.

Members present: Bradnick, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales W., Harris, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Riihl, Stepney, Serraillier, Schmutz, Parnell.

Cit. Harris in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The secretary announced the receipt of a letter from Manchester advising to write to the Cotton-Printers' Society at Salford respecting the Strike of Neuville sur Saône.

Cit. Jung [stated] that Applegarth had not yet had time to arrange the deputation to the Engineers.

10 He had received the report of the secretary for Switzerland on the proceedings of the Congress. Cit. Perret states that the collectivists had had the best on the land question & converted him. The central Council for Switzerland had appointed a new staff for the management of the Egalité.

Cit. Serraillier had received a letter from Brussels. The Belgian Council 15 proved the answer of the General Council to the attacks in the Egalité.

Cit. J. Hales being absent on account of illness. Mr. Milner ||41| resumed the debate on the Effects of Free trade. He said it is a question that everybody seems to know all about but when it comes to a discussion nobody knows anything. I contend that we never have had free trade. If production was set entirely free we 20 would naturally turn to exchange everything from where it is best. Can anything be more simple than every producer should produce & exchange with the utmost freedom. The free traders have gone a little way towards it but under existing circumstances it all turns against the workman. What we want to find out is how we can make machinery useful for the working classes we have not done anything 25 yet in that direction we have not even yet a principle or an international price list. Before we can do anything we must know the value of labour & have complete freedom of Exchange. At present we are hampered in every direction. The little producer cannot stand against the large one, we must enable the little one to have a fair chance. Until you have settled in your mind by what process this can be 30 brought about you will not arrive at any practical result.

I should like Cit. Jung's opinion on the special question of the watch trade, some say the English could produce as cheaply as the Swiss if they liked others maintain the Contrary.

Cit. Jung said. I consider the English system wrong. The Swiss have made their watches to sell the English have treated them like a scientific apparatus for keeping time & they stick to that system in the commonest kind. In Switzerland a great deal of machinery is used which even the largest manufacturers in this country will not purchase. In Switzerland the workmen get a great many watches of the same size & kind at a time which is never the case in this country. They carry on the same system as a hundred years ago & as long as that is persevered in they will not be able to compete with the Swiss. There are many clever workmen here but they can only do one particular thing if they are required to do anything different they come to a dead lock. The English watchmaker earns 10 comparatively less than the Swiss. The English watches used to be very unsightly things that nobody would wear for show they have made great progress [42] lately & the Swiss make progress in time keeping. About 95 out [of] every hundred watches worn in this Country are Swiss. Those imported from France are made by Swiss who have settled there. But the Swiss cannot compete with the English 15 in the high priced watches. An English £20 watch cannot be equalled in Switzerland & cannot be made for the same price.

Cit. Bradnick said I should like to say a few words respecting the Ribbon trade. The English are in the same way as in the watch trade. Our goods were heavier & more durable the French looked better & required less Silk & the ladies preferred 20 the French. The English had to label their goods French to sell them. Great improvements have been made but we are not yet up to the French but the distance that separates us has been considerably shortened.

Cit. W. Hales said the French are far ahead in figured Ribbons & in dyes. Free trade has injured the English but not to the extent they pretend it is more used as 25 a lever to reduce wages. The workmen of St. Etienne complain the same as here who is the injured party then. When the treaty came into operation there was enough stock in Coventry to last for years & as the manufacturers had made up their minds to be ruined it was thrown in the market at once. Besides by the introduction of the steamloom one man can do as much as four used to do with 30 the handloom. Through the American war the French markets were closed so that a double stock was thrown upon the English market.

Cit. Harris said he was in favour of reciprocity to exchange equal values of labour. The Manchester school leaves the labourer out of the question. The root of the evil was at work before Free trade was introduced. We were told that 20 35 masters would look after one man the emigration movement is the answer to that. Figures are delusive Exports & Imports are no indication to the people's wellbeing.

Pauperism & Crime had increased since the establishment of Free trade the workpeople are in a bad state everywhere. [44] [We must] have nothing to do with 40 either free traders or protectionists.

Chairman J. Cohn
J. George Eccarius Secretary I

Meeting of the General Council February 8, 1870

/43/ Meeting of the Council Feb. 8.

Members present: Dupont, Cohn, Eccarius, Harris, Jung, Milner, Serraillier, Weston. Cit. Cohn in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & with the rectification of an omission confirmed.

- 5 A letter from Geneva stated that the questions asked the other day in the Egalité had not proceeded from the section but only from the editors, & that the section had protested against the attack. The Progrès was not the paper of the section. The same Congress that had appointed the federal Committee had also appointed the staff of the Egalité but this momentary abdication of the functions
10 of the federal Comité was now at an end the Committee would manage the paper themselves. Robin & Perron had tried to kill the paper. The section had full confidence in the General Council, & was satisfied with the reasons given for not publishing a bulletin. They wished to know if Council was satisfied with their explanation, it was unanimously agreed that the explanation was satisfactory.
- 15 A letter from Paris was received containing an application for the affiliation of the Prolétaires Positivistes Society which was ratified. It was further stated that many sections were being reorganised, that a new one was to be established at St. Denis & that as soon as they were in working order they would form a central Committee to facilitate the Correspondence. The police had not troubled them
20 lately.

Credentials were asked for Johannard & Combault which were unanimously granted on the proposition of Cit. Dupont seconded by Cit. Jung. |

- |44| A letter from Amsterdam, accompanied by a draft of rules, for the establishment of a Central Committee connected with the Trade Societies was received,
25 & the opinion of the Council asked upon the rules.

Cit. Jung & Serraillier were instructed to examine them.

- Cit. Cohn made a statement respecting an intended strike by the Cigar makers of Belgium & the importation of Belgian workmen to supply work under shop price. The board of management had drawn up an address to the Belgians which
30 they wished to communicate to the Council & have translated, but not gratuitously. Cit. Walker the Secretary of the Cigar Makers Association read the ad-

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dress which was generally approved of. Cit. Eccarius & Jung undertook the Translation.

Cit. Milner gave notice that he would move on some future occasion that the desirability of making an International Price Book to promote direct exchanges between organised bodies of workingmen be considered.

The Council then adjourned.

Chairman G. Milner
J. George Eccarius Secretary. *I*

Meeting of the General Council February 15, 1870

/44/ Meeting of the Council February 15.

Members present: Dupont, Eccarius, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Riihl, Serraillier, Townshend, Weston.

Cit. Milner in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

Cit. Dupont had received a long letter from Lyons but had not had time to read it yet. It had reference to a difference existing amongst the older & the younger members of the Association in that town. It was agreed to hand the matter over to the subcommittee to report upon.

10 A protest against the proceedings of the French Government in the Rochefort affair, published by the Paris members of the Association, was communicated.

Cits Dupont & Serraillier thought the movement to erect barricades had been spontaneous. |

15 |45| Cit. Riihl presented Credentials as delegate from the German Arbeiter Bildungs-Verein. He was admitted.

Cit. Dupont had received copies of a new paper published by the Rouen section under the title of La Reforme Sociale. To evade the depositing of Caution money arrangements had been made to print it in Belgium. £700 had been collected for the weavers on Strike.

20 There seemed to be no inclination to make progress in the matter of an international price-book & the Council adjourned.

B. Lucraft Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary. I

Meeting of the General Council February 22, 1870

/45/ Meeting of the Council February 22.

Members present: Dupont, Eccarius, Hales J., Harris, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Riihl, Serraillier, Stepney, Townshend, Weston, Lucraft.

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. Letters were received from Sheffield stating that the surgical instrument makers' Society was dissolved; from Mr. Gregory of Florida announcing his intention of coming to England to engage emigrants; from R. Hume of Long Island on the labour movement in America; from Neumayr of Vienna asking advice about the trial in which [he] was involved. 5

The last letter was referred to the subcommittee.

10

A letter was also received from the Council of the Sunday League applying for rent. The secretary was instructed to send a suitable reply & state the reasons why the rent had accumulated.

Cit. Jung read extracts from papers to the effect that the dwellings of all the Paris members who signed the declaration about the Rochefort affair had been 15 searched & that a warrant was issued against Combault. At Johannard's letters from Dupont had been found which the papers stated gave evidence of a conspiracy against the emperor. The Engineer Mégy who had shot the policeman had been in possession of a ball ticket to the Tuileries.

At Naples a search had been made at the meeting ||46| place of the International- 20 al for papers, without a search warrant being produced by the police officer. The president, secretary, & a lawyer who had protested against it as illegal had been arrested. The Association consisted of 3,000 members & had existed 2 years without ever interfering in Politics.

The Réveil contained a paragraph from a Spanish paper according to which 25 the Governments of Austria, Italy, & France are going to take rigorous measures against the International. The Madrid section has entered an action for libel against a paper that accuses the association there of getting money from abroad to create disorder.

Cit. Jung stated that he had seen the secretary of the City-Branch of the 30 Shoemakers, they were in a bad state, but would soon pay their contributions.

Meeting of the General Council February 22, 1870

Cit. Milner moved & Townshend seconded that the secretaries be instructed to appeal to the affiliated societies at home & abroad for contributions. Carried unanimously.

The International Price Book motion was again adjourned.

A.A. Walton Chairman
John George Eccarius Sec. /

Meeting of the General Council March 1, 1870

/46/ Council Meeting March 1.

Members present: Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Ruhl. Walton, West-on.

Cit. Walton in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

5

A letter from Paris announced the establishment of a German Section at Paris. In answer to an inquiry contained in the letter it was resolved that the Section should correspond directly with the General Council.

Cit. Dupont stated Varlin had been released from prison.

Cit. Jung stated that at Besançon subscriptions had been collected for la Re-forme Sociale & a section of the Association had been established. At Lille & Roubaix sections had likewise been established. ||47| More searches had been made. The German Socialists of Paris had protested against Varlin's arrest.

Cit. Lintern attended from the Tottenham Court Road branch of the Amalgamated Carpenters & Joiners. He was unanimously admitted.

15

Cit. Dupont excused the absence of Serraillier & Jung that of Marx. The subcommittee was summoned to meet on Saturday. The Council then adjourned.

J. Cohn Chairman
J. George Eccarius Sec. /

Meeting of the General Council March 8, 1870

/47/ Meeting of the Council March 8

Members present: Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Stepney, Serraillier, Townshend.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

- 5 A letter was received from the American correspondent R. Hume containing the writers views on the labour question.

A letter from the Velvet Weavers of Lyons made application for particulars respecting the same trade in London & wished to enter into correspondence with the London Velvet Weavers. Cits. Hales & Milner were appointed to wait on the 10 Velvet Weavers.

A letter was received from Cit. Richard of Lyons announcing that a great delegate meeting was to be held on the 13, & asked for 3,000 Cards. Cit. Dupont was instructed to send the Cards.

The Subcommittee made the following report:

- 15 Citizens! The Lyonese section of the International Workingmen's Association, in virtue of a resolution passed at the Congress of Basle 1869, to the effect that the General Council shall act as umpire in cases where differences arise between members of the Association, has appealed to the Council to decide between Albert Richard on one side & Schettel, Cormier, A. Blanc, Chanoz & Vindry on 20 the other side the latter being members of ||48| the old section of Lyons.

The General Council having examined the documents sent by that section declares the accusations made to be without the least foundation & confirms the verdict of the two special Commissions appointed on that subject: the first at the Congress of Lausanne 1867, & the second at Geneva 1869, & maintains Albert 25 Richard in the post of corresponding secretary of the International Workingmen's Association, conformably to the rules & regulations.

Considering also that the call made by the old members upon the radical burgesses to give a decision in this case which ought only to have been known to the members of the Association is contrary to the rules, spirit, & interest of the 30 Association & of a nature of profiting the enemies; the General Council censures energetically the conduct of the old members of the section.

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The General Council takes advantage of the position in which it is placed by this misunderstanding to remind all the members of the Association that before any publication or any public action it should be apprised of it, as this mode of proceeding is calculated to excite personal animosities which should be carefully avoided at all times, & produces divisions in our ranks, & can only be useful to 5 our adversaries at a time when all the activity, all the strength & all the energy of our members should be concentrated for the speedy triumph of the principles of the International Workingmen's Association.

The report was unanimously adopted & the Council adjourned.

Tho. Mottershead. March 15th. 10
John George Eccarius |

Meeting of the General Council March 15, 1870

|49| Meeting of the Council March 15.

Members present: Dupont, Eccarius, Hales J., Jung, Lessner, Lintern, Lucraft, Marx, Milner, Mottershead.

Cit. Mottershead in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read
5 & confirmed. A letter was received from the editor of the Beehive repudiating the charge of the Secretary that Mr. Hume's letter in the report of the previous week had been burked.

A letter was received from the Secretary of the Prolétaires Positivistes of Paris containing the Conditions of admission to the society. They admit no royalists,
10 no theologians, no metaphysicians, no doctrine which is not based on demonstrable laws. They profess to be Republican Socialists. They contend that wealth is of social origin but in its appropriation private rights must be respected. They aim at social regeneration without God or King & hope to bring it about by the propagation of the positivist doctrine.

15 Cit. Marx said they were against every religion but Comte's but their rules were too exclusive & contrary to the General Rules of the Association.

Cit. Lucraft enquired why they had been asked those particulars.

Cit. Dupont replied that they had been asked for their rules & bye laws & this was the answer.

20 Cit. Milner proposed that Cit. Dupont be instructed to point out the discrepancy in his reply.

Cit. Marx, Mottershead & others were against admitting them as positivists.

Cit. Dupont considered them wrong but thought it would be impolitic to refuse their admission as they took an active part in the movement.

25 Upon reference to the minutes it was stated that they had already been admitted. Cit. Milner's proposition was then agreed to.

A letter from Cit. Varlin stated that the Association was being resuscitated at Paris. There were now five trade societies that j|50| had adhered, & Cit. Durand was endeavouring to form a jewellers' section because the whole society will not 30 join. Cit. Varlin had been delegated by the Paris members to attend the meeting at Lyons. It had been agreed to federalise the Paris Sections. He had been imprisoned 14 days & let loose again without having been asked a single question.

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Cit. Lucraft gave notice that he would bring on the question of La Branche française for consideration at a future meeting.

A long conversation then ensued respecting the velvet trade after which the Council adjourned.

J. Cohn
John George Eccarius Secretary /

Meeting of the General Council March 22, 1870

/50/ Council Meeting March 22.

Members present: Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Mottershead, Rühl, Serraillier, Weston.

Cit. Cohn in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

A letter from the German Section of Paris was received applying for cards & the English Labour Organ. The Secretary was instructed to reply & refer to Pindy for cards.

Another letter was received from the German Section of New York containing certain suggestions. It was agreed to refer the letter to the German Secretary for America.

Cit. Jung read a letter from Ph. Becker of Geneva, who stated that he had joined the editorial staff of the *Egalité* to prevent mischief. He felt rather annoyed at the questions put to him by the Swiss Secretary which he designated the pupil catechising the Schoolmaster. He had been told by the Paris [German] section that the Council had ordered to correspond with London which he interpreted as trying to discard him. Cit. Jung observed that the Paris correspondent had not informed Becker that he had enquired whether they might correspond with London. The Secretary was instructed to mention it in his reply to Paris & Cit. Jung in his reply to Becker. Ph. Becker further stated that he had never received any money from Goegg for the ||51| General Council, & only last month £2 for the Geneva Committee, he thought there was an intrigue going on.

A letter from Geneva announced the formation of a Russian Section & applied for its affiliation. The spreading of the International movement into Russia, it was stated, would be an effectual check to Panslavism. The preliminary work had so far succeeded that correspondences had been entered into with Poles, Czechs, & Slavonians. The Section desired Cit. Marx to become their representative at the Council because the practical character of the movement was so similar in Germany & Russia; the writings of Marx were so generally known & appreciated by the Russian youth, & he had always exposed the sinister proceedings of the so called Russian Patriots. On no account would they accept any Russian resident

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of London for their representative. The Section does not agree with Bakounin. They are going to expose such as advocate one principle in the West & another in the East.

The affiliation was unanimously carried.

A letter from Paris announced the adhesion of the Lithographic printers' society, numbering 350 members & the voting of the contributions out of the funds. The Addresses of the trade [societies] of Vienna, Berlin, & London were desired to enter into correspondence for the purpose of arranging a uniform tariff. 5

The Secretary was instructed to write to the London compositors to ascertain particulars. 10

The Tinplate workers of Paris numbering 250 members also announced their adhesion. The affiliations were unanimously carried.

General Cluseret of New York was appointed Correspondent of the Association.

Letters were also received from Richard of Lyons & Bastelica of Marseilles 15 stating that the meeting of the 13. instant had been a great success.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

B. Lucraft Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary |

Meeting of the General Council March 29, 1870

|52| Meeting of the Council March 29.

Members present: Dupont, Eccarius, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Lintern, Lucraft, Riihl, Serraillier, Stepney, Townshend.

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

A letter from the German Labour Union of New York applied for Congress reports & Rules.

A letter from Basle announced that the various sections of that town, with the exception of the Mother section, had merged into one but that section stands out 10 to the grief of the rest, who desire them to be excluded. The Swiss secretary was instructed to refer them to the central committee of Switzerland, whose duty it was to enquire into the matter & report to the Council.

A letter from Barcelonette applied for Credentials for Cit. to establish a section in that town. The Applicant stated that he was an old member of the 15 Marseilles Sailors' Society, that he was now a professor of physics in the employment of government having chosen that in preference to becoming a soldier. His principles had brought about his transposition from Marseilles to Barcelonette which was a step downward. There was [no] special industry in the town only artisans & rural labourers. The Credentials were granted.

20 Cit. Jung announced that a Congress was to be held of the romandes sections of Switzerland & a Spanish Congress at Madrid. He proposed that Cit. Serraillier write to Madrid to remind the Section that they had not yet conformed to the rules. Cit. Dupont seconded. Carried.

A unanimous vote expressing the sympathy of the Council with Cit. Marx on 25 account of his continued illness was passed.

The Council [adjourned] at a quarter past 10 o'clock.

John Hales—Chairman
John George Eccarius Secretary. I

Meeting of the General Council April 5, 1870

/52/ Meeting of the Council April 5.

Members present: Dupont, Eccarius, Hales J., Hales W., Jung, Lessner, Maurice, Milner, Mottershead, Serraillier, Stepney, Townshend. j

1531 Cit. J. Hales in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. A letter was received from the Sunday League renewing the application for arrears of rent. 5

A letter from the Painters society of Paris, numbering 500 members, applied for affiliation.

A letter from Besançon applied for rules.

A letter from Brest announced the formation of a section consisting of 10 14 Members & applied for affiliation. Constant Ledoré Correspondent.

A letter from Paris announced that a mutual credit section was in course of formation.

The affiliations were ratified & the Correspondents admitted.

Cit. Eccarius announced that Neumayr of Vienna Newtown had been acquitted. 15

Cit. Petersen of the Paris German Section was present & stated that he was about to go to Denmark on a visit. On the proposition of Cit. Lessner Credentials were unanimously granted to establish sections or Correspondences as he might deem advisable. 20

Cit. Jung stated that the Engineers were willing to receive a deputation on Thursday night. As the Secretary was not able to attend that night Cit. Dupont was appointed in his place.

Respecting the financial affairs Cit. Jung proposed that Cit. Dupont should write to Paris, & Cit. Serraillier volunteered to write to Brussels. Cit. Jung further suggested that the Congress Programme might be drawn up & sent out which would be an inducement for the sections to bring up their Contributions. 25

Cit. Milner considered that the best proposition of all.

Cit. Hales was for a financial statement being drawn up as to the indispensable expenditure & gave notice that he would move that a finance committee be appointed on the next meeting night. 30

Meeting of the General Council April 5, 1870

The Council adjourned at half past 10

H. Jung. Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary |

Meeting of the General Council April 12, 1870

[54] Meeting of the Council April 12.

Members present: Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Pfänder, Serraillier.
Cit. Jung in the Chair. The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

A letter from Varlin of Paris announced that he had been to Lille to inaugurate 5
a trade union organisation under the auspices of the Association. The various
trade societies would be directed by a federal Council.

The commercial employees of Dijon had announced their adhesion to the
Association in letter to Varlin.

Cit. Jung had received a long letter from La Chaux de Fonds announcing a 10
split at the Congress. In Consequence of a majority having voted for the admis-
sion of the social democratic alliance of Geneva the Geneva & La Chaux de
Fonds delegates had withdrawn & continued the Congress by themselves. The
reading of the letter was postponed & Cit. Jung instructed to write to both parties
for full particulars.

Cit. Marx had received an application for Credentials from Rotterdam the
applicant accused some one to act with false credentials.

Cit. Marx further announced that complaints were made by members of the
Association abroad about the conduct of the Beehive & gave notice to bring the
matter on for Consideration at the next meeting. 20

On the recommendation of Cit. Lafargue Cit. Marx proposed that Credentials
be given to Henri Verlet of Paris, who is editor of a free thought Journal. Carried.

Cit. Dupont called the attention of the Council to the severe sentences passed
upon the miners imprisoned in Consequence of the strike at Creusot, & proposed
that the Council should issue an address. The proposition was carried & Cits 25
Marx & Dupont appointed to draw up the address.

Cit. Jung reported the interview with the Council of the Amalgamated j
1551 Engineers. The Council was willing to enter into communications with the
Engineers of Germany & France & desired particulars as to the state & admin-
istration of the Engineers' Societies in the respective countries. The Council had 30
agreed to forward the particular questions to be replied to in writing.

Meeting of the General Council April 12, 1870

The secretaries for France & Germany were instructed to apply for the particulars.

Cit. Jung thought that a little more caution should be used in future in giving credentials than had been used in the case of citizen Petersen. The secretary stated
5 that Cit. Petersen was an old adherent of the socialist party, he was a member of the German Branch of Paris & was going on a visit to Copenhagen where he might open communications that were much required.

The Council adjourned at 4^e past 10 o'clock.

10

Chairman John Weston
J. G. Eccarius Secretary I

Meeting of the General Council April 19, 1870

/55/ Meeting of the Council April 19

Members present: Dupont, Eccarius, Harris, Jung, Marx, Maurice, Stepney, Serraillier, Weston.

Cit. Weston in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. A letter was received from the New York Correspondent Hume accompanied by a memorial asking for the appointment of special representatives for the different nationalities in various countries. 5

Cit. Marx disagreed with the memorial as the different nationalities were represented on the Council & the rest must be left to the correspondents of the association. 10

The letter pointed out that the trade union movement tended to assume the form of secret societies in the United States: This was confirmed by a letter from the German correspondent of New York who appealed to the Council to interfere by trying to dissuade Hume & Jessup from ||56| taking part in it.

It was agreed that the Council was, under existing circumstances, not in a position to decide upon the merits of the question but that the secretary should solicit information as to what was the cause that necessitated secret societies in America. 15

Cit. Jung announced that the new party in Switzerland had established a newspaper & styled themselves the real party. There were some discrepancies between 20 the statements of the two parties. He had received a long letter from the old Swiss secretary who had withdrawn from the Committee. The constituency of the new committee numbered about 600 that of the Geneva committee about 2,000 members.

Cit. Serraillier announced the receipt of a letter from Brussels stating that it 25 had been delayed on purpose of accompanying it with part of the contributions but the money had not yet come in. There was no resolution respecting the French Branch on the Congress minutes. Cit. Marx gave notice to call the attention of the Council to the Conduct of the Beehive.

Cit. Charles Murray was admitted as delegate from the West End Bootcloser. 30

Meeting of the General Council April 19, 1870

Cit. Flourens & Lullier were nominated by Dupont & Serraillier.
The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

John Hales. Chairman
J. George Eccarius Gen. Sec. /

Meeting of the General Council April 26, 1870

/56/ Meeting of the Council April 26

Members present: Applegarth, Boon, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales J., Jung, Milner, Mottershead, Pfänder, Rühl, Lessner, Marx, Serraillier, Stepney.

Cit. Hales in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. 5

Cit. Marx announced that the Dutch & the Flemish Sections had held ||5| a Congress & that the Association was spreading in Holland.

Cit. Jung announced that he had received a letter from Guillaume stating that all the particulars would appear in the solidarity & expressing a hope that the Council would not decide hastily. 10

A letter from Cit. Petersen of Copenhagen announced the foundation of a Democratic Society which might become a section of the International. Documents were asked for & a wish expressed to appoint Cit. Cohn Corresponding Secretary for Denmark.

A letter from Cit. Bastelica of Marseilles announced the establishment of new 15 sections in the Department of the Var, at Cogolin, Gonfaron, La Garde-Freinet, Collobrières.

An address from the Paris Painters to the London Painters was received. Cit. Jung proposed that a deputation should wait on the London Painters to present the Address. The proposition was agreed to & Cits. Applegarth, Hales, & Jung 20 were appointed as the deputation.

Cit. Dupont announced that the Paris Sections had reestablished their Central Committee who had issued an address against the Plebiscite. Among the names attached to the address were those [of] Camelinat, Combault, Franquin, Lafargue, Reymond, Berthomieu. 25

Cit. Marx proposed that the Council should cut off all connections with the Beehive. He said it had suppressed our resolutions & mutilated our reports & delayed them so that the dates had been falsified, even the mention that certain questions respecting the Irish prisoners were being discussed had been suppressed. Next to that the tone of the Beehive was contrary to the rules & platform of 30

Meeting of the General Council April 26, 1870

the Association. It preached harmony with the Capitalists & the Association had declared war against the Capitalists' rule. Besides this our branches abroad complained that by sending our reports to the Beehive we gave it a moral support & led people to believe that we [§§] endorsed its policy. We would be better without 5 its publicity than with it. On the Irish Coercion-bill it had not said a word against the Government.

Cit. Mottershead said the sooner every honest man cut the Beehive the better. He seconded the proposition.

Cit. Jung said he had been ashamed to send it abroad. He had often been 10 asked how it was that the Beehive was so far behind. It perverted the labour movement. He wished that the break should be made public. One thing was rather awkward, it was that some members of the Council belonged to the Beehive Committee as well & if a declaration was published against the Beehive their position would become untenable either in one place or the other.

15 Cit. Applegarth thought he had a bad case in hand. Some time ago a change of proprietorship had occurred & the paper had been offered to the Labour Representation League to manage it as it liked. He had thought it might yet be a good paper & through that his name had got on the Committee but he valued his connection with the International far too much not to cheerfully resign his post 20 on the Beehive.

Cit. Milner thought it was below the dignity of the Council as an international body to entertain the question of the policy of the Beehive.

Cit. Mottershead entertained all the contempt that Milner did but the break must be made public on account of the Association abroad. He confirmed Cit. 25 Applegarth's statements as to getting his name on the Beehive Committee. The outside public, he said, never think & they look upon the Beehive as the working-men's paper. It used to be milk & water, the milk has evaporated it is only water now.

Cit. Milner said if it was to be made public a simple resolution would not do 30 the reasons ought to be given.

The proposition was unanimously carried.

Upon the proposition of Citizen Applegarth, it was unanimously resolved that Cit. Marx should draw up a declaration for publication & submit it at the next meeting. |

35 [§§] Cit. Marx desired that the issuing of an address concerning the Creusot trials should be postponed. From everywhere money was sent, & it would have a bad effect if London sent only words. Agreed.

The Secretary mentioned that a notice to appoint a finance committee had not been considered at a previous meeting.

40 Cits. Mottershead & Hales spoke in favour of such a committee to procure the necessary funds.

Cit. Applegarth moved & Lessner seconded that a finance committee be appointed. Carried. It was further unanimously resolved that Cit. Mottershead, Lucraft, & Harris be the finance committee.

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The Council adjourned at half past 10 o'clock.

R. Applegarth Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary. /

Meeting of the General Council May 3, 1870

/59/Meeting of the [Council] May 3.

Members present: Cohn, Dupont, Applegarth, Eccarius, Hales John, Hales Wil., Harris, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Rühl, Lucraft, Murray, Stepney, Townshend.

Cit. Applegarth in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. A letter was read from Cit. Stepney stating that as the secretary's salary was very small & as it was desirable that the Council should have a place where all the documents of the Association could be deposited he should make a donation of £10 to the funds. A second letter from Cit. Stepney announced that in consequence of the occurrences at Paris he should resign his office as treasurer.

10 The secretary added that Cit. Stepney had verbally stated to him that he considered impolitic that a man of his social position should occupy so prominent a place in a workingmen's Association, that no change whatever had occurred in his sentiments respecting the aims & objects of the Association.

Cit. Hales J. proposed that in consideration of the reasons given the résignation be accepted & the thanks of the Council expressed for his aid & sympathies which was unanimously carried.

The chairman then communicated what had passed to Cit. Stepney ||60| who reiterated his assurance of support to, & sympathies with the Association.

Cit. Jung announced the receipt of a letter from a young Belgian professor residing at present in Wales, who desired to become a member of the Association & act as one of its most devoted Champions.

A letter from Cit. Richard of Lyons announced the formation of a new section at Lyons, & Cit. Varlin was travelling to establish new branches. The letter contained a cheque for 6 l. 7 s. 0. of which 10 fr. were for the St. Etienne section the rest for Lyons.

Cit. Marx then called the attention of the Council to the circumstances that many members of the Association had been arrested in France & that the government papers had endeavoured to spread it abroad that the Association was implicated in a pretended plot against the emperor. To refute those insinuations he proposed the following:

On the occasion of the last pretended complot, the French government has not only arrested many members of our Paris and Lyons sections, but insinuated by

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its organs that the *International Workingmen's Association* is an accomplice of that pretended complot. According to the tenor of our Statutes, it is certainly the special mission of all our branches in England, on the Continent, and in the United States, to act not only as centres for the organisation of the working class, but also to aid, in their different countries, all political movements tending to the accomplishment of our ultimate end, viz., *the economical emancipation of the working class*. At the same time, those statutes bind all the sections of our Association to act in open daylight. If our statutes were not formal on that point, the very nature of an Association which identifies itself with the working classes, would exclude from it every form of secret society. If the working classes, who form the great bulk of all nations, who produce all their wealth, and in the name of whom even the usurping powers always pretend to rule, conspire, they conspire publicly, as the sun conspires against darkness, in the full consciousness that without their pale there exists no legitimate power.

If the other incidents of the complot denounced by the French government are as false and unfounded as its insinuations against the *International Workingmen's Association*, this last complot will worthily range with its two predecessors of grotesque memory. The noisy and violent measures against our French sections are exclusively intended serving one single purpose—*the manipulation of the plebiscite*.

Cit. Harris seconded the proposal, which was adopted unanimously, ||61| & ordered to be signed & a copy handed to the newspaper reporters Coningsby and Hartwell, who were present by special permission. Copies were also ordered to be sent to the newspapers abroad.

It was then agreed that six months rent should be paid.

Cit. Jung nominated & Serraillier seconded Cits. Agossa & Bora to become members of the Council.

The Council adjourned at half past 10 o'clock.

Thomas Mottershead May 10th/70 I

who reiterated his assurance of support to, & his sympathies with the Association.
Ct. J. M. announced the receipt of a letter from a young Belgian prof.
residing at present in Wales, who desired to become a member of the
Association & act as one of its most devoted Champions. 60

A letter from Cte. Richard of Lyons announced the formation
of a new section at Richard, & Ct. Merlin was travelling to establish new
branches. The letter contained a cheque for £1. 10s. 0. of which 10s. were
for the St. Etienne section, the rest for Lyons.

Ct. Marx then called the attention of the Committee to the circumstances
that many members of the Association had been arrested in France &
that the government papers had endeavoured to spread it abroad that
the Association was implicated in a pretended plot against the emperor.
To refute those insinuations he proposed the following:

{ On the occasion of the last pretended plot, the French government
has not only arrested many members of our Paris and Lyons sections, but ~~continues~~
~~to incriminate~~ us by saying that the International Workingmen's Association is an
accomplice of that pretended plot. According to the law of our Statutes, it
is certainly the special mission of our branches in England, on the Continent, and in
the United States, to act not only as centres for the organization of the
working class, but also to aid, in their different countries, all patriotic movements
tending to the accomplishment of our ultimate end, viz. the economic emancipation
of the working class. At the same time, those branches bind all the
sections of our Association ~~to~~ ^{only for} the Right of the day. Your Statutes
were not formed on that point, the very nature of an Association which
identifies itself with the working classes, would exclude from it every form
of secret society. If the working classes, who form the great bulk of
all nations, who produce all these wealths, and in the name of whom
are the usurping masters always picked to rule, everywhere, they compete
publicly, as we now compete against darkness, in the full consciousness
that without these pale thin rights no legitimate power
of the other accidents of the plot denoted by the French government
are as false and unfounded as its accusations against the International
Workingmen's Association. This last coupled well with the range with
its two predecessors of grotesque memory. The noisy and violent
measures against our French sections are exclusively intended serving
one single purpose — The manipulation of the plebeians.

Ct. Harris seconded the proposal, which was adopted unanimously.

Meeting of the General Council May 10, 1870

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/61/ Meeting of the Council May 10.

Members present: Dupont, Eccarius, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Maurice, Murray, Milner, Lucraft, Riihl, Serraillier, Stepney, Mottershead, Weston.

Cit. Mottershead in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read
5 & confirmed. Cit. Serraillier announced the receipt of a letter from Palma which he had not had time to translate. Jung stated that a great many of our members had been arrested in France. At Lyons the police had seized everything & Aubry at Rouen was in prison.

Cit. Maurice said that Napoleon had at first permitted the establishment of the
10 Association to frighten the bourgeoisie simply to show that himself was necessary to keep the workpeople down. Cit. Jung observed that the association had only been tolerated not permitted.

The finance committee then reported that the old balance sheet was not yet audited that the present year had commenced with a balance of 15 l. 7 s. 1 d. &
15 that including the balance the income was £51 8 s. 7 d. & the expenditure £47 7 s. 5. & that the arrears of rent amounted to £4 4 s. The estimate of arrears due for 1869 amounted to upwards of £5.

Cit. Mottershead stated that the finance committee intended to send letters to the societies in arrears & that it would be desirable to draw up the Congress
20 programme to apply for the contributions of the current year. |

[62] Cit. Maurice would like to know what the Association was owing to him for rent in Castle Street. He did not want the money but he should like to know the amount. He further desired that a black board should be hung up with the societies on that were in arrears.

25 Cit. Jung stated that some who owed money had never been asked & did not know what they owed. The city shoemakers society of which Yeomanson was Secretary had joined but had never been written to. Danter, the president of the Engineers, had also asked what he owed.

The Secretary stated he had never received the address of the City Shoemakers
30 nor any declaration of their joining. Respecting the rent of Castle Street it appeared from the account book that the Council had met there from June 1867 to June 1868.

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Cit. Mottershead stated that these were liabilities he never heard of.

Cit. Lucraft said it was all right only a little misunderstanding, Cit. Maurice was not going to charge the rent he was going to make the association a present of it.

Cit. Mottershead resumed the report of the finance committee & proposed that 5
3 l. 3 s. rent should be paid & the arrears called in.

Cit. Jung thought there was a prior claim to Cottam for the printing of Cards to whom the association owed £6. Besides that Cit. Dupont the French secretary had incurred considerable outlay in postage he therefore proposed that only two months be paid & one pound be given to Dupont. 10

The Chairman said he had heard nothing of any [of] these debts from the secretary.

The secretary stated that he had entirely forgotten to mention this debt but if the old liabilities were to be gone into there were older than that. Of the £40 liabilities at the Geneva Congress only £21 had been paid & £2. 10 had been 15 borrowed since from Dell when he was treasurer. This brought up the question that the old auditors had not done their duty.

Cit. Milner, rather indignantly, repudiated the Charge & stated that he had been at his post but not considered himself justified to sign the book in the absence of the other auditor Cit. Weston, the more so as the books were not kept 20 in a systematic manner.

Cit. Weston said he could not have been present as he had been ||6| engaged on a country-job at the time.

Cit. Lucraft stated that there was no intention to find fault with anybody, all that was required was that old auditors should meet before Tuesday next. 25

The Chairman said the question before the chair was the finance committee's report.

Cit. Jung proposed as an amendment that two guineas rent & one pound for postage be paid, the latter to the French secretary.

Cit. Lessner seconded the proposition which was carried unanimously. 30

The Chairman reminded the Council that the resignation of the treasurer had been accepted & that it was necessary to appoint a new one.

Cit. Lessner proposed & Cit. Murray seconded that Cit. Weston be treasurer. Carried unanimously.

Cit. Weston accepted & did not think he would have much work to do. 35

Cit. Lullier was unanimously elected a member of the Council who said that previous revolutions had failed for want of solidarity amongst the working class but that the association would set that matter right. He would do his best to assist.

Cit. Jung stated that Marx was absent on account of illness & proposed in his 40 name the following resolution respecting the London French Federal Branch which had ceased to belong to the association about two years ago but was always using its name.

report on a country-job at the time.

63

Mr. Lennart stated that there was no intention to find fault with anybody all that was required was that old auditors should meet before Tuesday next.

The Chairman said the question before the chair was the Finance Committee's report.

Cit. Jung proposed an amendment that two guineas rent & one pound postage be paid, the latter to the French secretary.

Cit. Lessner seconded the proposition which was carried unanimously. The Chairman reminded the Council that the resignation of the treasurer had been accepted & that it was necessary to appoint a new one.

Cit. Lessner proposed & Cit. Murray seconded that Cit. Weston be treasurer carried unanimously.

Cit. Weston accepted & did not think he would have much work to do.

Cit. L'heulier was unanimously elected a member of the Council who said that previous resolutions had failed for want of publicity amongst the working class but that the association would set that matter right. He would do his best to assist.

Cit. Jung stated that Marx was absent on account of illness & proposed in his name the following resolution respecting the London French Federal Branch which had ceased to belong to the association about two years ago but was always using its name.

Considering

That addresses, resolutions and manifestos emanating from a French society called "which styles itself: International Workingmen Association French Federal Branch", have recently been published by continental papers and ascribed to the International Workingmen Association;

That the International Workingmen Association at present undergoing severe persecutions on the part of the Austrian and French Governments, which largely ~~were~~ catch at the most flagrant pretenses for justifying such persecutions;

That under these circumstances the General Council will incur a ~~grave~~ responsibility in allowing any society not belonging to the International to ~~use~~ ^{seize} its name;

The General Council hereby declares that the recalled London French Society
French has since two years & ceased to form part of the "International"
and to have any connection whatever with the General Council or any
branch of the International on the continent.

London, 10 May 1870.

64

Cit. Jung proposed & Maurice seconded that it be sent to all the
persons carried.

Cit. Jung further proposed that in future all the names of the
Council members should be signed to official documents whether the
members were present or not.

Cit. Harris thought it an unwarrantable liberty but if it
must be done he would submit. The proposition was carried.

Cit. Weston was anxious that the Congress programme should be
drawn up in time to discuss it so that the delegates might
know the opinion of the Council. He thought co-operation an
important question.

The Council adjourned at a quarter to 11 o'clock

J. G. Eccarius,
Chairman;
J. George Eccarius Secretary

Council Meeting May 17

Members present: Alpassa, Bora, Dapont, Eccarius, Harris
Jung, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Pander, Motherhead,
Somville, Stepney, Weston

Cit. Harris in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting
were read & confirmed.

Citizens Alpassa & Bora were unanimously elected as members of
the Council. Cit. Jung, Eccarius, & Somville informed the fact of their having
been members of the ~~French~~ Section of Geneva sufficient recommendation
Cit. Eccarius & general & Jung & also said that Cit. Alpassa &

Meeting of the General Council May 10, 1870

Considering,

that addresses, resolutions and manifestoes emanating from a *French society in London* which styles itself: "International Workingmen's Association, French Federal Branch", have recently been published by continental papers and ascribed to
5 the "International Workingmen's Association";

that the "International Workingmen's Association" is at present undergoing severe persecutions on the part of the Austrian and French Governments which eagerly catch at the most flimsy pretexts for justifying such persecutions;

that under these circumstances the General Council would incur a serious
10 responsibility in allowing any society not belonging to the "International" to use, and act in its name; |

[64] the General Council hereby declares that the socalled *London French Federal Branch* has since two years ceased to form part of the "International" and to have any connection whatever with the General Council in London or any
15 branch of that Association on the continent.

London. 10 May 1870.

Cit. Jung proposed & Maurice seconded that it be sent to all the papers, carried.

Cit. Jung further proposed that in future all the names of the Council members
20 should be signed to official documents whether the members were present or not.

Cit. Harris thought it an unwarrantable liberty but if it must be done he would submit. The proposition was carried.

Cit. Weston was anxious that the Congress programme should be drawn up in time to discuss it so that the delegates might know the opinion of the Council. He
25 thought cooperation an important question.

The Council adjourned at a quarter to 11 o'clock.

G.E. Harris, Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary I

Meeting of the General Council May 17, 1870

/64/Council Meeting May 17

Members present: Agossa, Bora, Dupont, Eccarius, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Pfänder, Mottershead, Serraillier, Stepney, Weston.

Cit. Harris in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. 5

Citizens Agossa & Bora were unanimously elected as members of the Council. Cit. Jung, Eccarius, & Serraillier considered the fact of their having been members of the Section of Geneva sufficient recommendation.

Cit. Eccarius proposed & Dupont seconded that Cit. Agossa be ||6| appointed as secretary for Italy. Carried unanimously. Cit. Marx read a letter from the 10 General Secretary of the Social Democratic Party of Germany inviting the Council to decide upon holding the next Congress in Germany. Cit. Marx stated that under present circumstances Paris was out of the question, & as Congresses had already been held both in Belgium & Switzerland Germany would be the preferable place. He therefore proposed the following resolution which was seconded 15 by Cit. Milner which after a few approving remarks from Cit. Jung was carried unanimously.

Considering:

That by the Basle Congress Paris was appointed as the meeting place for this year's Congress of the International Workingmen's Association; 20

That the present French regime continuing the Congress will not be able to meet at Paris;

That nevertheless the preparations for the meeting render an immediate resolution necessary;

That article 3 of the Statutes obliges the Council to change, in case of need, the 25 place of meeting appointed by the Congress;

That the Central Committee of the German Social Democratic Workingmen's Party has invited the General Council to transfer this year's Congress to Germany;

The General Council has in its sitting of the 17 of May unanimously resolved 30 that this year's Congress of the International Workingmen's Association be opened on the 5th September next & meet at Mayence.

Meeting of the General Council May 17, 1870

Cit. Serraillier read a letter from Palma in which it was stated that every obstacle that had been thrown in the way of establishing the Association there had been overthrown. The masons, the carpenters, the shoemakers & other trades had founded a federal Council at which 20 societies were represented.

- 5 They had formed cooperative societies of consumption & production & since the establishment of their Union they had raised their wages & shortened the hours of labour. They had also formed a sailors union consisting of 300 members. |

[66] Cit. Serraillier read also a letter from De Paepe of Brussels containing £3.19. 2 on account of contributions. The letter stated that Varlin, Combault & 10 Huart from Paris had escaped & were in Brussels. De Paepe had received a letter from Caporusso of Naples stating that the police was trying hard to put them down. De Paepe asked the opinion of the Council on the affairs of Switzerland.

A letter from Barcelona announced that a report of the Madrid Congress should be sent.

- 15 Cit. Jung had received a private letter from Perret of Geneva who wished the Council to decide soon upon the Swiss quarrel. Bastelica was safe at Geneva.

A letter from Cit. Moriamé stated that Plebiscite would speed the Social Revolution & make triumph.

An article was received out of the *Messager du Midi* in France. It stated that 20 the International was the strongest society that ever existed, it ordered & put down strikes at pleasure & that the former police prosecutions had only checked it for a time but not dissolved it.

Cit. Marx proposed & Cit. Weston seconded the following resolution concerning the Beehive.

- 25 Considering,

1) that the different International Sections of the Continent and the United States have been advised by the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association to subscribe to the *Beehive* newspaper as the official organ of the General Council and the representative in the English press of the Working 30 Class movement; |

1671 2) that the *Beehive* has not only erased from the official reports of the General Council such resolutions as might displease its patrons, but, by way of suppression, has systematically misrepresented the tenor of consecutive sittings of the General Council;

35 3) that mainly since its recent change of proprietorship, while still pretending to be the exclusive organ of the working class, the *Beehive* has, in reality, become the organ of a Capitalist fraction who want to keep the proletarian movement in their leading strings and use it as a means for the furtherance of their own class and party purposes;

40 The General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, in its sitting of the 26th of April 1870, has unanimously resolved to sever its connection with the *Beehive*, and to publicly announce this resolution to its different sections in England, on the Continent, and in the United States.

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Carried unanimously.

The Italian Secretary was instructed to prepare a letter to Caporusso & submit it to the Council at the next meeting.

Cit. Harris submitted a letter to be sent to the societies in arrears from the Finance Committee, which was approved.

Dupont proposed & Eccarius seconded that the subcommittee draw up the Congress programm, agreed, Cit. Milner was added to the subcommittee.

Cit. Maurice proposed & Cit. Lessner seconded that enquiries be made for another place to meet in. Agreed.

Cit. Dupont proposed & Lessner seconded that in consequence of the arrests at Paris Lafargue be appointed special correspondent carried unanimously.

The Council adjourned 'A to 11 o'clock.

5

John Weston
J. George Eccarius Secretary I

Cit. Serrailier read also a letter from Sepepe of Brussels amounting £3. 19. 2 on account of contributions. The letter stated that Martin, Combault, G. Huard from Paris had escaped & were in Brussels. Sepepe had received a letter from Cappone of Naples stating that the police was trying hard to put them down. Sepepe asked the opinion of the Council on the affair of Switzerland.

A letter from Barcelona announced that a report of the Madrid Congress should be sent.

Cit. Jung had received a private letter from Beret of Geneva who wished the Council to decide soon upon the Swiss guard. Bastilia was safe at Geneva.

A letter from Cit. Morazané stated that Pobesete would give the Social Revolution & make triumph.

An article was received out of the *Messagerie du Midi* in France. It stated that the International was the strongest society that ever existed, it ordered & put down strikes at pleasure & that the former police prosecutions had only ducked it for a time but not dissolved it.

Cit. Marx proposed & Cit. Weston seconded the following resolution concerning the Archives:

Considering:

That the different International Sections of the United and the World
States have been advised by the General Council of the International Working
Men's Association to subscribe to the Beehive newspaper, the
official organ of the General Council and the representative in the English
press of the Working Class movement;

1) That the Beehive has not only erased from the official reports of the General Council such resolutions as might displease it, but, by way of suppression, has systematically misrepresented the true characteristic settings of the General Council's

2) that mainly since its recent change of proprietorship, who still pretend to be the exclusive organ of the working class, the Beehive has, in reality, become the organ of a Capitalist fraction who want to keep the proletarian movement in their leading strings and to use it as a means for the furtherance of their own class and party purposes.

The General Council of the International Workingmen's Association in its sitting of the 26th of April 1870, has unanimously resolved to sever its connection with the Beehive, and to publicly announce this resolution to its different sections in England on the Continent, and in the United States.

Carried unanimously.

The Italian Secretary was instructed to prepare a letter to Spurzucker & submit it to the Council at the next meeting. Mr. Harris submitted a letter to be sent to the societies in arrears from the Finance Committee, which was approved. Dupont proposed G. Eccarius seconded that the subcommittee have up the Congress programme, agreed. Dr. Milner was added to the subcommittee.

Prof. Maurice proposed G. Et. Lessner seconded that inquiries be made for another place to meet in, agreed. Mr. Dupont proposed G. Eccarius seconded that in consequence of the arrests at Paris Lafargue be appointed special correspondent carried unanimously.

The Council adjourned its to 11 o'clock

John Weston
J. George Eccarius Secretary

Meeting of the Council May 24

Members present: Boiss, Dupont, Eccarius, Glade, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Lübeck, Maurice, Milner, Rühl, Serraillier, Syney

Meeting of the General Council May 24, 1870

/67/ Meeting of the Council May 24

Members present, Bora, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Lucraft, Maurice, Milner, Rühl, Serraillier, Stepney, ||6| Townshend, Weston.

Cit. Weston in the Chair. The Minutes of the previous [meeting] were read & 5 with one correction confirmed.

The Secretary read a letter from Julian Harney of Boston commenting on the French plot, the wholesale imprisonment of the members of the Association, & Plebiscite dodge & expressing a desire that it might be Napoleon's fate to be tried & executed. Another part of the letter disapproved of the action taken by the 10 Council respecting the Irish political prisoners declared a disgust of Fenianism & contended that Ireland was an integral part of the British Empire. The writer remitted one pound as his contribution.

A letter from Sorge of New York announced that a committee of the German Labor Union of that town consisting of 20 Societies had reported favourably on 15 becoming affiliated. The writer asked whether General Cluseret was an Correspondent of the Association.

The Secretary read the following declaration from the New York Correspondent Hume, published in the New York Democrat, on the French plot.

FRENCH WORKMEN NOT CONSPIRATORS.

20 The Slanders of the Associated Press and of Louis Napoleon's Police Spies Exposed and Denounced

New York, May 4, 1870

To the Editor of The Democrat.

Early in April last it was my duty as agent of the European International 25 Workingmen's Association, to lay before you the resolutions of a meeting of London workmen, at which the veteran George Odger was chairman. I did so because Mr. Gladstone had previously refused to hear personally the prayers of his starving countrymen. Although I am an American citizen, on their behalf, permit me to thank you for your kindness.

30 I have now another favor to ask of you as the friend of the oppressed. It is this. During the past week about six cable telegrams have been published here accus-

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ing the International Association of instigating an attempt on the life of the ex-President of the Republic of France, Louis Napoleon. Those who are personally acquainted with the members of the Council now sitting in London, need not be told that such statements are entirely false and unworthy of credence. In France, so stale a police canard will cost the Government so many votes in the cities as it gains in the Departments. With Jacques Bonhomme it may prove a good enough Morgan till after the election. It is cruel to cook such nonsense and bamboozle the members of the "Associated Press" out of their money, by palming off on them such a foolish fabrication and labelling it "Reliable Intelligence from France".

5

10

The members of the International Workingmen's Association are not lazy conspirators, and do not purpose landing at Boulogne with a ragged eagle for the purpose of overthrowing the present Government of France; neither do they desire to assassinate any one there, as, not being of the blood royal, they would be likely to be guillotined if they succeeded in effecting any such purpose. Their simple end and aim is to secure to all producers the produce of their toils, or a righteous exchange therefor. To effect this just purpose they have declared their intention to hold their next Congress in Paris, to discuss the question as to the proper methods to be used to carry out their intentions. Should Louis Napoleon be then on hand, which is problematical, he will then have the opportunity (through the French police) of seizing the documents of the Society wholesale, and not be reduced to the necessity of attacking our Deputies in detail, as was done last year, when on their journey through France to Basle.

Respectfully yours,
R.W. HUME. 25

Agent of the "European International Workingmen's Association".

Rev. J. Sella Martin has been appointed by the colored men as their delegate to the International Labor Congress, which meets in the City of Paris, in September.

THE WORKINGMEN.

Letter from the General Secretary in London.

30

The following letter to a workingman in this city will be found of interest to all trades organizations:

GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S
ASSOCIATION,

London, April 23, 1870. 35

Dear Sir—In answer to yours of the 26th ult. I am directed by the Council to state that the International Association recognises no special national interests among the workingmen who may happen to have been born in different countries.

One of our aims is to eliminate whatever may yet remain of national anti-pathies and, perhaps, animosities, from the minds of workingmen. The Council cannot, therefore, indorse the kind of representation implied in your memorial. General Cluseret had his feelings outraged by the French police, which was

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probably the reason why the trade societies gave him credentials which induced him to institute a comparison between himself and the French ambassador at Washington. The French ambassador at Washington has to vindicate the personal interests of a dynasty, and the property interests of the French traders.

5 The Paris workmen have no such interests to be taken care of on the other side of the Atlantic, against the probable encroachments of the American workingmen. We consider the interests of the French workmen resident in the United States strictly identical with the interests of all the other workingmen of the United States.

10 To facilitate the inter-communication of such as may be separated by difference of language, and perhaps manners, we have correspondents who are conversant with these things, and to them we trust for managing the rest.

The communication with the United States is distributed among the secretaries of the different nationalities of the General Council. General Cluseret and Mr.

15 Pelletier are our French correspondents in America. They correspond with our Secretary for France. Siegfried Meyer and Vogt are our German correspondents. They correspond with the German Secretary here, and the General Secretary manages the English correspondence; and beside such trade union officers as Mr. Jessup, we look to you as our correspondent in case any misunderstanding 20 should arise between different nationalities, to endeavour to set matters right, but we cannot admit that either French or Germans have an opposite or special interest from any other workmen, and we always urge them on to take an active part in, and identify themselves with, the movement of the workingmen of the country in which they reside, particularly in America.

25 Respecting the secret society movement, I am instructed to ask you to favour us at your convenience with your opinion as to the cause which has tended to bring about the necessity for secret action. We have been advised to persuade you and friend Jessup to publicly stand up against it, but we suppose there is a necessity for it, or else it would not have come into vogue and moreover it would 30 be presumptuous on our part to offer advice in such a matter, but we wish to know the reasons, to bring them to the knowledge of the workingmen of the Old World, who have just emerged from conducting their agitation in secret.

Yours faithfully,
J. George Eccarius, General Secretary. |

35 [69] The secretary announced that four daily & three weekly papers had published the announcement that the Congress would be held in Germany.

Cit. Jung said that had done harm as the resolution had not been published in full. The Paris papers had copied it from the Times & would not take the resolution if it was sent. In the announcement the reasons were not given.

40 Cit. Maurice wanted to know why the Beehive resolutions had not been published he proposed that they be sent to all the papers & to all the trade societies, & Council members.

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The secretary stated that he had been advised not to send the two things together but postpone the Beehive resolution. With regard to the Congress resolution he was sure that if he send [it] as an official document it would not have been inserted.

Cit. Harris seconded Maurice's proposition & said it seemed what he had been told was correct. He & Milner both had been charged of being only dummies in the hands of others & that Marx, Jung, & the Secretary did what they liked with them. He would not be made a tool of by any man however clever he might be. 5

Some desultory conversation arose out of the fact of the two things being mixed. 10

The Chairman said the question before the chair was whether resolutions were to be sent as passed, or whether the secretary should be permitted to use his own discretion & only send the substance when he considered it preferable. The Chairman was in favour of the latter.

Cit. Hales was in favour of sending what the Council, not what the secretary thought proper, & proposed that in future all communications be sent according to the direction of the Council which would relieve the secretary of all responsibility. 15

Cit. Harris seconded the proposition he would not trust to the secretary to alter resolutions. Twelve men must know more [than] one, & it was no use for the Council to pass resolutions if the ||70| Secretary was to be permitted to publish only what he liked. 20

Cit. Milner could not understand how anyone could take upon himself to alter any resolutions or after they were passed lock them up in the book. Carried. 25

Cit. Jung said some times resolutions were passed that were not to be sent to the press. The Beehive resolutions were to be published but no distinct order had been given to send them that week. If the papers inserted them it would be no use sending them to the societies it was therefore better to try the papers first. 30

The secretary stated the resolution had already been published in [a] German paper. Upon the question being asked how the resolution could have been published before it was adopted he corrected his statement that it was not the last resolution but the decision came to on April 26 to break off the connection with the Beehive. That decision had been communicated in a private letter to the Editor who had [it] published. 35

Cit. Jung said that would get him into scrapes with his correspondents. Instead of being a wirepuller as Harris had asserted he was himself in an awkward position. 40

Cit. Harris moved & Jung seconded that the Beehive resolution be sent to the papers & the consideration of sending them to the trade societies be postponed. Carried.

Cit. Bora stated that the Italian Secretary was in the hospital & had [not] been able to draw up the letter which he had been instructed to do.

Cit. Dupont stated that according to a letter from Gen. Cluseret the German Societies of New York had joined.

Meeting of the General Council May 24, 1870

Cit. Maurice gave notice that at the next meeting he [will] move that a black board be hung on the wall with the names of the affiliated societies on it.

The Council adjourned 'At to 11 o'clock.

B. Lucraft
J. George Eccarius Secretary |

Meeting of the General Council May 31, 1870

1711 Council Meeting May 31.

Members present: Bora, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Lullier, Maurice, Milner, Lucraft, Stepney, Townshend, Weston.

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair: A letter from the Curriers Society announced that in consequence of the Irish Resolutions passed by the Council, the Society felt 5 bound to sever its connection not having any faith in Workingmen's Societies that meddled with politics.

A letter from Hume, New York, announced that Gen. Cluseret proclaimed himself as representative of the Association & established Sections.

Cit. Jung announced that Dupont was absent his wife was dying & Serraillier 10 was ill.

A letter from Paris complained that powers were given to men to establish sections outside the federation there was no need for such powers now. The danger of entrusting individuals with such powers was seen by General Cluseret's proceedings at New York. The Central Committee would have protested against 15 the assumption of representing the French workmen had they not heard that he had credentials from the Council. They would soon have a paper of their own. They did not believe that it would have been impossible to hold a Congress at Paris. Would have preferred Verviers. Cit. Jung explained how the Credentials were conferred on Gen. Cluseret, & if they had not been sent off when Victor 20 Hugo's reply to a letter of his had been published he should have objected.

The Secretary proposed that the secretaries be instructed to write to the Correspondents abroad that General Cluseret was one of the New York Correspondents of the Association with powers to establish sections.

Cit. Hales thought it required no special instruction. Cit. Milner thought it 25 might be agreed to, agreed accordingly.

A letter from Lyons required information respecting the necktie weaving trade.

Cit. Hales & Mottershead were appointed to furnish it.

A letter from Madrid stated that it [had] been rather delayed on account of the work of organisation. Required a list of English & American labour papers & 30 advice on several questions relating to their national Congress.

Meeting of the General Council May 31, 1870

Cit. Hales proposed that the letter be referred to the subcommittee to prepare an answer by next Tuesday, j

j72| Cit. Jung introduced Cit. Osborne Ward from America who had arrived at our Conclusions & desired to become a member.

Cit. Ward made a few observations on what he had seen on his tour through Europe he thought cooperation as at present carried on tended to create a cooperative bourgeoisie. The question of production & distribution was a political question, any person who did not labour for his living was either a beggar or a robber. The best sample of cooperation he had seen was at Barcelona.

Cit. Jung then introduced a delegate from the Ironfounders of Paris now on Strike.

Cit. Hales proposed that the Council should facilitate his introduction to the trade societies by appointing a deputation to accompany them. Cit. Jung seconded. Jung & Hales were appointed as the deputation.

Cit. Maurice gave notice that he should move that a book be purchased to preserve copies of all letters going abroad. Credentials voted to Hume of New York.

The Council adjourned after 11 o'clock.

G. Milner—Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary *I*

Meeting of the General Council June 7, 1870

/72/ Meeting of the Council June 7

Members present: Bora, Dupont, Eccarius, Harris, Jung, Milner, Riihl, Townshend, Serraillier, Murray.

Cit. Milner in the Chair. The minutes of the previous [meeting] were read & confirmed.

5

Cit. Dupont stated that Agossa was very ill & advised to go to the South of France. He had sold some of his tools to raise money to go as far [as] Paris & Cit. Dupont proposed that the Council should give him a letter of Credit to borrow £1 at Paris. Cit. Jung seconded the proposition which was agreed to.

Cit. Harris proved from American papers that the St. Crispins were not a secret society & that they had been incorporated as an Association by an act of the legislature of Massachusetts. |

1731 Cit. Jung reported that he had been to the Ironfounders with the Paris delegates. They had expressed great sympathy but were unable to assist. They had expended £129,000 for donations during the last three years part of which 15 had been borrowed money. The donation had amounted to 2 s. 5*h* d. a week for each member but they had not been able to levy it all. It was now gone down to one shilling a week. Mr. Guile had written a very long letter explaining the whole to the Parisian Ironfounders & expressed himself to the effect that under different circumstances they would have considered it their duty to assist.

20

He had also waited on the Engineers & had been well received it would be submitted to the vote of the Executive Council.

The Council adjourned at half past 10 o'clock.

Geo. E. Harris, Chairman.
J. George Eccarius Secretary / 25

Meeting of the General Council June 14, 1870

/73/ Meeting of the Council June 14

Members present: Bora, Dupont, Eccarius, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Townshend.

Cit. Harris in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

The Secretary reported that Mr. Allan the secretary of the Amalgamated Engineers had sent a slip of his last monthly report in which the Council of that Association proposed a levy of 2 d. throughout the Association for the Ironfounders on Strike in Paris, accompanied by lengthy remark in favour of the proposition. The slip was to be forwarded to the Committee of the Paris Ironfounders.

Cit. Dupont stated that Agossa had declined availing himself of the Credit voted by the Council, on the plea that it might involve him in difficulties. Cit. Dupont thought it was pride.

The Secretary reported that he had received a parcel of the new paper of the Paris section, entitled the Socialiste. It was printed at Neuchâtel in Switzerland. |

[74] Cit. Jung reported that he had received a Telegram from Geneva stating that the master builders had resolved upon a general lock out of the building trades & had carried their resolution into effect on Saturday last.

Two years ago a strike had occurred to reduce the hours of labour to ten a day & fix the rate of wages per hour. The minister of Justice & Police had then brought about an understanding that the men should work 9 hours a day in winter and 11 hours a day in summer. The next spring the masters had refused to pay more for eleven hours than they had done in winter for nine. Another compromise had then been made fixing the wages at 45 cent, an hour. The plasterers had signed the agreement but had never been able to enforce the payment in consequence of which they had lately struck. Upon that the masters had posted bills all over the town calling upon the federal government to expel the foreigners & to dissolve the Association & if the plasterers did not return to work on the 9th the building yards would be closed on the 11th which had been done.

30 The watch trades had called a monster meeting at the federal palace where 5,000 workmen had attended & protested against the masters' proceedings.

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After some conversation Jung proposed that a summoned meeting should be held next Tuesday to decide what could be done. Cit. Dupont seconded the proposition, which was unanimously agreed to.

Cit. Serraillier said he had received a letter from Barcelona, a large town meeting had been held which had adhered to the International. The Congress would be held at Barcelona on the 19th. They wanted trade union rules. Bastelica had safely arrived at Barcelona.

He then stated what the subcommittee had agreed to in answer to the former letter.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

J. George Eccarius, Secretary
Signed Thorn. Mottershead June 21st/70 |

Meeting of the General Council June 21, 1870

1751 Meeting of the Council June 21.

Members present: Bora, Dupont, Eccarius, Bradnick, Hales W., Harris, Jung, Lessner, Lullier, Milner, Mottershead, Murray, Stepney, Townshend, Weston, Schmutz. Delegates were also present from the Bricklayers' & Alliance Cabinet
5 Makers.

Cit. Mottershead was unanimously voted in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

Cit. Serraillier announced the receipt of a letter from Brussels containing a postoffice Order for 200 francs on account of Contributions, & two questions for
10 the next Congress.

Cit. Jung announced the receipt of a letter from Antwerp, stating that our friends in Holland were dissatisfied because our official documents were not signed by the Dutch secretary. Some one from Rotterdam would apply for credentials to form a section there he was well known & could be trusted but it
15 ought to be made a condition that he should enter into Correspondence with Amsterdam. Varlin, it was stated, is at work at Antwerp but does not seem very happy, the Flemish are rather a dull race. The writer desired to have an English paper in exchange for the Werker. As there is no English paper on the recommendation of which the Council could agree the question was postponed.

20 Cit. Jung then entered upon a statement concerning the lock-out of Geneva. Having briefly recapitulated the facts that led to the lock-out he added that since the lock-out the minister of justice & police M. Camperio had been asked by three members of the Great Council what he thought of doing & he had replied he should respect the freedom of labour.

25 A Committee had been formed for the support of the locked out consisting of members of other trades, but those locked out could attend. The master builders had assaulted the men & were picketing each others' shops to prevent work being done.

Some of the proprietors who had contracted for buildings with the master
30 builders had invited the men to come to work as usual which was being done. He thought that the position of trade societies was not sufficiently prosperous to

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warrant success if an appeal was made & if it did ||%| not succeed it would leave a bad impression, yet as the Genevese had always done their duty something ought to be done.

The Chairman observed that the Council would neglect its duty if it did not appeal.

Cit. Harris said he was not a trade unionist but he thought an address to the trade societies of England was the least the Council could do. He proposed that an address to the organized trades appealing for help be issued. Mr. Sarrel, the delegate of the Bricklayer's Council, seconded the proposition.

Cit. Weston thought that strikes & lock outs hampered the action of the Council but as it formed a connecting link between the trade societies of various countries he could not see any thing else to be done but to give the proposition his hearty support.

The Chairman stated that the Council did not provoke or order strikes & lock outs but when they occurred it must do its duty. It was the first time that the English system of locking-out was being tried on the Continent. The London builders had gained nothing by it.

Cit. Jung desired that the proposition should be enlarged so as to include the trade societies & branches of the Association on the Continent of Europe and of the United States.

This was unanimously agreed to.

Upon the suggestion of the Chairman Cit. Weston proposed that Cit. Marx be appointed to draw up the address. Cit. Lessner seconded. Carried unanimously.

Cit. Lullier gave notice that within a fortnight he would move the consideration of propositions for carrying on the struggle against Capital without the 25 means of Strikes.

Upon the proposition of the Secretary it was agreed to pay Mr. Cottam the balance of £6. 0. 0 due for printing cards.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

H. Jung. Chairman 30
J. George Eccarius Secretary |

Meeting of the General Council June 28, 1870

1771 Council Meeting June 28.

Members present: Applegarth, Bora, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales J., Harris, Jung, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Lullier, Serraillier, Stepney, Weston.

Cit. Jung in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & 5 confirmed.

Cit. Marx announced the receipt of a letter from Germany stating that the marble Hall of Mayence was promised by the burgomaster for the meeting of the Congress.

A letter from the German Labor Union of New York urged the desirability of 10 sending a delegate to the American Labor Congress. Cit. Marx was instructed to reply that our means would not admit it. Application was also made for Cards of which 200 were forwarded.

Cit. Dupont announced that regional Congress of Rouen had been suppressed.

Cit. Serraillier announced that the Spanish Congress had adopted an address 15 to the General Council. They accept the statutes &c. & congratulate the Council.

A letter from Geneva asked the Council to come to a decision as soon as possible.

Cit. Marx thought the only thing the Council could do was to leave the Geneva Committee that had helped from the foundation of the Association as it 20 was. It had fulfilled its duty in every respect & had had a larger constituency though fewer delegates than [the] other party at the Swiss Congress. The vote admitting the Alliance should also be communicated. The New Committee could choose some local name.

Cit. Weston said if they advised abstention from politics & acted upon that [it] 25 would disqualify them from acting as administrators. The Alliance was only tolerated on condition of conforming to the Rules.

The proposition was seconded by Applegarth & carried unanimously.

Cit. Marx proposed that the General Council be transferred from London to Brussels. We must not let it crop up as a privilege that the Council sits in London. 30 The Congress may not accept the proposition then we can put conditions.

Cit. Lucraft seconded many Continentals fancied we took ||8| too much upon ourselves. The Congress would have to pronounce upon it.

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Cit. Harris wanted to know whether we had an English Section.

Cit. Dupont was in favour.

Cit. Applegarth said all the old members knew we had no British Section.

Cit. Lullier wanted to know why Brussels was chosen he was informed that Belgium & Switzerland were the only countries on the Continent where the Association legally existed. 5

Cit. Milner would support the proposition with joy because on the Continent they would drive the question home he knew the shams of this Country.

Cit. Weston was generally in favour. If we were shams it was because we had had no means. 10

Cit. Hales moved the adjournment of the question.

Cit. Dupont was against the adjournment.

Cit. Hales moved as an amendment that this Council should ask the next Congress to consider the advisability of removing the Council from London.

Cit. Dupont [said] that it would only cause muddling. The Council could neither sit in France nor Germany & a place must be proposed from here. Cit. Marx said the Council was so well thought of that it had been reappointed four times. He proposed that the resolution be sent to all the sections. 15

Cit. Hales proposed to send them out with the Congress programme.

The original proposition was carried. 20

Cit. Hales gave notice of motion to reconsider the question.

Stoll proposed by Dupont seconded by Serraillier.

B. Lucraft
J. George Eccarius Secretary. |

Meeting of the General Council July 5, 1870

|79| Council Meeting July 5.

Members present: Bora, Bradnick, Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales J., Hales W., Jung, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Milner, Murray, Stepney, Serraillier, Townshend, Weston.

- 5 Cit. Lucraft in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

Cit. Marx announced the receipt of a report from the Executive of the Social Democratic Party of Germany but had not had any time yet to read it to see what it contained. He would translate the essential parts of it for the next meeting.

- 10 Citizen Dupont had received a letter from Bastelica in Spain who stated that a report of the Spanish Congress had been sent to the Council but none had arrived yet. Madrid had been selected as the seat of the Spanish Council the six delegates who had been at Barcelona to form the Council.

The Parisians expected that the Council would refute the false statements of
15 Aulois the public prosecutor.

Cit. Marx said before that could be done they must send the Act of accusation it could not be done by going by newspaper reports.

Cit. Dupont proposed that he be instructed by a formal resolution to request the Paris Section to send the Act of accusation. He said he [had] written also for
20 other things but [had] not received anything. The proposition was agreed to.

Cit. Jung said according to the Geneva Strike Bulletin the middle Classes generally were dissatisfied with the Conduct of the Master builders. Some manufacturers had endeavoured to bring about a settlement but to no purpose the master builders would not listen to any thing. The Union Doctor had made the society a
25 present of what they owed him.

A letter was then read from Cit. Hume of New York accepting the Credentials stating that he would have cards of membership printed & apply to the Union officers to establish sections within their respective Societies & asked whether he was right in thinking that he could delegate the power of doing so to these
30 officers.

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The secretary proposed that this power be conceded. |

180) Cit. Cohn agreed to the proposition.

Cit. J. Hales thought there would be no limit if Subdelegation was once allowed.

The Chairman said in Countries where the Association was established such 5 powers were not needed because the newly established societies could be affiliated. But in America we had nothing at present. As soon as a section was formed they would appoint their own officers.

Cit. Marx said that Cluseret was now only the Correspondent of the New 10 York French Section.

Cit. Milner said Hume would only bring about affiliations in the regular way, if the societies of New York were with [him]. He only proposed to carry out what we wanted.

Cit. Hales was afraid it would split up the Association into a number of wings. A resolution had been passed with regard to France that any society appointing a 15 correspondent should be considered affiliated. If Hume was allowed to delegate power to one man it could not be refused to another & no one could foresee what that might lead to.

The secretary stated he had no fear of that. He had told Hume distinctly in the letter accompanying the credentials that his occupation as agent of the Council 20 would be gone as soon [as] the members he might enlist formed themselves into a society. They would then have [to] appoint their own correspondent & if they appointed he would no longer be the Correspondent of the Council but the Correspondent of the Section with the Council.

Cit. Marx said he could only proceed according to the rules we wanted such a 25 man.

Cit. Hales proposed that Hume be requested to establish an American Section as soon as possible.

Cit. Murray seconded.

The secretary objected that that was what he had the Credentials for. Cit. 30 Hales's resolution could only hamper him. As the matter now stood he could organize a section in one place & bring [it] in communication with the Council & then proceed to another. |

[81] Cit. Jung suggested that the Secretary draw up an answer in the sense of the Council & submit it next week & the whole policy of nominations & Cre- 35 dentials might be discussed.

Milner proposed as an amendment to Cit. Hales's proposition that the letter be endorsed.

Cit. Jung seconded. Our Continental correspondents had never subdelegated but they had sometimes recommended men to be delegated by the Council. 40

Cit. Murray said the Council ought [to] be cautious in delegating power they might delegate power to mouchards.

Marx was for the amendment qualified by the rules & this question might be decided now that the Secretary knew in what spirit to write. Nine voted for five against the amendment. Carried. 45

Meeting of the General Council July 5, 1870

Upon the proposition of Cit. Cohn, seconded by Cit. Murray, the Secretary was authorised to get 500 Lock out circulars printed.

Cit. Hales then reopened the question of the removal of the Council. He had no objection to the resolution but the seat of the Council was an important matter. He proposed that while the Council was of opinion that the Congress should consider the removal of the Council it was also of opinion that it must not lose sight of the fact that a cosmopolitan composition is necessary. A simple national section would always be national in its views. It could not do what was required. If the various nationalities were represented at Brussels like they were in London he would agree. W. Hales seconded.

Cit. Jung moved the order of the day.

Cit. Milner seconded the order of the day. He was ashamed that the English section had done so little he could be glad if a better place could be found for the Council.

Cit. Murray did not wish the Council to leave London he did [not] think it would have the same influence elsewhere. |

|82| Cit. Marx had no objection to an adjournment to consider the question fully. If the resolution of Hales was adopted it would amount to considering the question of removing the Council & telling the Congress that London was the only place where it could sit.

Cit. Cohn said it could not be reconsidered without rescinding the resolution. It was then agreed that the question should be adjourned till the next meeting. Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

B. Lucraft
J. George Eccarius Secretary I

Meeting of the General Council July 12, 1870

/82/ Meeting of the Council July 12.

Members present: Applegarth, Bora, Eccarius, Hales John, Hales W., Harris, Jung, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Milner, Murray, Serraillier, Stepney, Stoll, Townsend, Weston, Zabicki.

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & 5 confirmed. The Secretary read over a list of addresses to which the lock-out circular had been sent.

Cit. Harris suggested that communications be sent to the Boston Journal & that the plasterers society King's Arms Aldersgate Street be communicated with.

Le Maitre having just arrived from Paris had brought a written document for 10 Dupont but as he had left London it was deposited with the Council. He regretted very much that there should exist a difference between the Council & the French branch. He had been at the trial at Paris & several of the accused had considered it very unfortunate that hostile declarations should be made & published at a time when the utmost unanimity was necessary. He considered the 15 differences only personal. It was the desire of the Paris federation that some agreement should be come to & he should be glad if he could assist in bringing [it] about. I

1831 Cit. Marx did not think it right that the Paris federation should make such a proposition. The Council would lay all the acts relating to the affair before the 20 Congress but could not enter upon a consideration now.

The Chairman thought the regular business should be proceeded with.

Cit. Milner wished that the spirit of the communication should be accepted.

Cit. Applegarth said having given a courteous hearing to the suggestion & having our own notions about the difference that existed the Council should pass 25 to the regular business & consider the matter in due time.

Le Maitre. The Parisians could not send a delegate every day he wanted to know if he was to take an answer back to Paris now or whether it would be considered at a future meeting & an answer sent to Paris. He had not come as a delegate but only on behalf of a few friends. He had no credentials there was no 30 chance of doing things in a regular formal way.

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Cit. Jung had received a letter for Dupont from the Tinplate Workers there was no difficulty that would have prevented Credentials being given.

Cit. Marx said the Council could not accept propositions of that kind from a delegate that had no Credentials.

5 Cit. J. Hales saw no reason to wait for credentials from any one that was known. He proposed that the Statement be received, considered & an answer returned.

Cit. Harris seconded. The Parisians had been at the expense of sending a delegate & they had a right to be heard & their proposition considered.

10 Cit. Serraillier said most of the accused had repudiated the proceedings of the French Branch he was in favour of laying the matter before the Congress. The resolution concerning the French Branch had been published to exonerate our men. He did not believe that the Paris federation had anything to do with this it was only a few friends.

15 Cit. Jung said in the first place Le Maitre was only a member of the French Branch not a member of the Association. Some of the younger members, who knew nothing about its doings might be in favour ||84| of the French Branch but the old members were against it. If the Council was obliged to entertain questions brought on by members of the French Branch some one might come every week
20 with a statement & the Council had to accept it. The difference between the Council & the French Branch was not simply a difference of opinion it was a difference of principles & mode of action. The Old Paris members thought that the Council had been far too indulgent towards the French Branch.

Cit. Marx said the only party the Council had to deal with was the Paris
25 federation. The best thing that could be done was to write to Paris to ask if they were dissatisfied with the Conduct of the Council towards the French Branch & if they required explanations they should be sent.

Cit. Hales did not want it to be understood that [he] agreed with the doings of the French but we might deplore the split & entertain a proposition to bring
30 about an agreement.

It was decided against two that the Paris federation should be written to.
French Correspondence.

A letter from the Positivists, conveyed by Congreve, stated that the disgraceful prosecutions were the cause of the delay & made union all the more needful.
35 They considered it a noble thing that the International admitted societies who were working for the common end although differing some what in principle. They had sent their contribution.

The Tinplate workers of Paris announced in a letter that they had held a general meeting & appointed a delegate to the Congress. It was a protest against
40 the Government.

Cit. Jung announced that the loan voted by the Amalgamated Engineers to Paris Ironmoulders had been voted by the greatest majority they had ever had. But there was some hesitation about the manner in which the money should be sent.

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Cit. Applegarth said there was the danger of sending such a large amount of money because the eyes of the police were on every one connected with the affair. He had consulted some friends who agreed that it was advisable for some one to carry the money over to Paris, it would cost very little more & make an immense impression, & he thought the Engineers ||85| would do it if it were recommended by this Council. He proposed the following resolution: 5

"That the General Council cordially acknowledges the handsome grant for the Ironmoulders of Paris, & considering the unsettled state of affairs in Paris & the risk there is of the money falling into wrong hands if sent in the ordinary way we suggest the propriety of the General Secretary of the Engineers being deputed to 10 take the money & deliver it into the hands of the responsible officers of the Paris Ironmoulders. This step in addition to insuring the safe delivery of the money would have a great moral effect with regard to the settlement of the dispute." He further proposed that a deputation be sent to the Council of the Engineers with the above recommendation & that the deputation be instructed to invite the 15 Engineers to join & send a delegate to the next Congress.

Cit. Weston seconded the proposition. Carried unanimously.

The Secretary proposed that Applegarth & Jung form the deputation. Agreed.

The adjourned question of considering the removal of the Council was then resumed. 20

Cit. Milner did not consider the work to have been done as it ought to be & would be glad if others had a chance of doing it better.

Cit. Marx would state for the information of those who had not been present what the question under consideration was. It had been proposed to write to the sections to ask them to consider the advisability of removing the Council from 25 London. If they were favourable to a removal then Brussels should be proposed. That proposition had [been] passed but Cit. Hales had objected & as no instruction had been given to the Secretaries the vote had not been communicated. Cit. Hales thought the question had not been sufficiently considered & wished to give it another form. The election of the Council always came on at the last moment 30 at the Congress & a proposition to remove it would appear to some like a vote of censure. It ought therefore to be discussed beforehand at the suggestion of the Council.

Cit. Hales thought Marx was under a wrong impression. He did not want the resolution rescinded or altered in any shape but qualified by a declaration. He 35 objected to Milner's view that the Council had not done its work well, it was not for the members to pass an opinion on their doings it was for others to decide. He would now propose that while this Council deemed it necessary that the sections should fully discuss the advisability of removing the Council, care should be taken that the Council should be of a cosmopolitan character. This ought to be 40 above all ||86| clear that the governing Council should be international because we wanted to create an International feeling. At no other place where he had been were questions discussed as they were at this Council with such a variety of opinion & so much light thrown on them. The Council must be cosmopolitan. He

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knew that Brussels was a large City & all the elements required might be there. He desired that the Council should recommend the discussion but also to give a caution.

The policy of his motion differed in character from the one adopted, which
5 was to be sent to the sections to be discussed beforehand to come prepared to the Congress. He did not object to that but he did not wish to have his sent beforehand. He did not even desire that it should be read at the Congress it might be made an instruction to the delegates. He did not want to be invidious but it must be emphatically declared that no national spirit could rule. However much opinions might vary on the Council board they had always agreed to the mode of action, & if his proposition was not carried he should offer no opposition to that of Marx.

The Chairman said we all agree that the Council should be cosmopolitan & all agree that the sections should be invited to discuss the question. We can therefore
15 decide. Cit. Hales's is simply an expression of opinion.

The secretary said that the present motion of Cit. Hales was considerably modified. The sections were to discuss the question that could only be done before the Congress, it could not be done at the Congress. The other part was provided for by the rules. It was there laid down that the Council should be
20 composed of workingmen belonging to the different nationalities that were represented in the Association. It required no special injunction the rules were as explicit as possible & it must be taken for granted that the sections were acquainted with the rules.

Cit. Jung was more opposed to an expression of opinion than to a positive
25 resolution. To decide that the removal of the Council should be discussed & then tell the Congress that it must choose such & such a place was an instruction he should be ashamed to go to the Congress with as a recommendation.

Cit. Marx stated that the first International Association had been established at Brussels the Fraternal Democrats of London had been ||87| a branch of it.

30 The proposition was then put [to] the vote only three voted for it.

The secretary then brought up the report of the Subcommittee on the Congress programme. The subcommittee proposed

I. Practical ways & means of converting land into Common property. The Belgian proposition to establish sections among the rural laborers & bring them
35 into connection with the workingmen of the town to be treated as a subquestion under this head.

II. On the connection between the political action & the social movement of the workingclass.

III. Abolition of the public debts with an equitable compensation.

40 IV. Conversion of all note issuing banks into national banks.

V. On the Conditions of cooperative production on a national scale.

VI. The necessity of carrying out the resolutions of the Geneva Congress of 1866 respecting the Statistics of labour.

The Chairman asked why the Representation of Labour Question had been
45 abandoned.

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Cit. Marx that would only have been an English question. In England only the political question of the workingclass is parliamentary representative. There are different ways of considering the political labour movement & we must have a comprehensive form to include them.

Cit. Harris asked whether the Banking resolution implied the question of Credit. 5

Cit. Milner the question could not be put differently to make it international.

Cit. Marx said the English bank act did not exist on the Continent. In Germany they had a paper currency as low as notes of three shillings.

Cit. Harris banking is the natural result of Credit which is the mother of 10 banking.

The secretary then proposed the programme on behalf of the Subcommittee.

The first question could not be negatived because it had been decided by the last Congress to be considered by the next. Agreed.

Upon the second question Cit. Hales remarked that it opened too much. It 15 would open a discussion on the theories of political action. He would therefore propose a substitute to the following effect. "The best political action [§8] to be taken by the working-classes." This would pledge the Association to something.

The proposition, not being seconded, fell to the ground & the proposition of the subcommittee was agreed to. 20

III, IV, V, & VI were carried without any observations.

Cit. Hales then proposed as a seventh question a declaration against war seconded by Cit. Weston, supported by Cit. Murray.

Cit. Jung thought it useless to reiterate that declaration, it had been made at several Congresses the only proposition that could be made as a sequence of 25 former resolutions would be the practical means of abolishing standing armies. Middle class Congresses had declared against war but they voted money to keep up standing armies to keep the workpeople down.

Cit. Hales said he would take Jung's advice & alter his proposition to "the best means of abolishing standing armies & prevent war". 30

Cit. Marx said he was in favour of the Council making a declaration against war in case it should break out.

The Chairman ruled that not belonging to question before him but was in favour of it. He differed with Cit. Jung he did not care how many times the declaration against war was repeated. 35

The question was then put to the vote. Seven voted for & seven voted against it. The Chairman gave the casting vote in favour.

The Council adjourned at 'At past 11 o'clock.

B. Lucraft

J. George Eccarius Secretary. I 40

Meeting of the General Council July 19, 1870

/88/ Meeting of the Council July 19

Members present: Bora, Eccarius, Hales J., Hales W.. Jung, Lessner, Marx, Milner, Murray. Lucraft, Pfänder, Serraillier, Stepney, Townshend, Weston.

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & 5 confirmed.

The Secretary announced the receipt of a letter from the Shoemakers ||89| on Strike at Mayence requesting the Strike to be made known in England.

Cit. Jung had received a letter from Geneva thanking the Council for the resolution. They had had to contend against intrigues the resolution would support them. The Geneva bourgeoisie was shocked at the watchmakers supporting the building trades locked out.

At Naples a new section of the International had been founded by police agents.

The resolution of the Council had been telegraphed from Geneva to Bakounin. 15 Cit. Jung asked for instructions that the resolution be published in the Continental papers. Agreed.

He had communicated to Chaux de Fonds that if they preached total abstinence from politics that would disqualify them from being administrators.

A letter from Paris stated that in April the Paris federation had consisted of 20 10 Societies it now consisted of 36 & there were new ones in course of formation. Ten had paid their contributions to the Council a 100 fr. note was enclosed in the letter.

The newspaper experiment cost £16. The first edition had only been delivered when sent by post in single copies parcels by rail had been confiscated the second 25 edition all confiscated. The report of the trial would be published in Pamphlet form & Copies sent to the Council.

Labour Statistics were in progress.

A letter from Murat stated the prosecution had not frightened the International it would raise its [head] again & the next time not to be put down.

30 A letter from Brest stated that two members had been arrested undressed searched kept in prison for 28 days then discharged. One of them was also dis-

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charged from his work in the arsenal & lost his pension the other expected to be served the same.

Cit. Marx communicated a private letter about absence of war feeling in the French provinces & the manufactured enthusiasm at Paris, & translated some passages from the Anti war address of the Paris Section. He also reminded the 5 Council that the finance Committee had ||90| not as yet produced any report.

A letter from Dupont expressed a hope that the Council would issue a declaration against the war.

Cit. Hales stated the finance committee had not done its duty it had prepared no report & proposed nothing. After a few explanations it was agreed that it 10 should meet the following Saturday.

Cit. Jung reported that the Council of the Engineers had not decided how they would send the money to Paris.

Cit. Hales proposed that Marx should be appointed to draw up an address against the war. 15

Cit. Marx said before anything could be done the members must express their opinion. The Council could not issue an address like the Parisian it must be international.

Cit. Murray was against war as such. The working people had nothing to fight for. 20

The Chairman said the members were to state their opinions to serve Marx as a guide. We might be neutral by disliking both parties, might be for peace at any price he felt ashamed that the millions had not the power to stop the war. We ought to let the world know that we would stop it if we could.

Cit. Hales wished to have it pointed out that it was dangerous to leave it to a 25 few to decide upon peace & war, & that it was the people's own fault it was so.

Cit. Milner said that [the] same objection must be made to any other power as to Napoleon.

Cit. Marx we could not entertain the general war question only the special case. 30

Cit. Hales then proposed & Weston seconded that Cit. Marx be commissioned to draw up the address & issue [it] with the approval of the subcommittee. Carried.

The Council adjourned at 20 m. past 11.

John Weston 35
J. George Eccarius Secretary, j

Meeting of the General Council July 26, 1870

911 Council Meeting July 26.

Members present: Applegarth, Bora, Boon, Hales J., Hales W., Jung, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Milner, Murray, Harris, Serraillier, Stepney, Stoll, Townshend, Weston.

- 5 Cit. Weston in the Chair: The Minutes of the previous meeting were read [and] confirmed.

Cit. Serraillier announced that six members of the Association had been condemned to imprisonment & fines at Brest & their association dissolved. The same statements respecting Mazzini & Pyat had been made by the prosecution as at 10 Paris. The Marseillaise paper had been declared by the prosecution the official paper of the French Section.

Cit. Marx announced that 15 other members, amongst whom was Tolain, had been selected by the French Government for a police prosecution at Paris.

At Lyons the military had been employed to suppress a peace demonstration.

- 15 In Elsace there were about 40,000 workmen on Strike who cared nothing about the war but what was most remarkable was the operatives of the firm of Dollfuss, who in all English reports was mentioned as the friend of the workpeople were also on Strike.

In the North German Parliament two members of the Association, Liebknecht 20 & Bebel had abstained from voting on the 120,000,000 war loan giving as their reason, in a written declaration, that they could not vote because it was a dynastic war, & a vote in favour would imply a vote of confidence in the Prussian Ministry, while a vote against might be interpreted as favoring the criminal designs of Bonaparte.

- 25 They had declared that as Social Republicans & Members of the International who combated all oppressors regardless of nationality & aimed at the union of all the oppressed they could not vote & expressed a confidential hope that the people of Europe would strain every nerve to conquer the power which would make them the arbiters of their own destinies.

30 Cit. Marx then read the address which had been issued with the sanction ||92| of the subcommittee. The address was received with general approbation.

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To the question what steps had been taken to get it published the secretary replied that he had sent it to the Times accompanied by a letter to the Editor suitable to precede the address, to publish it under the head of letters to the Editor if objections should be made to publish it in another form. He had also stated that it would not be communicated to any other morning paper until it was known that the Times would not publish it. He thought there was little prospect of getting [it] in full into any paper. 5

Cit. Harris said it must not be tolerated that the secretary sent [it] only to the Times with a private letter, the address must be sent to every penny paper published as well as to the great monopolist. 10

The Secretary replied that would render the secretaryship intolerable. He would not undertake to provide all the papers with the copies of an address that took some three & a half hours to copy, & if the Times had brought it the weekly & provincial papers would have brought it too & if the Times did not bring it they would not. He thought it ought to be printed for circulation. 15

Cit. Marx said that he had sent it to the Editor of another paper that day & thought it would be published.

Cit. Lucraft thought we should not depend on the Times or any other paper he would be [ready to give] half a crown towards getting the address printed.

Cits. Applegarth, Boon, Harris & others promised to do likewise. 20

Cit. Boon then proposed that the address be printed.

Cit. Hales J. seconded & Cit. Applegarth supported the proposition.

Carried unanimously & [agreed] that 1,000 copies be printed.

Cit. Milner moved & Cit. Boon seconded that a subscription be opened to establish a permanent printing fund & that the outside public be appealed to by 25 a footnote in the address.

Cit. Hales proposed as an amendment that the question be deferred till after the Congress. The finance committee had not done anything the Council did not know its financial position the fund might not be required.

Cit. Harris said he had attended three times to arrange the matter of the 30 finance committee but he had no books given him he would ||B| gladly have gone over all the old books if required. But the finance committee was not the printing committee it had nothing to do with it.

Cit. Lucraft remarked that the business before the chair should not be lost sight of it was a foot note to invite subscription he was against it. 35

Cit. Murray thought 1,000 copies would not meet the requirement. He was in favour of the proposition & the address should be translated into all the languages.

Cit. Applegarth saw no objection if the proposition was cut in two i.e. to have a printing fund & invite subscriptions by a circular accompanying the address. 40

Cit. Milner wanted to know how it could be made known without publishing it.

Cit. Murray was for asking the societies.

The secretary said he was against the proposition. It would tell the outside public that we were short of funds which would reduce our importance which 45

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greatly depended on the belief that we had large sums at our disposal & it would not bring any money. It would be the worst thing that could be done to tell the outside public & the governments that we were poor.

Cit. Boon could not see that an appeal for subscriptions to a general printing fund could do any harm.

Cit. Milner thought it no disgrace to be poor & was not ashamed to own it & let the world know it. Other societies called for subscriptions particularly the christian societies no movement could go on without.

Cit. Jung said we had been a great deal worse off than we were now we paid 10 our way & that was more than some of the middleclass movements did. If we exposed our poverty the press would not respect us as it did it was because they thought we had plenty [of] money that they considered us powerful. He was against the foot note.

Cit. Marx said if the pennies were paid we would have enough he had no 15 objection to an appeal in a form of a circular. The Address would be translated.

Cit. Boon said a fund was needed for a certain purpose which had nothing to do with the financial state of the Association. |

|94| Cit. Serraillier seconded the amendment. He had not said a word all the evening. He was against appealing for funds before the Congress.

20 The amendment was carried by 11 against 5.

Cit. Marx called attention to the draft of a Treaty published in the Times of the previous day & pronounced it a forged document no Frenchman would write such French. In the official Prussian papers such things were printed before 1866, & the Prussian Government agreed to them. The workingclass had no interest in 25 preserving Belgium as a separate state it had employed its army to kill the working people. The English Government had used Napoleon, they had cringed & crawled to him & now they were going to kick him.

The following members subscribed towards the expense of printing the address: Applegarth 2. 6.; Boon 2. 6.; Bora 6 d. Cowell Stepney 5. 0. Hales J. 2. 6.; 30 Harris 2. 6. Jung 2. 6.; Lucraft 2. 6.; Marx 5.0.; Pascalis 6 d. Stoll 2. 6.; Pfann (a visitor from Vienna) 1 s. Serraillier 2. 6.; Townshend 1 s. Total £1. 13. 0. Paid up at once 15 s. 6 d.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

John Weston I

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[List of newspapers, individuals and associations having received the first address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-German War]

American Workmen	City Shoemakers	
[Workingman's] Advocate Chicago	Web Weavers	
Arbeiter Union	Helvetica	
Boston Journal	West End Ladies' Boot	
New York Democrat	Trunk Makers	
World	Cigar Makers Liverpool	
Harney	3 Dodson	
Trevellick	3 Hatters	
New Democracy	3 Allan	
Jessup	3 Plasterers	10
Hume	3 Brassfinishers	
Sorge	3 Philanthropic Coopers	
Vogt	3 Ironfounders	
Lucraft	Tinplate Workers	
Applegarth	Silvercup Carpenters	15
Weston	Tottenham Court Road Carpenters	
Ludlow	Painters	
Stuart Mill	Land & Labour League	
Professor Beesly	James Street Oxford St.	
Fawcett Professor	do Old Road	20
Frederick Harrison	Nag's Head	
Thomas Hughes	Iron Workes North of England	
Thomas Huxley	Sheffield Dronfield	
Peter Taylor	Dundee	
Borkheim	Manchester Tailors	25
Phipson	Manchester Trades Council	
National Reformer	Edinburgh Trades Council	
Stepney	Dublin Trades Council	
Marx	Nottingham Trades Council	
Tailors	Kendal Shoemakers	30
Examiner	John Smith Blanchford	
Basket Makers	Plasterers Birmingham	
Bookbinders	Organ Builders	
Bricklayers	Mac Rae	
Alliance Cabinet	Birmingham Trades Council	35
West End Cabinet	Basket Makers	
Chelsea Carpenters	Bookbinders	
Coachmakers	Bricklayers	
London Cigar Makers	Bootclosers	

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Alliance Cabinet Makers	Peace Society	2
West End Cabinet [Makers]	Bookbinders London	1
Carpenters	Peace Society	7
Tailors	Mead Maiden Road	1
5 London Coachmakers	Peace Society	2
Elastic Web [Weavers]	Reform Union Manchester	1
Trunkmakers		

Meeting of the General Council August 2, 1870

|96| Council Meeting August 2.

Members present: Boon, Bora, Eccarius, Hales J., Jung, Marx, Milner, Harris, Riihl, Serraillier, Odger, Stoll, Townshend, Weston.

Cit. Weston in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

5

Cit. Serraillier read a letter from Belgium in which Amsterdam was proposed as the seat of the Congress. It would be near to all except Italy & Spain. The writer was astonished that the direct legislation question & the education question had been eliminated from the programme. The section is for leaving the Council at London. But gives notice that the Belgian delegates will ask at the 10 Congress why the Council has interfered in Switzerland. Cannot understand why the Council should keep silent about the war while everybody is protesting.

Cit. Jung [said] that they had been a little too fast. The address & the letter had probably crossed each other on the road, he would speak about the Congress afterwards.

15

Cit. Marx stated that since the publication of the address more protests had been issued in Germany in our sense at Barmen, Munich, Breslau & other places.

The secretary announced that he had received a parcel of peace pamphlets from the peace Society for distribution.

Cit. Odger thought the peace Society might assist in circulating our address if 20 an application was made.

The secretary stated that very few were left.

Cit. Harris proposed & Townshend seconded that another 1,000 be printed. Carried.

The Chairman stated that Stuart Mill was highly pleased with the address. 25 There was not one word in it that ought not to be there it could not have been done with fewer words.

Cit. Harris thought it would have been more courteous if he had acknowledged the receipt by letter to the Secretary.

Cit. Jung called attention to an article in the Solidarité commenting on the 30 Conduct of the Council respecting the Swiss quarrel. It stated that the ||97| Coun-

Meeting of the General Council August 2, 1870

cil had not been asked to interfere & give judgement. They spoke of a private letter of his which was said to have been written on the 27 of April instead of that it had been written on the 21. He had been instructed to write to both parties for particulars. Geneva had promptly replied. Guillaume had answered that he 5 would lay it before the Committee who would reply officially but no reply had been received. The Parisians had complained of the backwardness of the Council in not settling the matter sooner.

It was wrong to polemise on private letters of Council members. They took Liebknecht & Bebel's conduct in the North German Parliament as backing up 10 their abstention theory.

In Paris a man had been sentenced to six months' imprisonment for crying vive la paix.

Cit. Marx proposed & Harris seconded that the matter be referred to the Subcommittee. Agreed.

15 Cit. Boon proposed that the seat of the Congress be taken into consideration. Cit. Marx wished to express an opinion. The Congress was to take place on the 5th of September but the present state of things was not favorable. At Paris the Association was dissolved & no French could leave home without a passport. The latest German reports were that our party was really in distress for want of 20 funds on account of the war, the official paper had to be reduced to half the size for want of means to pay for the printing. The Germans would not be able to send anybody we ought to wait we were not in a position to decide. Amsterdam besides was not a good place. It had no industrial population the section was yet young there was no local force & it might place Holland in a difficulty. The 25 Brussels proposition was not acceptable. All the sections ought to be written to & asked whether they would consent to a postponement. Instead of a Congress a Conference might perhaps be held as in 1865.

Cit. Jung considered Amsterdam the last place to hold a Congress in. The working class there was in a very dejected state. The Swiss would not be able to 30 send delegates they too had to reduce their papers on account of the war many had been called to arms a force of 60,000 was under Arms & [198] trade was sure to be bad. The only place where a Congress could be held was England & that would only be an English Congress. The Council could not put it off but the opinion of the Continental members must be asked. We might yet be able to hold 35 it at Mayence or perhaps at Paris.

Cit. Boon proposed that the Congress should be held in London where it would not be disturbed. His opinion was that the Congress should be held & as there was no other place where it could meet it should meet in London.

Cit. Milner could only see one thing & that was that anything that might be 40 done should be based on reciprocity the opinion of members ought to be invited on all sides. We generally agreed on all sides & might have to come to giving up the Congress but the proposition ought not to come from here. The Council must give importance to the Association in the present emergency, it was the arch of the movement & would lose its prestige if it wavered. It must be careful on this

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question but he wished that the convenience of others should be consulted. Nothing could be done that was not based upon a humanitarian feeling.

The Chairman ruled that there was no motion before the Chair.

Cit. Hales said a great responsibility rested on the Council & nothing ought to be done that was not in the interest of the Association. The Council should appeal to the Constituency & [if] they were in favour of postponement the Council would be relieved of all responsibility. He therefore proposed that the sections be appealed to to state whether they were in favour of postponement & if so to give the Council the power to fix the date. 5

Cit. Eccarius seconded the proposition & stated that independent of the absence of Continental delegates a Congress in London would have the moral weight as in some smaller town on the Continent. On the Continent they could always secure some first rate place to meet in here they would have to go into some corner there would be no stir it would be drowned in the London crowd. The stir it made in the small Continental town did the Association as much good 10 as the transaction of the Congresses themselves. 15

Cit. Marx said if the Sections agreed a conference might be held here ||99| but he was for an appeal.

Cit. Boon supported the appeal but did not think that London was such a bad place for a Congress as Eccarius seemed to think. If sensation was wanted we 20 ought to go to Paris. He only expressed his own opinion he was not delegated by any one, & represented no one but himself.

The Chairman said that was a mistake every Council member was expected to represent the Constituency of the whole Association.

Cit. Milner wished to come to an understanding. Instead of sinking the importance of the Association now was the time to raise it. We could not for a moment abandon the idea of holding a congress, or sink its importance. Thousands were brought together without any fault of their own & on such an occasion the Council must act. There was the war, hundreds of thousands would destroy each other we must show it up & all about frontiers, now was the time to 25 stick up & show that we were international, was the Council going to sink when ought to rise. The convenience of the Constituents ought to be consulted by all means but he continued don't budge if you budge for a moment your cause is lost the Association will sink to nothing. We had shown in our address that we were not confused but we must follow it up. 30 35

Cit. Marx said he could not understand what Milner meant.

Cit. Hales said all he desired was to ask the sections to postpone the Congress the Council had the power of fixing the place.

Cit. Marx said the Congress fixed the place but the Council could change it in case of need. 40

Cit. Stoll said that the French members could not even come to London without exposing themselves to prosecutions.

Cit. Harris said before you get the answers back the whole of Europe may be involved. Cannot we make a stand even in London where no notice will be taken of us? 45

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Cit. Marx if things become so involved we are always here to act.
Cit. Jung said the Congress is the law making power & if we hold a Congress without Continental representatives they would ||100| repudiate what we did. Cit. Harris & Milner seem to confound the Congress with a demonstration.

- 5 The proposition was then put to the vote & carried unanimously.
Cit. Hales moved that the finance Committee be discharged.
Cit. Harris seconded & it was agreed to let it stand over for a week.
The Council adjourned '4 past 11 o'clock.

10

B. Lucraft
J. George Eccarius Secretary. /

Meeting of the General Council August 9, 1870

/10/ Council Meeting August 9.

Members present. Bora, Eccarius, Hales J., Hales W., Jung, Lessner, Lucraft, Milner, Mottershead, Murray, Serraillier, Stoll, Weston, Townshend.

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & with an alteration at the suggestion of Cit. Harris confirmed. 5

The Secretary read a letter from the peace society who offered twenty pounds on condition that it should be spent in the further distribution of the address on the war on the Continent.

Cit. Hales proposed that the offer be accepted.

Cit. Weston seconded the proposition. Carried unanimously.

The Chairman announced that the address had appeared in full in the Glasgow Daily Herald with a complimentary leader.

A great many other provincial papers were mentioned that had produced the address in full.

Cit. Serraillier had received a letter from Spain proposing Barcelona as the seat of the Congress. The Spanish papers were filled with protestations against the war. 15

Cit. Jung had received a letter from Naples announcing that a detailed report would soon be sent about how they were going on, how they were troubled with their presidents, & how Caporusso got imprisoned. Caporusso had forfeited the right to communicate with the Council. He had betrayed his post at a critical moment his conduct must be enquired into. 20

A paper had been sent containing an article from Caporusso in which the other party was accused. Some time since a letter from Geneva had ||11|| stated that the Naples Section got into the hands of the police, some inquiries were necessary & it would be best to write to Dassy who had nothing to do with either party. 25

Upon the proposition of Cit. Hales, seconded by Cit. Murray, Cit. Jung was instructed to write.

Cit. Hales then proposed & Cit. Murray seconded that the Subcommittee be authorized to make arrangements for the translation & distribution of the address. 30

Meeting of the General Council August 9, 1870

Cit. Weston thought the Council might do something at once. If the Subcommittee could deal with it the Council could.

The secretary was of opinion that the four secretaries viz. the Swiss, the Belgian, the German & himself should be authorised to manage the affair. The main thing was to circulate the address as widely as possible in the two countries that were involved in the war & the French version would have to be printed either in Switzerland or in Belgium & smuggled into France.

Cit. Harris proposed that the address be translated into all the languages. Cit. Townshend seconded.

10 Cit. Hales then modified his proposition to this effect: That the address be translated into French & German & printed & distributed & that Cits. Marx, Jung, Serraillier, & Eccarius be appointed to carry it out. It was not desirable that the money should be applied to other countries it should be limited to France & Germany.

15 Cit. Mottershead seconded the proposition.

Cit. Serraillier said it was [necessary] to translate it into all the languages as the members of the Council did not understand them sufficiently but the Spanish & Italian Sections had men amongst them who [were] fully conversant with the French & they would translate it into their own languages.

20 Cit. Asked if that would fulfil the Conditions with the peace society. The Secretary thought it would. The address would be translated & printed in the journals of the Association in Spain, in Holland &c. but it was not advisable to print a ||102| separate edition in every language.

Cit. Harris acknowledged that the means were not sufficient to carry out his 25 proposition.

The proposition Cit. Hales was unanimously carried.

Cit. Hales then proposed that the finance committee be discharged because it had not done its duty, it had not done the work it had been appointed to do.

Cit. Mottershead seconded the proposition but denied that the Committee had 30 not done its duty. They had drawn up a plan & made an estimate & gave a report but they had not been frankly met. No sooner had they opened their mouths than they had been told all round that they were wrong. The books were in such a state that no body knew what to make of them.

Cit. Harris said that men had been appointed to do a work which they had not 35 been able to do because they had not the means. The books were not kept in a business like manner, they would condemn it in a court of law.

Cit. Murray said he remembered the report being made & there was no one but the finance committee making any attack on them they attacked themselves.

The secretary stated that the call for arrears had resulted in one society sever- 40 ing its connection because the International meddled in politics an other had not been aware that it was in arrears & the other had not replied.

It had been agreed that an appeal should be made simultaneously with the sending out of the Congress programme the delay in drawing up the programme & the war had 111081 interfered with that but he had written to the societies. The

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old liabilities had been copied from the old balance sheets & were all in the book. They had not been carried forward because none had been paid since 1867 in that year £21 had been paid of the £40 due at the Congress of 1866. A printer's balance of £5 had since gone through the bankruptcy court as bad debts & he considered the others as little better than bad debts. If there was any money to 5 pay them there would be no difficulty of finding what we owed. He challenged anyone to show that the income & expenditure was not entered plain enough that everybody could understand it.

Cit. Jung said the finance committee had not been appointed to do auditor's work, the books ought to have been audited first & then the Committee would 10 have seen how we stood. There were things connected with the society of which the younger members knew nothing they did not know how poor we had been & not any of those who had advanced money now made a claim for payment.

Mottershead said it was the duty of the finance committee to look in the books but that duty had been shirked. They had been led astray by the secretary about 15 the old debts on the plea that they were too old to be paid. This was a disgrace to any society. He must say that the books were kept in such a slovenly manner that people were ashamed to go into them. There was Le Lubez going about everywhere telling the people that the Council owed him money & did not pay him.

The Secretary said Le Lubez's charge was for postage while French Secretary, 20 five years ago, & the reason why he had not been paid was because he refused to give up the correspondence. The finance committee was then discharged & the appointment of a new one adjourned.

J. George Eccarius Secretary
John Hales Chairman | 25

Meeting of the General Council August 16, 1870

|104| Council Meeting August 16.

Members present: Boon, Caihil, Cohn, Eccarius, Hales J., Hales W., Harris, Jung, Milner, Murray, Lessner, Lucraft, Serraillier, Weston.

Cit. Hales J. in the Chair. The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. Cit. Edward Caihil was accepted as delegate from the Tottenham Court Road branch Carpenters & Joiners.

The secretary stated that the translations of the war address had been sent to Geneva & that both the German & the French version would be printed there & thence conveyed into France & Germany.

10 Cit. Weston stated that the old gentleman whom he had mentioned before had given him a sovereign. If the Workmen's Peace Committee was hard up for funds it was to go half & half if not the whole should go to the International.

Cit. Lucraft, being the treasurer of the Workmen's Committee, thought it was more needed for the Council, it was accordingly accepted & the Secretary instructed to have another 1,000 copies of the address printed.

15 The Secretary of the Alliance Cabinet Makers Society paid £1 Contribution & £1 to the Congress fund. Cit. Cohn paid £1. 9 s. Contribution & stated that £1 had been voted for the Congress by the London Cigar Makers' Association, which would be paid whenever it was decided when & where the Congress should take place.

20 Cit. Jung communicated a letter from the German Swiss Committee agreeing to the postponement of the Congress & leaving it to the Council to appoint time & place, a letter to the same effect was communicated from the Executive of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. Both letters were against the removal of the Council from London.

Cit. Harris announced that he had sent war addresses to Spain that a copy had been given to Castelar who was highly pleased with it & sent his fraternal greetings.

25 Cit. Jung communicated a portion of a private letter from Mr. Robinson of the Pall Mall Gazette to Applegarth in which he paid a high compliment to the address. |

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11051 Mr. Appleton of Manchester was so pleased with it that he was going to have it reprinted for circulation.

A discussion then arose as to what the finance Committee about to be appointed was expected to do. The Chairman stated it was to keep the Council informed from week to week as to the financial position, to get funds, &c. It could not be tied down to any particular work, but it would be its duty from time to time to make recommendations. The General Secretary ought to have no money in his possession. If he was appointed he would ascertain in a month what the Council owed, the secretary stated he could tell the Council at once. 5

Cit. Boon, Hales J. & Serraillier were then appointed as the financial Committee. 10

The Secretary was authorised to pay a quarter's rent to the Sunday League.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

Thomas Mottershead Aug. 23/70
J. George Eccarius Secretary. I 15

Meeting of the General Council August 23, 1870

/105/ Council Meeting August 23 (Fifty second birth day of
the Secretary)

Members present: Boon, Eccarius, Hales J., Harris, Jung, Lessner, Lucraft, Milner, Mottershead, Murray, Odger, Pfänder, Serraillier, Townshend.

- 5 Cit. Mottershead in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

The Secretary reported that 15,000 copies German & 15,000 copies French war addresses would be printed at Geneva & sent into France & Germany for the Money granted by the Peace Society. He further stated that he had received the 10 cheque of £20 & given it to the Swiss Secretary to forward it.

A letter was read from Hume of New York in which he stated that he had been almost prostrated by the heat, that he was an old man & had only made two members as yet. He had not been able to attend the labor Congress.

Cit. Lucraft reported that a friend of peace in Kent had sent a piece ||106| of his 15 own poetry to Birmingham for circulation & in return had received a hand bill with some extracts from our war address in consequence of which he had forwarded a complimentary letter enclosing five shillings to the funds of the Council. The Secretary was instructed to forward a card of membership & papers.

Cit. Serraillier read a letter from the Belgian Council in which the observations 20 respecting the war protest & the Swiss dispute of a former letter were withdrawn & the postponement of the Congress agreed to.

A letter from the romand Committee of Geneva stated that the section was unanimously in favor of the postponement of the Congress & leave the General Council in London. There was no other place so safe. One of the sections that 25 had gone with La Chaux de Fonds had returned, Bakunin & Perron had been expelled.

Cit. Hales stated that the Finance Committee had met but was not yet in a position to present a complete report but it had agreed upon a recommendation.

The Chairman did not consider it advisable to entertain the question till a 30 complete report, & he thought a written report was presented.

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After several suggestions Cit. Hales agreed to present a written report that day week.

Cit. Serraillier then proposed that a formal resolution respecting the postponement of the Congress be passed. After some remarks the following resolution was agreed to:—

"That, in consideration of the advice received from the Continental Sections of the association concerning the congress the Fifth Annual Congress be postponed till the earliest opportunity."

Upon the proposition of Cit. Lucraft seconded by Cit. Harris it was resolved against two to publish the resolution in the English papers. 10

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

John Hales. Chairman
J. George Eccarius |

Meeting of the General Council August 30, 1870

|107| Meeting of the Council August 30.

Members present: Eccarius, Hales J., Harris, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Serraillier, Townshend.

Cit. J. Hales in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & 5 confirmed.

The Secretary reported that he had sent the announcement postponing the Congress to twenty five papers & all he had seen had inserted it.

A letter from New York announced the formation of a French Section in that city containing about 100 members & having appointed a committee for six 10 months. In the rules the dignity of president had been excluded. As the first sign of life a protest against the war had been published. The section applied for affiliation which was unanimously voted, & the secretary instructed to forward it to the French Corresponding Secretary to send it to New York.

A letter from Dupont addressed to Stoll stated that the lithographic printers of 15 Paris were on Strike, that they had lent out 18,000 francs to other societies & their own funds were exhausted. They desired the Council to obtain loans for them from the English trade societies.

Cit. Jung proposed & Cit. Lessner seconded that Dupont be informed that the Council could do nothing. Carried unanimously.

20 Cit. Jung announced that he had received from Brussels seven copies of the French report of the last Congress. The selling price was 1 franc. Cit. Serraillier took charge of them.

Cit. Hales stated that he had drawn up a report on behalf of the finance Committee but he had yet [not] been able to submit it to the other members of the 25 committee for approval.

Cit. Jung then announced that Osborne Ward was present & about to return to the United States perhaps he might wish to say a few words.

Cit. Ward said:—I have but a few words to say. I suppose you are aware that I was delegated by the cooperative societies of New York to your last Congress. 30 The delegate who attended represented the Trade Unions. I was not a trade unionist formerly but I have made up my mind to become so now, & take an

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active part in the movement on my return home. I look upon the ||108| trade unions as a means of progressive reform in social & political questions. It is by the help of trade unions that we must gain political power.

Cooperation as at present existing creates only a new class of masters a cooperative bourgeoisie. We must have cooperation where everyone gets the full reward 5 for his labor, & this cooperation ought to be commenced by the state. When once we get rid of the present stock jobbing Government we shall be able to make an appropriation large enough to make state cooperative production one of the institutions of the Country. A large tract of land might be set apart upon which besides agriculture other industries might be established by the government & 10 worked like the dockyards are now. They ought to be supplied with all the labor saving machinery, but Everybody, man, woman, & child should work, for no one can be healthy without work.

If at the end of the year it was found that they had produced more than they required the hours of labor ought to be reduced. With an economical application 15 of that muscular power the exercise of which is necessary for the preservation of health five hours a day should be enough.

Suppose that such Associations had become recognised institutions of the state, & that similar establishments existed in England, France, Spain, &c. then a practical interchange of goods & ideas would open a boundless field. We would 20 have cooperative ships & international means of travelling this would kill war.

In Europe you grow wines which are an almost indispensable necessity for us in America. We suffer much from indigestion & consumption through the want of such wines. I am an Engineer. The life of an Engineer in America averages only 35 years of age. In France & Spain they live much longer because of these 25 beverages which assist the digestion of food. We on the other hand grow cotton & other things which are necessities for you & we could exchange ||109| without other people making a profit out of them. Such a thing can be brought about & I think we have a better chance in America of making an experiment on a large scale than there is in Europe. 30

Cit. Milner. If I understand rightly Cit. Ward seeks to blend agriculture with industry, combining the two health promoting occupations, & thinks it can be done by a grant of land from the Government. The difficulty [is] to get the workpeople into parliament. Much could be done now if we had the organisation, but we have not the mind to do it. Existing interests are the opposing forces. 35 We seek to convert people to the idea that work is healthy but they will not believe it.

Cit. Hales thought that Ward looked upon the present state of Society as a machine based upon wrong principles.

Cit. Harris said:—Society cannot be a machine because a machine has no 40 morals. Cit. Ward wants a higher moral state of society. I am altogether against government we have had too much of it. Many experiments have been made here but destroyed by false friends. I hope they will succeed in America but you have to be careful. What I object to is the interference of Government. To get the

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workpeople into Congress will raise their moral tone. The black man was freed to raise his moral tone but he was at the same time divorced from the land & was wanted to work cheap. When he refused they fetched coolies. Tell the people of America that no government has a right to grant land to any one the land 5 belongs to the people. The worst people in the world are those who make it their business to govern others. I will admit that the Communists & Socialists would establish a better state of society than the one I am living in but I object to the trickery of government. I want liberty.

Cit. Jung said:—I have no threat of the government. Those who have the 10 power of the government can carry their point. The present governments are against us, we cannot escape them because we have to pay & our taxes are used to help others. If we became wealthy enough to become dangerous they would tax us more. Friend ||110| Ward is for a kind of Communistic Community & thinks there is a better chance in America to commence cooperative production 15 on a large scale assisted by the state than in Europe which I do not believe but he is right to try & we will do well to assist as much as we can & encourage him.

Cit. Ward:—I expected to meet this opposition. We have much respect for the Council, & if we have the sanction of the Association we can do more than we could without such sanction. The Association is growing very fast in the estimation 20 of the American workpeople & the debates of each succeeding Congress are more thought of. The question is, is it right that a commencement be made & the theories of philosophers crystallized, that is to say carried out in practice? If it be right tell us yes & we will go on. If we can logically prove that it is necessary for the progress of society it will succeed.

25 Cit. Harris. I have not said anything to deprecate the intentions of Cit. Ward, on the contrary. I have given him addresses to bring him together with good & true men but they must be cautious.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

30

H.Jung
J. George Eccarius Secretary. /

Meeting of the General Council September 6, 1870

/no/ Council Meeting Sept. 6.

Members present: Boon, Eccarius, Harris, Jung, Marx, Milner, Serraillier, Townshend, Weston.

Cit. Jung in the Chair. The Minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

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The Secretary read a note from Thomas Dixon, Sunderland, asking for addresses. Application granted.

A letter from the New Democracy New York was read and the Secretary instructed to reply.

A letter from Dupont announced that he was willing to proceed to Paris if the Council desired him to do so.

Cit. Marx read a letter from New York commenting on the doings [111] of Hume who has issued cards of membership in which he styles himself agent of the Association for the United States & makes Lucraft president of the Association.

Cit. Harris objected to people who made only use of the Association to get connection with the press he thought Hume was one of them.

The secretary was instructed to draw up a letter to Hume & submit it at the next meeting.

Cit. Marx stated that he had received a letter from the executive of the Democratic socialist Party [of Germany] asking for advice how to proceed. He had immediately replied & received an answer that they would do their duty.

He then read a letter from the federal committee of Paris appealing to the General Council to issue an address to the German people. In an address issued by the International of Paris to the German people it was stated that the man who had declared war against Germany was in their hands & it was now the duty of the German armies to retire.

Cit. Marx stated that workingmen's meetings would be held immediately in Germany against the policy of the Prussian Government.

The Chairman announced that there were several Germans present who had been expelled from France & who wanted work.

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Cit. Harris then proposed & Cit. Townshend seconded that an address be issued to the working people of Germany.

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Cit. Milner did not think the discussion necessary. The party who had inaugurated the war was gone but the people seemed in favour to continue it. The difficulty was to get the French in a frame of mind to listen to reasonable propositions & the Prussians to be moderate in their demands. Whichever view the 5 Council might take it would be accused of partisanship by the other side. The Council could express an opinion & leave the rest to a subcommittee who would have to draw up the address.

Cit. Weston's idea was that the French should be addressed ||112| first. The new Government wanted to prosecute the war & make it its own. To drive the invader 10 from the French soil was rather a large talk they ought to invite him to leave now that he had the instigator in his hands. The French had invaded first. We ought to admonish them to make proposals of peace & when they had done that then we should appeal to the Germans who had been challenged to the war. If the French continued they would put themselves wrong with the world. Arrangements were 15 in progress to hold meetings & the view he had expressed was the view held by many. He hoped the French would not consider it a want of sympathy.

Cit. Serraillier said Cit. Weston had stated that the present French Government was taking up the Emperor's war. The French Government had offered terms of peace. It had offered to pay the expense & as a guarantee of peace to 20 abolish the standing army.

Cit. Harris said Napoleon had brought about the war. The French ought to be grateful to the Germans for having rid them of a tyrant. The intention of the International was to appeal to the stronger to be magnanimous. He wanted an appeal to the stronger. A few weeks ago a meeting had been in contemplation but 25 the peace mongers had not wanted it.

Cit. Weston thought that Harris seemed to have understood him as accusing the French of having commenced the war, that was not so but by continuing it the Government became guilty. If they had offered the terms of peace stated his own observations had been uncalled for.

30 Cit. Boon said: Let the Germans have Alsace & Lorraine he was in favour of an address & to demand of the Prussians to treat Napoleon like a thief. But the people themselves ought to have a voice in the annexation.

Cit. Marx could not coincide with Boon. He assumed that it was the German people who wanted those provinces it was only the Court party & the aristocracy, 35 & the middle class. What the Germans wanted was a guarantee against Prussia | 11131 who would transfer the military government from France to Germany. The French would revive under the revolution & the Germans would become what the French have been. The middle class men were no heroes but there was money to be made & they would demand annexation. There had not been one working-40 men's meeting in favour but the professors & the commercial men & the pot-house of the South were all for annexation. The English press had been worse than the German. They said the Germans were a peaceable race but they had dismembered Poland, oppressed Hungary & Italy. The working class was not strong enough to prevent annexation but they could raise an opposition against

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their rulers. We had said in our First Address that the death knell of the second Empire had sounded & that it would end by a parody that had already come to pass. We had also foreseen that the war might lose its defensive character & told the Germans if they allowed that victory or defeat would be alike disastrous. We had only to stick [to] what we had said already & appeal to the German working class to guard themselves against the Prussian Government who had assumed another tone. The annexation would furnish a reason why Europe should keep armed, Russia & France would prepare for new wars to revenge the present war. 5

A wished to be pointed out that in fighting against the French the Germans fought against the Republic. 10

The proposition was carried unanimously.

Cit. Milner thought the matter was urgent & was in favour of a special meeting.

Cit. Boon proposed that Marx, Jung, Milner, and Serraillier be appointed to draw up the address. Carried.

Cit. Boon proposed and Cit. Marx seconded that a special meeting be held on Friday Evening to receive the address. Carried. 15

Cit. Serraillier proposed & Marx seconded the nomination of Cit. Lopatine as a member of the Council.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

R. Applegarth Chairman. 20
J.G. Eccarius Secretary |

Special Meeting of the General Council
September 9, 1870

|H4| Special Meeting of the Council Sept. 9.

Members present: Eccarius, Jung, Harris, Marx, Milner, Lessner, Serraillier, Pfänder Townshend, Weston.

Cit. Townshend in the Chair.

- 5 Cit. Marx read the following address:

Cit. Eccarius proposed & Cit. Harris seconded that the address as read be adopted: Carried.

On the proposition of Cit. Harris seconded by Cit. Milner it was unanimously resolved that 1,000 copies be printed & the secretary authorized to have [them] 10 printed by Tuesday night.

The Council adjourned at 11^h o'clock.

R. Applegarth Chairman.
J. George Eccarius Secretary I

Meeting of the General Council September 13, 1870

/114/ Meeting of the Council September 13.

Members present: Boon, Eccarius, Harris, Hales J., Hales W., Bradnick, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Milner, Townshend, Weston.

Cit. Milner in the Chair. The secretary stated that the members of the Council were invited & expected to attend a meeting at the Arundel Hall to arrange a demonstration in favour of acknowledging the French Republic by the British Government. The minutes might therefore be postponed. Agreed. 5

Cit. Jung had received a letter from the federal Committee of Paris in which it was stated that all were engaged in the defence of Paris. Meetings were held all over Paris & there was a permanent Committee. The present government was not theirs but they must support the Republic. Robin had written about the Congress they wanted to call it together as soon as possible. | 10

|115| Cit. Jung said the calling of the Congress belonged to the Council not to them.

Cit. Marx said when that was written they had no idea of the real state of things they would have to stand a siege first it would not be worthwhile to talk about rights now. 15

It was agreed that Cit. Jung should simply acknowledge the receipt of the letter.

A letter from Lyons announced that the members of the Association had taken the initiative there to proclaim the Republic. A Committee of public safety had been established of which six members belonged to the International & a deputation of ten of whom three were members of the International had been sent to Paris to confer with the provisional government. 20

Cit. Marx announced that Serraillier had gone to Paris & decided to remain there. He was in the National Guard in the corps of Flourens. 25

His family was without means he proposed that one pound be granted to his wife. Cit. John Hales seconded the proposition. Carried.

Cit. Marx had received a Telegram from Paris to the effect that it was desirable the workmen of London should force the government to recognise the Republic. 30

Meeting of the General Council September 13, 1870

Cit. Hales read the finance committee's report to be considered at the next sitting.

The Council adjourned at 10 o'clock.

R. Applegarth Chairman.
J. George Eccarius Secretary |

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Meeting of the General Council September 20, 1870

| i 16 | Meeting of the Council September 20, 1870

Members present: Cohn, Eccarius, Applegarth, Hales J., Harris, Lessner, Lu-craft, Marx, Milner, Mottershead, Pfänder, Weston.

Cit. Applegarth in the Chair. The minutes of the three previous meetings were
read & confirmed. 5

Cit. Lopatine was unanimously elected as a member of the Council.

On the proposition of Cit. Marx, seconded by Eccarius & supported by Less-
ner Cit. Fred. Engels was nominated as a member of the Council.

A letter was read from the Secretary of the Birmingham Trades Council en-
closing a resolution to send a delegate at the next Congress. 10

The Secretary was instructed to reply & furnish information as to the condi-
tions under which the Council could be represented.

A letter from Henry Martin of Strood in Kent expressed regret that the ter-
ritorial question of France had been introduced into the war address it had not
been made a point that in any territorial changes the Inhabitants of such terri- 15
ties ought to be consulted.

Cit. Marx stated that the semi official Russian paper that appeared in the
French language had had an article on our second war address. He had forward-
ed both addresses to the official paper that appeared in the Russian language.

He had received a letter from Germany announcing that seven members of the 20
Socialist Democratic party, the men who had issued the manifesto against the
annexation of Alsace & Lorraine had been arrested by General Vogel & sent 650
miles away in chains to the East of Prussia. If they had been left at Brunswick it
would have been necessary to bring them before a jury & no indictment could
have been sustained for what they had done. ||117| They had therefore been 25
arrested by the orders of the military government & transported. At Leipzig the
police had suppressed a demonstration & at Mayence four members who had
taken part in one & not being natives or citizens of the town had been expelled.
One of them was a Darmstädter. At Berlin, Augsburg, Nuremberg & other places
demonstrations had taken place to protest against Annexation. 30

Of the second war address only the Spectator, the Figaro & the Pall Mall
Gazette had taken notice. He therefore suggested that the two addresses be print-

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ed together in Pamphlet form. The Association might pay for the printing take what was wanted to give away & leave the rest to Truelove who might act as publisher to sell.

Cit. Weston said if the funds would allow it he would propose that 1,000 be 5 printed. The Secretary stated there were about £5 in hand.

Cit. Harris seconded & suggested that 1 d. might be printed on as the price. Carried unanimously.

The Secretary was instructed to get 1,000 printed by that day week.

The secretary then read a draft of letter to Hume of New York. Objection was 10 taken to the devices, & to Hume calling himself agent & Lucraft president of the Association, on a card which he had designed for American members. Before going further with the letter the secretary wanted to know whether the card should be suppressed altogether or not.

After some observations from Mottershead, Milner, & Marx Cit. Hales moved 15 that the card be objected to & the Secretary instructed to point out what was wrong & call upon Hume to conform to the rules.

Cit. Mottershead seconded the proposition & Cit. Marx spoke in favour of it. Carried.

The Secretary then announced that [at] the meeting held at Arundel Hall on 20 the previous Tuesday a Committee had been appointed ||118| to make arrangements for a demonstration in favor of the recognition of the French Republic by the British Government & protesting against the dismemberment of France. It had been resolved that the cooperation of the Council in this demonstration should [be] invited & that the Council should appoint a deputation of five to 25 form part of the committee.

Cit. Hales proposed that a deputation be appointed. Cit. Eccarius seconded, & stated that he had already attended a committee meeting to which he [had] been invited as Secretary of the Council.

The proposition was carried & Cits. Cohn, Eccarius, Lopatine, Lessner, & 30 Milner were appointed.

It being close upon 11 o'clock the consideration of the financial report was postponed & the Council adjourned.

George Milner Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary. I

Meeting of the General Council September 27, 1870

/118/ Council Meeting September 27.

Members present Boon, Eccarius, Harris, Lessner, Lopatine, Marx, Milner, Murray, Townshend.

Cit. Milner in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

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Cit. Marx announced that at the instigation of General Vogel the holding of workingmen's meetings had been suppressed in Saxony. There was also danger of Volksstaat ceasing to exist. Since the arrest of Dr. Jacoby the middle-class liberals had begun to protest against the arbitrary proceedings of General Vogel. As long as he had limited himself to the working classes they had said nothing.

10

The Cologne Gazette too had turned against the annexation of Alsace. It disputed its value as a strategical line but the ||119| opposition was qualified by remarks concerning the Cotton trade of Alsace.

He had received a letter from Brest addressed to Dupont which he had forwarded to Manchester. It gave a picture of the Situation in France there was a 15 strong reaction setting in everywhere.

Cit. Eccarius reported what had been done respecting the Demonstration the deputation to Gladstone had been hit upon because there had been no funds for a large meeting.

Cit. Harris was of opinion that the members of the Representation League 20 were all in the hands of the treasury. The International ought to have nothing to do with it.

Cit. Milner thought we ought to league with any one who was willing to move in the direction of Republicanism.

Cit. Eccarius said the question of interfering by force of arms in favour of the 25 Republic had been clearly stated to Gladstone.

Cit. Marx said on some future occasion he would call the attention of the Council to the treaty of Paris at which Earl Clarendon had signed away the English means of attack. England could never compete with the Continental armies on land the maritime power was her strength. The best means of defence 30 consisted in the power to attack.

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The treaty of Paris must be repudiated. It laid down the principle that enemy's goods should not be destroyed but it permitted the killing of the enemy it was middle class morality. The working classes ought to be made acquainted with these facts to show them how they had been defrauded.

- 5 The secretary was authorised to send copies of the war addresses to members of Parliament & to such addresses as had not been supplied with the first edition & to make arrangements with Truelove for the Sale of the surplus numbers.

It was also resolved that some might be distributed at public meetings. The Council adjourned at half past ten.

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William Townshend
J. George Eccarius |

Meeting of the General Council October 4, 1870

|120| Council Meeting Oct. 4.

Members present: Eccarius, Hales J., Hales W., Lopatine, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Townshend, Bradnick.

Cit. Townshend in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. Cit. Frederick Engels, proposed by Cit. Marx seconded by Cit. Eccarius was unanimously elected. 5

Cit. Marx remarked that Gladstone had only spoken of one date to the deputation when Malmesbury had been in office but Palmerston had recognised the Coup d'état before the French had had any chance of voting upon it.

Cit. Hales said Gladstone had evaded the question as much as he had been 10 able & stood upon technicalities.

Cit. Lucraft should like to ask Marx's opinion as to what we could do here to help the Republic.

Cit. Marx said that he had declared from the first that nothing could be done but pressing upon the Government the necessity of recognition & getting up a 15 movement against the Prussianism of the middle class & their Government.

Cit. Hales was afraid that many English workmen were content to accept Gladstone's reply.

Cit. Lucraft thought it a pity that people like the League should take upon themselves to act in the name of the working class. 20

Cit. Hales said that few were free from a desire of gaining notoriety. The object of the deputation had not been to impose their opinion upon Gladstone but to ascertain his, & shape their own.

Cit. Marx said Gladstone's speech must be taken together with *Bruce's* in Scotland. If we waited a little the government might commit more blunders & 25 then we might perhaps issue another address.

Cit. Hales said we had no power in this Country like we had elsewhere. Associations cropped up & fell through from mismanagement. There was an Association now trying to take up our ground. No Association could [manage] things so well as we. On the Continent we had taken the directing power. There 30 were continually democratic meetings where the Council could make propagan-

Meeting of the General Council October 4, 1870

da. II1211 Two or three years ago we had paid visits to trade societies & been well received. He then enquired what was to be done with the report of the finance committee.

Upon the proposition of Cit. Marx, seconded by Lessner, it was resolved that
5 it be put on the order of the day for the next meeting.

The Council adjourned at 10'/3 o'clock.

William Townshend
J. George Eccarius Secretary *I*

Meeting of the General Council October 11, 1870

/121/ Council Meeting Oct. 11

Members present: Boon, Caihil, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Lopatine, Lessner, Milner, Marx, Engels, Applegarth, Weston, Townshend.

Cit. Townshend in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The Secretary read a letter from the Rev. O'Neil of Birmingham desiring the opinion of the Council on a proposition for arbitration between the belligerent powers. The Secretary was instructed to reply that arbitration was out of the question at the present moment that the only thing that could be done was to hold meetings to compel the government to recognise the Republic. 5

Cit. Marx announced that further arrests had taken place in Germany but that 10 at Berlin & Munich meetings had taken place against the policy of the Prussian government.

He had also received a letter from one who had been at Lyons on the occasion of the second revolution. He had helped to create the committee of public safety on the 23rd of September. Bacounine had demanded the abolition of all official 15 powers & the organisation of the country. On the 27th some 30,000 men had proceeded to the hotel de ville to demand arms & the dismissal of all Bonapartist functionaries. Two men Bacounine & Cluseret had been arrested on the steps but the people had disarmed ten companies of the national guard & obtained a complete victory & entered the hotel de ville. General Cluseret had then been 20 entrusted with the defence of the place but [had] done nothing. Decrees had been presented to arrest everybody & proclaim the abolition of the state but no one had had the courage to sign them. Some 20,000 had remained at the post but there must have been a secret backdoor to the hotel de ville whence the national guards had burst in upon the committee & shoved them out. On the 29th the 25 writer ||122| had accepted a commission to go to Switzerland.

At Rouen our people had a certain space granted them in a local newspaper they had protested against the doings at Lyons.

Cit. Robin, who had been expelled from Brest, stated [that] on the Saturday the members of the International had held a meeting & voted that a committee of 30 defence & vigilance should be appointed to watch the course of events. It had

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further been resolved that a deputation from the meeting should wait on the municipal authority in the morning. As soon as it had become [known] the square in front of the hotel de ville had been lined with national guards every one of whom had received six ball cartridges as if to repel an invasion. Of the twenty five
5 composing the deputation only two had been admitted. While inside the members outside had heard cries of treason & on attempting to fly to the rescue the whole of the twenty five had been arrested. The exasperation at the conduct of the town authorities was great. Robin himself had declared at a public meeting that the Republic must be maintained even by a revolution if necessary for this if it had
10 not [been] for his family, who had conferred with the maire & the prefect, he would have been imprisoned. As it was he had been obliged to leave. The members who had been condemned under the empire had only been imprisoned a fortnight, they had been released when the Republic had been proclaimed but having lost their places in the dockyard the new marine prefect had refused to
15 re-admit them. This was real spoliation as they had to pay a considerable amount of money to get in & now pension & all was lost.

Cit. Hales then presented the Report of the finance committee. The books had been examined but there were no vouchers for either income or expenditure there was a great mismanagement & the income could only be taken on trust he could
20 not vouch for the correctness but such as it was the committee recommended that it be adopted.

He read the balance sheet since August 1868 & stated the various heads of expenditure. Secretary's salary was the largest, next printing, then rent. No progress could be made unless the expenditure was reduced. Secretary's salary & Rent
25 took too much out of the total income. The committee therefore recommended that another place of meeting be engaged & the secretary's salary reduced to five shillings a week which would amply compensate for the amount of labour performed which ||123| was calculated not to average more than one day a week. It was further recommended that a book with printed receipts be introduced so that
30 there was a check on the income that all money be paid to the treasurer, & that the duties of the secretary be defined.

Upon the proposition of Citizen Applegarth the report respecting the accounts was adopted.

Respecting the recommendations the secretary said that the committee had
35 evaded the question which had originated it. The committee had been appointed when there had been between 13 & 14 pounds owing & the committee had been appointed to find out ways & means to prevent such a state of things for the future instead of which provisions were proposed as to who was to keep the money that might be in hand. He further stated that he would be obliged to
40 resign the secretary-ship whether the recommendations were adopted or not, but he spoke against reducing either rent or secretary's salary. Means ought to be found to double both. An office where the secretary could sit every day was requisite, & it would be bad policy to reduce the establishment. As to the amount of work even at 15 s. a week no one would do it except on the principle that

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tailors worked at soldiers & police mens clothing that was when they could get nothing else. If reckoned at the rate at which such things were paid the minutes would average more than 15 s. a week. There were besides reports to newspapers & a remuneration of five shillings a week would not pay. Even at 15 s. no one would accept it except he was impelled by a love for the work. There was a good deal of drudgery connected with it particularly when much printing was done. 5

Cit. Harris did not think the secretary so well paid as the secretaries of some other societies. In the benefit societies presents were made to them & then they frequently embezzled money. As for the rent the Council ought to take a house & the secretary ought to live in it on paying his own rent. The income of the 10 Association must be increased by some means, to reduce the rent, & the salary of the secretary [this] could not be done. But whoever should be secretary in future his duties ought [to] be strictly defined.

Cit. Applegarth agreed with Cit. Harris as to the taking of a house & moved that the Secretary's Salary should remain. His work could not be gauged like 15 another job & a mere drudge would not do. Benefit societies' work anyone who could read & write could do it was not so with our secretary. He doubted that anyone on the Council would do the work for 5 s. a week. |

[124] Cit. Hales himself would not be prepared to do it. But the Council ought to take a house where lessons could be given in languages & where men could 20 meet & we would never make any progress until that was done.

Cit. Boon said he objected to the reduction of salary but had been given to understand that there were sources of income connected with the secretary ship which made ample compensation. There might be incidental revenues that would come in to make amends. 25

The secretary said he would give a plain statement as to this incidental income. The last meeting night before he had left to go to Lausanne complaints had been made that we had not enough publicity. Peter Fox had then told him that he did not care about going to Lausanne if he was informed every day what was going on he could do better by stopping here to supply the papers by which a few 30 pounds might be made. At the last subcommittee meeting before starting Peter Fox had renounced the written communications & only required to be supplied with the local papers. Upon this Eccarius had applied to the Times & almost by return of post had received a very polite answer that his reports would be received & paid for at the usual scale. He had reported of every Congress since & at 35 the last Congress had received 21 l. Those reports had done the Association as much good as himself & they would not have been received on account of his being secretary but because they were satisfactorily written. As a set off he had corresponded to several papers abroad connected with the Association for which he had never received anything & he had not received a farthing for making up 40 the Congress reports. As long as the Beehive had been willing to publish reports of our meetings he had mostly sent close upon a column a week even before he had received any salary. He had worked for twenty years in the cause without receiving any remuneration but he must now leave it to younger people his pluck

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had left him. But the Association ought by all means to have a secretary who was well known & a struggle ought to be made to pay at least a pound a week.

Cit. Hales said we wanted an able man & the association might be worked better than it had been. There were men who threw the spirit of a life time into a movement that could not be paid for. He knew Eccarius had received ||125| money from the Times for reports which properly belonged to this Council. He remembered Peter Fox complaining about it. If he could [do] the work he would do it without payment. It was the source of income that must be considered and what a working man could earn at other work. A great number of small trade societies paid less for more work than the Council did we ought to be honest to all.

Cit. Boon objected to the idea that a man working with the men should work for thirty shillings a week, or because the Council could not pay more it should be knocked down as being worth no more. Ordinary mechanics were not satisfied 15 with 5 s. a day.

Cit. Weston adjourned the debate.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

B. Lucraft Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary *I*

Meeting of the General Council October 18, 1870

/125/ Council Meeting October 18

Members present: Eccarius, Engels, Hales J., Lopatine, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Milner, Riihl, Townshend.

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

The secretary communicated the receipt of a letter from the Trades Council of Birmingham enquiring what would be considered as a donation to join. The Secretary was instructed [to write] what was paid by the Carpenters & Bricklayers & leave it to the Birmingham Trades Council to fix the amount as their joining would be of more importance than the amount of contribution.

Cit. Marx announced that the mother in law of Serraillier had received a letter by balloon post from her son in Paris, who stated that Serraillier was very active.

He also called attention to the fact that the second address on the war had not been published by the papers of the Association in Belgium. He did not think that the national Council should have the right to suppress official documents. It 15 would not be politic to enter into a quarrel at present but a notice of it ought to |126| be placed in the minutes. He moved that the General Council object to the national Council of Belgium suppressing official documents. Cit. Lopatine seconded. Carried unanimously.

The mover of the adjournment of the debate on the previous night being 20 absent the Secretary said he had a few words to say respecting citizen Hales' statement that he had sold to the Times what by right belonged to the Council. The Council might make stipulations that in future no delegate attending any Congress should be permitted to send reports to papers but that was a question to be considered. No written report had as yet been demanded of any delegate 25 but there seemed to be a preconceived notion among some members of the Council that he ought to have done so. At the Geneva Congress there had been Odger, the Chief editor of the Commonwealth, Cremer the Sub-editor, himself the discharged editor & Carter who understood four languages & could write articles & all the three when the papers had arrived with Peter Foxes notice of the Congress 30 had rushed up to him & asked, "are you sending any reports to London?" It

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looked therefore like a settled matter that Eccarius was the literary drudge. He had sent two reports of the Geneva Congress to the Commonwealth, the other three delegates mentioned had not sent a line to any one only Carter had sent the news that Le Lubez had been excluded from the Council. No delegate at any 5 other Congress had ever dreamt of furnishing written reports nor had they been asked for. But supposing he had sent reports to the Council instead to the Times they would have come to the knowledge of about a dozen the rest of the world would have heard nothing of them. If the Council had possessed sufficient funds it might have been worthwhile to pay for their insertion. As an instance how they 10 were appreciated he stated that at the last Congress his first report had not appeared until the day after the Congress had been closed but of all the extracts | 127 | that had been made from the French papers during the week the American press had taken no notice while upon the appearance of his first letter as much as half a column of it had been sent across the Atlantic by the Cable. Through the 15 Times the Association had become known all over the world & because he had been paid for furnishing these reports some members were offended. Would it have been better if a Times man had attended our Congresses?

Cit. Milner said this matter had engaged much of his attention. The point he wished to come was this, what was the policy that underlay the proposition of the 20 finance Committee? It was the Cheese paring policy of the Manchester school. He wants the Association to become respectable to have a great house & to take up a position in the world. We wanted great efforts to be made but that could not be attained by a cheese paring policy. The work of the Secretary had no right to be measured by an ordinary trade rule. The Secretary of the Association must be a 25 man of capacity, a man that was known in Europe & America to get such a one was alone worth the money. So far from fifteen shillings being too much for the kind of work he had to perform it was not near enough & the time was at hand when more would be required. If the Manchester School cheese paring policy was introduced we would vanish. If the present Secretary had not in every respect 30 represented the Association in the best light he had never misrepresented it & that was a great deal. If the proposition of the finance committee was voted it would amount to this that they had given the secretary a gratuity for nearly two years that the Council had been guilty of a job. The Council ought not [to] throw its men out of position, no man [would] do this work for five shillings a week some 35 could not do it at any price. What had been paid had been fairly earned, the work could not be estimated by ordinary trade rules.

Cit. Hales said it seemed that Cit. Milner had created phantoms in his own brain & then set to and demolished them. The finance Committee had said that the office expenses were too heavy for our ||128| income. There were thousands 40 who spend a lifetime in a movement without expecting any pay. The Council ought to be honest. The liabilities ought to be paid & the services rewarded according to our capacity. Cit. Milner said he voted for the 15 s. but we had not progressed since we had a paid secretary we were not so well to day as when it had first been voted we had gone back. There had been a great deal more life in

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the Association four years ago than there was now. What Eccarius had done had not advanced us, his American Secretaryship did not belong to the General Secretaryship.

The Secretary had complained very bitterly about what he had said last week. Cit. Boon had revived the question about the Times reports he could only reassert that those reports belonged to the Council anyone sent as a delegate was the servant of those who sent him. If the workings of the Council were tested it would be found that no progress corresponding to the secretary's salary had been made during the time. Cit. Jung had done much & paid money into the bargain & so had other secretaries. We had old debts that ought to [be] paid we had a right to 10 meet all our liabilities. If this proposition was carried he should insist that every member had a right to propose reforms. The secretary had done some work exceedingly well but some he had not done at all. We ought to consider our financial position. The Council had paid more than it ought to have done. 5

Upon the vote being taken six voted that the secretary's salary remain as it is & 15 one against it.

The proposition that the duties of the General Secretary be defined was carried without opposition.

To the proposition of the Finance Committee that the finance committee should have absolute control over the income & expenditure subject to the approval of the Council, Cit. Marx moved as an amendment that the office of 20 financial Secretary be revived.

Cit. Eccarius seconded the amendment.

Cit. Hales did not wish to be antagonistic but Marx would see that the work would fall lighter on a Committee than on [a] financial secretary. The money 25 votes of the Council were not always passed by the same ||129| members sometimes one set was present when money was voted, sometimes another. A Committee should [see to it] that all ordinary liabilities should be discharged. All regular & minor payments could be settled by the Committee only large sums need be brought before the Council. This was done in all large societies. 30

The Chairman said there were three ways to get over this business it was for the Council to consider which was best. Upon the vote being taken the revival of the office of a finance Secretary was carried by a vote of 6 for.

The next proposition was that all [money] received on behalf of the Council be paid over to the treasurer who should give receipts from a book containing 35 counter foils.

Cit. Marx said the finance secretary would keep the book the treasurer had only to receive & pay away money when authorised by the finance secretary. The proposition was carried.

Upon the question of providing the General Secretary with petty cash for 40 small expenses, Cit. Marx proposed & Engels seconded that the Treasurer be instructed not to pay any money except [on] written order of the finance Secretary. Carried.

The question that the corresponding secretaries keep an account of their expenditure fell through by one hand being held up for & one against it. 45

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Cit. Hales then proposed that the liabilities be discharged in the order in which they were contracted.

Cit. Milner proposed as an amendment that the proposition be negatived. The Council would abdicate its function if it agreed to it. The proposition was negatived & the Council adjourned at 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock.

Charles Pfänder Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary |

Meeting of the General Council October 25, 1870

1130) Meeting of the Council October 25.

Members present Eccarius, Engels, Harris, Lopatine, Lessner, Marx, Milner, Pfänder, Townshend.

Cit. Pfänder in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & with a correction confirmed.

5

Cit. Marx proposed Cit. Robin as a member of the Council. He stated that Robin had been a member of the Paris federal Council that he had been condemned to imprisonment in June & released after the declaration of the Republic had then gone to Brussels whence he had been expelled & sent back to Paris, but Paris had been besieged then he had joined his family at Brest where he had been threatened with arrest if he did not leave.

Cit. Lopatine seconded the nomination.

The Secretary stated that two members of the International had been tried at Hanover for circulating the Brunswick manifesto & had been acquitted but they had been sentenced to two months imprisonment for exciting the Citizens to hatred against the Government by their conduct generally.

Cit. Marx stated the first part of our second address had appeared in the Internationale of Brussels. The New York Tribune had published a favorable history of the Association.

Cit. Lafargue was making great propaganda at Bordeaux. Picard had published in his paper that some members of the International had been in the pay of Napoleon but on being challenged to prove his assertions he had backed out. In the whole of the papers of Napoleon nothing had been found against any member of the International which was rather a wonder that among so many members the police had not been able to buy one. Herr von Schweitzer who pretended to be a friend of the Association had been the only one who had repeated Picard's lies.

Cit. Lessner reported that a non-political Society in White Chapel had held a mass meeting in public house to refute Odger & Bradlaugh & others who had asserted that the German workmen were against the annexation of Alsace & Lorraine. Mr. Heinemann, Bismark's ||131| editor of the Hermann, was the real

Meeting of the General Council October 25, 1870

getter up of the affair he & a few Prussian doctors had led the meeting. In consequence of the opposition present they had never as much as mentioned Odger or anyone else that had spoken against Prussia. They had come to no conclusion the meeting had been adjourned; the opposition had tried to get it to a 5 larger place but the adjourned meeting [had] been voted to be held in the same place about 130 people had been present.

Cit. Eccarius stated there had been no opposition at the second meeting & what had been resolved was published in the Hermann as the declaration of the German Workmen of London. The Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein would issue a 10 counter declaration.

Cit. Marx proposed & Lessner seconded that when questions of internal administration are on the order of the day none but members of the Association shall be admitted to the Council meetings. Carried.

Cit. Lessner proposed & Cit. Marx seconded Engels as financial secretary.

15 Cit. Engels objected that none but working men ought to be appointed to have anything to do [with] the finances.

Cit. Marx did not consider the objection tenable, an excommercial man was the best for the office.

Cit. Milner proposed & Cit. Townshend seconded Harris.

20 Eccarius proposed & Cit. Lopatine seconded J. Hales.

It was then agreed that the election should stand over.

The Council adjourned at half past ten o'clock.

Charles Pfänder. Chairman I

Meeting of the General Council November 1, 1870

/131/ Meeting of the Council November 1.

Members present: Cohn, Eccarius, Engels, Harris, Lopatine, Lessner, Marx, Pfänder, Townshend.

Cit. Pfänder in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read, and with an alteration carried. 5

Cit. Marx, read a letter from the Pattersonian Branch of the Union of the French language, New Jersey U.S. accompanied by a check for £26 6 s. 3d. the result of a collection among the French & German Workmen of Patterson for the |132| benefit of the sufferers from the war, half to be given to the French, and half to the Germans. 10

Cit. Marx, read another letter received from Cit. Boite, the present Secretary of the German Branch of New York, stating that a joint meeting of the French and the German sections had been held, at which an address on the war, to their Brethren in Europe had been adopted. The letter continued that there was a wide field of propaganda in America for the principles of the Association. The antagonism between Labour & Capital was becoming greater every day, the Capitalists wanted to get rich quick by means of forcing down wages to the lowest point. The trade unions were in a state of dissolution. The English speaking trade unionists were for homeopathic remedies they wanted to cure society by becoming Capitalists themselves by means of Co-operative Societies and other little 15 schemes, they talked of re-elections but there was no such thing every office was obtained for money, and, those who invested money to get an office made up for it when they got it. One great cause of the deterioration of the workpeople was that the waste lands were getting beyond their reach because they were too poor to move out in anything like numbers large enough to relieve the labour market. 20 25

Mention was made of advice given by Cit. Dupont that the French and the German sections should establish a central committee for United States. Cit. Marx observed that Dupont must have made a mistake as no such instructions had been given. The address on the war was to the effect that the crushing of the insurrection of June 1848 had left every thing as it existed before, the cry of order 30 had been raised against the workpeople by the different political parties, Napo-

Meeting of the General Council November 1, 1870

leon had been engaged for four years to keep order, but he had played false, he had only executed the commission on condition of gathering ||133| the lions share of the public plunder, and having his situation made permanent, 18 years after he had felt his position insecure and declared war to strengthen it, was it not better 5 to be a prisoner at Wilhelms-Höhe, than to be hanged on a Paris lamppost, by his surrender, he had transferred the sword to keep order in Europe to stronger hands and the King of Prussia had accepted the mission, the partition of France was to serve as a salve for the German war wounds, the defeat of Napoleon had been brought about by the pilferings of the December Band, the address concluded 10 as follows.

"The emotion of the King of Prussia on accepting this mission, his benevolence to the leader of [the] December band when making his exit, his installation as beneficiary of this Society show him distinctly to be the true successor of his worthy predecessor. His costly and bloody efforts to transform France into a 15 catacomb, her cities into heaps of ashes demonstrate how strictly he performs the duties of his new office.

And ye workingmen of all countries would be quiet spectators to all those crimes?! Would look serenely on the perpetuation of wages-slavery and military despotism?! No, no, *thousand times no*. Rise then, all ye labourers, whether you 20 are wearing the blouse or the uniform, standing in the workshop or in the line of battle, raise your voice in thundering tones against this wickedest of all wars, commanding Halt! to this slaughtering of men. Halt! we say and repeat saying, if the heads of all Chief Commanders, and Princes should tumble down.

The Workingmen of all Countries and Continents have but one motto,
25 one battle-cry

Death to wages slavery!

Death to Military Despotism!"

Another letter was received from the French Secretary enclosing a French copy of the same Address.

30 The next letter read was from Cit. Lafargue at Bordeaux, he stated that they had founded a paper, and that the middle classes had done everything to suppress it, the printer had been intimidated || 134| and had refused to go on printing it, but they had now succeeded in making a contract with another which secured them against a stoppage, he was directed as corresponding Secretary to announce the 35 formation of a Bordeaux section, an active propaganda had commenced the section should like to be put in communication with Lyons and Marseilles.

Cit. Aubry wrote from Rouen that the administration of Rouen and Normandy was still in the hands of Bonapartist officials who frightened the people against the Workingmen, nevertheless, the meetings of some 5,000 Workingmen 40 and Women, had made an impression on the committee of defence, General Coutin the Commandant of Rouen, had told the people that he was a friend of the Prince of Prussia, that the Prussian Officers were jolly fellows, if they came to Rouen they would give balls and parties, and would revive trade. The General had been guilty of treasonable actions, by keeping the Mobile Guards marching

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and countermarching from one place to another far away to keep them out of the way of the Prussians, wherever they were sent away. A Workingmen's deputation to Gambetta, of which Aubry had been a member had succeeded in getting General Coutin dismissed. His journey to Tours had confirmed what he had suspected before that Gambetta was a phrase monger, who was afraid of the 5 people and had more confidence in the partisans of Bonaparte than in any labour organizations. In our conversation he told us that the Government could not do everything, that much depended upon the people taking the initiative, but every time we do [it] we counter the men of the Empire, who are backed by Gambetta. Aubry himself was considered as the organizer of robbery, and had been threatened to be shot, he was apprehensive that he should have to give it up yet, and, come to England, but he would hold out to the last. No meeting was ever held without the Military Guards, being doubled. At one of their meetings a battalion of Garde Mobile, a company of artillery, and ||135| a squadron of cavalry had occupied the approaching streets to frighten the people. They had denounced the 10 crew who instigated all these proceedings, but they were the companions of Gambetta's youth. Franc-tireurs laying in ambush for the Prussians were betrayed by the officials, he feared that they would restore the Empire. He believed the facility with which Paris had proclaimed the Republic to be the cause. If it had required a struggle the whole of France would have been seized with enthusiasm and turned 15 the tricksters adrift. Revolutions without a fight for them were no use. The thing which frightened the Bourgeoisie was the National Debt that would be incurred by the war. They were afraid that after the war was over the interest would not be paid. If the Prussians would guarantee the payment of the interest on the National 20 Debt, he believed the Capitalists would assist them in conquering France. 25

Respecting the question of a central committee at New York Cit. Marx said there was nothing against forming a federal committee to represent the French & the German sections but they must not presume to represent the Yankee element.

It was then agreed that the answer should be that they might establish a federal committee but must [not] call themselves the Central Committee of the United 30 States.

Cit. Robin stated that he had seen in the Belgian papers that new troubles had occurred at Cockerills works at Seraing. A reduction of wages first 10 per cent then another 5 per cent had been made. At first the men had seemed willing to submit but after some consideration they had struck. 35

The International was not blamed this time but it was said the strike was got up by some leaders. The maire had suspended the Constitution & forbidden more than five persons to meet. 30 men had been arrested.

The new procureur general had proclaimed, both at Liege & Brussels, a new crusade against the subversive doctrines of the International. 40

The election of the financial Secretary was again postponed.

Hermann Lopatin Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary |

Meeting of the General Council November 8, 1870

|136| Council Meeting November 8.

Members present: Eccarius, Engels, Marx, Lopatine, Lessner, Pfänder, Townshend, Milner.

Cit. Lopatine in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & 5 confirmed.

Cit. Robin was unanimously elected a member of the Council.

The Secretary read a letter from the Editor [of] Potteries Examiner soliciting the Aid of the Council to establish a cooperative printing company if nothing else an encouraging letter would be of service.

10 The Secretary was instructed to reply that the Council could give no pecuniary aid but would give its moral support by supplying reports &c.

The election of the finance Secretary was then proceeded with. Cit. Harris received seven votes & Cit. J. Hales two. Cit. Harris was declared duly elected by the Chairman.

15 There being no other business before the Chair the Council adjourned to enable the secretary to attend the meeting at the Bell [Inn] & to tell the Anglo French Intervention Committee that meetings on Tuesday night could either not be attended by members of this Council or else they interfered with our meetings & that it would be desirable to avoid it in future.

20 The Council adjourned at 10 o'clock.

George Milner Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary. |

Meeting of the General Council November 15, 1870

|137| Meeting of the Council November 15.

Members present: Eccarius, Engels, Harris, Lopatine, Marx, Milner, Pfänder, Robin.

Cit. Milner in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

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The Secretary read a letter from Hume of New York stating he would issue no more of the cards which the Council had disapproved & that Osborne Ward was making active propaganda.

Another letter was read from a cork cutter of Hull applying for rules.

Cit. Marx stated that he had received a letter from New York announcing that 10 a mass meeting was to be held of the French, German, & Yankee workmen in favor of the French Republic. He also announced that Senator Sumner had lectured on the war & quoted the addresses of the International.

Cit. Engels read from the Volkswille that the Central Workingmen's Association of Vienna had been reestablished but with very stringent Rules. The classes & lectures will be subject to the ordinary school rules.

Cit. Marx referring to the dispatch of Gortschakof said the English Government would soon find out that England was concerned in the war. It might be interesting on some future night to review the treaty of Paris.

The Council adjourned at 10 o'clock.

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William Townshend |

Meeting of the General Council November 22, 1870

|138| Meeting of the Council November 22.

Members present Eccarius, Lopatine, Robin, Townshend, Stepney.

Cit. Townshend in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

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Correspondence

France. A letter from Brest stated that between the 2, & 10 of October all the twelve members of the Brest Committee had been arrested. Some had given evidence against others & had been quickly released. The trial had taken place on the 27 & 28 October before the 1st Council of war upon the Charge of conspiring 10 against the interior of the State. The three men who had formed the deputation from the public meeting held to consider the defence of the country had been found guilty & two condemned to two years imprisonment each & one to one year. The section had dwindled down from 27 to 15 members & there were three families, who were in great distress to provide for. With the utmost exertion only 15 from 20 to 30 francs a month could be brought together. They felt it very inconvenient to be cut off from Paris.

Citizen Lopatine stated that some documents from the papers of Napoleon had been published in the Russian papers concerning the International. On the eve of the Plebiscite Ollivier had written to all the towns of France that the 20 leaders of the International must be arrested else the voting could not be satisfactorily proceeded with. To Rouen he had written that one of the most notorious members was there & being asked upon what charge he was to be arrested. Ollivier had replied on the charge of belonging to an unauthorised society insinuating at the same time that more serious matters were in evidence against him 25 this would be found by & by when the papers of all the ||139| members were seized. Ollivier had stated in those letters that the members of the International generally distinguished themselves by the violence of their remarks against the Government. They should use every severity towards the more educated particularly lawyers but treat ignorant workmen as lenient as possible.

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Cit. Lopatine stated that the Railways in Southern Russia had been doubled to facilitate the transport of Soldiers & the army was also to be increased.

The Council adjourned at half past ten.

F. Engels Chairman
John George Eccarius Secretary. I 5

Meeting of the General Council November 29, 1870

/139/ Meeting of the Council November 29.

Members present. Eccarius, Engels, Harris, Marx, Milner, Lessner. Robin, Stepney. Cit. Kolb & Handwerck attended from the Helvetia.

Cit. Engels in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

Correspondence.

Holland. A letter from Amsterdam, enclosing coupons to the value of 8 s. 4 d. the Contribution for 100 members was received & the [General] secretary, in the absence of the Dutch secretary, instructed to reply.

10 France. A letter from Rouen announced the receipt of the money sent from America. Cit. Aubry the writer complained that he had no news from Marseilles and other places, & expressed doubts about the safe carriage & delivery. The war he thought was becoming popular. The middle class Republicans had to rely on the revolutionary workingclass. The Bonapartist reaction had frightened the
15 bourgeoisie so much that the working men had been armed to resist it. William & Bismark were laying the foundation for the universal Republic. They did for the present state of society what Robespierre had done for feudalism, he ruined it. 50,000 armed men had left Rouen. |

|140| England. A letter from the Secretary of the Manchester & Salford Trades
20 Council to Cit. Dupont, had been received by Cit. Marx, enclosed in a letter from Dupont. Cit. Dupont demanded documents, pamphlets &c. & Credentials to act as representative of the Association. The letter from the Secretary of the Manchester & Salford Trades Council contained the following resolution: "That this Council entertains the opinion that we accord the International Workingmen's
25 Association our moral support in all its various undertakings throughout the whole industrial world." This resolution had been passed in consequence of Cit. Dupont waiting on the Council. The secretary was instructed to reply to the letter.

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Communications.

Cit. Marx communicated that our Brunswick friends had been brought back from Loetzen in chains, to be tried for high treason. To frighten the middle classes the police organs published long articles to tell the people that these men were nothing less than allies of that International Association which strove to 5
subvert everything & establish the universal Republic. The protest against the continuance of the war it was stated had been issued upon the command of the General Secretary for Germany, Carl Marx. Dr. Schweitzer had been obliged to vote against the war loan. At Mayence the workingmen fraternised with the 10
French prisoners of war.

Cit. Robin announced that a Demonstration had taken place in Belgium at Verviers to present a claim for work by the unemployed. They were discontented with the Government for giving the public works, such as the razing of the fortifications at Charleroi, to contractors. The people had been treated very civilly their application was to be considered. At Ghent a Demonstration had been 15 prevented by a notice that a deputation without accompaniment of a demonstration would be received on Sunday, Nov. 28th.

Upon the proposition of Cit. Marx seconded by Cit. Harris credentials were voted to Citizen Dupont making him the representative of the Association in Manchester & the County of Lancaster. 20

The Council adjourned at 10 o'clock.

C. Pfänder Chairman.
J. George Eccarius Secretary |

Meeting of the General Council December 6, 1870

11411 Meeting of the Council December 6

Members present Eccarius, Engels, Harris, Marx, Pfänder, Robin, Stepney.

Cit. Pfander in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

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Correspondence.

Collet wrote a letter from Neuchatel appealing to the Council to assist him in getting up an ambulance for Garibaldi's corps. By putting socialism in the background he thought money might be got from the liberals.

Upon the proposition of Cit. Marx seconded by Cit. Engels the Council passed 10 unanimously to the order of the day.

San Francisco. A letter from San Francisco announced the formation of a French Section which applied for affiliation.

Cit. Marx proposed & Cit. Engels seconded that the secretary should make out a list of the attendance of the members for the last three months. Carried.

15 The Council adjourned at 10 o'clock.

G.E. Harris.
J. George Eccarius Secretary I

Meeting of the General Council December 13, 1870

/141/ Meeting of the Council December 13.

Members present: Eccarius, Engels, Harris, Lessner, Marx, Milner, Pfänder, Stepney, Townshend, Robin, Kolb. Cit. Harris in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

Correspondence.

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America. A letter from New York announced the formation of a Czechian Section in that town. The affiliation of the Section was carried by a unanimous vote.

Holland. Cit. Marx announced the foundation of a Section at the Hague. |
[142] A deputation attended from the Elastic Web Weavers Association. Mr. Dry stated that the Society had assisted on many occasions when appealed to 10 they required assistance themselves now, having 30 of their members on strike. The purport of the deputation was to ask the Council to lend its assistance in their applications for support. They only received 10 s. a week from the Amalgamation & out of that they had had to expend £4 to send men back who had come from Leicester to take up their work. The cause of the strike was to resist a 15 reduction of wages. Two years ago a list had been agreed to for London & Country alike. Some weeks back their employer had stated that Leicester manufacturers paid so much less than he did they undersold they must therefore consent to reduction of wages. He had offered 2 s. $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for what used to be 2 s. 9 d. They had then come to an agreement to make a dozen yards for 2 s. $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. for 20 three months, but the second week he had said he must [take] 6 d. off. They had sent a delegate to Leicester who had reported that more was paid there for certain work than in London. Another complaint was that Hales contrary to agreement had introduced female Labour. The women received only two thirds at piece work for the same labor as the men. It was also supposed that Hales had informed the employer that they had no funds in hand to strike & were not entitled to any from the Amalgamation. Hales had been expelled from the Union & his 25 expulsion ratified by the Central Executive. Hales had stuck to several books

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which he charged to the Society. A letter from Parnell from Derby was read in which it was insinuated that Hales had put £7 of the society's money & entered it in the treasurers book as paid over.

Cit. Marx said it was no use appealing to Continental sections they were not in 5 a position to give anything just now, but they [the strikers] were entitled to the support of the London societies to whom an appeal ought to be made. |

11431 The secretary said the best mode of proceeding would be to give the society credentials & a list of the addresses of the affiliated societies. The Deputation declared that would satisfy them upon which it was agreed to.

10 The Deputation was enjoined to send the charge upon which Hales had been expelled in writing as the Council could not pass the matter over Hales being a member of the Council. The deputation then withdrew.

The secretary then read a list of the members & the number of times they had been absent since the beginning of September.

15 Cit. Marx proposed that it be entered on the minutes & that in future the absent members be noted down as well as those present so that it might be laid before the Congress. Cit. Engels seconded with the qualification absent without a cause. Carried.

Cit. Lessner handed one pound over from the Arbeiter Bildungsverein for the 20 support of the families of the imprisoned Socialist Democrats in Germany.

The secretary was instructed to pay the printer's bill of £4. 7. 6. to Truelove.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

B. Lucraft. Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary. /

Meeting of the General Council December 20, 1870

/143/ Meeting of the General Council December 20

Members present: Boon, Eccarius, Engels, Hales J., Harris, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Pfänder, Stepney, Townshend.

Citizen Lucraft in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

5

Correspondence.

The Secretary announced the receipt of a letter from the Secretary of the New York Labor League. He had brought an ||144| other letter by mistake but stated that the New York Labor League had resolved to join the International Workingmen's Association & asked for replies to the following questions:

10

- 1st. Would it necessitate a change in the Constitution & bye-laws of the League.
- 2nd. Was a diploma or certificate of affiliation given & what was the cost;
- 3rd. What were the contributions they would have to pay.

It was agreed that the secretary should reply to the different questions, to apply for a copy of the rules of the League for the inspection of the Council, & to 15 send the rules & other documents of the Association.

Cit. Marx had received a letter from the French & German Sections of New York announcing their intention to establish a Central Committee for the United States for the better carrying on of the propaganda, the collection of contributions for the Council & the affiliation of societies. It was intended to establish 20 local Committees everywhere where more than two societies existed that belonged to the Association.

London. A letter from the Elastic Web Weavers announced that in consequence of a law suit they were not able to attend & asked that the hearing of their complaints against J. Hales be put off till after Christmas, promising to furnish 25 written particulars in the meantime.

Belgian Congress. Cit. Robin proposed that a letter be sent to National Congress of Belgium which was to assemble on Christmas day to ask the delegates to

Meeting of the General Council December 20, 1870

furnish a list of the Belgian Sections & the number of their members & to urge upon to pay their annual contributions to the Council better than they had hitherto done. It had been resolved at previous Congresses to do so but it had not [145] been carried out. He knew that in France & Switzerland there were also 5 irregularities in the payment of contributions but they were unavoidable, the Belgians however had no excuse the Council ought to receive something like 6,000 francs a year, & it only required looking after.

Cit. Marx did not consider it advisable to ask for money just now. The workmen on the Continent were in great distress, the Council ought therefore not to 10 press for money. Respecting the list of members it would not be well to publish what the real strength was as the outside public always thought the active members much more numerous than they really were. Hins had sent a list three months ago the Council might ask for a new one but not for publication, only for the information of the Council.

15 Cit. Robin thought it right to ask for money as many sections had no other expenses than their Contributions to the Council.

Cit. Marx had no objection but it must be done in a mild way. It was agreed that a letter should be written in that sense.

Upon the proposition of Cit. Hales seconded by Cit. Marx Cit. Engels, in the 20 absence of the Belgian Secretary, was instructed to write.

The Chairman then asked Cit. Harris if he knew anything of the New York Labor League. He replied that it consisted of a set of workingmen, who, in conjunction with the New Democracy, were determined to agitate the currency & other Reform Questions, he knew them well & knew as earnest men in the work 25 they had undertaken. At St. Louis it had also been resolved to enter into Correspondence with the Council a letter would soon be received.

Cit. Hales said he had heard a note read from the Elastic [146] Web Weavers from which it appeared that there was a charge [upon] himself & he wished to know what it was.

30 The Secretary stated that a deputation from that society had attended on the previous night to solicit support in a strike & it had been stated that Hales had been expelled from his society upon which the Council had asked them to forward the particulars in writing as the expulsion of a member of the Council from his trade society could not be passed over without enquiry. These particulars had 35 not yet been furnished but the Society had asked for postponement till after Christmas.

Cit. Boon said if Hales had been present when the minutes were read he would have heard all that had transpired he therefore proposed that the part of minutes relating to it be read again but that no discussion should be entered into. This 40 was agreed & the minutes read.

Cit. Hales said the letter of Parnell he should treat with the contempt it deserved. He had received a letter of apology from Parnell but burnt it. He had been expelled from the Union in August last, on the same proposition that had been made to expel him in 1867. He always advocated that the Union should

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have nothing to do with sex. The women had worked in the trade ever since it had arisen. The Union had been for excluding the women he had been against it that was his offence. The men had not struck against such a reduction of wages as they stated that was a lie.

Cit. Marx proposed that at its rising the Council should adjourn till the 3rd of January & that the Council should empower a committee to act if in the meantime it should become necessary to prepare something concerning the prosecution of our members in Germany, ||147| for publication & to submit it to the Council on the next meeting night. 5

Cit. Engels seconded the proposition which was carried unanimously. 10

Cit. Hales proposed & Cit. Harris seconded that Marx, Engels, Robin & Eccarius form the Committee. Carried unanimously.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

Geo. E. Harris Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary | 15

Meeting of the General Council December 20, 1870

114S | Attendance of Members from September to December
1870

		September				October				November				December					
		6	13	20	27	4	11	18	25	1	8	15	22	29	6	13	20	Present	Abse
5	Applegarth					+ +												2	14
	Boon	+ +		+ +														+ 5	11
	Bradnick	+ +		+ +	+ Out of town													3	13
	Caihil					+ +												1	15
	Cohn					+ +												2	14
10	Eccarius	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	16	No	
	Engels					+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	11	1	
	Hales J.	+ +		+ +	+ +												+ 6	10	
	Hales W.	+ +		+ +	+ Out of town	-											2	14	
	Harris	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	12	4	
15	Jung	+ +	111															2	14
	Lopatine	-	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	Out of town	10	4
	Lessner	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	12	4	
	Lucraft	+ +	+ +	+ +													+ 4	12	
	Marx	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	15	1	
20	Milner	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	12	4	
	Mottershead					+ +											1	15	
	Murray					+ +	Gone to America										1	15	
	Maurice	111															No	16	
	Odger																No	16	
25	Parnell						Out of Town										No	16	
	Pfänder					+ +		+ + + +					+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	8	8	
	Riihl						+ +										1	15	
	Stepney							Out of Town					+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +			
	Townshend	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	12	4	
30	Weston	+ +	+ +	+ +													3	15	
	Zabicki																No	16	
	Robin												+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +			
	Kolb												+ + +				3	11	

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|149| Attendance of Members from January to the end of March
1871.

	January			February				March				
	?	17	24	31	7	14	21	28	7	14	21	28
Applegarth				V								5
Boon				+ + +				+ +				
Caihil												+
Cohn			+ +	V	+ +							+
Eccarius		+ + +	+ + +	+ + +	+ + +	+ + +	+ + +	+ + +	+ + +	+ + +		
Engels		+ + +	+ + +	+ + +	+ + +	+ + +	+ + +	+ + +	+ + +	+ + +		10
Hales J.		+ + +			+ + +		+ + +	+ + +	+ + +	+ + +		
Harris		+ + +	+ + +	+ + +	+ + +	+ + +	+ + +	+ + +	+ + +	+ + +		
Jung	111	111	111	+ + +	+ + +	+ + +	+ + +	+ + +	+ + +	+ + +		
Lopatine	(Absent)			+ +								
Lessner		+ +	111	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +		15
Lucraft	111	+	Indisposed									+
Marx	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +		
Maurice	111											
Milner	+ +	V	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +		
Mottershead	Absent in the Country											20
Murray												
Odger				V								
Pfänder	111	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
Rühl												
Robin	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +			+ +	+ +	+ +		25
Stepney	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +		
Townshend	+ +		+ +					+ +	+ +	+ +		
Weston	+ +	V	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +		+ +	+ +		
Zabicki				V								
Kolb	+ +	V	+ +	+ +	+ +				+ +	+ +		30
Serraillier	Absent in Paris							+ +	+ +	Gone to Paris 1		

Meeting of the General Council January 3, 1871

|150| 1871.

Meeting of the Council Jan 3rd.

Members present: Eccarius, Engels, Hales, Harris, Marx, Robin, Stepney, Townshend, Kolb.

- 5 Cit. Harris in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

Citizen Kolb presented credentials from the Helvetia to sit at the Council as their delegate. He was admitted by a unanimous vote.

Correspondence

- 10 London. A letter was read from Mr. Dry of the Elastic Web Weavers stating that he had been obliged to go to a situation which prevented him attending personally, that a new Secretary had been appointed & that if the Council desired to have a personal interview with anyone appointed by the Society they would send some one. The letter further gave particulars about citizen Hales's expulsion from
15 the Society. After some remarks by Cit. Hales, Cit. Engels said that the Society had been requested to furnish a statement in writing but that the Council had not pledged itself to consider the matter that night.

Cit. Marx proposed that the subject be postponed for a fortnight, that a deputation be invited to attend with any documentary evidence in their possession to
20 make good the charge & if they did not attend to pass then to the order of the day.

Cit. Townshend seconded the proposition carried unanimously.

Cit. Marx announced that a letter had been sent to the secretary during the holy days about the programme since published as a memorial to Gladstone. He
25 [had] no objection to the document except the last point which might have been altered if the secretary had convoked the subcommittee as he ought to have done. Instead of this he had signed his name to it privately & he ought not [to] have consented to having the ||151| meeting in St. James's Hall on a Tuesday.

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Eccarius stated that by a mistake he had sent the letter & programme to Cit. Harris with other things & had accidentally met some members of the Committee who were getting up the meeting after everything had been settled, when he had been asked to make one of the Committee to which he had consented, but he had not been aware that it would be put to the memorial. 5

Cit. Marx was satisfied with the explanation.

Cit. Harris stated that Cremer denounced the getters up of the meeting as Comtists who did not represent the opinion of English working men.

Cit. Hales had been appealed to but had declined on account of the last point.

Cit. Marx said he must not be understood to object to Professor Beesly & his 10 friends they were the only people who did anything in this question. Cremers statement was not worth anything. But care ought to be taken in future that members of the Council did not sign one thing here & something opposite elsewhere.

Cit. Marx then proposed that subscriptions be opened for the families of Liebknecht, Bebel, Hepner & others imprisoned in Germany, & to call upon the sympathisers to subscribe for their support, they were imprisoned because they belonged to the International. 15

Cit. Engels seconded the proposition.

Cit. Hales supported the motion & proposed that subscription sheets be print- 20 ed. Carried.

Cit. Hales then proposed that 100 sheets be printed.

Cit. Engels seconded. Carried.

It was further resolved that an appeal be made in the papers & that money orders be made payable to the General Secretary. 25

On the proposition of Cit. Marx seconded by Cit. Engels it was resolved that at its rising the Council adjourn till January 17.

Charles Pfänder Chairman.

John George Eccarius Secretary. |

1152] Supplement to the Minutes of the Meeting of January 3. 30

Cit. Engels read a letter from the Madrid Section to the General Council. The writer stated that an account of their doings, & their national Congress, had been sent in July last to which they had not received any reply. They laboured somewhat under difficulties. A political yellow fever had slackened the progress of the movement, almost paralysed it since the confusion of 1868. Like Southern people 35 generally a great too much declamation had been used, which disappointed the people, & they turned their backs to go to other people to be disappointed again. The contributions for the quarter were to be remitted. A statistical account of the federation was likewise to be furnished. Enquiries were made whether there were any Sections in Portugal. 40

Meeting of the General Council January 3, 1871

They had received papers from Buenos Aires published by the typographical society who had connections with other places. Correspondence might be opened with a view to form Sections. The instruction for a reply was postponed till the next meeting.

- 5 In consequence of a statement in the Internationale that citizen Engels was secretary for Belgium, it was agreed that Cit. Engels should be the Belgian Secretary for the present.

The Council adjourned at half past ten o'clock. *I*

Meeting of the General Council January 17, 1871

/152/ Meeting of the Council January 17.

Members present: Cohn, Eccarius, Engels, Harris, Hales J., Marx, Milner, Pfänder, Robin, Stepney, Townshend, Weston, Lessner.

Cit. Pfänder in the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read, without the notice of a letter from Spain, & confirmed under reserve that they 5 should be completed at the next meeting.

Correspondence

London. A letter from the Secretary of the peace society, enclosing a post office order for one pound was received for the families of the German Prisoners. A letter from the new Secretary of the Elastic Webweavers was received ||153| stating 10 that he had looked over the books of the Society & found nothing upon [which] a charge of any kind could be made he therefore withdrew all that had been said.

Cit. Engels proposed that in accordance with the agreement of the previous week the Council pass to the order of the day.

Cit. Weston asked questions to which Cit. Engels replied. Cit. Cohn was of 15 opinion that the question should be asked whether the letter was official & moved it as an amendment. Cit. Marx opposed the amendment which was withdrawn & the original resolution carried.

Birmingham. A letter was received from the secretary of the Trades Council of Birmingham announcing that the Trades Council had resolved to join the Association & asking whether a contribution of one pound per annum would be considered sufficient. A letter with 5 s. stamps was received from Newcastle upon Tyne.

Cit. Marx proposed & Cit. Cohn seconded that the affiliation should be accepted. Carried unanimously. 25

Cit. Marx announced that he had sent £5 to the families of the German Political prisoners. He was not aware what had been done with the sheets they ought to be laid out at all the public meetings.

Meeting of the General Council January 17, 1871

The Secretary stated that he had sent sheets to the affiliated societies & others, close upon 50, but received not yet any reply.

Cit. Weston stated that he had received sheets & introduced the question at some meetings, it had been favourably received, but they were just now collecting 5 money to pay the expenses of their demonstrations.

Cit. Cohn had sent Cit. Jackson to a meeting with the sheet & the letter but he had not collected any money.

Cit. Marx proposed that the Swiss Secretary be instructed to write to the Felleisen people in Switzerland to ask them what position they occupied towards 10 the International. They nominally joined the Association but never paid a farthing & were now in favour of annexation. The proposition was agreed to.

Cit. Marx said as there were several English members present he had a very important statement to make. At the last meeting at St. James's Hall Odger spoke of the French Government contrary to truth. In our second address we 15 said the brand of infamy attaches to some ||154| of the members of the provisional government from the revolution of 1848. Odger said there was not a blame attached to them. Favre can only be received as the representative of the Republic not as the spotless patriot Jules Favre. The way that is now talked about him put Favre in the foreground & the Republic almost out of sight. One 20 example of Favre's doings. After the revolution of 1848 Favre became Secretary of the Interior, on account of Flocon being ill, Ledru Rollin chose Favre. One of the first things he did was to bring back the army to Paris which afterwards enabled the bourgeoisie to shoot the workpeople down. Later when the people became convinced that the Assembly consisted of middle class men the people 25 made a demonstration in favour of Poland on which occasion the people ran into the assembly. The president entreated Louis Blanc to speak to them & pacify them which he did. A war with Russia would have saved the Republic. The first thing Jules Favre did a few days after was to ask for authority to prosecute Louis Blanc as an accomplice of the invaders. The Assembly thought 30 he was instructed by the Government to do [so] but all the other members of the Government denounced [this measure] as the private affair of Favre. The provisional government conspired to provoke the insurrection of June. After the people were shot down Favre proposed that the executive committee should be abolished. On the 27 he drew up the decree to transport the prisoners without 35 trial, 15,000 were transported. In November the Assembly was compelled to examine some not yet transported. In Brest alone 1,000 had to be liberated. Of the most dangerous who were tried by a military Commission many had to be liberated others were only sentenced to short terms of imprisonment. Afterwards motions were made for an amnesty Favre always opposed. He was one of the 40 men who insisted for a commission of inquiry of the whole revolution except February. He was instrumental in the passing of the most infamous press laws that ever existed & of which Napoleon made good use. Favre had certain relations with the Bonapartists under the July monarchy & he used all his influence to get Napoleon into the National Assembly. He interested himself to bring

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about the expedition to Rome which was the first step for the establishment of the Empire.

Cit. Weston was sorry that the Republic was in such hands & glad to have |
|155| been present to hear the statement.

A conversation then ensued about the fair play at public meetings after which the Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

Benjamin Lucraft Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary I

Meeting of the General Council January 24, 1871

/155/ Council Meeting January 24.

Members present: Eccarius, Engels, Harris, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Milner, Pfänder, Robin, Stepney, Weston.

Cit. Lucraft in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed. The Secretary read a letter from Cit. Sorge of New York announcing that the French, German & Czechian Sections had formed a central Committee for the United States & desired addresses of any sections recently formed in the United States for the purpose of entering into communications. The Committee consists of delegates of the various sections. They also asked for documents & cards. Cit. Marx stated that he had received a similar letter. It would be recollected that some time since it had been resolved that they should form a Federal Committee but the letter conveying that resolution had been delayed or it must have miscarried. Siegfried Meyer had written disapprovingly. Cit. Marx had already written & warned them not to give the committee too much of a delegate character as cliques might establish themselves in that way. It ought to be distinctly stated that the Committee was only for the foreign residents.

Cit. Engels did not think that the Council had any right to prescribe forms.

Cit. Marx had sent several parcels but they did not seem to have arrived. He had some Cards at home which he would forward.

Cit. Marx had also received a letter from Mrs. Liebknecht acknowledging the money sent. She can see her husband once a week in the presence of the judge of instruction. The English workingmen did not seem to do anything in the way of collecting money. In answer to the Chairman Cit. Marx stated that about 20 were in prison, most of them had families.

Cit. Engels inquired whether any of the members had been at the meeting of the previous evening but there was no reply. He then stated as there was a difference of opinion amongst the members it would be advisable to discuss the question || 156| as to the attitude of the English Working class on the present phase of the war at the meeting. He moved that the question be put on the order of the day. Cit. Marx seconded the proposition which was agreed to. It was further agreed that no visitors should be present at the discussion.

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Cit. Weston asked whether the statement made by Cit. Marx at the previous meeting had been meant for publication or only for the private information of members. He thought the publication was a very unwise thing it might do an injury & weaken the Government in France. He hardly believed it when he had been told there were many who disapproved.

5

Cit. Harris was glad that it had been published it was high time the English Democracy knew what was going on, on the Continent. The peace men knew all about it why should not others?

Cit. Engels thought it would have done a great deal [of] harm if it [had] been published in a daily paper or one [of] the great weeklies which were read by the 10 middle class, but he did not believe that any was done by the publication in such obscure papers as the Eastern Post & the Potteries Examiner which only circulated among the workpeople.

Cit. Weston was not quite satisfied with the reply. Anything that appeared in these obscure papers was sure to get into the hands of the middle class & the 15 peace at any price party would make a handle of it. It was not right to bring up these things at certain times, it would be used to deprive the demonstration of its effect.

Cit. Marx stated that he made the statement to the English members as private information he could not have foreseen that it would be published as we had not 20 had any paper in which our reports were published.

The Chairman said Cit. Weston had raised a new phantom the peace at any price party of workingmen but no one knew where they were to be found.

As there was no business before the Chair he should leave the chair & declare the sitting at an end which he did.

25

Chairman Charles Pfänder
John George Eccarius Secretary [

Meeting of the General Council January 31, 1871

|157| Meeting of the Council January 31.

Members present: Boon, Eccarius, Engels, Harris, Jung, Marx, Pfänder, Robin, Stepney, Townshend.

Cit. Pfänder in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & 5 confirmed.

Correspondence

New York. The Secretary read a letter from the Czechian section of New York in which joy was expressed at the affiliation of the section & a prospect held out of thousands joining at no distant date. It was stated that the Central Committee 10 consisted at present of four delegates.

Switzerland. Citizen Jung read a letter from the Secretary of the Romande federation of Switzerland. It announced that the Egalité had been resuscitated & that it was necessary that it should appear at least twice a month, & that it was desired that the Council should send information. They had received letters from 15 Spain to enter into close communication but before doing so they desired to know whether the Spanish Section was in relation with the Council otherwise they would have no communication with them.

The contributions for 1870 would be sent as soon as possible there were still a few sections who had not yet paid. They desired to see the old union reestablished 20 for which there was a prospect since the personages who brought on the division had disappeared. A new Section had been established at Annecy. In a few days they would send the programme of the federal Congress which was to be held in February, an expression of opinion on the programme was desired.

Cit. Marx announced that the Palma Section had published the first number of 25 a new paper called the Social Revolution printed in red in which were some very foolish observations. It was edited by workingmen & there would be no harm in telling them what was objectionable. They were reproducing some of the things that had been objected to with the Alliance Démocratique. It was agreed to send the resolutions passed at that time.

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Cit. Engels was appointed to carry on the Spanish Correspondence till a permanent secretary was appointed.

Cit. Jung enquired if the Spanish Section was in order with the Council j [158] which was answered in the affirmative.

Respecting the discussion of which notice had been given at the previous meeting Cit. Engels said it was hardly worth while to begin there being only a few English members present. 5

Cit. Marx asked whether the members had been invited to attend, the Secretary replied that he had only understood that it was to be advertised in the newspapers. 10

Cit. Harris did not consider it right that those present should be deprived of the discussion on account of the absent ones & proposed that the discussion be proceeded with which was supported and agreed to.

Cit. Engels said, following the advice of the Chairman of the last meeting & complying with an English custom I have drawn up some resolutions principally 15 as a basis for the debate. I am not particular as regards carrying them exactly as they are. These are the resolutions I have drawn up:

1. That the workingclass movement in support of the French Republic ought to have concentrated its efforts, at the beginning, upon the enforcement of the recognition of the Republic by the British Government. 20

2. That the military intervention of England in favour of France, as understood by those proposing it, could [not] have been of any use whatever at a certain moment only which has long since passed away.

3. That England remains incapable, not only of interfering with Effect in Continental affairs, but also of defending herself against the Continental military 25 despotism so long as she does not recover the liberty of using her real war power — that is to say, her naval power, which she can only recover by the renunciation of the declaration of Paris. |

[159] The policy adopted by the Council was laid in the second address. On the 4th of September the Republic was declared, on the 9th of September our address 30 was issued in which it was said: "The English workmen have already taken measures to overcome, by a wholesome pressure from without, the reluctance of their Government to recognise the French Republic." Had the movement been confined to that it might have succeeded, other countries would [have] followed & it would have given France a standing which Prussia could [not] have ignored. But 35 there were others who were not satisfied with this. I mean the Comtists, professor Beesly & his friends. Professor Beesly has on several occasions stood up bravely for the workingclass, he braved the hostility of the middle classes in the Broad-head affair, but the Comtists are not properly a workingclass party. They advocate a compromise to make wages-labor tolerable to perpetuate it, they belong to 40 a political sect who believe that France ought to rule the world. In their last declaration, which was signed by several members of the Council they demanded that France should be restored to the position it occupied before the war. Before the war France was a military power. The Comtists asked for intervention & as

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soon as that was done the workingclass movement split up. The opposition said, that hitherto war had postponed everything in the shape of social & political progress & every war had given the aristocracy a new lease of life. There is a great deal of truth in that. But on the other hand how could people, who were not able
5 to compel the Government to recognise the Republic force the same Government to go [to] war for the Republic? Supposing England had gone to war. By withdrawing all armed forces from Scotland, by depriving every other place of soldiers & leaving only 10,000 in Ireland some 30,000 men could have been started & they would have been useful at a certain moment. At one time the French &
10 German forces were about equal & Moltke was going to raise the siege, & at that moment an English army might have turned the scales against the Germans. But that moment had long since passed away it was when there was a sort of revival before Orleans, when Aurelle de Paladine gained his successes. An English force then would have had a good effect upon the French soldiers it would have im-
15 proved [their spirit], then the Germans have been largely reinforced, & the Prus- sians have such a bad opinion of the army of this country that the English, ||160|| had they gone over, would have been laughed at, all they could have done would have been to make Chanzy's retreat a little more orderly.

An English army on land can only act in alliance with other armies. This was
20 done in the Peninsular war & it was done in the Crimea. England can best carry on war by supplying her allies with the materials of war. In the Crimea they had [to] borrow French soldiers to fill their trenches. It has always been found impos- sible to carry on a war far from home with a large army. Owing to the military system, the absence of conscription, the slow process of voluntary recruiting, the
25 system of drill, the length of time it takes to make an English soldier efficient, the English army is based on long service it is impossible to maintain a large army by the necessary reinforcements. If an army had been sent to France it could not have been kept up if it had met with any losses. The only thing England could have done to assist France would have been to declare war at the moment when
30 Russia repudiated the treaty of Paris. That point too was alluded to in our addresses. In the first the following is said: "In the back ground of this suicidal strife looms the dark figure of Russia. It is an ominous sign that the signal for the present war should have been given at the moment when the Moscovite Govern- ment had just finished its strategic lines of railway & was already massing troops
35 in the direction of the Pruth." In the second: "As in 1865 promises were ex- changed between Louis Bonaparte & Bismarck, so in 1870 promises have been exchanged between Gortschakoff & Bismarck." But no body has taken any no- tice of that. No sooner had Russia declared against the treaty of Paris than Bismarck repudiated the Luxembourg treaty. This proved the secret understand-
40 ing. Prussia has never been anything else but the tool of Russia. That was the opportunity for England to step in. The French were not quite so low down as they have been since & if England had declared war Prussia & Russia would have gone together & the rest of Europe would have gone together & France would have been relieved. Austria, Italy & Turkey were ready & if the Turks had not

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been interfered with as in the war, if they had been allowed to defend themselves in their own way they would have been able to hold their own while the others helped the French to drive out the Prussians. But, when this ||161| opportunity arose the gentlemen who were going to help France had nothing to say.

Now, the way in which Jules Favre has thrown up the sponge for the whole of 5 France, a thing he had no business to do, there is no doubt, with the help of the French middle class France will have to submit & peace will be made. Then we shall see what Russia will do. Russia & Prussia require war as much [as] Napoleon to stem the popular movement at home, to preserve their prestige & keep their positions. 10

The Navy is the main power of England but by the declaration of 1856 a new naval code was established, it was laid down that privateering should be done away with. The right of search was abandoned, enemy's goods were made safe in neutral bottoms & neutral goods in enemy's bottoms. There was a similar attempt made once before by the Empress Catherine of Russia but England refused 15 till after the Crimean war. At the conference of Paris, by one stroke of the pen Clarendon signed away Englands power to hurt Russia at sea. By whose instructions or authority [he] did so has never come out. When it was brought before the House of Commons Disraeli blinked at it the question was shirked. To cripple Russia it is necessary to stop her export her export trade. If the Russian 20 aristocracy could not sell their corn, their flax, in one word their agricultural produce to foreign countries, Russia could not hold out for a year, & the bulk of her trade is carried on in foreign bottoms. To make war on Russia England must regain her hold of this power. It was abandoned on the pretence of making 25 private property as safe at sea as it was on land. We have seen how the Prussians have respected private property in France. The working class has no private property to lose it has therefore no interest in making [it] safe. But the working class has interest in resuming the hold of this power & to keep [it] intact till the Russian Empire is dissolved. The English Empire like all other empires based upon will have to be dissolved in due time but with that we have nothing to do at 30 present & that will proceed more peaceably perhaps. No other country can oppose Russia the same as England can & she must keep this power at least till Poland is restored. Had war been declared against Russia it would have been the salvation of France & Poland could have been restored. Now Russia will enter on a war of conquest, perhaps before a year is over, & Europe will have to fight 35 minus France. |

|162| Cit. Marx formally seconded the resolutions but reserved the right to speak later.

Cit. Boon said, I am exceedingly pleased with what we have just heard. I agree that the main endeavour ought to have been to get the Republic recognised. My 40 experience leads me to think that Republicanism is but little understood in this country. It may be better understood in the North but the London Republicans are more fond of noisy demonstrations, marching under flags & banners with music, than [of] principles. We have no recognised leaders who could unite the

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London democracy the consequence is that many camps are formed & the workingclass movement split up. I also agree that the Comtists are only going in for a compromise under middle-class leadership but I do not agree with Cit. Engels that an English army could not have done any good. 1 believe even a small force
5 could have done a great deal, but I don't believe that the leaders of France understood their business, they do not seem to have heartily entered into the struggle & shared the dangers of the men. That an English army could have done more at a particular moment than at any other time all must agree to. Respecting the navy we have so little power in the state that our rights & liberties can be
10 signed away whenever our rulers like. With our heavy taxation the working classes are afraid to advocate war lest they should be more heavily taxed but there is another reason: Some tell us that our navy is all that is required others maintain that it is in as bad a state as can be. If we had gone to war, they say, it would have been a failure & we have a prestige to keep up, we cannot afford to
15 make ourselves ridiculous. However I believe the time is at hand when the working classes of this country will understand things better & then they will compel the Government to make war for liberty abroad.

Cit. Jung made a few remarks about the fear of increasing the taxation.

Cit. Marx then moved that the debate be adjourned till the next meeting |
20 |163|which was seconded & agreed to.

The secretary was instructed to summon the absent members to attend the next meeting.

On the proposition of Cit. seconded by Cit. it was agreed that the standing orders be set aside & the secretary authorised to pay Leno a printers bill
25 of 8 s.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

Carl Pfänder. Chairman.
John George Eccarius Secretary. I

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Meeting of the General Council February 7, 1871

/163/ Meeting of the Council Feb. 7.

Members present: Boon, Cohn, Eccarius, Engels, Harris, Jung, Kolb, Lessner, Marx, Milner, Pfander, Stepney, Townshend, Weston.

The minutes of the previous meeting [were] read & with an addition confirmed.

Correspondence.

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Cit. Jung had received news from Guillaume that the Solidarité was to reappear.

He further announced that documents had been published in the second number of the Egalité concerning Olliviers proceedings against the International in France on the eve of the Plebiscite. The documents were the same as reported by Cit. Lopatine in the meeting of November 22 from the Russian press. See the 10 minutes of that date.

The Secretary announced that Jacoby had been nominated as candidate for the German Parliament in three different places & that Liebknecht & Bebel had been unanimously selected in their respective districts for reelection. Two of the Brunswick prisoners had also been nominated as Candidates.

15

Cit. Marx stated that [having] moved the adjournment of the previous meeting he ought to open the debate but he preferred to wait till others had spoken.

Cit. Weston then rose to speak. He said, respecting the first ||164| point laid down that the fittest thing to have [been] done in this country would have been to urge the Government to recognise the Republic & if the movement had been 20 confined to that it might have been successful, that there would have been unanimity on that point, I cannot endorse. There might have been unanimity among the working class but the working class alone could [not] enforce the recognition of the Republic. The City meeting showed that there were middle class men ready to go [to] war but there were none ready to recognise the Republic. That there 25 would have been less disagreement among the working class I am willing to admit.

I now come to what we, or some members of the Council, have done in the matter. The night the news of the proclamation of the Republic arrived I received a notice from some one to gather the sense of the London democracy about the Republic. I went to Odger, I still consider him a representative of the London 5 democracy, but he was in the country. I telegraphed to him & the following Saturday we held the first meeting in Hyde Park. At that meeting we adopted an address of sympathy with the French Republic & calling upon the Government to recognise it. That was something done by the members of this Council. Shortly after the Government asserted they had done what it was possible to do they 10 would not be justified in going any further as that would interfere with the French themselves. I am of opinion the Government would not have done any more though the whole of working class had agreed without the middle class. We might have shown a bolder front but it would not have any more effect. In our address we said if Prussia refused to desist from a war of aggression we should 15 use our influence in favour of intervention. To say that England is helpless & powerless to interfere for good is saying what is not true. France was left without an army by the capitulation of Sedan & she has mustered a million fighting men since then, England could have done the same if need had been. It has been hinted how England ||165| in a war with Russia, could have helped by her fleet; 20 even that, if used to assist France, would have helped her greatly, but France was left alone, she was not even patted on the back, she received no moral support except that of the working class of England. We could have put an army of 50,000 men in the field & it is a disgrace that [it] was not done. If the German & the French workmen had made war upon each other as their Governments have 25 done we should have considered [it] our duty to interfere & prevent it. The English working class, had they been free to act, they would have stepped between. If we saw two men rushing at each other in the street & one knocked the other down & was going to trample on him we should seize him, at least I should, & hold him back to prevent him. If the ruling party of England had a proper spirit 30 it would have done so, that it was not done is a blunder & a crime. But it appears to me that the French have not been for fighting, not prepared to defend themselves as they ought to have done. I cannot see how 400,000 spirited & earnest men inside Paris could have been [kept in] by 250,000 outside, during four months & starved into a capitulation. I do not think that an equal number of English- 35 men, not even a hundred thousand would have put up with it. They must have been badly led, there must have been something wrong, either they were not prepared or there was treachery, incapacity or cowardice. As far as the Council is concerned it is our duty to point out to our members on the Continent that Prussia has been the aggressor since Sedan. They ought to execrate & call upon 40 their governments to account for what they have done to France, even at the risk of their personal liberty incurring even the danger of having their necks stretched. To say that England could have been of service at certain moments only I think wrong she could be of great service now if really willing to serve of course no niggardly assistance, rendered with a begrudging hand, [that] won't do. |

166 | There is another question upon which I must differ from the opener of the debate. I think it is doing Ireland an injury to think that the Irish would have seized the opportunity to make a disturbance if England had gone to war for France. I think on the contrary, & many of my Irish friends are of that opinion, that the Irish would have cheerfully supported the English Government if it had 5 gone to war for France. It would not have needed 10,000 English Soldiers to keep them down. I am often pained at people casting remarks on the sister country. We have allowed our government to oppress the Irish, much blame therefore is attached to us, & the Irish cannot well separate the English democracy from the government. But such remarks as that, that in such an emergency England & 10 Scotland could be left without soldiers but that the Irish required 10,000 to keep them quiet can only widen the breach.

Cit. Cohn said, we must bear in mind that at the out set we had a great difficulty to contend with but we overcame the difficulty. When the war broke out [there] was a bonapartist party as well as a German party among the working 15 class. The middle class press had for so many years talked of what good Napoleon had done for France that many believed it. We took somewhat of a middle course & were confronted by both parties. There were two distinct parties till the capitulation of Sedan. After the capitulation of Sedan the bonapartist party transferred their sympathies to the Republic & [in] the German party seeing that 20 Prussia became the aggressor a conversion took place, but what could be done? Had Parliament been sitting we might [have] petitioned or got members to ask questions. But sometimes ministers speak more freely when no parliament sits than they do when Parliament is sitting & therefore we did the best we could do to get the representative men together that are connected with the large working 25 men's organisations to appoint a deputation to wait on the prime minister. Well a deputation ||167| was appointed & it waited on Gladstone & compelled him to express an opinion. So far we were unanimous. But after we had that opinion what could we do then? The question of recognition is also a question of law, of which workingmen are ignorant & many feared that they might get entangled in a 30 net. So much for the first point.

On the second, with all due respect for Cit. Westons opinion, England would have been powerless, the French navy was not prevented from acting & it was comparatively dead. That the English navy could have done a great deal I will not deny, but much has been done our mercantile navy has done a great deal it 35 has been of great assistance to the French. An English army of 50,000 men might have been sent but it would have had no force because the English army is badly officered it would have crumbled down before the Prussians. The French are individually as brave as the Prussians but lack that scientific organisation the Prussians have got. To whom could the command of an English army have been 40 entrusted? In former wars our officers ran away on urgent business they would have done the same now. If we had sent an army to France it would have failed for the same reason the French have failed. The French had generals who received a great deal of money, so have we; the French had generals who had

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gained laurels in Algiers, we have generals who have done great deeds in India, but they were no leaders in a war like this, they crumbled down before the scientific Prussians. We could have provisioned & clothed the French army that would have been a great assistance but it would not have ensured victory.

5 Upon the third point, when the matter came before the House of Commons I was in favour of it. I thought it would be an excellent thing, if private property could be protected on sea & land, as there is every certainty that wars are not yet at an end. I thought it would make them [less] barbarous & would reduce the |
|168| sufferings of those not immediately engaged & I thought too that private
10 property would be protected in this war. But since Prussia has trodden the declaration in the gutter & property is not safe on land I do not see why it should be at sea. The question at all events is open for consideration.

Cit. Milner said, if we don't watch it we shall get out of gear with the working class. It seems as though monarchy was infinitely stronger than republicanism.
15 France is a tremendous difficulty. We are going for Republicanism, we are for the liberty of all, but Gambetta has been obliged to use tyranny to sustain the Republic. Our aim is to elevate the condition of the workingclasses under all forms of government. Therefore we must take care not to be thrust aside in the contention of parties. The vigour of the German mind has always been so intensely
20 individual, more so than any other, that it has not troubled about foreign matters, but having now been fused into national they will not forego to reap the fruits of their conquests. If they think they can do so better under a centralised monarchy than under a republic they will have a monarchy & we shall have to put up with it & accommodate ourselves to it. Republicanism cannot boast of
25 any great successes. America shows us no great success except that the concentration of Capital is greater than elsewhere & we may ere long be told that the working classes are better off under a monarchy than under a Republic.

Cit. Eccarius said, one important point has not yet been mentioned in this discussion, the dismemberment of France. The demand for recognition was at the
30 outset coupled with a protest against annexation. To protest against annexation would have been ridiculous without a threat of war. The peace party qualified their sympathy by a declaration ||169| that under [no] circumstances should England go to war & they passed votes of confidence to the government for the way it had acted we on the contrary censured the government. To remain silent spectators when recognition was refused would have put us on a level with the great liberal party. By going in for intervention & war we have at least saved our honour. I am one of those who advocated war, & [if] we have done nothing else we have broken up that doubtful friendship that existed between the working class & the liberals, the workingclass has lost the confidence it had in Gladstone
35 even in home affairs. The war cry has greatly helped. The various meetings of the liberals & radicals & their constituencies show that every where there has been a manifestation of discontent the only place where an unqualified vote of confidence for the government could be obtained was at Manchester, in the stronghold of Radicalism. But though I was for war I never seriously believed that
40

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England would go to war. The tories have as little sympathy for the Republic as the Liberals but they thought if England had interfered in time Napoleon might have been saved & that would have been easier than put someone in his place to keep revolution down. The great Liberal party is as Prussian as the German professors themselves there was no fear of hurrying England into war in favour of France but it was a handle against the Government to rouse the working class for future action. 5

Cit. Harris. I hold with the opener that we could not have been of much use in this war but cannot agree with Cit. Weston & Cohn. I did not view the war as one between two governments but as one against the people of Europe. How is it 10 [that] the British Democracy is so powerless? Because it knows nothing of history or foreign politics & therefore can do nothing. They go & cheer a Republic before they know who are the people that are at the head of [it] or what kind of a republic it is. There was a kind of marriage hawking ||170| about in Spain which brought on the war. When the war broke out the French went at it with joy to 15 overrun Germany where was the British Democracy then? Cit. Engels did not allude to 10,000 men in Ireland with a view that it would take so many to keep Ireland down but with a view to show the difficulty of sending an army into France. He supposed that the English government would not leave Ireland unprotected. I believe the Irish to be very generous but they would not [be] worth 20 anything if they would not take advantage if England was in a difficulty.

Cit. Engels. When I mentioned Ireland I only supposed that 10,000 would be the smallest force the Government would leave in Ireland. I did not take the sentiments of the Irish into account at all.

Cit. Weston. It might [be] inferred that there was a feeling in the Council that it 25 was necessary to have 10,000 men in Ireland but that England & Scotland could be left without an army.

Cit. Boon. There is not a Republican but what believes that the Irish are only kept down by an armed force.

It was then suggested that the question of Ireland might be brought in as a 30 subordinate question of the discussion by joining a proposition to that effect to the others.

It was agreed that the debate be again adjourned.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

John Weston Chairman 35
John George Eccarius Secretary |

Meeting of the General Council February 14, 1871

11711 Meeting of the Council February 14

Members present: Boon, Eccarius, Engels, Hales, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Milner, Kolb, Pfänder, Robin, Stepney, Weston.

Cit. Weston in the Chair. The chairman announced that he had brought Mr.

- 5 Hennessy as a visitor. Cit. Harris said he did not object to Mr. Hennessy being present but it was against the rules to admit visitors. Cit. Jung said he had often brought non members with him as visitors & most of them had become members.

Cit. Engels moved & Lessner seconded that Mr. Hennessy be admitted carried unanimously.

- 10 The minutes were then read & confirmed.

The Secretary announced that the Alliance Cabinet Makers Society had voted one pound for the Prisoners' families in Germany the money would be forwarded in the course of the week.

- 15 Cit. Marx announced that the men condemned to various terms of imprisonment with hard labour for high treason at Vienna had been amnestied, & without the English condition of banishment.

He further announced that the Pall Mall Gazette contained a report of a meeting at Paris where Serraillier, who had not been heard of since last September, & who it had been feared might have fallen [made a speech]. Serraillier had 20 discussed the attitude the working class should assume. They should insist on a strict inquiry why the Government of National Defence had failed in defeating the Prussians; they should examine the country to ascertain whether it was still capable of resistance before they submitted to any unfavourable conditions of peace. Serraillier had given as his opinion that the war had been undertaken to 25 suppress the International but it was stronger than Bismarck & would defeat him.

Dupont had received a letter from Roubaix from a man whom Dupont recommended to be nominated as Correspondent of the Association. Upon the proposition of Cit. Marx seconded by Harris ||172| the nomination was agreed to.

- 30 Cit. Marx further announced the Prussian Chamber of Deputies had petitioned the Government to raise the state of siege on account of the elections but the Government refused. At Frankfort a working man had been expelled on account of being elected as a Candidate for the German Parliament.

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Cit. Jung announced that a friend who did [not] wish to be known had handed him a donation of £40 for the funds of the Council.

The Chairman said that was very agreeable news & the Mr. Nobody ought to have a vote of thanks.

Cit. Jung stated it was a member of the Association & required no vote of 5 thanks.

The adjourned discussion was then resumed by Cit. Jung. He said Cit. Weston admitted on the previous evening that the workingclass movement had not been successful & showed that an attempt had been made to agree with the middle class. I consider that wrong policy. Cit. Weston further said that if all the work- 10 ingmen had been united they would not have been successful but I think they might have been if they had been united it was bringing other parties into it that caused the split. It appeared to me that as the agitation went on it served more to idolise the persons at the head of the Government than to enforce the recognition of the Republic. From that moment the movement was lost. Workingmen who 15 knew better, when they heard such speeches as Odger's must either doubt his sincerity or come to the conclusion that he knew nothing.

I am confident that the Government would not have withdrawn the soldiers from Ireland & the Irish would be foolish if they did not seize every opportunity. The English Democracy has never done anything for Ireland. 20

I have also a few observations to make upon what Cit. Milner said. He said it was our aim to better the condition || 173j of the workingclass under any form of government. We shall do that but it is a rather limited view of our aim. It is the view that has led some of our members to the notion that we ought not to have anything to do with politics. But we are [a] political association our aim is greater 25 than simply social improvement we want to alter the existing state of things. If monarchy has proved the stronger in France it was not because it was centralised, France is centralised too. I am not afraid of centralisation, a Republic may centralise its power too so that we can still go in for the Republic.

Cit. Cohn seemed to be mistaken about the funds of the army. Here they are 30 voted in Prussia they are not.

Cit. Marx. The recognition of the Republic was the first condition for all the rest, if that did not succeed all the rest must fail. France was internationally paralysed & at home too while Prussia had Russia at her back. The moment the Republic was proclaimed everybody in France became enthusiastically republi- 35 can. Had the Republic been recognised then it would have had a chance to succeed. But when no recognition came they turned back. The propertied class had an interest rather to see Prussia victorious than the Republic. They are well aware that sooner or later the Republic must have become socialistic & therefore they intrigued against it, & these intrigues have done more for Prussia than 40 Moltke & his Generals. Well no one has shown in this discussion that the recognition of the Republic was not the first point.

Next the Cannon Street meeting was not a meeting of the wealthy citizens of London it was the small middle class who never had any influence. They may

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either support the great capitalists against the people or join the working class, they cannot do anything by themselves, but when they join the working class they must not be permitted to lead, because they are dangerous leaders. They hate the Republic & would not recognise it, but they were afraid of Prussia therefore they
5 were for war. |

|174| Cit. Eccarius talked about protesting against the dismemberment of France without threatening war would have been useless, that had nothing to do with it. We protested in our address & the Germans protested but that was only a moral protest, the British Government could not protest until Prussia had been
10 victorious & formally demanded those provinces, & it was impossible to believe that this government would seriously oppose the dismemberment.

Then Cit. Cohn seems to entertain strange notions about a workingmen's agitation. When the workmen go to Gladstone to hear his opinion they must take that as an ultimate decision & give up. He also thinks that more could have been
15 done if Parliament had been sitting. That was the best thing that Parliament was not sitting. The recognition of the Republic was a simple executive act. Had Parliament been sitting Gladstone would have shoved off his own shoulders on to those of the majority & there would have been a thousand reasons to support him to one against it. A change of Government might have necessitated an election &
20 the Liberals don't care about buying the free electors too often. I am quite sure if the workingmen had persevered & not allowed doctrinaire middle class speakers to meddle they might have succeeded. There was not half the energy thrown into this movement that there was some time since in a beer row. All things in England are carried by pressure from without.

25 Cit. Milner spoke as if the Germans would be offended if the English insisted on the recognition of the French Republic. Quite the contrary they believe the English have not gone far enough. Hundreds have been imprisoned & the only people they could look to for moral support were the English workpeople but they did not get in the way they ought to have done. As to monarchy against
30 republic there was one monarchical army against another in the beginning there was nothing about Republic, & the French army was supposed to be the stronger. All the French standing army disappeared, everybody thought the French would have to give in, in a few days ||175| no monarchy could have assisted [against] the Prussians. It was the absence of a monarch alone, the Republic that
35 has done it for five months & if there [had] been no treason, & no intriguing they would have kept up longer.

The third point that has come out is that middle class republics have become impossible in Europe. A middle class Government dare not interfere so far as to take the proper revolutionary measures for defence. It is only a political form to
40 develop the power of the working class. The last election in France & the proceedings of the middle class in Germany prove that they rather have a military despotism than a republic. In England there is the same fear. Republicanism & middle class Government can no longer go together.

I now come to the war itself. After the capitulation of Sedan Bismark was in a
45 difficulty. The king had told the German Parliament & the French people that he

only made war against Napoleon in selfdefence. But after Sedan it was no more for defence than the French had been. I know that Bismark worked as hard to bring about the war as Napoleon the defence was only a pretext. But after Sedan he wanted a new pretext. The German middle class was doubtful whether it was not time to stop but Bismarck found that there was no recognised government to make peace with therefore he must go to Paris to make peace. It was the height of impudence for him [to] say what Government the French would recognise & what they would not but it answered his purpose. Money makers are always worshippers of success & the German middle class being afraid of the Republic [he] secured their support, that of the aristocracy he was sure of beforehand. It was 5 Bismarck's interest that England should not recognise the Republic because England was the only power that could oppose him, but he reckoned on Gladstone & the Court relations. To be mother in law of the Emperor of Germany was no small thing so England followed in the footsteps of the holy Alliance. 10

When Gladstone was taxed by the workingmen's deputation about the haste 15 with which Napoleon had been recognised he baffled them ||176| by mixing up dates & confounding the recognition after the coup d'état by Palmerston with that of Derby after the Plebiscite. He told the working men he had gone as far as he could, & he made a merit of not having broken off diplomatic relations. He could have gone as far as America. His colleagues, Bruce, Lowe, & Cardwell 20 made hostile demonstrations against [the] Republic by stating that England could only employ moral force without. The only place where England can employ physical force is Ireland. Then the German press was ordered to insult England about selling stores to the French. When Bernstorff called Granville to account he equivocated & said he would enquire & then found it was all right & 25 legal. He knew that before only he had not the pluck to say so. Then the British Government, at the instance of Bernstorff, confiscated the French Cable which an English judge afterwards pronounced to be illegal. After the capitulation of Metz Russia thought it was time to show her partnership which was shown in the renunciation of the treaty of Paris. Immediately after [this] came the repu- 30 diation of the treaty of Luxembourg & the settlement of Roumania in the prin- cipalities, which were all insults to England. And what did Gladstone do? He sent a plenipotentiary extraordinary to Bismark to ask his advice. Bismark ad- vised a conference in London & even Gladstone felt that it would be no use without France because without France the treaty breakers would be in the 35 majority. But France could not be admitted without recognising the Republic, & therefore Bismark had to prevent it. When Auberon Herbert asked Gladstone in the House he again shuffled out & falsified the facts & ignored the most im- portant part. Pious people always do a deal of sinning. From the blue book it appears [that] when the English government asked for a pass for Favre Bismark 40 answered that France was internationally incapable of acting before that was removed it would be useless to take any steps to admit her to conference. Non recognition was the means of isolating the English Government.

It being close upon 11 o'clock Cit. Marx moved that the debate be adjourned, which was seconded & carried.

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Cit. Boon then moved & Cit. Engels seconded that the treasurer, Cit. Weston, deposit thirty five pounds in the Birkbeck bank ||177| for the Association & keep five pounds in hand for current expenditure.

The proposition was unanimously carried.
The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

John Weston
J. George Eccarius Secretary I

Meeting of the General Council February 21, 1871

/177/ Meeting of the Council February 21

Members present: Eccarius, Engels, Harris, Jung, Kolb, Lessner, [Marx,] Milner, Stepney, Weston, Pfander.

Cit. Weston in the Chair. The minutes of the previous [meeting] were read.

Cit. Marx said that the minutes contained so many blunders that they could 5 not be corrected without making the speech over again.

Cit. Harris moved that with the insertion of this statement they be adopted which was carried.

The secretary announced that £8 6 s. had been received by him for the families 10 of the German political prisoners.

The treasurer announced that he had deposited £35 in the Birkbeck bank, according to order, that 4 per cent interest would be received on every full pound that remained in the bank from the beginning till the end of the month & that money could be drawn out as required without any previous notice by simply sending an order signed by him & accompanied by the book. 15

Cit. Marx then called the attention of the Council to the report of his speech in the Eastern Post & the slovenly way in which it was put together. If his name had not been misprinted he should have considered it his duty to write to the editor. The report stated "the moment the Republic was proclaimed every body in France was enthusiastically republican, but no recognition came & a reaction set in". 20 There was no sense whatever in it. He had on the contrary stated that the republic had been recognised by Italy, Switzerland, Spain, Belgium & other countries & that the enthusiasm of the people had been so great that the opponents had been obliged to pretend to be in favour of it & he had particularly mentioned |178| that the judge of the high court of Blois had played the Republican. The 25 report went on "the bourgeoisie had no interest in making the Republic succeed, they are well aware that sooner or later the social question must be dealt with". This was altogether different from what he had said which was that the Republic must become socialistic. Then the report went on "none of the advocates of war have shown that the recognition of the Republic was the first condition to all the 30 rest" which ought [to be] *not* the first condition.

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About his remarks upon what other speakers had said the reporter had not taken the trouble to say who spoke so that it was difficult to distinguish who had spoken. The remark attributed to him about Cit. Cohn was tantamount to an insult. Further the report said that it was "the absence of a monarch that inspired 5 the people" he had distinctly stated the absence of monarchy which was quite a different affair. The devil should understand such reports. Then that England use more force without which might be a misprint for moral force.

Again it was reported that Bismark had said "the French had not recognised that Government & it was the height of impudence for him to say what Government 10 should be recognised by the French". No mention was made that he had said that every body in France had recognised & obeyed the Government & that it was the height of impudence for Bismark to say they had not.

Then it is reported that the admission of France to the Conference would be tantamount to recognition. This was a penny a liner's remark, not his, the conclusion 15 was altogether falsified. It was because the Government was not recognised that it was internationally incapable. The report differs also from the minutes. Such reports could only do injury & if any more of that sort were published he should move that no more be printed.

Cit. Milner thought it would be better in future to have the minutes read & 20 confirmed before any report was sent.

Cit. Jung thought there was something in it, but they would get [a] week old. There were many things which must be published immediately. And then the reports & the minutes are different the minutes cannot be published in full.

Cit. Marx the reports ought to be done different they ought to be more critical. 25 After a few remarks from the Chairman, Cit. Engels & Milner the matter [was] dropped.

Cit. Marx said with regard to the discussion he had thought of speaking on the third point but as ||179| nothing had been said against it it was not necessary. If others spoke on it he might have some thing to say & then Cit. Engels would have 30 to sum up. The Irish question of which mention had been made had better to be discussed separately.

Cit. Weston said he would avail himself of the opportunity to say a few words. Cit. Jung seemed to be under an impression that efforts had been made to get a portion of the middle class to cooperate with the working class to urge the recognition 35 of the Republic such was not the case. Only six had agreed to test the feeling of the Cannon Street meeting by proposing a resolution. They had not had a fair opportunity but the votes had been 3 to 2 in their favour. Respecting the Comtists when it had been found that they expressed the workingmen's views they had cooperated with them. The split among the workingclasses had existed 40 prior to the proclamation of the Republic & had been brought about by the workmen's peace society declaring that England should on no account take part in the war, but that only moral force should be used. Bismark could have come to no other conclusion from that than that the English workpeople would not allow the Government to interfere & to counteract it [it] had been necessary to advocate

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intervention. He was still of opinion that unanimity would not have insured the success of the movement for recognition.

Cit. Jung said the misfortune was that we had to go by reports that were incorrect he had understood that efforts had been made to cooperate with the middle class.

5

Cit. Milner said he too had been misunderstood. Years ago he & those with whom he had acted had endeavoured to impress upon the trade unionists the necessity of combining the social with the political movement as no social advance could be made without political power. He agreed that the Republican was the best form of Government for the development of the workingclass but if the 10 republic came upon them without being previously prepared to know what to do it would be [of] no use. In that sense the workingclass must be elevated under any form of Government then they would make good use of the Republic when it came.

Cit. Engels thought it rather important that Marx should speak before ||180| he 15 summed up but as Cit. Marx was indisposed it would be better to adjourn till next Tuesday which was agreed to.

Cit. Weston announced that the land tenure reform association was meeting the workingmen's party halfways towards the nationalisation of the Land. The Land & Labour League had driven them forward.

20

Cit. Harris thought it was a move to break up the Land & Labour League.

Cit. Jung stated that Lucraft had desired him to go to the peace meeting at the Freemasons' tavern to solicit money for the families of the German political prisoners but he [did] not like to go unless the Council desired him to do so.

Cit. Marx did not believe the Germans would thank the Council for sending 25 any one, because it would be recognising them & they might make something of it.

The Financial Secretary read the financial statement & the Council agreed that the treasurer should hold the bank book.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

30

Chairman: Charles Pfänder.
J. George Eccarius Secretary. /

Meeting of the General Council February 28, 1871

/180/ Meeting of the Council February 28

Members present: Boon, Eccarius, Engels, Hales, Harris, Jung, Kolb, Lessner, Marx, [Pfänder,] Serraillier, Stepney, Weston.

Citizen Pfänder in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & 5 with an addition confirmed.

Cit. Marx stated his corrections of the report in the last meeting had not been to go to the papers & the corrections that had been made in the paper were again misleading as it looked as if he not Gladstone had said that England could only use moral force. Moral force was no force.

10 Before the business of the evening was proceeded with Cit. Marx desired to call attention to some remarks made by Cit. Weston the previous week about the programme of the land tenure reform association. It had been too late in the evening & being made from the chair there was no chance of raising a discussion. He thought it would be better in future when any such Programme was brought 15 before the Council to bring it in as a motion so that the members might express an opinion upon it. |

11811 Cit. Weston thought that things that came so near our own platform ought to be taken notice of We were for the abolition of private property in land the land tenure reform association proposed the nationalisation of the waste 20 lands, home colonisation, & to intercept the rent accruing from increase of population which would make the landlords simple annuitants. We ought to recognise & encourage such schemes, these men might ultimately come over to us a little patting on the back might do a great deal. He thought it desirable that an evening should be devoted to considering the matter.

25 Cit. Marx said the communication was quite right he was only against Cit. Weston defending the programme from the chair as he had done. These moves always turned up at a certain stage of a movement & instead of being encouraged they ought to be opposed, such men only stepped in to break up the movement.

Cit. Engels said what had been said shewed that it was time for the Council to 30 discuss the question brought before it as a matter of fact. An association outside the International was taking steps which interfered with our platform he there-

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fore proposed that after the pending discussion was over the programme of the land tenure reform association should be discussed.

Cit. Harris seconded the proposition, & denied that it was right to pat middleclass men on the back.

The proposition was carried unanimously & Cit. Weston declared his readiness 5 to open the discussion as soon as the pending discussion was over.

Cit. Engels communicated that the Paris Correspondent of the Cologne Gazette had reported that the deputies elected for Paris by the International were all for war & that the International supplied them with money. The International had 200,000 fr. but it was not extravagant the deputies at Bordeaux [had] only 10 received 2,000 fr. each. Tolain & Murat were at the head.

Reuters telegrams stated that the International had sent delegates to Bordeaux. Mr. Reuter did not know that we had two sections there.

Cit. Marx communicated that the Prussian Government had given up the high treason prosecution in all the other points except that the prisoners were [in] 15 sections of the International & received their orders from London which constituted treason. |

[182] It was then agreed that the discussion should [be] postponed for Citizen Serraillier to report what he had seen in Paris.

Citizen Serraillier said:—On my arrival in Paris a delegate led me to the mairie. 20 I asked where I could find the Association & I was told there were no sections, no federal council, all the members had been in prison, & were then distributed amongst the various regiments, some were in the regular army, some in the national guard, some in the garde mobile, the association was broken up. Then I met Longuet & I asked him if I could get a translation of our second address 25 inserted in some paper. Felix Pyat & the Rappel would not insert it because it was too Prussian the Reveil refused, I suppose because it did not speak of Ledru Rollin. I then gave it to Desmoulins, who translates for an Orleanist paper, it was published but they scratched out the remarks about the Government.

I then went to public meetings where I found Combault, who was always a 30 good man, but when I spoke of the International he replied if you speak of the Germans as our equals I shall shoot you down we can only talk of the Germans as the enemies on our soil. I went to others with no better result.

On the 8th of October a demonstration was to be made against the Government, all our members were present but only as individuals not as association, 35 there was no concerted action, they did nothing. Then I tried to get a meeting of the federal council to take some steps for the next demonstration which was to come off on the 31st of October but they said they could not connect politics with the International so the day was lost again. Blanqui was the only man who stuck to his post to the last, all the other great gods slipped off. 40

The Internationals declined to support Blanqui, had they done so things would stand different with France today. Varlin, like the rest, declared that the International could not act politically as an association in this way at every new attempt we must lose the day again.

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I then went to the sections to get them into working ||18| order & to get them to elect a new council because the names of the familiars, Tolain, Chalain, Theisz, Combault, Murat, & all the others were an obstacle to doing anything. I made a call on all the sections, 11 answered & a new federal council was organised, in 5 opposition to the others, to hold meetings & to be ready in every circonscription of Paris for any emergency that might arise. For doing this they called me a fool. A week after we drew up a manifesto against another that had been published. Malon is the only exception he was willing to work but no body would help him. After our manifesto was published they called the sections together to oppose us.

- 10 In January there was a chance to overthrow the Government, & all the leading men were ready to take their share in the work but they would not bring out the sections for an organised attack except Malon who brought out his two sections. We had everything in our hands but the members of the Government were allowed to get away & then we were literally kicked out.
- 15 Then came the elections. We were called upon to agree to a list of Candidates. The republicans of 1848 proposed a number of Candidates to be elected but they were not to go to Bordeaux. I proposed that we would nominate thirteen & they should nominate all the others but they must be revolutionists.

Combault, Chalain, & Johannard were not put down by us. The delegates met 20 to draw up a list. I went to the meeting & when the list was discussed the Internationals would not be on a list that bore Blanqui's ||184| name yet he is the only man that has been honest & consistent throughout. I left, the others stopped & then they put down a list in the name of the whole International of Candidates that [had] only been proposed by the sections. I protested against them doing so 25 & pointed out that each was only the candidate of his own section. They then abandoned the list & agreed to one with the bourgeoisie. The next day a list came out agreed to by the Republican Union, the Republican Alliance, the Defenders of France & some Internationals. Malon, Pindy, Varlin, & Charles Beslay were on that list. We declared that we could not make a list with the bourgeoisie.

30 Frankel drew up a protest against which was agreed to by Malon, the day after its publication Malon sent a protest against the protest & alleged that his name had been put down against his consent. Frankel went again to Malon & remonstrated that he had allowed his name to go down, & now that he was on both lists he must make his choice to which he would adhere. Malon was reported to have 35 said that he preferred being on the bourgeois list, which I believe is correct. Frankel was to go with Malon to Bordeaux but that has not come off.

When I left the new & the old federal council united & I made it a condition that the old ones must be reelected to take their seats, I know they will not be reelected.

- 40 We were in a strange situation. We worked against the Government betraying us, we spoke in the name of the International & told the workpeople only to hate the governments which were against the people in France as well as in Germany but the ||185| bourgeois did different they said the Germans fight against the Republic. When I told them that Jules Favre had made the obnoxious laws which

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ruined the republic of 1848 I was answered that in London demonstrations were made for Favre by members of the Council. I could only tell them that Merriman was a lawyer & was for the Government because they were lawyers & that Odger was only a private individual but then they pointed out that his name was on our address. The Prussians let all the papers with the accounts of these demonstrations go into Paris. Everything that told against the International was allowed to go in. 5

The Council must make a declaration to let the Parisians know that it had nothing to do with these demonstrations for Jules Favre if not they will lose their confidence in us. 10

The 200,000 fr. were reported by the Figaro to have been given by Bonapartist agents to the International. Our members were going to protest & say they had no money but I thought it be foolish to proclaim that we had no money & therefore we remained silent. When it came to the poll the bourgeoisie said it would be no use electing working men, there would be no payment for the members & without money they could not go to Bordeaux, it would therefore have been impolitic to let every body know that we had none. 15

Murat & Tolain when they wrote to Dupont ||186| never wrote in the name of the association only as individuals. All that Tolain has done for the last three years was to go to the Congress once a year & make a speech. He has made 20 alliances with the bourgeoisie. He is said to represent the International but he does nothing for it. He has undeceived the bourgeoisie of the danger of the Socialist. They can make any thing they like of him. Malon they say is dreaming. Murat gave orders to arrest the two commandants Piazza & Brunei who were going to prevent the capitulation of Paris. He is quite with the middle class & has 25 signed all the orders that were made in favour of the middle class. When things were at the worst people with families could not get much for fr. a day every thing was very dear & then they would not let you have two pennyworth of sugar without buying chocolate or tea or some thing else & they would not let you have bread or cheese without buying sugar. Those who had money could get what they 30 wanted & the poor had to starve. Murat signed the orders by which this was brought about he ought to have resigned like Delescluze & others did but he refused. When they were first appointed they had no political functions they were only to look after the distribution of food. But they were taken into the secret of the capitulation. He ought to have made known to the Association how matters 35 really stood.

Those men must be accused before the next congress & I will be there to substantiate the charge.

Guillaume has arrived in Paris he is going to give his intellect for the benefit of the Parisians. I have done something he is going to do more. He is | 40

|187| Cit. Harris said I am pleased to hear confirmed what I had from Paris. We are not connected with those who monopolised the correspondence from Paris & made demonstrations for Favre. My informant tells me that the men of Belleville were sent in front with old bad guns because they had no property the propertied

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class was behind them with good guns. People with money could have anything they liked the poor could get nothing. Merriman, Odger, & Trant were elected by a handful of people, (from the hole in the wall, I suppose,) it was a sell in England.

- 5 Cit. Hales I support the proposition though I know that no acknowledgement is sufficient for such services. I am not surprised at treachery it is the history of the democratic movement, we ought not to allow men playing with our principles if they use us to rise it is our own fault. Whenever they go astray they ought to be denounced. Serraillier has done in Paris what we ought to do here.
- 10 Cit. Weston everybody says something & I am sure that Serraillier has done an invaluable service. But other things have been spoken of that have nothing [to do] with us. (None of the people of the hole in the wall had any hand in it.) The first meeting in Hyde park was called by three men to sympathise with the Republic, but no mention was made of the International. If they have made more mentions
- 15 of names than they ought to have done it was not with any ill will. Odger & Le Lubez were honest in all they did & Odger paid his own travelling expenses. We applauded the Republican principle not men. I heartily support the proposition.

Cit. Marx said what Serraillier has told us is only the echo of what has been said in Paris. No body has spoken of Le Lubez, if Cit. Weston recollects what

20 happened here between the branche Française & the Council & the accusations of Le Lubez against Jung & others he will see that the French do not reckon him one of us they know that he has ceased to be a member. But Odger is known as a member of the Council & when they saw in Paris that he was eulogising Favre they could not know that the Council had nothing to do with it. I am not aware

25 that anybody has made a charge that anyone ||188| is sold but if citizen Odger goes about to speak on international politics without knowing anything about them he ought to come here to inform himself, Odger talks nonsense.

Cit. Boon. It looks rather suspicious that a workman should undertake such a journey on his own hook, some one must pay the expense & they go without the

30 consent of an Association they belong to elected by no one knows who, it may be a street mob, we have a right to speak.

Cit. Weston I am surprised at Citizen Boon calling an open air meeting a street mob. Odger was elected in Hyde park, it was no street mob & no hole in the wall election.

35 Cit. Harris. Mr. Odgers name was mentioned in Paris as a member of this Council & I do contend that he & Trant form part of the politics of the hole in the wall.

Cit. Boon as a member of this Council Odger ought not to have gone on such a mission without consulting us.

40 The proposition was then put to the vote & carried unanimously.
The Council adjourned at half past 11 o'clock.

A. Serraillier Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary. I

Meeting of the General Council March 7, 1871

/188/ Meeting of the Council March 7

Members present: Eccarius, Engels, Hales, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Milner, Pfänder, Robin, Serraillier, Townshend, Stepney, Weston.

Cit. Serraillier in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & with an alteration confirmed. 5

Cit. Marx announced the receipt of a letter from Bordeaux. Malon was acting in the interest of the Association but Tolain was robbing his elbows against the bourgeoisie & was of opinion that the International might adopt a milder title as the present name might do harm. |

|189| Cit. Marx then read a letter from the German Secretary of New York in 10 which the application of the New York Committee, to be recognised as the North American Central Committee was repeated. In reply to letters from here the writer stated that they had no desire to clash with the American Labor Union which was in the hands of small politicians who wanted to emancipate themselves by associations in which only the best paid workmen could take part & they were 15 trusting to small farmers' politics to carry out their programme. The next Congress would be at Louisiana which would strengthen that tendency, & no better tone would be produced till the industrial workingclass of the East had more influence which they would not get till another Congress was held in the East. Jessup was of their way of thinking but rather reserved. They had had an interview with the Fenian convicts arrived from England & considered them very intelligent men. One of them had declared that if he should like to belong to any party it would be the International or a party like it.

He wanted to know whether he was to correspond with the General Secretary or not, & complained that he had received no documents. The money collected 25 for the German prisoners had been forwarded to Germany. They had now admission to the Union meetings. The St. Crispin's had gained their strike, the colliers had hopes of success. The German Working men's meeting made no progress.

Enclosed was a report from Ward of his visit to Washington to have an interview with the delegates of the Labor Union to convince them that a wider plat- 30

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form was required to bring about the social revolution. He had discussed the matter with 11 delegates for several days & been favorably received.

Cit. Marx stated that he sent off large bundles of documents & the secretary mentioned that he also had sent copies of everything that had been published.

- 5 Cit. Marx said the question to decide was whether they || 190 | were to be made a United States Central Committee or only the Central Committee of the foreign sections.

Cit. Engels was for recognising them only as the representatives of their constituencies leaving every body at liberty to join them.

- 10 Cit. Milner considered it necessary to encourage propagandists & give them a position to carry on the propaganda.

Cit. Weston wanted some name that would properly define their position.

- Cit. Marx said if we only represented the German Club the Swiss Club & perhaps a French Club here we could not call ourselves a central committee for
15 the English, the Irish & the Scotch.

Cit. Jung said in reply to Cit. Milner that no one intended to deny what they had done or prevent them doing more but they could not be an American Central Committee till they had made some American Branches.

- 20 Cit. Harris stated that there were two parties in Massachusetts who had only lately heard of us & who intended to join. Respecting the parcels they might be at the post office in New York. He had sent things himself which had remained at the post office till enquiries had been made for them & then they had been delivered. He supported the view that the New York Committee should only speak in the name of those they represented.

- 25 Cit. Marx said that nothing must [be] done to curb their action they had done a good deal the best thing was to write to them & to represent to them what they could [do] according to the rules. It was agreed that Cit. Marx be instructed to write a letter to them in that sense.

- Cit. Engels announced that the Red Paper at Palma was dead. Three numbers
30 had appeared but the post had not distributed it. The editor had been prosecuted for insulting the king in the first number but his name was not mentioned & he could not find the article to which the prosecution referred.

- Cit. Jung communicated a letter according to which two sections had been formed in Paris near the railway stations of Ivry & Bercy. The Sections were
35 represented by delegates at the federal council.

- Serrailier announced that the national guard had resolved || 191 | to oppose the entry of the Prussians & tried to involve the International, but it had been found that some government agents were at the bottom of it which had been explained to the national guard & then they refused to go on. The Internationals were
40 busily organising.

Cit. Robin gave notice that at the next meeting he should move that an administrative conference of delegates from all the sections be convoked to London as soon as possible. Cit. Jung stated that that would bring up the question for which he had claimed urgency at the last meeting.

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Cit. Marx then recurred to the question of the declaration of Paris. He said if the English working people did not speak out that declaration might be made an article of a treaty & the people of England must not be disarmed in their foreign policy, & there was no time to be lost an English committee ought to be formed at once. For a maritime power the only way to make war was to make war 5 against the foreign commerce of the Enemy. America had not consented to that declaration but the French had observed it & that was the reason the French fleet had done so little. Holland was now put forward to ask that that what was formerly only a declaration be made a part of the treaty. On the sea only goods could be destroyed but in a war in the interior an amount of fixed capital, such 10 [as] bridges, buildings &c. were destroyed which it took years to replace. Letters of mark were another affair they were the franks tireurs of the sea. The ruling class of this country had lost the power of national defence without, & at the moment when France was powerless England represented the West of Europe, & the workingclass of England must regain that power. 15

Cit. Hales stated that there was to be a meeting at St. James's Hall where he believed the subject would be introduced against increasing taxation.

Cit. Marx observed it would cost more in the long run the peace party acted always in favour of the greatest military power.

Cit. Weston thought if anyone competent to move an amendment went there & 20 moved one a meeting might be had without the expense.

Cit. Hales was certain the Government encouraged the meeting.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

H. Jung Chairman
J. George Eccarius Secretary. [25

Meeting of the General Council March 14, 1871

|192| Meeting of the Council March 14.

Members present: Boon, Eccarius, Engels, Hales, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Milner, Pfänder, Robin, Serraillier, Stepney.

Cit. Jung in the Chair: The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed.

The Secretary read a letter from the Trades Council of Birmingham containing a resolution in which a desire is expressed that the General Council should endeavour to reconcile the French & the German members of the Association.

Cit. Marx read a letter from New York in which the formation & affiliation of 10 an Irish section of the Association was announced. A deputation consisting of James O'Sullivan, John Dawling, Samuel Cavanagh & Thomas Lalor had waited on the New York Committee & John Devoy was the delegate of the Irish section at the New York Committee.

Cit. Marx further announced that our people had been beaten in the German 15 elections all but Bebel who had defeated Schulze Delitzsch. The latter had defeated Manteuffel at Berlin & Moltke had been elected by an East Prussian village.

Cit. Robin then moved the proposition of which he had given notice that a conference of delegates from all the sections be convoked as soon as possible to London. He believed it necessary that the Socialists of every country, & particularly those of Germany & France should meet to come to some agreement as to their future action against their Governments. It was also necessary to turn some out of the Association who acted in its name without any longer representing it. According to the rules the Congress ought to meet every year & a conference ought to meet now, there were also administrative questions to settle.

25 Cit. Milner seconded the proposition to have it discussed.

Cit. Marx spoke against the proposition & said that Cit. Robin had not sufficiently developed his reasons. Paris was in a very unsettled state. Schily, a member of the Association who had lived 20 years in Paris, had been mobbed & it had been reported in the papers that the Paris committee had resolved that as 30 they had the name of International they would keep it but that all the Germans except Liebknecht, Jacoby & himself were to be excluded. The Council must know whether such was the case. |

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[193] Cit. Engels said that the time might come when a conference would have to be called but it had not come yet. Cit. Robin had not shown what the administrative questions were that required a conference. In France our sections were disorganised.

Cit. Hales was of opinion that the time would be when any question arose with which the Council was incapable to deal. 5

Cit. Boon endorsed the opinion that the time had not yet arrived.

Cit. Serraillier said the Paris sections would not be able to send delegates they were hardly organised & in debt from the election.

Cit. Robin contended that it did not rest with the Council to judge its own acts 10 & that now was the time for a conference. They had organised very quickly in Paris before the war & they would do so now if called upon to send delegates.

Cit. Milner said that it behoved the Council to be up to obliterate the strong national feelings now existing.

Cit. Eccarius said the only place where these feelings existed was Paris & a 15 conference would have no effect. A delegate who had sufficient influence with the Parisians to get a hearing, might do something to remove them.

Cit. Serraillier said we wanted [to] get rid of the old members & make new sections to go to a conference or Congress.

Cit. Marx said if branches had asked for a Conference it would be the duty of 20 the Council to convene one but such was not the case. It was true that according to the rules there ought to be a congress every year but this would give two in one year. Milner had not proposed anything that was to be done. In Germany many members were in prison & they had no means to send delegates. Cit. Robin had changed his first intention to have an administrative conference only. 25

Cit. Robin said in reply that the Association had a right to control the acts of the Council & the Council ought not to shirk an investigation. There was a difference of opinion in different places the members acted differently in every country & therefore a conference ought to meet to settle the mode of action.

The proposition was rejected against two. 30

Cit. Marx stated that it had been published in a Paris journal that [194] the federal Committee had passed a resolution to the effect that as they had the name of International they would keep it but that all Germans excepting Marx, Liebknecht, & Jacoby should be excluded. He observed that Jacoby was not a member of the Association. He proposed that Serraillier should be instructed at once 35 [to] write to Rochat for the printed minutes. Agreed.

Cit. Serraillier stated that he had written already & was waiting for their arrival & proposed that if it should be found correct that such a resolution had been passed that the Paris section should be suspended & that the subcommittee be empowered to act in that sense on the receipt of the minutes & appoint new 40 men in Paris to establish sections.

Cit. Hales seconded the proposition which was unanimously carried.

Cit. Serraillier communicated that he had made inquiries in Paris about le Maitre's mission but no one had commissioned him to come to the Council. He

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did all he could to intrigue against the Council. Dorée had only given him a private letter to Dupont. Felix Pyat was slandering the Council.

Cit. Marx then resumed the adjourned debate. He said it was of the greatest possible consequence to find an antagonist for the military powers of the Continent. They were again in the position of the holy alliance & England was the only power that could oppose them & she could only do it by regaining her maritime rights. Confiscating their goods in neutral ships would ruin their foreign commerce in a few weeks & then the German middle class would not be quite so warlike, as it had lately been. This kind of warfare was more humane than war in its general aspects. By the Paris declaration the military powers said virtually to England you must make war in our way not in yours. There had [been] much said against privateers but they were as good as francs tireurs & required less government power. When Butler had advocated war with England people had said America could not go to war without a navy to which Butler had replied we want no navy we only require privateers. It was a matter of indifference with the present rulers of England whether they had that power or not but they would not always rule & [it] was necessary for a power of the English people to be employed for the benefit of the people of the Continent. Stuart Mill had been for the declaration of Paris but some papers had been sent to him & he ||195 had now turned against it. The whole Black sea conference had turned upon getting this declaration sanctioned. Before it had only been privately agreed to by Palmerston & Clarendon but the protocol signed on the previous day as to stipulations seemed to include it.

Cit. Engels said it was hardly worth while to go on as Cit. Weston to whose remarks he wanted to reply was not present. As to the Paris declaration Cit. Marx had already pointed out that it had only been a private agreement. It had never been acknowledged by any statesman or Parliament no body had said that it was binding. In 1862 Cornewall Lewis had declared that it was not binding. In 1867 the present Lord Derby had declared in answer to Stuart Mill that it was only binding in a way but that selfdefence overawed all compacts. It had never been ratified & only rested on the authority of a private letter of a minister no one was bound by it. This was clear from the fact that at every war the belligerent powers themselves had by special agreements bound themselves. But the conference had signed a protocol that henceforth treaties & stipulations should be binding until they were relinquished by common consent.

The war between France & Germany had proved that the present fortresses were unsufficiently protected against bombardment & that by detached forts the fortresses themselves could be saved, & there were to be some forts erected in Poland. The Russian armaments were continued with unabated zeal & were on the last step from a peace to a war footing. The telegraph & sanitary companies were being organised. There was a Russian loan in the English market for £12,000,000 which was already over subscribed & was probably the last English money Russia would get. We might have war before the summer was over it did not look very peaceful.

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Referring to what had been said during the discussion he said the only point that had been disputed was that an English army would not have been sufficient for intervention. The strong language of which Cit. Weston had spoken had not been used by him. He then showed again that England could only bring out a force of 30,000, only at the battle of the Alma the English had numbered 33,000 5 & that figure they had never reached again ||196| during the Crimean war. This was only equal to Prussian Army corps & [to] suppose that such a force could have turned the scales was absurd. The English were as brave as any & there was individual bravery in every country but the men had different qualifications & the mode they excercised them was different. Some were best for attack others best 10 for defence. The Irish were the best men for light infantry the English for [heavy infantry] but the military authorities here treated the English like the Irish & the Irish like the English. The English system of training was so incomplete & antiquated that never until the present war had men been trained in outpost duty at Aldershot. 15

It had been said that 100,000 Englishmen would not have put up with being locked up in Paris. What could soldiers like our volunteers have done to prevent it. The French had had enough of such soldiers & if 400,000 Englishmen of the same class had been locked up as the French were in Paris & led by the same jack asses & traitors they would have done the same as the French had done. 20

In conclusion he said England could not wage war on equal terms with the Continental powers nor was it desirable that she should. An English soldier costs £100 a year a Prussian only £30, therefore Prussia could keep three soldiers where England could only keep one hence she could never compete with the military powers & he hoped she never would try to do it. The first & the second 25 point of the proposition with which the discussion commenced were withdrawn & the third:—"That England remains incapable, not only of interfering with effect in Continental affairs, but also of defending herself against the Continental military despotism, so long as she does not recover the liberty of using her real warpower—that is to say, her naval power, which she can recover only by the 30 renunciation of the declaration of Paris"—was carried unanimously.

Cit. Hales then asked whether the Irish question was to be discussed as a theoretical question or as an administrative question, if the former it might be postponed.

Cit. Boon moved that the Irish question should be the next for discussion but 35 he should not undertake to open the debate.

Cit. Marx said it was a directly practical question, particularly in case of war, and now that we had an Irish section it was necessary ||197| to consider it.

Cit. Hales did not believe in separation.

Cit. Boon could not agree with Weston to call it mean to suppose that the Irish 40 would take advantage of any difficulty in which the English Government might be. But the Council ought to come to an understanding what to do & decide.

Cit. Marx said it was a home class question. As long [as] the split between the English & Irish workpeople lasted the ruling classes would have the power to keep down both. 45

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It was then agreed that the Irish question should stand first on the order of the day for discussion & the programme of the Land tenure society second. Cit. Hales gave notice to discuss the advisability of establishing an English section.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock. *I*

Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Hamann
Bericht über eine Unterredung von Metallgewerkschaftern
mit Karl Marx in Hannover am 30. September 1869

Der Volksstaat.
Nr. 17, 27. November 1869

Marx über Gewerksgenossenschaften.

Die Gewerkschaften können und dürfen nie von einem politischen Vereine abhängig gemacht werden, dies beweist uns zu deutlich der jetzige Verfall unserer Gewerkschaft. Dieses ist auch das Urtheil des jetzt noch lebenden größten Nationalökonom und Schriftstellers *Dr. Karl Marx*, des Lehrers von Lassalle, welcher vor kurzer Zeit in Hannover weilte. Auch ich konnte mich nicht enthalten, den Mann der Wissenschaft persönlich kennen zu lernen und suchte um eine Unterredung bei ihm nach, um den Rath des großen Forschers auf sozialem Gebiete und sein Urtheil in Betreff der Gewerkschaften zu hören. Sie wurde mir freundlichst gewährt, und Tags darauf begab ich mich mit noch vier Freunden zu ihm, wo wir dann eine 1½ stündige Unterredung hatten. Ich hebe hier nur die Hauptpunkte der Unterredung hervor und halte mich streng an die Wahrheit. 5

Meine erste Frage an Dr. Karl Marx war die: Müssen die Gewerkschaften vorwiegend von einem politischen Verein abhängig sein, wenn sie lebensfähig sein sollen? Die Antwort war: „Niemals dürfen die Gewerkschaften mit einem politischen Verein in Zusammenhang gebracht oder von einem solchen abhängig gemacht werden, wenn sie ihre Aufgabe erfüllen sollen; geschieht dieses, so heißt das, ihnen den Todesstoß geben. Die Gewerkschaften sind die Schulen für den Sozialismus. In den Gewerkschaften werden die Arbeiter zu Sozialisten herangebildet, weil ihnen da täglich der Kampf mit dem Kapital vor Augen geführt 15 wird. Alle politischen Parteien, mögen sie sein, welche sie wollen, ohne Ausnahme, begeistern die Masse der Arbeiter nur eine Zeit lang vortübergehend, die Gewerkschaften hingegen fesseln die Masse der Arbeiter auf die Dauer, nur sie sind im Stande, eine wirkliche Arbeiterpartei zu repräsentieren und der Kapitalmacht ein Bollwerk entgegenzusetzen. Zu der Einsicht ist die größere Masse der 20 Arbeiter gelangt, daß ihre materielle Lage gebessert werden muß, mögen sie einer Partei angehören, welcher sie wollen. Wird nun aber die materielle Lage des Arbeiters gebessert, dann kann er sich mehr der Erziehung seiner Kinder widmen, Frau und Kinder brauchen nicht in die Fabrik zu wandern, er selbst kann seinen Geist mehr bilden, seinen Körper mehr pflegen, er wird dann Sozialist, ohne daß 25 er es ahnt.“ 30

Bericht über eine Unterredung von Metallgewerkschaftern mit Karl Marx in Hannover

Die zweite Frage, welche ich vorlegte, war die: Ist es zweckmäßig, wenn die Gewerkschaft ihr eigenes Organ besitzt? Ich führte dann aus, daß wir seit kurzer Zeit allmonatlich unsere Abrechnungen durch Cirkulare veröffentlicht, und spezielle Angelegenheiten, welche das Interesse der Gewerkschaft berührt, zur Verhandlung gebracht und erörtert hätten, es sei uns aber von verschiedenen Seiten der Vorwurf gemacht, daß es Ueberhebung, Dünkel sei, ein Verstoß gegen die Organisation und dergleichen mehr. Die Antwort war folgende: „Es wundert mich nicht, so etwas zu hören; aber an solchen Phrasen müssen Sie sich nicht kehren; gerade das Gewerkschaftsorgan ist das Bindemittel, da müssen die verschiedenen Ansichten für und gegen zur Sprache gebracht werden, es müssen die Lohnverhältnisse in den verschiedenen Gegenden besprochen, womöglich Arbeitsnachweis in den verschiedenen Branchen geliefert werden, aber niemals darf es Eigenthum einer einzelnen Person sein, sondern wenn es seinen Zweck erfüllen soll, muß es Eigenthum der Gesamtheit sein. Die Gründe hierfür brauche ich Ihnen wohl nicht weiter zu erörtern, denn sie treten so klar zu Tage, daß es Jeder begreifen muß, daß dieses eine der ersten Grundbedingungen ist, wenn die Gewerkschaften zur Blüthe gelangen sollen.“

So das Urtheil dieses Mannes, welcher allgemein als die größte Autorität in der Wissenschaft der Nationalökonomie anerkannt wird. Sollte Jemand diese Aussage in Zweifel ziehen, so kann er sich direkt an Dr. Karl Marx, 1. Modena Villas Maitland Park London wenden, indem derselbe erklärte, gern bereit zu sein, diese seine Aussage zu bestätigen. Schließlich ertheilte er uns noch den Rath, uns niemals an Personen zu ketten, sondern die Sache stets im Auge zu behalten und darnach unser Urtheil zu bilden. „Was geht Sie Liebknecht, was Dr. Schweitzer, was meine Person an, nur die Sache - das ist das Wahre.“

Und dieser Aussage kann ich nur völlig beipflichten.

J. Hamann.

Johann Georg Eccarius
Record of Karl Marx's speech on the attitude
of the British government towards the Irish Question
at the meeting of the General Council,
November 16, 1869

Reynolds's Newspaper.
Nr. 1006, 21. November 1869

The British Government and the Irish Political Prisoners.

... Dr. Marx opened a discussion "On the attitude of the British Government on the Irish question". He said there were generally two sources from whence political amnesty proceeded. The first was when a Government had been attacked, and been victorious, and felt itself strong enough, by force of arms and public opinion, so despise the enemy; or when the opponents accepted the conditions, as in America. The amnesty was given. The second was when misgovernment was the cause of the quarrel, and the opposition gained their point, as in the case of Austria and Hungary; and such ought to have been the case in Ireland. Both Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone had said the English Government ought to do for Ireland what a revolution would effect. Mr. Bright had declared that if no radical change was made, Ireland would always be rife for revolution. During the election Mr. Gladstone justified the Fenians, and declared that every other nation would have revolted under similar circumstances. He had made a fiery déclaration against the conquest policy, and plainly maintained that Ireland ought to be ruled according to Irish ideas. To put an end to the policy of conquest, on becoming minister, he ought to have begun, like America and Austria, by an amnesty. He did nothing. Then the amnesty movement had been commenced by the municipalities of Ireland. A petition had been got up with two hundred thousand signatures for the release of the political prisoners. To anticipate the deputation that had been appointed to present the petition, and to remove the idea of giving way to Irish pressure, some had been released; Mr. Moore had asked in the House for an inquiry into the treatment of the prisoners, which he alleged was infamous. There was no country in Europe where political prisoners were so badly treated as in England, and Mr. Bruce had been obliged to admit the fact; but the Inquiry had been refused. The popular amnesty movement had commenced in Limerick, where a meeting was held, at which 30,000 people were present and a memorial adopted. Meetings have been held in all the towns in the south, and in the north. After the great meeting in Dublin, on the 10th of October, 5 10 15 20 25 30

Record of Marx's speech on the attitude of the British government

at which 200,000 people had been present, Mr. Gladstone answered the Limerick memorial of August. In his answer he objected that offensive language had been used, and that the meeting demanded as a right what could be an act of clemency. A paid public servant presumed to teach a public meeting how to speak. The next 5 objection was. the prisoners had not abandoned their designs, which had been cut short by their incarceration. How did Mr. Gladstone know what they would do if released? Had he tortured them into a confession? He wanted them to renounce their principles—to degrade them morally. Napoleon had not made the renunciation of Republican principles a condition of his amnesty; nor had the King of 10 Prussia required anything of the kind. All the Irish prisoners who had been released had behaved well. The next objection was that the conspiracy still existed. If a conspiracy existed here Scotland-yard would soon lift it out; it was only a disaffection, one of 700 years' standing, which Mr. Gladstone had repeatedly justified. The Irish declared they would accept the unconditional release of the 15 prisoners as an act of conciliation. Did Mr. Gladstone believe he could quell Fenianism in America by keeping the prisoners as hostages? He promoted it. The American Irish called him the head centre. Then he complained of the press. Was he going to make the prisoners responsible for the press, which he had not the courage to prosecute? The Mr. Gladstone had answered "that revolt against the 20 public order was ever a crime in this country, and the Administration could have no interest except the punishment of crime. An enlightened sovereign and parliament had done a great act of justice" Jefferson Davis's revolt had not been a crime in Mr. Gladstone's opinion, because it was not against the English Government. The public order of this country was the oppression of Ireland, and the 25 Administration were the servants of the oppressors. With the Irish Church only the badge of conquest had been removed, not the servitude. The Irish Church had only been an election cry to oust the Tories, and give an excuse to Irish place-hunters to sell themselves. The Government was resolved to give security to life and property. It was the English landlords who endangered life and property. 30 The Irish were asked to put their trust in parliament—the same power that had ruled them for 700 years; they were to have no opinion on their own affairs. It was the greatest stupidity to think that the prisoners, if they had been released, could be more dangerous than it is to insult a whole nation. ...

George E. Harris
Record of Karl Marx's speech on the attitude
of the British government towards the Irish Question
at the meeting of the General Council,
November 16, 1869

The National Reformer.
Nr. 22, 28. November 1869

...On Tuesday evening, the 16th inst, Citizen Dr. Carl Marx, opened a discussion "On the Attitude of the British Government towards Ireland." Citizen Lucraft presided, and the council was fully represented. Dr. Marx commenced by drawing attention to political amnesties, clearly defining their meaning and sources of origin, contrasting the conduct of the British Government in the treatment of 5 political prisoners with the Governments of America, Austria, France, &c, showing that no country had been worse treated than Ireland had been under English rule. Dr. Marx entered into a very minute analysis of Gladstone's and Bright's speeches during the elections, deducing therefrom the justification of Fenianism, and that no radical change could come for Ireland, save through revolution. 10 Gladstone's replies to the petitions and memorials of the Irish people was handled in such a manner as to show the danger that would arise from the minister's harsh and haughty treatment of a nation's sovereign will; and Dr. Marx's speech was marked throughout by a rigid, logical adhesion to moral right and political justice. Dr. Marx's address on this occasion is only equalled by the *exposé* he 15 gave of Palmerston, some years ago, in the *People's Paper*, a treatise which ought to be in the home of every Englishman. Dr. Marx resumed his seat by moving the following resolution, which being seconded by Citizen G. Harris and carried, the meeting adjourned at eleven o'clock. ... G. E. H.

Johann Georg Eccarius
Bericht über Karl Marx' Rede zur Haltung der
britischen Regierung in der Irlandfrage
in der Generalratssitzung vom 16. November 1869

Der Volksstaat.
Nr. 21, 11. Dezember 1869

Aus England.

London, 29. November.

... Karl Marx schlug zwei Fragen in Betreff der irischen Angelegenheiten vor:
1) Die Stellung, welche die britische Regierung in der irischen Angelegenheit
5 eingenommen; 2) die Stellung der englischen Arbeiter zu den irischen.

In seiner Eröffnungsrede sagte er: Die politische Amnestie entspringt gewöhnlich aus zwei Quellen. 1) Wenn eine Regierung eine Insurrektion unterdrückt hat und sich durch die Gewalt der Waffen und durch die Macht der öffentlichen Meinung stark genug fühlt, den Feind zu verachten; oder wenn der Feind seine
10 Niederlage anerkennt und sich den Bedingungen fügt, wie in Amerika. 2) Wenn die Mißstände durch schlechte Regierung erzeugt worden und die Opposition triumphirt, wie in Oesterreich und Ungarn; in beiden Fällen erfolgt Amnestie. - Während der Wahlagitation rechtfertigten Gladstone und Bright die Fenier-Insurrektion durch ihre Reden. Der Eroberungspolitik ein Ende machen, hätte
15 Gladstone, wie es in Amerika und Oesterreich geschehen, eine Amnestie geben sollen, sobald er an's Ruder kam. Alle Welt erwartete eine Amnestie, er that nichts. Darauf fingen die Gemeinden in Irland an, Versammlungen zu halten zu Gunsten der Freilassung der Gefangenen. Als eine Deputation im Begriff war, nach London zu kommen mit einer Bittschrift, die 200 000 Unterschriften zählte,
20 setzte Gladstone einige Gefangene in Freiheit. Die Deputation kam, er machte Ausflüchte mit Hinweis auf die Königin, als wenn Viktoria und nicht er zu befehlen hätte. Später kam es im Parlament zur Sprache, daß die Gefangenen scheußlich behandelt werden. Der Minister des Innern war gezwungen, die That-sachen einzugeben, aber eine Untersuchung, die der Irländer Moore verlangte,
25 ward verweigert. Erst dann fing die volksthümliche Amnestie-Bewegung an. Im August fand in Limerick eine Versammlung statt, auf welcher 30 000 Personen zugegen waren, eine Denkschrift wurde angenommen und an den Minister abgeschickt. In allen Städten wurden Versammlungen gehalten, selbst im Norden von Irland, wo die Bevölkerung protestantisch ist und mehr Anhänglichkeit an die
30 Regierung hat, - Gladstone schwieg. In Dublin ward eine Massenversammlung auf den 10. Oktober angesagt, die Anzeigen hatten seit Wochen die Runde ge-

Johann Georg Eccarius

macht, die Trades' Unions (Gewerksgenossenschaften) wollten einen öffentlichen Aufzug durch die Stadt machen: da erschien plötzlich spät am 8. Oktober ein Regierungs-Plakat, welches in einigen Winkelgassen angeklebt ward und die Züge durch die Hauptstraßen untersagte. Die Arbeiter, die nicht geneigt waren, der Polizei eine Gelegenheit zu geben ihnen die Köpfe einzuschlagen, gingen zu Isaac Butt, einem Advokaten, der das Plakat als ein Verbot der Aufzüge überhaupt auslegte. Man ging zu dem Statthalter, um ihn zu befragen, er war nicht zu Hause. Sein Sekretair konnte keine Antwort geben. Man hinterließ einen Brief, welchen der Statthalter schriftlich bantworten sollte, er gab ausweichende Antwort. Die Aufzüge wurden unterlassen, aber es kamen gegen 200 000 Menschen zusammen, die abermals eine Denkschrift annahmen. Am nächsten Tage stellte sich heraus, daß die Soldaten je mit 40 scharfen Patronen versehen worden waren, um auf die Aufzüge vorbereitet zu sein. Jetzt fand Gladstone Zeit zu antworten. Er antwortete aber nicht auf die Denkschrift von Dublin, sondern - und noch dazu nur indirekt - auf die Denkschrift von Limerick. Er beklagt sich, daß man in den Versammlungen keine höfliche Sprache geführt und als Recht verlangt habe, was nur ein Gnadenakt sein könne.

Ein bezahlter Staatsdiener nimmt sich heraus, einer öffentlichen Versammlung Vorschriften zu machen wie sie reden soll!

Zunächst beklagt er sich, daß die Gefangenen ihre Meinungen nicht geändert haben.

Er verlangt also, daß sie sich moralisch entwürdigen, ihre Grundsätze abschwören sollen! So etwas hat selbst Napoleon und der König von Preußen nicht verlangt. Napoleon verlangte nicht, daß die Gefangenen und Exilirten dem Republikanismus entsagen sollten, ehe er eine Amnestie gab.

Gladstone hält den Leuten vor, daß eine erlauchte Fürstin und ein aufgeklärtes Parlament einen großen Akt der Gerechtigkeit geübt hätten in der Aufhebung der irischen Kirche. Will er denn, daß die Irländer auf die Knie fallen sollen und ihn anbeten? Die irische Staatskirche war das Kennzeichen der Knechtschaft, - das Kennzeichen ist verwischt, aber die Knechtschaft ist geblieben. Die Aufhebung der irischen Staatskirche war die einzige Frage, durch welche Gladstone und Bright in's Ministerium kommen konnten; mit dieser Frage fesselte Gladstone das ganze außerhalb der Staatskirche stehende Bürgerthum und gab zugleich den irischen Stellenjägern einen plausiblen Vorwand, sich an das Ministerium zu verkaufen. Der Beschuß, welchen Karl Marx über Gladstone's Betragen vorschlug, wird mitgetheilt werden.

Johann Georg Eccarius
Record of Karl Marx's speech
at the meeting of the General Council,
November 23, 1869

Reynolds's Newspaper.
Nr. 1007, 28. November 1869

... Dr. Marx said Mr. Mottershead had given a history of Mr. Gladstone; he could give another; but that had nothing to do with the question before the council. Castlereagh, in private life, had been as good a man as Gladstone, and he had used the same language towards the Irish as Mr. Gladstone. He repeated 5 that political prisoners were not treated anywhere as bad as in England. His resolution was not intended to release the prisoners. The Irish themselves had given that up. It was to express sympathy with the Irish, and review the conduct of the Government. At present the Government had to contend with the opposition of the *Times*, the *Saturday Review*, &c. A bold step on the part of the 10 working people might tend to strengthen Mr. Gladstone to overcome obstructions. The question was which was most important—to conciliate the Irish, or make the resolution acceptable to Mr. Gladstone. ...

George E. Harris
Record of Karl Marx's speech on the necessity
of expressing sympathy with the Irish people
at the meeting of the General Council,
November 23, 1869

The National Reformer.
Nr. 23, 5. Dezember 1869

... Citizen Marx said he could not alter the wording of the resolution without consent of Citizen Harris who had seconded it. Citizen Harris said, from what he had heard fall from Mr. Mottershead he could see no reason to alter the verbal construction of the resolution. Citizen Marx then replied, and said his resolution was not intended to release the Irish prisoners. It was that the council should 5 review the conduct of the Government; to express sympathy with the Irish, seeing that they had given up their appeals by a peaceable and honourable amnesty movement, and to repel the vicious influence of the *Times* and other portions of the press which led the people astray upon all vital movements. The people could strengthen Mr. Gladstone in his power to overcome difficulties, or they could aid 10 him in the perpetuation of political crime. The question was far higher than making it acceptable to the personal taste of Mr. Gladstone, it was one in which the happiness of the Irish people was concerned. ...

George E. Harris
Record of Karl Marx's reply
at the meeting of the General Council,
November 30, 1869

The National Reformer.
Nr. 24, 12. Dezember 1869

... Citizen Marx replied to all the objectives which had been raised in opposition, supporting his position by quotations from Blue Books, from Mr. Gladstone's speeches and writings, and other authorities, clearly demonstrating that in no other European country were political prisoners so treated as in England, and 5 that Mr. Gladstone had approved of such treatment, by refusing an official inquiry, and by his promoting the Governor of Mountjoy prison to a post of greater emolument. Next Tuesday, Citizen Marx will introduce for discussion, "The Irish Question".

Johann Georg Eccarius
Record of Karl Marx's repudiation of any connection
of the International Working Men's Association
with the alleged Plot against Napoléon III
at the meeting of the General Council, May 3, 1870

The Times.
Nr. 26741,4. Mai 1870

... Dr. Marx introduced the subject by referring to the attacks made upon the association by the French Government papers, and the arrest of a large number of the members of the French sections of the association. He repudiated any connexion of the association with the alleged plot. ...

Johann Georg Eccarius
Record of Karl Marx's speech on Jules Favre
at the meeting of the General Council, January 17, 1871

The Eastern Post.
Nr. 121, 21. Januar 1871

... [0]ne of the continental members said it was of the utmost importance that at the present moment the English members of the council should not confound the person of Jules Favre with the official representative of the French Republic. One member of the council had made a speech in St. James's Hall in praise of Mr. 5 Jules Favre, which would be received with laughter by the Continental members of the association. In the second address on the war, it had been distinctly stated that the Provisional Government of the French Republic was composed of men, upon some of whom the Revolution of 1848 left an indelible stigma. Jules Favre was one of them. If he had come to London it would have been the duty of the 10 London workmen to welcome him as the official representative of the French Republic, but his personage ought not in any way to be mixed up with it. According to all appearance, there was a danger that the person of Jules Favre would be brought in the foreground. The French workmen considered him anything but a friend and a patriot. After the Revolution of 1848, when Jules Favre 15 had been under-secretary of the Interior, one of the first things he had done was to bring the army back to Paris, which had afterwards enabled the *bourgeoisie* to shoot down the workpeople. In May, 1848, when the workpeople had tried to induce the Constituent Assembly to proclaim the independence of Poland and war against Russia, a crowd had rushed into the Assembly, and the president had 20 asked Louis Blanc to speak to them and pacify them. A few days later Jules Favre had, without the consent, and against the will of his colleagues in the Government, demanded an order for the prosecution of Louis Blanc as an accomplice of the disturbers, but he had failed at that time. On the 17th of June he had carried a law against the gathering of armed men in the streets, by which 25 everyone with a pocket pistol about him could have been taken up. Three days later the insurrection of June had been provoked by the closing of the national workshops. On the 21st, when the people had been imprisoned and moved down, he had proposed the suppression of the Executive Committee and the substitution of a military dictatorship. On the 27th he had drawn up and carried a decree 30 to transport the prisoners made without trial, and 15,000 had been transported. In November the Assembly had been compelled to inquire into the matter, when in Brest alone 1000 of the prisoners, not yet transported, had had to be liberated

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as not having been in any way implicated in the insurrection. The prisoners pointed out as ringleaders had been reserved for trial by a military commission, many of them had been dismissed; others had been sentenced to short terms of imprisonment. Subsequently, Ledru Rollin and others had insisted on an amnesty; Favre had offered an unqualified opposition. Then he had moved for a commission of inquiry into the doings of the whole Revolution, except the days of February, and denounced his old friends. The press laws, made under the guidance of Favre, were the most infamous ever concocted. By one paragraph, everybody who criticised religion, law, or family relations could have been punished as a criminal, and the laws of association had been a match. They had paved the way for the empire, and Napoleon had turned them the good account. Favre had denounced and opposed Ledru Rollin, Lamartine, and others, who wanted to exclude Napoleon from the Assembly three days after, with the assistance of Favre, he had been admitted. Favre had been the chief promoter of the expedition by which the Roman Republic had been destroyed, which had been the first step towards the Empire. A number of circulars written by himself or under his instructions while in office had afterwards, under the Bonapartist *regime*, when Favre had joined the opposition, been characterised by himself as infamous, and, when taunted that himself was responsible for them, he had meekly confessed that he had been mistaken. It was not to be expected that every English workman should be cognisant of these things, but if any member of the Council committed himself, the Continental members would hold the whole Council responsible for their defects. If Favre was a political necessity at the moment, which was for the French to determine, he could only be looked upon in this country as the representative of the Republic, indépendant of all personal considerations, the man Favre must be separated from the Favre who was the foreign minister of the French Republic. ... 5
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Johann Georg Eccarius
Record of Frederick Engels's speech on the War
at the meeting of the General Council, January 31, 1871

The Eastern Post.
Nr. 123, 5. Februar 1871

... Mr. Engels, persuant to notice, rose to open the discussion on the war. As a basis of discussion he proposed the following:—

1. That the working-class movement, in support of the French Republic, ought to have concentrated his efforts, at the beginning, upon the enforcement of the 5 recognition of the Republic by the British Government.
2. That the military intervention of England, in favour of France, as understood by those proposing it, could not have been of any use whatever except at a certain moment, which had long since passed away.
3. That England will remain incapable, not only of intervening with effect in 10 Continental affairs, but also of defending herself against the continental military despotisms, so long as she does not recover the liberty of using her real power that is to say her naval power, which she can recover only by the renunciation of the declaration of Paris.

He said—The policy of the General Council was indicated in the second ad- 15 dress on the war. It was distinctly stated that every effort ought to be made to compel the Government to recognise the Republic, and it was, moreover, stated that the English working-men had already begun to create a pressure upon the Government for that purpose. Had the movement been confined to that, the working-men could have agreed, and it might have succeeded. If the English 20 Government had recognised the Republic, other governments would have been obliged to follow, and it would have given France a standing which even Bis- marck would not have been able to ignore. But there were others, friends of working men, who were not satisfied with this—they asked for intervention. As soon as that was done, the working-class movement was split up. An opposition 25 sprung up, who said that war would postpone everything that all social and political progress and movement would be put aside, and that every war had hitherto tended to give the aristocracy a new lease of power. There was a great deal of truth in that, and, further, how could people, who were unable to compel the Government to recognise the Republic, force the same Government to go to 30 war?

But supposing the Government had gone to war, what would have been the upshot? By leaving only 10,000 men in Ireland, by clearing Scotland and England

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almost entirely of soldiers, perhaps 30,000 could have been started to assist the French. But they could only have been useful at a certain moment. At one time, the French and German forces were nearly equal, and Moltke was thinking of raising the siege. At that moment an English army of 30,000 might have turned the scales against the Prussians besides invigorating the French army. But since 5 then the Germans have been largely re-inforced, and anytime in December or January the Germans would have laughed at an English army of 30,000; it could only have made Chanzy's retreat a little more orderly. An English army on land can only act in alliance with others. It was so in Spain and was so in the Crimea. It has always been found impossible to carry on a war far from home with a large 10 army. Owing to the military system, to voluntary recruiting, the system of drilling, the length of time it takes to make the soldiers efficient, England cannot keep up a large army abroad. However, there was a time when England could have stepped in to save France, and that was when Russia repudiated the treaty of Paris. In our first address on the war it was said, "In the background of this 15 suicidal strife looms the dark figure of Russia. It is an ominous sign, that the signal for the present war should have been given at the moment when the Muscovite Government had just finished its strategic lines of railway, and was already massing troops in the direction of the Pruth." In the second address we said, "As in 1865 promises were exchanged between Louis Bonaparte and Bismarck, so in 20 1870 promises have been exchanged between Gortschakoff and Bismarck. The secret understanding between Russia and Prussia has been proved by the fact that no sooner had Russia declared that she considered herself no longer bound by the treaty of Paris than Bismarck repudiated the Luxembourg treaty. Prussia has never been anything else but the tool of Russia." Had England declared war 25 against Russia at that moment, Russia and Prussia would have made common cause, and the rest of Europe would have joined England. Austria, Italy, and Turkey were ready, and if Turkey had not been interfered with, she would have defended herself against Russia, whilst the other European powers had driven the Prussians out of France. The French were not quite as low down then as they are 30 now, and a European war would have saved France and Europe, and might have overthrown despotism on the continent. But when this opportunity arose, the gentlemen who were going to help France had nothing to say.

Now seeing the way in which Jules Favre had thrown up the sponge for the whole of France, and let me add, without consulting France, there is no doubt 35 that Bismarck's conditions of peace will be complied with. Peace will soon be made, and then we shall see what Russia will do. The Emperor of Russia requires war as much as Napoleon and Bismarck, to keep his position at home and to keep down the popular movement and to restore his finances.

I now come to the navy. The navy is the main war power of England, but by 40 the declaration of 1856 a new naval code was established, by which the war power of England was maimed. The object of that declaration was to do away with privateering, to abandon the right of search, to make enemy's goods safe in neutral bottoms and neutral goods in enemy's bottoms. There was a similar

Record of Frederick Engels's speech on the War

attempt made once before by the Empress Catherine of Russia, but England refused till after the Crimean war. At the Paris Conference the late Lord Clarendon signed away by one stroke of the pen all the naval rights that England had acquired in the course of centuries, and the whole power to hurt Russia in time of
5 war. To cripple Russia it is necessary to stop her export trade, which is principally carried on in foreign bottoms and could not be touched under existing regulations. To make war on Russia with effect this power must be regained. It was abandoned on the pretence that private property should be made as safe at sea as it was on land. How safe it is on land, and how the Prussians respect it we see in
10 France. By whose instructions Lord Clarendon signed away this power has never yet been made clear. Whether he acted under instructions from the Cabinet, the Prime Minister, or on his own responsibility, no one knows, and Parliament has never cared to inquire. The working classes have an interest in regaining this power, and to keep it intact, at least so long as Russia is a danger to Europe. No
15 other country can oppose Russia so effectually as England, and she must keep her naval power at least until Poland is restored. Had war been declared against Russia, it would have been the salvation of France, and Poland could have been restored, which would be an effectual bar against Russia. Now Russia will enter on a war of conquest when it suits her, perhaps before twelve months are over,
20 and Europe will have to fight minus France.

Johann Georg Eccarius
Record of Karl Marx's speech
on the recognition of the French Republic
at the meeting of the General Council, February 14, 1871

The Eastern Post.
Nr. 125, 19. Februar 1871

... Dr. Marx said the first condition to assist France was the recognition of the Republic; if that failed, also the rest must fail. By the non-recognition France was internationally paralysed without, and the Republic was paralysed within, while her antagonist Prussia had Russia at her back. The moment the Republic was proclaimed, everybody in France was enthusiastically Republican, but no-recognition came, and a reaction set in. The bourgeoisie had no interest in making the Republic succeed, they are well aware that sooner or later the social question must be dealt with, and that in a Republic the socialists would stand a better chance than under a military despotism. They therefore intrigued against the Republic, which has done more for the success of the Prussians than Moltke himself. None of the advocates of war have shown that the recognition of the Republic was the first condition to all the rest. 5

The people who assembled in Cannon-street have no influence in public affairs. They were not the wealthy citizens of London, but the small middle class. All they can do is either to support the great capitalists against the people, or join 15 the working-class, but in this case they must never be allowed to lead. They hate the Republic, but they are afraid of Prussia. Their policy was a very queer one; they wanted to make war on Prussia without recognising the Republic. The question of dismemberment, spoken of by Eccarius, had nothing to do with it, it was rather a moral question, which could only be seriously taken up after the recognition of the Republic, and it was impossible to believe that the English Government would seriously oppose the dismemberment of France. 20

Mr. Cohn seems to have rather a confused notion. He thinks the prime minister's opinion was an ultimatum, and nothing further could have been done; and he also believes that if Parliament had been sitting, more could have been done. 25 The best thing was that Parliament was not sitting. The recognition of the Republic was a mere executive act, and if Parliament had been sitting, the responsibility would have been shoved on the shoulders of the majority who would have found a thousand reasons to support the Government. A change of Government might have entailed a dissolution, and the members are not over fond of buying 30 the votes of the free electors too often. I am quite sure if the agitation had been confined to this single point of recognition, if the working-class had persevered

Record of Karl Marx's speech on the recognition of the French Republic

and not allowed the cry for intervention to be mixed up with it, it would have succeeded. All concessions in this country are obtained by pressure from without, but there was not half the energy manifested this time as there was some years ago in a beer-row.

5 Mr. Milner seems to be under an impression that the German workmen would be offended at the English insisting on the recognition of the French Republic, on the contrary they do believe that the English have not done enough. Hundreds have been imprisoned in Germany, and they looked to the English workmen to back up their demands with more effect than has been the case. As to the comparative strength of monarchy and republicanism there was one monarchical army against another at the begining, and the French was supposed to be the stronger. There was nothing about Republic until the whole French standing army had disappeared. But no monarchy would have resisted the Prussia for five months as the French have done. Everybody thought that the French would have 10 to give in in a few days, the absence of a monarch alone inspired the people to hold out for five months, and they might have held out longer had there been no treason. One thing has become evident in this struggle, that henceforth a middle-class Republic is impossible in Europe. Its advocates dare not take the revolutionary measures required for its defence. France and Germany prove that the 15 bourgeoisie considers itself safer under a military despotism than in a Republic. A Republic must give more power to the working-class, and the middle-class is afraid of that. In England there is the same fear. The Republic and middle-class Government can no longer go together; the Republic is the political form of Government under which the changes required by the working class can best be 20 effected. I now come to the war itself. After the capitulation of Sedan, Bismarck was in a fix. The King had declared to the German Parliament and to the French people that he only made war against Napoleon in self-defence. I am convinced that Bismarck did as much to bring the war about as Napoleon. But after Sedan Bismarck required a new pretext. The German middle class was doubtful about 25 going further, but Bismarck found that there was no Government to make peace with, and then he had to go to Paris to make peace. He said the French had not recognised that Government; it was the height of impudence for him to say what Government would be recognised by the French, but the proclamation of the Republic insured him the support of the German middle class, that of the aristocracy was sure beforehand. It was Bismarck's interest that England should not 30 recognise the Republic. England was the only power that could oppose him, but he reckoned on the friendship of Gladstone, and the relationship of the court, and England followed in the footsteps of the holy alliance. When taxed about the hasty recognition of Napoleon, Gladstone baffled the workingmen's deputation 35 by mixing the dates. There were two recognitions. One after the *coup d'etat* and the other after the Plebiscite. He ignored the former. He told the workingmen he had gone as far as he could and made it rather a merit to have broken off diplomatic relations, but he could have gone as far as America. But more than that, Bruce, Lowe, and Cardwell made hostile demonstrations against the Re- 40

Johann Georg Eccarius

public. England could only use more force without; England could do nothing against the physical force of Prussia, the only place where the English Government can employ physical force is Ireland.

Not content with the services rendered by the English Government, Bismarck ordered the German press to insult England for selling stores to the French. 5 When taken to task by Count Bernsdorf Lord Granville equivocated, but after some inquiries found that things were all right, and that he could not interfere, that it was legal. Then at the instance of Bernsdorf the British Government confiscated a French cable, a service which was afterwards condemned as illegal by an English judge. 10

After the capitulation of Metz, Russia thought it was time to avow the partnership in the war, and declared its renunciation of the treaty of Paris. In quick succession followed the renunciation of the treaty of Luxemburg, and the stipulations about the principalities by Bismarck, and the Prince of Roumania, all direct insults to England. What did the British Government do? [It] sent a plenipotentiary extraordinary to ask Bismarck's advice. Bismarck advised a conference in London. But Gladstone himself felt that such a conference without France would be no use, because the treaty-breakers would have it all to themselves. But France could not attend without the Republic being recognised, her admission would have been tantamount to recognition, and therefore Bismarck took care to prevent it. When Auberon Herbert put a question to Gladstone in the House [of Commons,] he again shuffled and falsified the facts. Pious people generally do a deal of sinning. He did not state what appears from the blue-book that Bismarck's objection to taking any steps to have France represented at the conference was that the French Government was internationally incapable of acting on account of the non-recognition. Non-recognition was the means of isolating the English Government, and rendering the only great power of Europe – that could have done anything for France – powerless. ... 15 20 25

Johann Georg Eccarius
Record of Karl Marx's corrections on the report of his
speech on the recognition of the French Republic
at the meeting of the General Council, February 21, 1871

The Eastern Post.
Nr. 126, 26. Februar 1871

... Dr. Marx called the attention of the Council to the incorrectness of the report of his speech at the previous meeting. He was reported to have said, "The moment the Republic was proclaimed, everybody in France was enthusiastically Republican, but no recognition came and then a reaction set in." What he had 5 said was, that after the proclamation of the Republic, the enthusiasm had been so great that the opponents of the Republic had been obliged to pretend to be in favour of it, and he had particularly mentioned the judge of the High Court of Blois as having played the Republican. There had been recognition by Belgium, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, &c; but when the opponents of the Republic had 10 found that England did not recognise the Republic, then a reaction had set in. Then he had never made use of such an expression as "sooner or later, the social question must be dealt with." What he had said was, that sooner or later the Republic must have become socialistic. Further on, he was reported to have said, "that the absence of a monarch had inspired the people to hold out." The absence 15 of monarchy he had said. He had also distinctly stated that the French had recognised and obeyed their government everywhere. The report conveyed altogether a different meaning. Neither had he said "the admission of France to the Conference would be tantamount to recognition." It was because the government was not recognised that it was internationally incapable of acting. Among other 20 inaccuracies pointed out by the speaker was, "England could only use 'more' force without," which ought to be "moral" force. ...

Johann Georg Eccarius
Record of Karl Marx's and Frederick Engels's speeches
on the renunciation of the Paris Declaration of 1856
at the meeting of the General Council, March 14, 1871

The Eastern Post.
Nr. 129, 18. März 1871

... Dr. Marx ... said it was of the greatest possible consequence to find an antagonist for the military powers of the north who had virtually revived the Holy Alliance. The only power that could oppose them was England, and she could only do it by resuming her maritime rights. Confiscating the enemy's goods in neutral ships would ruin them in five weeks. If this were done the German middle-class would not be so warlike. It was one of the means to carry on war, and it was more humane than war in its general aspect. By the Paris declaration the military powers of the Continent told England, "You must make war in our way, not in yours." Much had been said against privateers, but they were as good as franc-tireurs on land, and required less government power. The English people must have that power and employ it for the benefit of the people of the Continent. The principal aim of Russia in the conference had been to have the declaration of Paris sanctioned, because, on the part of England, it had only been a private agreement between Lord Palmerston and Lord Clarendon, and it seemed that the agreement of the conference about stipulations included it. The ministry ought to declare whether it is so or not. 5

Mr. Engels, in replying, said the declaration of Paris had never been acknowledged by any statesman nor Parliament, no one had ever said that it was binding. In 1862 Cornwall Lewis had declared in the House of Commons that it was not binding, and the present Lord Derby had stated that England was only bound in 20 a way, but that the necessity of self-defence overawed all compacts. The declaration had never been ratified, and rested only on the private letter of a minister; nobody was bound by it. In the subsequent wars the belligerent powers had bound themselves by special agreements. But the conference on the Black Sea question had agreed that henceforth all treaties and stipulations should be binding until they were relinquished by common consent. He then pointed to the military preparations going on in Russia. The Polish fortresses were to be protected by detached forts, and the armaments generally were continued with unabated zeal, and had reached the last stage, from a peace to a war footing. The telegraph and sanitary companies were being organised, everything looked serious, and it was possible that war might break out before the summer was over. The £12,000,000 Russian loan now in the English market was probably the last Russia would get. 25 30

Record of Marx's and Engels's speeches on the renunciation of the Paris Declaration

Referring to what had been said, in the course of the discussion about English intervention, he reiterated that it would have been useless. Counting up the military forces of England, he was certain that no more than 30,000 men could have been sent into the field. Only on one occasion during the Crimean War, at the 5 Battle of Alma, had the English numbered 33,000 men, this was only equal to one Prussian Army Corps. To suppose that such a force could have turned the scale was absurd. As to individual bravery, the English were as brave as any, and there was individual bravery in every country, but the men of different countries possessed different qualifications, some were better for attack, some better for defence. The Irish were best for light infantry and the English for heavy infantry, but [in] the English system of training they were all treated alike. The English system was so incomplete and antiquated that no one had ever thought of training for out-post duty until now. It had been said that 100,000 English would not have put up with being locked up in Paris—what would they have done? 10 400,000 got together like the French in Paris, and led by the same kind of officers, would have done the same. England could not compete with the military powers of the continent, and there was no reason why she should, it was not necessary or desirable to wage war on equal terms. An English soldier cost £100, a Prussian only £30 a year. England could not, therefore, keep up an army on the Prussian 15 pattern, and he hoped she never would. The following resolution was then unanimously carried— "That England remains incapable, not only of interfering with effect in continental affairs, but also of defending herself against the continental military despotisms, so long as she does not recover the liberty of using her real war power, that is to say her naval power, which she can recover only by the 20 renunciation of the declaration of Paris."

Artikel, Dokumente und Übersetzungen,
die unter Mitwirkung von Marx oder Engels
verfaßt wurden

Carl Siebel

Karl Marx. Das Kapital. Rezension in der
„Barmer Zeitung“

Barmer Zeitung.
Nr. 302, 6. Dezember 1867

*Carl Marx: Das Capital. Kritik der politischen
Oekonomie. Erster Band. Hamburg,
Otto Meißner. 1867.*

So ist denn endlich der erste Band des Werkes erschienen, auf das seit Jahren die
5 Nationaloekonomen und Social-Demokraten aller Schulen in Deutschland ge-
wartet haben. Carl Marx, der Chef-Redakteur der „berühmten“ oder wenn man
will „berüchtigten“ rheinischen Zeitung von 1849, ist als einer der schärfsten und
feinsten Kritiker anerkannt, die Deutschland je gehabt hat; seine Kritik deckt
schonungslos alle Schwächen des Gegenstandes auf, den sie behandelt, nimmt
10 ihm allen Flitter, allen falschen Schein und - wenn er dann mit seiner erbärmli-
chen Nacktheit dasteht - so begrüßt sie ihn mit teuflischem Hohnlachen, mit
vernichtendem Spott. Ferdinand Lassalle, der sich selbst gern und oft einen Schü-
ler und Freund von Carl Marx nannte, hatte diese vernichtende Art und Weise
von Marx gelernt. Wir wollen sie nicht vertheidigen. Niederreißen und Vernich-
15 ten ist leichter als Aufbauen.

Im vorliegenden Buche wird nun niedergerissen, was nur irgend Schäden zeigt,
und manches scheinbar feste Gebäude fällt bei dem satyrischen Lachen des Kri-
tikers schmählich zusammen. Die bestehenden Systeme der Nationaloekonomie,
die von Engländern, Franzosen und Deutschen aufgestellt und von ganzen Schu-
len acceptirt worden sind, werden gründlich beleuchtet und manche lernt der
20 Leser nur kennen, um zu lernen, daß sie des Kennens nicht werth sind, - doch
Alles das in so geistvoller, witziger und dabei ernst wissenschaftlicher Weise, daß
es ihm gewiß nicht reut. Etwas Schadenfreude pflegt Jeder in sich zu tragen und
sie wird sich bei Jedem regen, der sieht, wie Carl Marx zum Beispiel mit dem
25 deutschen Nationaloekonomen Roscher freundlich thut, oder wie zart er Max
Wirth behandelt.

Nachdem Marx seinen Gegnern Hiebe genug gegeben und erwarten muß, daß
sie nun auch ihre Schwerter wetzen, ihn wo möglich zu schlagen, gibt er eine ganz
neue Definition von „Capital“. Er sagt: „Capital ist unbezahlte fremde Arbeit.“

Carl Siebel

Die Capitalisten haben das Capital in einem Tauschhandel erworben, in dem sie nicht den ‚vollen‘ Werth für die ihnen geleistete Arbeit zahlten.“ Marx sucht diese Behauptung auf die feinste und sinnreichste Weise zu beweisen, seine Gegner werden mit ihm so leicht nicht fertig werden und über die Consequenzen des Satzes, z. B. darüber, wem denn nun eigentlich dieses aufgehäufte Erbtheil von Rechtswegen zukommt, werden sich noch viele Capitalisten und viele Arbeiter die sorgenschweren Köpfe zerbrechen.

Jedenfalls ist das Buch von Carl Marx eine bedeutende Erscheinung. Sie kommt zu rechter Zeit. In der Gegenwart, wo eine gewaltige sociale Bewegung im Arbeiterstande nicht mehr geleugnet werden kann, ist Marx's Werk von höchstem Interesse. Es ist im Wirrwarr des noch unklaren, politisch-socialen Lebens ein wissenschaftlicher Anhaltspunkt, und Jeder sollte ihn sich aneignen, der in der Oeffentlichkeit „gründlich mitsprechen“ will. Es sei damit durchaus nicht gesagt, daß er Marx „nachsprechen“ soll. Das ist eine eigene Frage! Man muß ihn aber kennen!

S.

Zirkular des Directoriums der Manchester Schiller-Anstalt
vom 19. März 1868

|[i]| An die Herren Unterzeichner zum Fond für
den Bau einer neuen Schiller-Anstalt.

Das Directorium der Anstalt beeindruckte sich, in seinem Circular vom 28. Juni v.J.
den Herren Unterzeichnern mitzutheilen:

- 5 dass die zu einem Neubau im Centrum der Stadt erforderliche Summe von
Schenkungen nicht zusammengekommen sei;
 dass das Directorium sich daher in die Notwendigkeit versetzt sehe, die Ver-
legung der Anstalt nach der Gegend von All Saints Church, wo Grundstücke
wohlfeiler sind, in Angriff zu nehmen;
- 10 dass es die dazu erforderliche Abänderung der Grundbestimmungen den Mit-
gliedern vorlegt;
 dass unter diesen Umständen die Summe der erforderlichen Schenkungen sich
auf £3,500 à £4,000 reducire;
 Und endlich, dass es selbstredend die Herren Unterzeichner neuerdings um die
15 Bestätigung ihrer Zeichnungen für diesen veränderten Plan ersuchen werde.
- 20 Seitdem ist die fragliche Abänderung der Grundbestimmungen mit der erfor-
derlichen Zweidrittel-Majorität angenommen worden. Dagegen wurden von dem
früher gezeichneten Betrage von £2875 für den Baufond nur £2021 bestätigt, und
steht, nach den gemachten Erfahrungen, nicht zu erwarten, dass die zur Ausfüh-
rung des Neubaues, in beabsichtigter Weise, erforderliche Summe von £3500
zusammen komme.
- 25 Gleichzeitig steht es fest, dass die Anstalt am 30. Juni d.J. ihr bisheriges Local
räumen muss, nachdem sie, um dasselbe ein Jahr länger benutzen zu können,
genötigt war, die exorbitante Miethe von £450 zu zahlen.
- 30 Das Directorium war demnach in die Notwendigkeit versetzt, sich nach ei-
nem fertigen Hause umzusehen, das der Anstalt wenigstens auf eine Reihe von
Jahren zur Verfügung gestellt werden könne.
 In seinem oben erwähnten Bericht hatte es diese Möglichkeit bereits in's Auge
gefasst, aber vorläufig davon abgesehen, weil sich damals keine passende Bau-
lichkeit fand; es glaubt jetzt nach mehreren vergeblichen Versuchen eine solche
gefunden zu haben.

Zirkular des Directoriums der Manchester Schiller-Anstalt vom 19. März 1868

Das Haus Rylaw-House, No. 212, Oxford Road, bisher von Herrn Pinto Leite bewohnt, und am 25. d.M. miethfrei ist dem Directorium auf 8 Tage fest an die Hand gegeben worden. Es ist ein dreistöckiges, einzelnstehendes ansehnliches Haus mit Vorplatz, Stall, Remise und Hof. Mit sehr wenigen Abänderungen lässt sich dasselbe so einrichten, dass es der Anstalt nicht nur bequemere, sondern 5 selbst weit grössere und bessere Räumlichkeiten bietet als der beabsichtigte Neubau vorsah, während für sonstige Zwecke noch mehrere gute Zimmer frei bleiben. Speisezimmer und Lesesaal werden geräumig genug für Versammlungen, Vorlesungen etc.. Stall, Remise und Hof lassen sich leicht zu einem sehr passenden Locale für den Turnverein einrichten, welcher dafür Untermiethe zahlen wür- 10 de.

Als Miethe für das Ganze wird £220 gefordert.

Nach Ueberschlag eines erfahrenen Architekten wird der erforderliche Umbau im Maximum £400 für Erneuerung und Vervollständigung des Mobiliars, ferner £225 zur Deckung des der Anstalt durch Verdoppelung der Miethe im laufenden 15 Geschäftsjahr aufgebürdeten Deficits, zusammen £1,225. Mit dieser Summe wäre der Bestand der Anstalt auf mindestens 10 Jahre gesichert, da der Eigenthümer bereit ist den Miethvertrag so lange auszudehnen. Nach den letzten Bilanzen betrugen die jährlichen Einkünfte der Anstalt ca. £500 woraus bei Verwendung von ca. £100 für Bibliothek und Lesezimmer, nach Deckung aller übrigen Aus- 20 gaben fast genau £200 für Hausmiethe disponibel blieben. Bei dem beabsichtigten Local würde, nach Abrechnung von Untermiethe vom Restaurateur und j |2| Turnverein, dieser Miethbetrag nicht erreicht und dadurch die Aussicht eröffnet, die Differenz den geistigen Bildungsmitteln der Anstalt zuwenden zu können. Was den Einfluss der Verlegung auf die Mitgliederzahl angeht, so glaubt das 25 Directorium, nach den bereits jetzt gemachten Erfahrungen, eines bedeutenden Zuwachses jüngerer, die Anstalt wirklich benutzender Mitglieder sicher zu sein. Dass die beabsichtigte Verlegung den Werth der Anstalt für die weit überwiegen- de Mehrzahl der jüngeren Mitglieder geradezu verdoppeln würde, dafür hat das Directorium besonders in den letzten Tagen die unstreitigsten Zeugnisse erhalten. 30

Es würde allerdings eine wesentliche Veränderung in der Besuchszeit der Anstalt eintreten. Bisher wurde sie fast ausschliesslich Mittags besucht und stand Abends fast oder ganz leer; jetzt würde der Abendbesuch vorwiegen. Von ver- schiedener Seite ist schon früher die Frage aufgeworfen worden, ob nicht diese Veränderung der Besuchszeit eine Veränderung im Charakter der Anstalt noth- 35 wendig mit sich führe; ob nicht die Anstalt aus einer literarisch-artistischen in einen Club verwandelt wurde und ob ein Club der Anstrengungen werth sei, welche augenblicklich erfordert sind.

Diese Frage ist in der That wichtig genug, und das Directorium hat sie seit längerer Zeit erwogen. Es wird ihm daher erlaubt sein, hier etwas näher auf sie 40 einzugehen.

Soweit ein specifisch deutsches, literarisch-artistisches Institut hier in Man- chester lebensfähig ist, soweit ist die Schiller-Anstalt heute ein solches. Wenn sie während der acht Jahre ihres Bestehens nicht alle Ideale verwirklicht, nicht alle

Zirkular des Direktoriums der Manchester Schiller-Anstalt vom 19. März 1868

Erwartungen erfüllt hat, welche bei ihrer Gründung gehegt werden mochten, so theilt sie diesen Vorwurf mit allen ähnlichen Instituten, denen nicht ein bereits anderweitig praktisch bewährtes Vorbild zum Muster diente. Die Anstalt war schliesslich für die Mitglieder, nicht die Mitglieder für die Anstalt da. Es stellte sich erfahrungsmässig heraus, dass, während die geistigen Hülfsmittel der Bibliothek und der im Lesezimmer gebotenen deutschen und sonstigen Zeitungen und Zeitschriften stets und allerdings für den Kern der Mitglieder die Hauptanziehung ausübten, doch die Erleichterung des socialen Verkehrs ein grösseres Bedürfniss blieb als im Anfang vorgesehen war. Alle Veränderungen welche in der Anstalt stattgefunden, und welche unstreitig die Anstalt seit mehreren Jahren im Gang erhalten haben, waren in dieser Richtung, die sich nun einmal nicht abweisen lässt. Das Directorium konnte diese Bewegung massigen und das Seinige Thun um sie im Einklang mit den Grundbestimmungen der Anstalt zu halten; aber ihr einen absoluten Widerstand entgegenzusetzen, konnte es sich nicht be rufen halten, solange es sein Mandat von den Mitgliedern selbst erhielt und falls es nicht wünschte, die Anstalt aus Mangel an Mitgliedern eingehen zu lassen.

Wir sind der Ansicht dass eine Anstalt, welche mit einer vortrefflichen Bibliothek von reichlich 5000 Bänden begabt ist, einer Bibliothek, für deren Begründung die Directorien, namentlich der ersten Jahre, den wärmsten Dank aller Deutschen Manchesters verdienen, und deren Trefflichkeit ein Blick in den Katalog beweist, - eine Anstalt, die ein mit 56 der besten Zeitschriften versehenes Lesezimmer besitzt, und die seit ihrer Begründung ein Centraipunkt für alle, sich für intellektuelle Bildung interessirenden jüngeren Deutschen geblieben ist - dass eine solche Anstalt weder in dieser noch in jener Lage sich in einen blossen Club verwandeln wird. Sie würde durch den Abendbesuch ebensowenig ein Club, wie sie jetzt durch den Mittagbesuch verdient ein blosses Café genannt zu werden. Dass die geistigen Bildungsmittel der Anstalt jetzt mehr als zu irgend einer früheren Zeit gewürdigt werden, bezeugt die stets wachsende Benutzung der Bibliothek. Für Vorlesungen u.s. w. ist das beabsichtigte Local sogar dem jetzigen weit vorzuziehen, da diese ja nur Abends stattfinden können.

Dass die Schiller-Anstalt schon jetzt ein Bedürfniss für die jüngeren Deutschen in Manchester geworden ist, dass, wenn sie heute unterginge, schon in Jahresfrist der Versuch gemacht werden würde, etwas Aehnliches wieder herzustellen, darüber kann Niemand im Zweifel sein, der den Verkehr in der Anstalt beobachtet hat. Dann aber würde das ganze gegenwärtige, aus Deutschen Mitteln zusammengebrachte Inventar, namentlich die 5000 Bände der Bibliothek, verkauft und zerstreut sein, und man müsste mit neuen Kosten von vorne anfangen. Und was wäre das Resultat? Im glücklichsten Falle eine Art deutschen Verein in derselben Gegend wohin wir jetzt beabsichtigen ||3| die Schiller-Anstalt zu verlegen; ein Institut von vornherein behaftet mit allen Mängeln eines Clubs ohne das kräftige Gegengewicht, welches unsere Anstalt in ihren intellektuellen Ressourcen besitzt. Wenn die Schiller-Anstalt einmal das geistige und soziale Centrum geworden ist für die zahlreiche Bevölkerung gebildeter junger Deutschen welche sich hier in Manchester längere oder kürzere Zeit aufzuhalten, aber stets grossentheils ohne an

Zirkular des Directoriums der Manchester Schiller-Anstalt vom 19. März 1868

den Platz auf Jahre hinaus gebunden zu sein; wenn es sich heraus gestellt hat, dass ein Jahresbeitrag von 30 s. hinreicht um ein vorzugsweise für diese Klasse eingerichtetes und von ihr getragenes Institut dieser Art schuldenfrei im Gange zu halten; wenn die Anzahl junger Deutschen, deren Mittel ihnen nicht erlauben an kostspieligeren Vereinigungen sich zu betheiligen, sich von Jahr zu Jahr hier vermehrt, so scheint es allerdings unmöglich, dass diese Klasse der hiesigen Deutschen hier in der Fremde lebe ohne einen gemeinsamen Vereinigungspunkt, ohne ein Local, das sie unter sich, und auch soweit es geht, mit der Heimath im Zusammenhange hält. Und wir sollten glauben dass das Bestehen eines solchen Vereinigungspunktes vollkommen ebenso sehr im Interesse hier ständig ansässiger 10 Deutschen läge, ebenso sehr im Interesse der älteren und mehr indirect dabei betheiligten, wie der jüngeren Herren.

Es lässt sich zudem nicht verkennen dass im hiesigen Geschäftsbetrieb die Tendenz, die Mittags-Freistunden auf ein Minimum zu beschränken und dafür Abends früher zu schliessen, mehr und mehr um sich greift, so dass selbst da- 15 durch die Verlegung der Anstalt in eine Gegend die den Abendbesuch ermöglicht, sehr bald eine Nothwendigkeit werden dürfte.

Die Grundbestimmungen und Statuten machen überdies jede voreilige Veränderung im Charakter der Anstalt fast unmöglich, besonders wenn diejenigen Mitglieder, denen daran liegt diesen Charakter zu bewahren, der Anstalt treu 20 bleiben. Keine Grundbestimmung kann abgeändert werden ohne dass zwei Drittel der stimmbaren Mitglieder für die Abänderung stimmen; alle Nichtstimmenden werden als dagegen stimmend gezählt. Stimmfähig sind ausser den lebenslänglichen Mitgliedern nur die, welche den Beitrag für das volle verstrichene Jahr und das laufende Geschäftsjahr gezahlt haben.

Wir bemerken dabei dass jede Schenkung von £30. - und darüber den Schenker nach Art. 6 der Statuten zur Mitgliedschaft auf Lebenszeit berechtigt, ihn also von der Zahl fernerer Jahresbeiträge entbindet, und dieser Artikel findet selbstredend für den vorliegenden Fall Anwendung.

Dies sind die Gründe welche das Directorium bewogen haben, die Verlegung 30 der Anstalt in das erwähnte Local in Aussicht zu nehmen. Sollte dieser Plan nicht ausführbar sein, so fürchtet das Directorium dass die Anstalt am 30. Juni d.J. definitiv geschlossen werden muss. Nach den vorliegenden Ueberschlägen würde die Verlegung nach Rylaw-House ausführbar sein wenn jeder der Herren Zeichner zum Baufond 50% seiner ursprünglichen Zeichnung für diesen Zweck be- 35 stätigt - für den Fall dass die Sache zu Stande kommt und seine ursprüngliche Zeichnung hinfällig wird. Wir wenden uns nun an Sie mit der ergebenen Bitte, inliegendes demnach entworfenes Formular zu unterzeichnen und an den Schriftführer einsenden zu wollen so dass es spätestens am Dienstag Morgen den 24. d.M. in seinen Händen sein kann.

Im Auftrage des Directoriums:

F. Engels, Vorsitzender
J.G. Wehner, Schatzmeister.
A. Davisson, Schriftführer.

Manchester, d. 19. März, 1868. |

Johann Baptist von Schweitzer
Rundschreiben an die Mitglieder des
Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitervereins.
Die Herabsetzung der Eisenzölle betreffend

Social-Demokrat.
Nr. 57, 13. Mai 1868

An die Mitglieder des Allg. deutschen
Arbeiter-Vereins.

(Die Herabsetzung der Eisenzölle betreffend.)

Seitdem bekannt ist, daß die Zollvereinsregierungen die Absicht hegten, dem
5 Zollparlament eine erhebliche Herabsetzung der Eisenzölle vorzuschlagen, hat
sich eine bedeutende Agitation im schutzzöllnerischen Sinne zum Zweck der Auf-
rechterhaltung der bestehenden Schutzzölle bemerkbar gemacht. Diese Agitation
ist vorzugsweise in Rheinland und Westphalen hervorgetreten.

Ueber die etwa in Aussicht stehende Herabsetzung von Eingangszöllen äußert
10 sich der letzte Jahresbericht der *Handelskammer von Elberfeld und Barmen* wie
folgt:

Das Kapital weiß, wenn es auch wenig in der Literatur und auf den Redner-
bühnen zu Tage tritt, doch sehr wohl, daß seine Anlagen in erster Linie fester
Tarifsätze bedürfen, um mit vorhandenen Größen rechnen zu können, ehe es
15 festlegt; es weiß sehr wohl, daß die Lage des Zollvereins, - im Herzen Europa's,
umzingelt von gewaltigen Concurrenten, die bei jeder Krisis, wo es an eigner
Arbeit fehlt und die Unzufriedenheit der Arbeiterschichten fortgesetzte Arbeit
dennoch nötig macht, - die fremde Concurrenz veranlaßt, dieses Land zum
Abflußkanal zu benutzen und durch jede Oeffnung zu dringen, die eine unrichtige
20 Tarifposition darbietet; es weiß, daß dadurch gerade in gefährlichen, ernsten Zei-
ten die ohnehin geshmälerte Arbeit für den Zollverein noch mehr geshmälert
wird; vor allem aber will das Kapital nicht den Stürmen ausgesetzt sein, die durch
Partei-Strömungen auf volkswirthschaftlichem Gebiete, welche gerade auftau-
chen, das Feld, das mit ruhiger Berechnung auf Jahre hinaus gepflegt worden ist
25 und werden muß, verwüsten können. Der Zolltarif gehört zu den Hauptfactoren,
welche die Arbeitssumme eines Landes gestalten und vergrößern oder verklei-
nern; dieser Factor ist ein um so mächtigerer, je dichter die Bevölkerung ist, je
mehr Familien auf Industrie angewiesen sind. Hier sind die Fehler verhängniß-
voll. Wo unbewährte Doctrinen die Tarifsätze bestimmen und dem Arbeiter das

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Brod vom Munde ziehen, wo sie ihn zwingen, die Krisen abzuhungern und abzufrieren, da können Beschlüsse, selbst einer so dankbar begrüßten Institution, zu einem nationalen Unglück werden. Wir vertrauen in dieser Beziehung der Weisheit der Regierungen, wie der Volksvertreter.

Die fortschreitende Entwicklung der zollvereinsländischen Industrie wird eine 5 allmäßige Abminderung mancher Zölle immerhin zulassen: die Handelskammer betont jedoch die dringende Notwendigkeit: daß die hohen Staatsregierungen des Zollvereins veranlaßt werden, in Sachen der Zollgesetzgebung, zur Verhütung der so leicht sich einschleichenden Irrthümer, umfassende Vernehmungen von Sachverständigen aus dem Kreise der Beteiligten anzuordnen, bevor die Gesetzung 10 gebung zu neuen Maßnahmen in einer so hochwichtigen Angelegenheit schreitet.

Ein Circular der Herren Fabrikanten *Funcke und Hück von Hagen*, vom 23. April laufenden Jahres, spricht sich insbesondere über die beabsichtigte Herabsetzung der Eisenzölle wie folgt aus:

Die dem Zoll-Parlament zur Vorlage kommende neue Zoll-Ermäßigung auf Eisen 15 wird in ihren Folgen nichts anderes als eine direkte Reduktion der Löhne der Berg-, Hütten-, Puddel- und Walz-Arbeiter sein.

Seit längerer Zeit liest man aus England Berichte über Lohn-Ermäßigungs-Anforderungen der Eisen-Produzenten, weil man sonst nicht in der Lage sei, „Ordres nach dem Auslande zu erhalten“ und bei einer Anweisung der nöthigen 20 Lohn-Reduction (das letzte Mal wurden 10 pCt. gefordert und Seitens der Arbeiter bewilligt), zur theilweisen Betriebs-Einstellung gezwungen sein werde.

Jetzt bringen die Zeitungen neuerdings Mittheilungen aus den Kohlen-Distrikten von South-Lancashire, wonach durch eine nöthig gewordene Herabsetzung der Löhne die Ausdehnung der Strikes der Arbeiter einen gefahrdrohenden Charakter annähme.

Wenn durch ein übermäßiges Zurückgehen der Material- und Fabrikat-Preise bereits in einem Lande derartige Zustände gegenwärtig vorliegen, welches vor noch nicht langen Jahren das Monopol in der Erzeugung von Eisen hatte, - welches damals fast ohne Concurrenz große Capitalien angesammelt und im Laufe 30 der Zeit größtentheils die Anlagen abgeschrieben hat, - welches in dem nahen Zusammenliegen von Erzen und Kohlen, in der Concurrenz von Eisenbahnen und Kanälen Natur- und Verkehrs-Vorteile, wie sie außer Belgien kein anderes Land besitzt, darbietet, - dann sollte man erwarten, daß mindestens die Regierungen Deutschlands sich nicht durch die freihändlerischen Theorien derjenigen 35 Leute, deren einseitiger Standpunkt jedem denkenden National-Oekonomen klar ist, blenden und zu Vorlagen hinreißen lassen, die nicht nur unsere vaterländische Eisen-Industrie, verbunden mit deren Bergbau, sondern auch das Wohl und Wehe von Hunderttausenden in Gefahr zu bringen droht.

Daß der deutsche Industrielle es an Geldopfern, an geistiger Thätigkeit, an vorzüglichen Maschinen-Anlagen nicht hat fehlen lassen, beweisen die günstigen Urtheile, welche selbst ausländische Concurrenten aussprechen, - daß aber die Werke durchschnittlich im Bergbau- und Hütten-Wesen nur einen geringen Bruchtheil-Zinsen bringen, gegen die in Eisenbahnen angelegten Capitalien, die überdies kein so großes Risico bieten, beweisen die Cours- und Zins-Zettel. 45

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Die Herabsetzung der Zölle durch den Französischen Handels-Vertrag, die erneute Anstrengung erforderlich machte, um Concurrenzfähig zu bleiben, wobei die Industriellen mindestens auf Unantastbarkeit der Zölle innerhalb der nächsten 12 Jahre rechnen mußten, - dann die Kriegsjahre und ihre schweren Folgen, 5 welche die künftigen Bilanzen erst recht offen decken werden, - haben abermals so schwere Verluste herbeigeführt, daß fernere Opfer von dieser Seite unmöglich sind.

Da nun aber die Regierungen die Eisenbahn-Monopol-Tarifsätze, die sogar ohne berathende Stimme der Industriellen festgesetzt werden und die im Binnen-10 Verkehr vieler Bahnen für Kohlen und Erze Fracht bis zu 3 Pfg. pr. Ctr. und Meile und z.B. auf der Bergisch-Märkischen Bahn für größere Strecken nicht unter 2 Pfg. herabgehen, wobei wiederholt zu bemerken ist, daß die Zusammenführung von Eisen und Kohlen ganz bedeutend größere Entfernung, wie in England und Belgien, zu bewältigen hat, bestehen lassen, - da endlich der ganze 15 Werth des Eisens nur aus Frachten und Löhnen besteht, - so kann eine weitere Herabsetzung der Zölle und damit der Preise *unbestreitbar und unabwendbar* nichts Anderes zur Folge haben, als eine theilweise Brachlegung der Eisenwerke oder eine Lohn-Reduktion für Hütten-, Berg-, Puddel- und Walz-Arbeiter und damit den Ruin ihrer häuslichen Verhältnisse.

20 Die Arbeiter verlangen Verbesserung, nicht Verschlechterung ihrer Lage vom Staate; aber jede vergrößerte Einfuhr von Eisen schmälert den inländischen Producenten den Absatz, jeder Thaler, der für Eisen ins Ausland wandert, geht dem Gewerbefleiß des Vaterlandes verloren und schädigt die Interessen der Arbeiter mit, während inländische Concurrenz stark genug ist, den Consumenten bei mäßig-25 ßigen Preisen bessere Qualitäten, wie das Ausland sie bietet, zu sichern.

Nicht nur die Industriellen, nein auch die Corporationen der Arbeiter, Alle, die es wohl mit unserer vaterländischen Industrie meinen, haben Front gegen die total unmotivirte, aber dennoch neu vorgeschlagene Zoll-Ermäßigung zu machen. Hier findet sich ein lohnendes Feld für die Führer der Lassalleleaner, denn 30 hier gilt es, die vaterländischen Interessen der Arbeiter-Verhältnisse zu überwachen und zu unterstützen, was Früchte tragen muß, zumal von unseren deutschen Regierungen angenommen werden kann, daß sie die unheilvollen Consequenzen nicht außer Acht lassen werden, welche eine Zoll-Herabsetzung auf Eisen zur Folge haben müßte, mindestens so lange nicht die Verkehrs-Verhältnisse ausreichender und die Eisenbahntarife eine gleichmäßigeren und billigere Festsetzung für Erze, Kohlen und Roheisen, nicht über 1 Pfg. pr. Ctr. und Meile hinaus, erfahren haben.

Nicht um aufzuregen, nein, um Klarheit und Verständniß der Verhältnisse auch für unsere deutschen Arbeiter herbeizuführen, ist dieser Artikel von einem 40 Industriellen, der stets dem Fortschritt huldigte, abgefaßt; - möge er in allen deutschen Blättern im Interesse des gefährdeten Arbeiterwohls schnelle Aufnahme finden.

Funcke.

Aehnliche Circulare und Zeitungsartikel sind in Menge erschienen.

Johann Baptist von Schweitzer

In allen Fragen, welche vaterländische Interessen berühren, haben wir bestimmt Stellung zu ergreifen. Wir haben diese Pflicht nicht nur darum, weil wir wie jede social-politische Partei das vaterländische Interesse in jeder Beziehung zu fördern bestrebt sein müssen, sondern auch darum, weil hier insbesondere die Interessen der Arbeiterklasse oder wenigstens eines großen Theiles derselben in 5 Betracht kommen. Wir haben die Pflicht, bestimmt Stellung zu ergreifen in doppelter Maße, da man ausdrücklich an uns appellirt hat.

Die Frage, um die es sich handelt, ist eine schwierige; und da mir die Pflicht obliegt, bei auftauchenden Fragen unsere Agitation in die richtigeren Bahnen zu leiten, so habe ich gesucht, mich erschöpfend in dieser schwierigen Frage zu 10 unterrichten. Ich habe zu diesem Zweck nicht nur selbst auf Grund meiner wissenschaftlichen Kennmiß der ökonomischen Verhältnisse das vorhandene Material geprüft, ich habe außerdem mit parlamentarischen Führern und hervorragenden Parlamentsmitgliedern Erörterung gepflogen und endlich noch besonders das Gutachten der bedeutendsten wissenschaftlichen Autorität unserer Richtung 15 eingeholt.

Auf dieser Grundlage fußend, gedenke ich im Nachfolgenden die Gesichtspunkte zu entwickeln, auf die es für uns in dieser Frage ankommt, und ich ordne zugleich an, daß die Bevollmächtigten und Agitatoren des Vereins in den betreffenden Gegenden in großen allgemeinen Arbeiterversammlungen diese Gesichts- 20 punkte wiedergeben, klarstellen und erläutern.

In dem Augenblicke, da ich dies schreibe, ist die Sache in sofern in ein neues Stadium getreten, als die von der preußischen Regierung ursprünglich beabsichtigte Herabsetzung der Eisenzölle von der Gesamttheit der Zollvereinsregierungen dem Parlamente nicht vorgeschlagen werden wird. Aber wenn auch von Seiten des Zollbundesrathes ein derartiger Antrag nicht kommt, so wird er, wie verlautet, aus der Mitte des Zollparlaments selbst eingebracht werden, und es könnten die Regierungen, wenn ein solcher Antrag im Parlament die Mehrheit erlangt haben sollte, nachträglich noch auf denselben eingehen. Es steht also immer noch in Aussicht, daß eine Herabsetzung der Eisenzölle versucht wird. 30

I. Die vorliegende Frage hängt zusammen mit dem Gegensatz von *Freihandels- und Schutzzollsystem*.

Die *freihändlerische Richtung* verficht die Ansicht, daß Zölle zwar aus finanziellen Gründen (als eine Form der Steuererhebung) zulässig, daß aber Zölle aus volkswirtschaftlich-politischen Gründen (zur Hebung und Förderung des Wohl- 35 Standes) zweckwidrig und unsinnig seien.

Die freihändlerische Richtung sagt also:

„Es ist widersinnig, bestimmte Fabrikate oder sonstige Erzeugnisse der nationalen Production dadurch schützen zu wollen, daß man die gleichen Fabrikate und Erzeugnisse des Auslandes mit hohem Eingangszoll belegt. Es ist richtig, daß man dadurch die betroffenen Handelsartikel des Auslandes vertheuert und hierdurch bewirkt, daß die inländischen Handelsartikel Absatz im Inlande finden. Aber man bedenkt dabei nicht, daß man auf diese Weise eine unnatürliche Richtung der Production, eine unnatürliche Industrie im Inlande groß zieht. Mit dem-

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selben Aufwände von Capital und Arbeitskraft könnte man sich auf solche Zweige werfen, welche den Landesverhältnissen entsprechen und für das Ausland weniger geeignet sind. Man würde dadurch mit verhältnismäßig wenig Arbeit und Capital viele und gute Waaren herstellen, gegen welche man vom Auslande diejenigen Artikel, die sich nicht für die einheimische Industrie eignen, mit geringeren Opfern eintauschen könnte, als man anwenden müsste, um sie selbst zu produciren. Denkt man sich, diese Maxime würde allgemein befolgt, so würde die Folge sein, daß alle Bedürfnisse gegenstände der civilisirten Menschheit mit dem geringstmöglichen Aufwand von Capital und Arbeit hergestellt und dann durch Austausch unter die einzelnen Nationen je nach Bedürfniß vertheilt würden, wodurch Alle einen Vortheil hätten. Die Schutzzölle sind um so verwerflicher, als sie überdies zu Gegenmaßregeln des Auslandes führen, wodurch eine allseitige Hemmung des Verkehrs entsteht."

Dem gegenüber will die *schutzzöllnerische Richtung* die nationale Industrie gegen die Concurrenz des Auslandes geschützt wissen. Die schutzzöllnerische Richtung entwickelt wie folgt:

„Es ist ein Irrthum, zu glauben, daß durch Schutzzölle eine unnatürliche Production großgezogen würde. Dies kann allerdings der Fall sein; allein dann sind die Schutzzölle in falscher Richtung aufgestellt. Es handelt sich im Gegentheil darum, das Aufkommen der natürlichen und den Landesverhältnissen angemessenen Production zu ermöglichen. Zur Concurrenzfähigkeit der nationalen Production genügt nicht das Vorhandensein der natürlichen Landesbedingungen; es müssen vielmehr auch gewisse sociale Bedingungen da sein: es muß eine genügende Capitalansammlung und eine genügende Ausbildung der Arbeitskraft stattgefunden haben. Diese aber werden im Keime ersticket, wenn nicht die Production, insbesondere die höchste Art derselben, die eigentliche Industrie, so lange geschützt ist, bis sie auf ebenso breiter und sicherer Grundlage wie die des Auslandes beruht, d.h. bis die Capitalansammlung und die Ausbildung der Arbeitskraft so weit vorgeschritten, daß die Grundlage eines nachhaltigen, zur Concurrenz mit dem Auslande befähigten Großbetriebs sich herausgebildet hat. Andernfalls würde eintreten, was wir täglich im Concurrenzkampfe der Privaten unter einander sehen: bei gleicher Tüchtigkeit der einzelnen Unternehmer sind diejenigen dem Untergange verfallen, welche mit zu kleinem Capital arbeiten. Die Nationen concurriren mit einander auf dem Weltmarkt. Auch wenn eine Nation sich auf die ihr angemessenste Industrie würfe, aber diese ihre Industrie vorzeitig der Concurrenz des Auslandes auf dem innern Markte preisgabe, so würde sie ihre eigene Industrie ruiniren, wenn das Ausland auf Grund günstigerer Capitals- und Arbeitsverhältnisse producire. Es ist also nötig, die naturgemäße einheimische Industrie so lange zu schützen, bis die Nation die erforderlichen socialen Vorbedingungen zum großartigen Betrieb dieser Industrie in sich entwickelt hat.“

Wenn man diesen *principiellen* Gegensatz von Freihandel und Schutzzoll näher in's Auge faßt, so sieht man, daß es sich in bestimmten praktischen Fragen eigentlich gewissermaßen nur um eine Gränzstreitigkeit handelt. Die schutzzöllnerische Richtung vernünftig aufgefaßt, gibt zu, daß man immer mehr zur vollen

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Freiheit des Verkehrs übergehen müsse; nur will sie, daß jede Nation dies erst dann thun soll, wenn sie vollgerüstet und gewappnet in den allgemeinen Weltmarkts-Concurrenzkampf eintreten kann. Die freihändlerische Richtung ihrerseits, vernünftig aufgefaßt, muß zugeben, daß ein Industriezweig in einem Lande ganz naturgemäß sein kann, ohne einstweilen Schutz aber nicht aufzukommen vermöchte, weil das Ausland auf günstigerer socialer Grundlage in diesem Zweige producirt, welche Grundlage man aber auch im Inlande allmählig zu schaffen vermöchte. Die Frage, wegen Aufhebung oder Ermäßigung bestehender Schutzzölle in einem gegebenen Falle steht also so:

„Ist in diesem bestimmten Falle der inländische Productionszweig so weit er- 10
stärkt, daß er des Schutzes ganz oder theilweise entbehren kann?“

Die freihändlerische Richtung wird immer geneigt sein, diese Frage mit Ja, die schutzzöllnerische, sie mit Nein zu beantworten. Man streitet um die Gränzlinie, bis zu welcher der eine oder der andere Gesichtspunkt Ausschlag gebend sein muß.

15

In dem uns vorliegenden Falle steht also die Frage zunächst so:

„Kann die inländische Eisenindustrie eine erhebliche Herabsetzung der Eingangs-
zölle vertragen oder nicht?“

II. Wenn man in zweifeloser Weise feststellen will, ob ein Zweig der einheimischen Industrie schutzbedürftig ist oder nicht, so muß man ermitteln, welche 20 Stellung das einheimische Product und das ausländische, gegen welche das einheimische geschützt wird, auf einem dritten (weder dem Inlande noch dem concurrenden Auslande) angehörigen Markte gegeneinander einnehmen.

In unserm Falle, wo es sich um einen Schutz der deutschen Eisenindustrie vornehmlich gegen die englische handelt, ist also zu untersuchen, wie sich die 25 deutschen und die englischen Eisenproducte auf den weder deutschen noch englischen Märkten gegeneinander verhalten.

In dieser Beziehung reden die amtlichen Ausfuhr- und Einfuhrlisten eine zweifelose Sprache. Die deutsche Eisenausfuhr - sowohl die des Roheisens wie die des weiter verarbeiteten Eisens - wächst jährlich in verhältnismäßig rascherer 30 Steigerung als die Ausfuhr der damit concurrenden englischen Artikel. Dies zeigt sich z.B. durch eine Vergleichung der englischen Eisenausfuhr und derjenigen des Zollvereins nach Belgien während der Jahre 1865, 1866 und 1867.

Unter solchen Umständen ist die Frage:

„Ob die einheimische Eisenindustrie eine erhebliche Herabsetzung des Schutz- 35
zolles ertragen könnte“

zweifelos zu bejahen, und unsere Iserlohner Freunde haben daher das Rechte getroffen, als sie dies ihrer Resolution zu Grunde legten.

Nicht die deutsche Eisenindustrie würde zu Grunde gehen oder geschädigt werden durch Herabsetzung der Zölle, sondern nur einzelne, während der Spe- 40 culationswuth der Fünfziger Jahre entstandene Eisenhütten, welche weit von Kohlenzechen abliegen, oder sonst auf ungenügenden, schlechten Gruben beruhen. Diese aber müssen auch im einheimischen Concurrenzkampfe zu Grunde gehen. Wenn ihnen überhaupt zu helfen ist, so ist es nicht durch Schutzzölle,

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sondern durch Erleichterung des Transports vermittelst naher Eisenbahn und billigen Tarifzuges.

Durch eine erhebliche Herabsetzung der Zölle würde die Eisenindustrie nicht geschädigt werden; es ist also auch gänzlich unwahr, daß die Fabrikanten da-
5 durch irgendwie genötigt würden, die Arbeitslöhne herabzusetzen. Würden sie es thun, so wäre es nur darum, weil es ihnen beliebt, zur Herabsetzung der Ar-
beitslöhne jeglichen Vorwand zu ergreifen.

III. Nach dem bisher Entwickelten könnte es scheinen, als hätten wir uns der gegen die Schutzzöllner gerichteten freihändlerischen Agitation anzuschließen.
10 Dazu liegt jedoch kein Grund vor. Wohl aber ist - wie gezeigt werden wird - Grund vorhanden, daß die Arbeiterpartei - wenn auch in bedingter Weise - *der schutzzöllnerischen Seite sich anschließe*.

Die jährlich wachsende Concurrenzfähigkeit der deutschen Eisenartikel be-
weisen auf der einen Seite, daß die Schutzzölle, beziehungsweise die dermalige
15 Höhe derselben, *nicht nothwendig* sind.

Auf der andern Seite aber beweist diese jährlich steigende Concurrenzfähigkeit nicht minder, daß die Schutzzölle oder die damit etwa verbundenen Schwierig-
keiten dem Fortschritt der deutschen Eisenindustrie *nicht im Wege stehen*.

Damit ist bewiesen, daß die ganze Frage keine *dringende* ist.
20 Wenn durch das Fortbestehen der Zölle in ihrer jetzigen Höhe der Entwickelung der nationalen Production kein nennenswerthes Hinderniß bereitet wird, so liegt *kein Grund des Gemeinwohls* vor, der uns veranlassen könnte, uns auf die Seite des Freihandels zu stellen. Es liegt vielmehr innerhalb der der Arbeiterklasse gegenüberstehenden Capitalistenklasse ein Conflict der Interessen vor, der so
25 oder so entschieden werden kann, ohne daß die nationale Entwicklung behin-
det würde. *Unter solchen Umständen haben wir die Gründe, die unsere Haltung bestimmen, lediglich aus unserm Parteiinteresse herzuholen.*

Wir haben uns zu fragen: Können wir bei diesem Widerstreit capitalistischer Interessen eine Haltung einnehmen, durch welche für die Partei, d.h. für die von
30 ihr vertretenen Grundsätze und Interessen eine Förderung zu erwarten steht? Eine solche Förderung erscheint allerdings als möglich, wenn wir die Parole aus-
geben:

*Keine Herabsetzung der Eisen-Schutzzölle, bevor eine parlamentarische Unter-
suchung (Enquête) über die Verhältnisse der deutschen Eisenproduction stattgefun-
den hat.*"

Aber eine Untersuchung, die sich nicht nur zu befassen hat mit den Verhäl-
tissen der die Eisenproduction leitenden Capitalisten, sondern *nicht minder mit den Verhältnissen der in der Eisenproduction beschäftigten Arbeiter*.

Eine Untersuchung, die sich insbesondere erstreckt auf den *Lohn, die Arbeits-
zeit, die Lebensverhältnisse der in der Eisenproduction beschäftigten Arbeiter*.

IV. „Vernehmung von Sachverständigen vor Herabsetzung der Eisenzölle!“ er-
tönt es aus den Reihen des Großkapitals. Stimmen wir ein in solchen Ruf!

Im Namen der Arbeiter verlangen die Großkapitalisten eine Untersuchung der Sache. Nehmen wir diese Herren beim Wort!

Johann Baptist von Schweitzer

Die in der Eisenindustrie beschäftigten Arbeiter treten vor ihre Lohnherren, die schutzzöllnerischen Großkapitalisten, und sagen ihnen:

„Ihr dringt darauf, daß keine Herabsetzung der Zölle stattfinde, bevor die Lage der Eisenindustrie durch Vernehmung von Sachverständigen klargestellt ist. Ihr begründet diese Forderung mit dem Interesse der Arbeiter, indem Ihr versichert, nach Herabsetzung der Zölle die Löhne herabdrücken zu müssen. Wir sind zwar von der Nichtigkeit dieser Behauptung überzeugt, allein immerhin sind Eure Bedenken so gewichtiger Natur, sind Eure Betheuerungen für unser Wohl so warm und feurig, daß wir Euch wenigstens Gelegenheit geben müssen, die Wahrheit Eurer Behauptung amtlich feststellen zu lassen. Wir stimmen daher ein in 10 Euer Verlangen, daß keine Herabsetzung der Zölle vor genauer Untersuchung der Lage der Eisenindustrie stattfinden darf Aber da Ihr inzwischen nicht läugnen werdet, daß wir Lohnarbeiter auch bei derselben betheiligt sind - sogar sehr! wie Ihr ja selbst behauptet - so werdet Ihr auch nichts dagegen haben, daß die Untersuchung sich auch auf unsere Verhältnisse erstreckt. Wir holen das Eisen aus 15 der Erde, wir schmelzen und schmieden es, wir verarbeiten es zu hunderterlei Waaren; kurz, wir sind die wahren ‚Eisenproducenten‘! Wenn die Lage der vaterländischen Eisenindustrie untersucht werden soll, so muß sich diese Untersuchung nicht nur auf die Lage derer erstrecken, die das Kapital, sondern auch auf die Lage derer, die die Arbeitskraft hergeben. Wenn Ihr hiermit einverstanden 20 seid, sind wir Eure Alliirten. Wo nicht - nicht.“

Solcher Sprache gegenüber sind nur zwei Fälle möglich:

Entweder die Herren, welche ihre Agitation um der Arbeiter willen zu betreiben betheuern, sagen nein. Dann liegt der Schwindel zu Tage.

Oder sie sagen ja. Dann werden wir zum ersten Mal in Deutschland amtliches 25 Material zur Lage der arbeitenden Klasse, wenn auch vorerst nur in einem einzelnen Zweige, erhalten.

Arbeiter in den Eisendistricten! Eure Lohnherren rufen in die Welt hinaus, daß sie um Euretwillen für die Schutzzölle eintreten; sie dringen darauf, daß man um Euretwillen den Sachverhalt ermittele. Nehmet diese Herren beim Wort! Die Gelegenheit kommt nicht oft.

Die *Handelskammer von Elberfeld und Barmen* sagt in einem Anhange zu ihrem Jahresbericht speziell in Betreff der Eisenzollfrage:

„Lieg einmal die deutsche Eisenindustrie darnieder, so ist eine Remedur (Heilung) nicht mehr möglich. Große Capitalien sind alsdann verloren, viele Familien 35 ruinirt, Tausende von Arbeitern brodlos, was grade in dieser Zeit um so bedenklicher wäre, als die Arbeiterfrage immer ernster wird und die internationale Arbeiter-Association immer thätiger und drohender auftritt. Unter so bedenklichen Umständen aber liegt es auf der Hand: *däß jedenfalls umfassende Vernehmungen von Sachverständigen anzurufen und die Handelskammern zu hören sind, bevor die Gesetzgebung zu neuen Zollermäßigungen schreitet.*“

Nehmet die Handelskammer von Elberfeld und Barmen beim Wort! Nur erinnert sie zugleich an den sonst so beliebten Satz, daß jede Industrie sich vollzieht durch die „Zusammenwirkung von Capital und Arbeit“ und daß man daher als

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Sachverständige nicht nur Vertreter des Capitals, z. B. Handelskammern, sondern auch Vertreter der Arbeitskraft hören muß. Der Vorstand des *Vereins für die bergbaulichen Interessen im Oberbergamtsbezirk Dortmund* hat beim Zollparlament beantragt:

- 5 1) eine Ermäßigung der Eisen-Zoll-Tarife, soweit dieselbe nicht Roheisen betrifft, abzulehnen;
- 2) die Zollvereins-Regierungen aufzufordern:
 - a) eine Untersuchung der Lage der Eisen-Industrie des Zoll-Vereins durch Sachverständige unter dem Gesichtspunkte der Zollfrage vornehmen zu lassen,
 - 10 und
 - b) dahin zu wirken, daß der Einpfennigs-Tarif auf den Eisenbahnen des Zollvereins-Gebietes für Rohmaterialien und Rohprodukte schleunigst eingeführt werde.

Schließet Euch diesem Antrage an, sobald Euch diese Herren zugestanden
15 haben, daß sie dem Zollparlament mittheilen werden, daß sie mit Euch eine Vernehmung von Sachverständigen nicht nur aus den Kapitalisten-, sondern auch aus den Arbeiterkreisen wollen.

Kurz: Sorget dafür, daß die Capitalisten, welche Euer Interesse vertreten zu wollen erklären, deutlich und in bindender Form sich darüber aussprechen, ob sie
20 den Antrag auf eine Untersuchung aller die Eisenindustrie betreffenden Verhältnisse, sowohl der Capital- wie der Arbeits-Interessen, wollen. Wenn sie einschlagen, so wirket mit aller Kraft mit ihnen zusammen, um das berechtigte Begehrn durchzusetzen, daß über eine so wichtige Frage nicht ohne vorherige Vernehmung der nächstbeteiligten Kreise entschieden werde. Weigern sie sich, mit Euch Hand in
25 Hand zu gehen, so haben sie sich selbst gerichtet.

In den Auslassungen der Herren Fabrikanten finden sich merkwürdige ökonomische Mittheilungen. Wir erfahren da z.B., daß die Preise der Eisenwaaren aus Löhnen und Frachten bestehen. Bei der Neuheit dieser Behauptung würde es gut sein, deren Wahrheit durch eine Untersuchung festzustellen. Wenn der Preis
30 der Waaren aus Löhnen und Frachten besteht - wo bleibt da der Capitalgewinn? Es ist sicherlich interessant, festzustellen, daß in der deutschen Eisenindustrie die Capitalisten ohne Profit „arbeiten“.

Zwar - in dem oben abgedruckten lithographirten Circular aus Hagen finde ich am Schluß einen geschriebenen Zusatz, von dem ich nicht weiß, ob er für alle
35 Empfänger des Circulars bestimmt ist, oder ob ich allein mit diesem Zusatz behext wurde. Vielleicht existiren auch mehrere Circularare, welche je nach der Fassungskraft der beabsichtigten Adressaten verschieden gehalten sind. Der Eine glaubt mehr als der Andere. In gedachtem Zusatz ist die Behauptung des Circulars, daß die Preise der Eisenwaaren nur aus Löhnen und Frachten bestehen,
40 bedeutend dahin gemildert, daß wenigstens ein Zins herauskommt. Der geschriebene Zusatz lautet nämlich:

Der Werth des Eisens besteht nur aus Arbeitslöhnen, Frachten und Verzinsung und Amortisation der angelegten Capitalien. Da erstere, ohne die Existenz der Arbeiter zu gefährden, nicht reducirt werden dürfen, die Frachten in Händen der

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Eisenbahnen ruhen, die uns namentlich in Westphalen ausbeuten, die Verzinsung der Capitalien für Bergbau- und Eisen-Industrie durchschnittlich innerhalb 12 Jahren nicht volle 3 pCt. betragen hat, viele Hochöfen-Besitzer nur in der Hoffnung besserer Preise und wegen der Arbeiter ihren Betrieb bisher aufrecht erhielten, - denn pro 1866 und 1867 ist durchschnittlich nichts verdient, - so 5 bleiben die Angriffe der Freihändler leeres Raisonnement, den bestehenden That-sachen gegenüber, so lange sie nicht den Beweis liefern, daß erstere unrichtig sind. -

Ich habe keine Hochöfen, nur Puddel- und Walzwerke; mein Vortheil erheischte es momentan, um besser gegen die Werke, welche Hochöfen mit Puddel- und 10 Walzwerken zusammen besitzen, concurriren zu können, daß der Zoll auf Roh-eisen herabgesetzt würde; allein die Erhaltung aller Werke liegt im Vortheil des Vaterlandes, und deshalb trete ich gegen erneute Zoll-Ermäßigung in die Schran-ken. -

Es wird von großem Interesse sein, zu constatiren, ob diese Unglücklichen 15 wirklich nur drei Prozent Zinsen pro Jahr machen. Kurz, es ist eine Reihe von Fragen da, welche klarzustellen von hohem Interesse ist.

Indessen - wir müssen annehmen, daß die Fabrikanten in gutem Glauben handeln, und darum wollen wir ihnen ehrlich entgegenkommen, wenn sie das Gleiche thun. Die beteiligten Capitalisten und die beteiligten Arbeiter müssen 20 sich vereinigen in dem gemeinsamen Rufe:

„Keine Herabsetzung der Eisenzölle vor genauer Untersuchung der betreffenden Capital- und Arbeitsverhältnisse!“

Diese Untersuchung muß zuerst als eine parlamentarische verlangt werden; und es ist Sache derjenigen Abgeordneten, welche der Arbeitersache freundlich 25 gesinnt sind, in dieser Beziehung die nötigen Schritte zu thun. Sollte eine parlamentarische Untersuchung nicht zu erwirken sein, so muß man wenigstens auf eine amtliche Untersuchung überhaupt dringen. Selbstverständlich müßte diesel-be den vollsten Charakter der Oeffentlichkeit tragen.

Wenn der berechtigte Ruf „Keine Herabsetzung der Eisenzölle vor stattgehabter 30 Untersuchung!“ einmütig aus den gesammten beteiligten Kreisen ertönt; wenn die Capitalisten die ganze Bedeutung ihrer Geldmacht, die Arbeiter die ganze Bedeutung ihrer Masse in die Wagschale werfen; wenn mit vereinter Macht kräftig vorangegangen wird - so kann jener Ruf nicht überhört werden, so muß er Berücksichtigung finden. 35

Es ist möglich, daß die ganze Bewegung gegenstandslos wird, indem man viel-leicht auf allen Seiten von der Absicht einer Herabsetzung der Eisenzölle ab-kommt. Aber was nicht diesmal beabsichtigt wird, wird dann sicherlich in den nächsten Jahren versucht. Die Arbeiter werden dann vorbereitet sein und von vorn herein die richtigen Wege zu betreten wissen. 40

An die Bevollmächtigten und Agitatoren des Allgem. deutsch. Arb.-Vereins in den betreffenden Distrikten tritt eine schwierigere Aufgabe heran, als jemals. Es ist nicht möglich, im Einzelnen anzugeben, was zu geschehen hat, sondern es kann nur die Richtung bezeichnet werden, in der sie sich zu bewegen haben. Es

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bleibt ihrer Umsicht und ihrem Verständniß der Sachlage überlassen, die geeigneten Schritte herauszufinden und vorzunehmen.

Die Agitation muß sich in folgender Richtung bewegen:

- 1) Die beteiligten Capitalisten müssen dazu gedrängt werden, sich deutlich und in bindender Form darüber auszusprechen, ob sie damit einverstanden sind, daß die beabsichtigte Untersuchung sich auf die Arbeitsverhältnisse erstrecke.
- 2) Wenn sie in ihrer Mehrheit gegen diese Forderung der Arbeiter auftreten, muß dafür gesorgt werden, daß dies Verhalten der Arbeiterbevölkerung zur Kenntnis gelangt, und daran gezeigt werden, was von der schutzzöllnerischen
- 10 Agitation der Capitalisten, die im Namen der Arbeiter auftritt, zu halten ist.
- 3) Wenn sie in ihrer Mehrheit sich für die Forderung der Arbeiter erklären, so muß ehrlich und kräftig zusammengewirkt werden, um eine Herabsetzung der Eisenzölle so lange zu verhindern, bis eine allseitige Untersuchung der Lage der Eisenindustrie stattgefunden.
- 15 4) Unter allen Umständen sind die in dieser Ansprache enthaltenen Gesichtspunkte klarzustellen und weiter zu erläutern.
- 5) Ganz besonders ist hervorzuheben, daß, wenn die Frage diesmal nicht zum Austrag kommen sollte, sie ganz gewiß in den nächsten Jahren wieder auftauchen wird, und daß es daher für Jeden von Wichtigkeit ist, sich mit derselben genau
- 20 bekannt zu machen.

Was die Vereinsmitglieder in denjenigen Distrikten betrifft, in denen die Eisenindustrie nicht vertreten ist, so bleibt es ihnen überlassen, ob sie den Gegenstand zur Sprache bringen wollen. Erforderlichen Falls wird der Ruf zu Versammlungen durch ganz Deutschland ergehen.

- 25 Für den Fall, daß in dieser Sache ein allgemeiner rheinisch-westphälischer Arbeitertag wünschenswerth erscheinen sollte, wird andurch Herr C.W. Tölcke in Iserlohn zu den vorbereitenden Anordnungen Namens des Vereins bevollmächtigt.

Arbeiter in Rheinland und Westphalen! In Eure Hand ist es vielleicht gelegt,
30 die erste amtliche Untersuchung über die Lage der arbeitenden Klassen in Deutschland herbeizuführen. Röhrt Euch mit gewohnter Thatkraft!

Berlin, 12. Mai 1868.

Schweitzer.

Wilhelm Eichhoff
Die Internationale Arbeiterassoziation.
Ihre Gründung, Organisation, politisch-soziale
Tätigkeit und Ausbreitung

|3| 1. Stiftung der Association.

Der unmittelbare Anlaß zur Gründung der internationalen Arbeiterassoziation war die letzte polnische Insurrection. Die Londoner Arbeiter hatten eine Deputation an *Lord Palmerston* geschickt, mit einer Adresse, worin sie ihn auffordernten, für Polen einzuschreiten. Sie erließen gleichzeitig einen Aufruf an die Pariser 5 Arbeiter, diese zu gemeinschaftlichem Wirken auffordernd. Die Pariser sandten darauf Deputirte nach London. Zu ihrem Empfang fand am 28. September 1864 ein öffentliches Meeting in St. Martins Hall, Long Acre statt, auf welchem Engländer, Deutsche, Franzosen, Polen und Italiener zahlreich vertreten waren.

Dies Meeting war die Geburtsstätte der internationalen Arbeiterassoziation. 10 Es brachte außer dem politischen Zweck, der es zusammengeführt hatte, auch allgemeine sociale Verhältnisse zur Sprache. Es förderte aus den Arbeitern aller Nationen dieselben Beschwerden, in allen Ländern dieselben Grundübel zu Tage. Es bewies die Uebereinstimmung der Interessen Aller. Es erwählte einen provisorischen Centrairath, der später die Bezeichnung Generalrath (General Council, 15 Conseil Général) annahm, zu London residierte und aus den verschiedenen Nationalitäten zusammengesetzt war. Er wurde beauftragt mit der provisorischen Centralverwaltung der zu gründenden Association, mit der Veröffentlichung einer Inauguraladresse, (einer Art Programm,) und mit dem Entwurf der provisorischen Statuten. 20

Auf dem Meeting herrschte Einstimmigkeit und Enthusiasmus. Jede Nation war durch ihrer würdige Repräsentanten vertreten. Der Erfolg war, daß die englischen Arbeiter, welche seit dem Jahr 1824, wo ihnen die Gesetzgebung das Recht der Association hatte zugestehen müssen, ihren Kampf gegen die herrschenden Klassen unabhängig von und unbeeinflußt durch die politischen und 25 socialen Be|4)wegungen des übrigen Europa geführt hatten, jetzt zum ersten Mal aus ihrer nationalen Abgeschlossenheit heraustraten und sich mit Arbeitern aller Nationen über die Nothwendigkeit gemeinsamen Wirkens verständigten. Daher die Begeisterung: man war sich bewußt, eine neue Aera der Arbeiterbewegung zu eröffnen. 30

2. Schwierigkeiten im Beginn der Association.

Neue Bewegungsformen werden nicht an einem Tage geschaffen, selbst wenn sie ein dringendes Zeitbedürfniß zu erfüllen bestimmt sind. Vor Allem ist eine Klippe zu vermeiden, an welcher neue Organisationen schon häufig gescheitert, zum 5 Mindesten von ihrem ursprünglichen und eigentlichen Ziel abgelenkt worden sind: Repräsentanten untergehender Bewegungsformen schließen sich dem Neuen an, um es zum Vehikel des Alten zu machen. So auch hier. Die italienischen Mitglieder des provisorischen Centrairaths waren Anhänger *Mazzini's*. Sie legten dem Centrairath einen von *Mazzini* selbst verfaßten Entwurf der Inaugural-10 Adresse und der provisorischen Statuten vor. In seiner Adresse wiederholte *Mazzini* sein altbekanntes politisches Programm, verbrämmt mit etwas socialistischer Phraseologie. Er donnerte gegen den *Klassenkampf*. Seine Statuten waren abgefaßt in der streng centralistischen Weise, wie sie für politische Verschwörungsgesellschaften paßt, dagegen von vornherein die Lebensbedingungen einer internationalen Arbeiterassocation vernichten würde, welche nicht eine Bewegung zu schaffen, sondern nur die in verschiedenen Ländern bereits vorhandene und verzettelte Klassenbewegung zu einigen und zu verbinden hat.

Der Name *Mazzini's* besaß damals in der englischen Arbeiterklasse guten Klang, namentlich seit dem Triumphzug *Garibaldis* in London. Daher rechnete 20 *Mazzini* mit ziemlicher Sicherheit darauf, sich der internationalen Arbeiterassocation zu bemächtigen. Aber er hatte die Rechnung ohne den Wirth gemacht. *Karl Marx*, auf dem Meeting in St. Martin's Hall zum Mitglied des provi| 5|so-rischen Centrairaths erwählt, legte seinerseits, gegen *Mazzini*, eine von ihm verfaßte Inauguraladresse und provisorische Statuten vor. Beide wurden einstimmig 25 angenommen und veröffentlicht, und seine provisorischen Statuten erhielten später auf dem Congreß zu Genf (1866) definitive Sanction.

Es ist also ein Deutscher, welcher der internationalen Arbeiterassocation ihre bestimmte Tendenz und Organisation gegeben hat. Es sei hier gleich bemerkt, daß der Centrairath zu London fortwährend wieder in seiner Function bestätigt 30 wurde.

3. Die Inauguraladresse von Karl Marx.

Diese lautet in möglichst wortgetreuer Uebersetzung des englischen Originals folgendermaßen:

Männer der Arbeit!

35 Es ist eine große Thatsache, daß das Elend der Arbeiterklassen sich in den Jahren 1848-1864 nicht vermindert hat, obgleich gerade diese Periode in den Annalen der Geschichte beispiellos dasteht in Bezug auf die Entwicklung ihrer Industrie und das Wachsthum ihres Handels. Im Jahr 1850 prophezeite ein ge-

mäßiges Organ der britischen Bourgeoisie, anscheinend im Besitz von mehr als gewöhnlichen Kenntnissen, daß wenn die Aus- und Einfuhr England's um 50 Prozent steigen, der Pauperismus in England auf den Nullpunkt sinken würde. Aber ach! Am 7. April 1864 entzückte Mr. Gladstone, der englische Schatzkanzler, seine Zuhörerschaft durch den Nachweis, daß der Gesammtwerth der englischen Ein- und Ausfuhr im Jahr 1863 auf 443 955 000 Pfund Sterling angewachsen sei, eine Summe, welche ungefähr den dreifachen Betrag des Umsatzes in dem verhältnismäßig erst vor Kurzem verflossenen Jahr 1843 ausmache. Bei alledem aber war er genötigt, auch des socialen Elends zu gedenken. Er mußte sprechen von Denjenigen, die an der Grenze der Hungersnoth angelangt seien, 10 von Arbeitslöhnen, die um keinen Pfennig gestiegen seien, vom menschlichen Leben, |6| welches in neun Fällen unter zehn nur ein Kampf um die tägliche Existenz sei. Er sprach nicht von der Bevölkerung Irland's, welche im Norden nach und nach durch Maschinen, im Süden durch Schafherden ersetzt wird, obgleich selbst die Anzahl der Schafe in diesem unglücklichen Lande sich ver- 15 mindert, freilich nicht so schnell als die Menschen. Er vermied, das zu wiederholen, was gerade damals durch die höchsten Repräsentanten der zehntausend Vornehmen in einem plötzlichen Anfall von Schrecken verrathen worden war. Als die Panik des Garottirens eine gewisse Höhe erreicht hatte, veranlaßte das Haus der Lords eine Untersuchung und einen Bericht über Transportation und Zuchthausstrafe. An den Tag kam die Wahrheit in dem dicken Blaubuch von 1863, und bewiesen ward es durch officielle Thatsachen und Zahlen, daß die schlechtesten unter den verurtheilten Verbrechern, die Zuchthaussträflinge England's und Schottland's sich weit weniger zu schinden hatten und viel besser genährt waren, 20 als die Agrikulturarbeiter England's und Schottland's. Und das war noch nicht Alles. Als in Folge des Bürgerkrieges in Amerika, die Industriearbeiter in Lancashire und Cheshire auf die Straße geworfen waren, sandte dasselbe Haus der Lords einen Arzt in die Fabrikdistricte, um zu untersuchen und festzustellen, wie viel Kohlen- und Stickstoff unumgänglich nothwendig sei, um, dargeboten in der einfachsten und billigsten Form, gerade zur Abwehr des Hungerthyphus hinzuerreichen. Dr. Smith, der ärztliche Commissar des Parlaments, ermittelte, daß 25 28 000 Gran Kohlenstoff und 1330 Gran Stickstoff die wöchentliche Ration sei. welche durchschnittlich grade hinreichend sei, um einen Erwachsenen über dem Niveau der Hungerkrankheiten zu halten, und er fand weiter, daß diese Quantität so ziemlich mit der dürftigen Nahrung übereinstimme, auf welche der Druck der äußersten Noth die armen Baumwollenarbeiter tatsächlich angewiesen hatte.*¹ Und nicht genug damit, |7| derselbe Arzt wurde später von der Regierung wieder beauftragt, die Nahrung des ärmeren Theils der Arbeiterklasse zu untersuchen.

*¹ Es wird den Lesern bekannt sein, daß außer Wasser und anderen unorganischen Substanzen, Kohlen- und Stickstoff die Rohstoffe der menschlichen Nahrung ausmachen. 40 Indessen müssen diese einfachen chemischen Ingredienzien, um zur Erhaltung des menschlichen Organismus zu dienen, in Form vegetabilischer oder animalischer Substanzen dargeboten werden. Kartoffeln, zum Beispiel, enthalten nur Kohlenstoff, während Brod kohlen- und stickstoffhaltige Substanzen in angemessenem Verhältniß enthält.

Die Internationale Arbeiterassoziation

Die Resultate seiner Nachforschungen befinden sich im „Sechsten Bericht über öffentliche Gesundheit“, veröffentlicht auf Befehl des Parlaments im Lauf dieses Jahres (1864). Und was entdeckte der Arzt? Daß die Seidenweber, Nätherinnen, Handschuhmacher, Strumpfwirker und andere Arbeiter durchschnittlich nicht 5 einmal die Nothstandsration der Baumwollenarbeiter, nicht einmal denjenigen Betrag von Kohlen- und Stickstoff erhielten, „der gerade hinreicht zur Abwehr von Hungerkrankheiten“.

„Ja noch mehr,“ sagt der Bericht, „was die untersuchten Familien der ländlichen Arbeiter betrifft, schien es, daß mehr als ein Fünftel weniger zu sich nahm 10 als das nothdürftigste Quantum kohlenstoffhaltiger Nahrung, mehr als ein Drittel weniger als das nothdürftigste Quantum stickstoffhaltiger Nahrung, und daß in drei Landschaften (Berkshire, Oxfordshire und Somersetshire) Unzulänglichkeit stickstoffhaltiger Speisen die Durchschnittskost ganzer Ortschaften war.“ ... „Es muß darauf hingewiesen werden“, fügt der officielle Bericht hinzu, „daß

15 Entbehrung der nothwendigsten Nahrung nur mit großem Widerstreben ertragen wird, und daß in der Regel große Nothdurft der Nahrung erst dann sich einstellt, wenn andere Entbehrungen vorhergegangen sind.“ ... „Selbst Reinlichkeit wird dem Armen kostspielig oder schwierig, und wenn er dennoch in einem Gefühl der Selbstachtung Versuche macht, den Forderungen der Reinlichkeit zu entsprechen,

20 so ist für ihn jeder Versuch gleichbedeutend mit vermehrten Hungersqualen. Dies sind peinliche Betrachtungen, namentlich wenn man bedenkt, daß die Armuth, auf welche sie Bezug haben, nicht die verdiente Armuth des Müßigganges ist: in allen aufgeführten Fällen ist es die Armuth der arbeitenden Bevölkerung. Und in der That, gerade die Arbeit, welche eine so kärgliche Ration von Nahrungsmit-

25 teln erlangt, wird in den meisten Fällen über die Maßen ausgedehnt.“ Der Bericht bringt ferner die befremdende und unerwartete Thatsache zu Tage, daß von den vier Theilen des vereinigten Königreichs. England. Wales, Schottland und Irland, die Agrikulturbewölkerung England's, des reichsten Theils, die bei Weitem am Schlechtesten genährte ist, daß aber selbst die Agrikulturarbeiter von Berkshire, 30 Oxfordshire und ||8| Somersetshire besser daran sind, als eine große Anzahl kunstfertiger Handarbeiter unter Dach und Fach im Ostende von London.*"

*¹ *Anmerkung des Uebersetzers.* In der Vorrede zu seinem neuerdings erschienenen Buch: „Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. Von Karl Marx. Hamburg 1867.“ bemerkt Marx sehr richtig:

35 „Im Vergleich zur englischen ist die sociale Statistik Deutschlands und des übrigen continentalen Westeuropa's elend. Dennoch läuftet sie den Schleier gerade genug, um hinter demselben ein Medusenhaupt ahnen zu lassen. *Wir würden vor unseren eigenen Zuständen erschrecken*, wenn unsere Regierungen und Parlamente, wie in England, periodische Untersuchungs-Commissionen über die ökonomischen Verhältnisse bestallten, wenn diese 40 Commissionen mit derselben Machtvollkommenheit, wie in England, zur Erforschung der Wahrheit ausgerüstet würden, wenn es gelänge, zu diesem Behuf ebenso sachverständige, unparteiische und rücksichtslose Männer zu finden, wie die Fabrikinspectoren England's sind, seine ärztlichen Berichterstatter über „Public Health“ (öffentliche Gesundheit), seine Untersuchungscommissäre über die Exploitation der Weiber und Kinder, über Wohnungs- 45 und Nahrungszustände etc. Perseus brauchte eine Nebelkappe zur Verfolgung von Ungeheuern. Wir ziehen die Nebelkappe tief über Aug' und Ohr, um die Existenz der Ungeheuer wegleugnen zu können.“

Solcher Art sind die offiziellen Darstellungen, veröffentlicht auf Befehl des Parlaments im Jahr 1863, während der tausendjährigen Herrschaft des Freihandels, zu einer Zeit, wo der Schatzkanzler dem Hause der Gemeinen erzählte, „daß im Allgemeinen die Lage des britischen Arbeiters sich verbessert habe in einem ganz außerordentlichen Maße, welches ohne Beispiel dastehe in der Geschichte 5 irgend eines Landes oder Zeitalters“.

Aber mitten hinein in diese offiziellen Glückwünschungen schrillt die trockene Bemerkung des offiziellen Berichts über öffentliche Gesundheit: „Oeffentliche Gesundheit eines Landes bedeutet die Gesundheit seiner Massen, und wie können die Massen gesund sein, wenn sie nicht bis auf ihre untersten Schichten herab 10 mindestens erträglich leben?“

Geblendet durch den „Fortschritt der Nation“, umgaukelt von den Zahlen der Statistik, ruft der Schatzkanzler in wilder Verzückung aus: „In den Jahren 1842-1852 hat sich das steuerpflichtige Einkommen des Landes um 6 Prozent vermehrt, in den acht Jahren 1853-1861 hat es im Verhältniß zum Einkommen 15 des Jahres 1853 um 20 Prozent zugenommen. Diese Thatsache ist so Staunenswerth, daß sie beinahe unglaublich ist“ ... „Diese berauschende [9] Vermehrung von Reichthum und Macht“, fügt Mr. Gladstone hinzu, „ist ganz und gar auf die besitzenden Klassen beschränkt.“

Wer zu wissen wünscht, unter wie viel Opfern an zerrütteter Gesundheit, ver- 20 dorbenen Sitten und gestörten Geisteskräften diese „berauschende, ganz und gar auf die besitzenden Klassen beschränkte Vermehrung von Reichthum und Macht“ erzeugt worden ist und noch erzeugt wird, der blicke auf das Gemälde, welches der letzte „öffentliche Gesundheits-Bericht“ von den Werkstätten der Schneider, Buchdrucker und Putzmacherinnen entworfen hat. Er vergleiche da- 25 mit den „Bericht der Untersuchungscommission über die Beschäftigung von Kindern in Fabriken“ vom Jahr 1863, worin unter Anderem ausgesprochen wird, daß die Töpfer, und zwar nicht blos die männlichen, sondern auch die weiblichen Arbeiter der Töpferwerkstätten, als Arbeiterklasse einen körperlich und geistig heruntergekommenen Theil der Bevölkerung ausmachen, daß ein von der Geburt 30 an ungesundes Kind später selbst ungesunde Kinder erzeuge, daß nach und nach ein zunehmendes Aussterben der ganzen Race bevorstehe, und daß die Verkommenheit der Bevölkerung von Staffordshire noch größer sein würde, wenn sie sich nicht aus den angrenzenden Landschaften rekrutire und sich durch Heirath mit gesünderen Racen vermische. Er blicke auf Mr. Tremenheere's Blaubuch über die 35 „Beschwerden der Bäckergesellen“. Und Wen hat nicht geschaudert bei der scheinbar paradoxen, durch den General Registrator mit Dokumenten belegten Behauptung der Fabrikinspektoren, daß der Gesundheitszustand der Fabrikarbeiter von Lancashire grade in der Zeit, wo sie auf eine Nothstandsrat von Nahrungsmitteln beschränkt gewesen seien, sich tatsächlich gebessert habe, weil 40 sie in Folge der Baumwollennoth zeitweise aus den Baumwollenfabriken ausgeschlossen gewesen seien, und daß die Sterblichkeit unter den Kindern in dieser Zeit abgenommen habe, weil die Mütter jetzt endlich einmal in der Lage gewesen seien, ihnen statt der Opiummixtur von Godfrey die eigne Brust zu reichen.

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Und dagegen die Kehrseite der Medaille. Die dem Hause der Gemeinen am 20. Juli 1864 vorgelegten amtlichen Berichte über den Ertrag der Einkommen- und Grundsteuer belehren uns, daß in der Zeit vom 5. April 1862 bis 5. April 1863 die Anzahl der Personen mit einem jährlichen Einkommen von 50 000 Pf.

- 5 Sterling und darüber um 13 zugenommen habe und in diesem einen Jahr ||10| von 67 auf 80 Personen gestiegen sei. Derselbe amtliche Bericht enthüllt die Thatsache, daß ungefähr 3000 Personen sich in ein jährliches Einkommen von ungefähr 25 Millionen Pfund Sterling zu theilen haben, eine Summe, die größer ist als der Gesamtbetrag der alljährlich an die Gesamtheit der Agrikulturarbeiter von 10 England und Wales gezahlten Arbeitslöhne. Schlagt die amtlichen Listen von 1861 auf, und Ihr werdet finden, daß die Anzahl der Grundeigentümer in England und Wales von 16 934 Personen im Jahr 1851 auf 15 066 im Jahr 1861 zusammengeschmolzen ist, so daß die Concentration des Grundbesitzes in 15 Jahren um 11 Procent zugenommen hat. Wenn die Vereinigung des gesammten 15 Grundbesitzes in den Händen Weniger in diesem Verhältniß fortschreiten sollte, so wird allerdings dadurch die Grund- und Boden-Frage sehr vereinfacht werden, grade so, wie es im römischen Kaiserreich geschah, als *Nero* über die Entdeckung greinte, daß die Hälfte der Provinz Afrika sich in dem Besitz von sechs Herren befindet.
- 20 Wir sind darum so lange bei diesen Thatsachen, „die so Staunenswerth, daß sie beinahe unglaublich sind“, stehen geblieben, weil England an der Spitze des Handels und der Industrie Europa's steht. Erinnert Euch, daß erst vor Kurzem einer von den verbannten Söhnen *Louis Philippe*'s die englischen Agrikulturarbeiter öffentlich deshalb beglückwünscht hat, weil ihr Loos besser sei als das ihrer weniger 25 glücklich situirten Kameraden jenseits des Kanals. Und in der That: mit einer anderen Lokalfärbung und auf etwas kleinerer Stufenleiter pflanzen sich die englischen Zustände in allen in ihrer industriellen Entwicklung begriffenen Ländern des Continents fort. In allen diesen Ländern hat seit dem Jahr 1848 eine unerhörte Entwicklung der Industrie, eine ungeahnte Ausdehnung des Ein- und Aus- 30 fuhrhandels stattgefunden. In allen war die ganz und gar auf die besitzenden Klassen beschränkte Vermehrung von Reichthum und Macht ebenfalls wahrhaft berauschend. In allen erhielt zwar eine kleine Anzahl Arbeiter, ebenso wie in England, etwas erhöhten Arbeitslohn, aber bei dem allgemeinen Steigen der Preise hatte diese Lohnerhöhung für den Lebensgenuss des Arbeiters ebenso wenig zu 35 bedeuten, als z.B. der Insasse des hauptstädtischen Armen- oder Waisenhauses davon Nutzen hat, daß seine nothwendigsten Lebensbedürfnisse nach amtlichen Ermittlungen von 7 Pfund 7 Schilf IJlingen 4 Pence im Jahr 1852 auf 9 Pfund 15 Schillinge 8 Pence im Jahr 1861 gestiegen sind. Allüberall sank die große Masse der arbeitenden Klassen in immer tieferes Elend, mindestens in demselben 40 Maße, als die oberen Klassen auf der socialen Skala stiegen. In allen Ländern Europa's steht es jetzt als unumstößliche Wahrheit fest, unleugbar für jeden unbefangenen Forscher, und bestritten nur von Denen, die ein Interesse haben, Anderen trügerische Hoffnungen zu machen, daß weder die Vervollkommnung der Maschinen, noch die Nutzbarmachung der Wissenschaft für die Industrie und

Agrikulturproduction, weder die Hülfsmittel und Kunstgriffe des Verkehrs, noch neue Kolonieen oder Auswanderung, weder die Eroberung neuer Märkte, noch der Freihandel oder alle diese Dinge zusammengenommen, das Elend der gewerbsthätigen Massen zu beseitigen vermögen, daß vielmehr auf der falschen Grundlage des Bestehenden jede frische Entwicklung der schöpferischen Kraft 5 der Arbeit nur dahin zielt, die socialen Gegensätze zu vertiefen und den socialen Conflict zu schärfen. Hungertod erhob sich in der Hauptstadt des britischen Königreichs beinahe auf den Rang einer socialen Institution während dieser bezauschenden Epoche ökonomischen Fortschritts. Diese Epoche ist in den Anna- 10 len der Welt gekennzeichnet durch die beschleunigte Wiederkehr, den erweiterten Umfang und die tödlicheren Wirkungen der socialen Pest, die man Handels- und Industriekrise nennt.

Nach dem Fehlschlagen der Revolutionen von 1848 wurden auf dem Continent alle Parteiorganisationen und Partejournale der arbeitenden Klassen durch die eiserne Hand der Gewalt zermalmt, die vorgesrittenen Söhne der Arbeit 15 flohen in Verzweiflung nach der transatlantischen Republik, und die kurzlebigen Träume von Emancipation der Arbeiterklasse zerrannen in einer Epoche fieberhafter Industriethätigkeit, sittlicher Versumpftheit und politischer Reaction. Die Niederlage der arbeitenden Klassen auf dem Continent verbreitete bald ihre ansteckende Wirkung auf die andere Seite des Kanals. Während die totale Nieder- 20 läge ihrer continentalen Brüder die arbeitenden Klassen England's entmannte und ihr Vertrauen auf ihre eigene Sache brach, gab sie dem Grundbesitzer und Kapitalisten seine einigermaßen erschütterte Zuversicht wieder. Uebermüthig zogen diese Zugeständnisse zurück, welche bereits angekündigt waren. Die Entdeckung neuer Goldländer führte zu einem großartigen Auszug. ||12| der in den 25 Reihen des britischen Proletariats eine unersetzbare Lücke zurückließ. Andere, früher thatkräftige Mitglieder des Proletariats, wurden durch die temporäre Be- stechung von Mehrarbeit und Lohnherhöhung weggeschnappt und in Gutgesinnte umgewandelt. Alle Anstrengungen, die Chartisten-Bewegung aufrecht zu halten oder umzugestalten, schlügen ganz unzweideutig fehl, die Presßorgane der Arbei- 30 ter starben eines nach dem andern an der Theilnahmlosigkeit der Massen, und in der That, niemals vordem schien die englische Arbeiterklasse so ganz und gar mit dem Zustande ihrer politischen Nichtexistenz ausgesöhnt. Wenn damals zwischen den englischen und den continentalen Arbeiterklassen auch keine Gemeinschaft der Action stattgefunden hatte, so doch, auf alle Fälle, eine Gemeinschaft der 35 Niederlage.

Und dennoch war diese Periode nicht ohne entschädigende Charakterzüge. Wir wollen hier nur auf zwei große Thatsachen aufmerksam machen.

Nach einem dreißigjährigen, mit der bewundernswerthesten Ausdauer gefochtenen Kampfe setzten die englischen Arbeiterklassen dadurch, daß sie eine fluchtige Spaltung zwischen der Aristokratie des Grundbesitzes und des Geldes benutzten, die Zehnstundenbill durch. Die bedeutenden physischen, moralischen und intellectuellen Vortheile, die hieraus den Fabrikarbeitern erwuchsen und in den halbjährlichen Berichten der Fabrikinspektoren chronologisch verzeichnet

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werden, sind jetzt allseitig anerkannt. Die meisten continentalen Regierungen sahen sich genötigt, die englische Fabrikordnung in mehr oder minder beschränkter Form ebenfalls einzuführen, und das britische Parlament selbst ist von Jahr zu Jahr gezwungen, den Wirkungskreis dieses Gesetzes auszudehnen. Und nicht blos von praktischer Bedeutung war der wunderbare Erfolg dieser Arbeitermaßregel. Die britische Bourgeoisie hatte durch ihre berüchtigsten Organe unter den Männern der Wissenschaft, wie z. B. durch Dr. Vre, Professor Senior und andere Weise dieses Schlages, prophezeiht und zu ihrer Herzenszufriedenheit bewiesen, jede gesetzliche Beschränkung der Arbeitszeit müsse die Todtenglocke der britischen Industrie läuten, welche vampyrartig nur davon leben könne, Blut zu saugen, vor Allem Kinderblut. In alten Zeiten war Kindermord ein geheimnißvoller Ritus des Moloch-Kultus, und wurde nur bei sehr feierlichen Gelegenheiten, vielleicht einmal jährlich vollzogen, und dabei hatte Mo||13|loch keinen ausschließlichen Hang für die Kinder der Armen. Dieser Kampf für die gesetzliche Beschränkung der Arbeitszeit wüthete um so heftiger, als er nicht blos ein Schrecken für die Habsucht war, sondern auch ein direkter Eingriff in den großen Kampf zwischen der blinden Regel der Gesetze über Angebot und Nachfrage, welche die politische Oekonomie der Bourgeoisie ausmachen, und der durch sociale Fürsorge geregelten socialen Production, dem Inbegriff der politischen Oekonomie der Arbeiterklasse. Und deshalb war die Zehnstundenbill nicht blos ein großer praktischer Erfolg, sie war der Sieg eines Princips: zum ersten Mal am hellen, lichten Tag unterlag die politische Oekonomie der Bourgeoisie der politischen Oekonomie der Arbeiterklasse.

Doch der politischen Oekonomie der Arbeit stand ein noch größerer Sieg über die politische Oekonomie des Besitzes bevor. Wir sprechen von der Cooperativbewegung, insbesondere von den auf dem Princip der Cooperation beruhenden, durch wenige unverzagte, wenn auch ununterstützte „Hände“^{*1} ins Leben gerufenen Fabriken. Der Werth dieser großen socialen Experimente kann nicht hoch genug veranschlagt werden. Durch die That, statt der Gründe, haben sie bewiesen, daß Production in großem Maßstab und in Uebereinstimmung mit den Geboten moderner Wissenschaft stattfinden kann ohne die Existenz einer Klasse von Arbeitgebern, die einer Klasse von Arbeitnehmern zu thun giebt, daß die Arbeitsmittel, um Früchte zu tragen, nicht als ein Werkzeug der Herrschaft über und der Ausbeutung gegen den Arbeitenden selbst monopolisiert zu werden brauchen, und daß Lohnarbeit, wie Sclavenarbeit, wie Leibeigenschaft, nur eine vorübergehende und untergeordnete Form ist, die, dem Untergange geweiht, verschwinden muß vor der associirten Arbeit, welche ihre schwere Aufgabe mit williger Hand, leichtem Sinn und fröhlichem Herzen erfüllt. In England war der Same des Cooperativ-Systems durch Robert Owen gesät worden; die gleichartigen Experimente der Arbeiter auf dem Continent waren tatsächlich das praktische Resultat dieser im Jahre 1848 zwar nicht erfundenen, aber laut verkündigten Theorien. |

^{*1} Anmerkung des Uebersetzers: In England ist es Sprachgebrauch, die Arbeiter als „Hände“ (hands) zu bezeichnen, während Schafe und Ochsen nach Köpfen (heads) gezählt werden.

[14] Die Erfahrungen der Periode von 1848 bis 1864 haben über allen Zweifel festgestellt, daß Cooperativarbeit, wie ausgezeichnet im Princip und wie nützlich in der Praxis sie auch immer sein möge, so lange sie auf den engen Kreis gelegentlicher Versuche einzelner Arbeiter beschränkt bleibt, niemals im Stande sein wird, das Wachsthum des Monopols in geometrischer Progression aufzuhalten, 5 die Massen zu befreien, oder auch nur die Wucht ihres Elends merklich zu erleichtern. Vielleicht haben grade aus diesem Grunde Aristokraten von anscheinend edler Denkungsart, philanthropische Schönredner der Bourgeoisie und selbst geschäftskluge Nationalökonomen ganz urplötzlich mit widerlichen Complimenten eben dem Cooperativarbeitsystem gehuldigt, welches sie vergebens im Keim zu 10 ersticken gesucht, welches sie als das Utopien des Träumers verhöhnt oder als Verruchtheit des Socialisten gebrandmarkt hatten. Um die gewerbsthätigen Massen zu retten, müßte Cooperativarbeit zu nationalen Dimensionen entwickelt und, folgerichtig, durch Staatsmittel gefördert werden. Dagegen aber werden die Herren des Grundbesitzes und des Kapitals stets ihre politischen Privilegien zur 15 Vertheidigung und Verewigung ihrer ökonomischen Monopole aufzubieten. Weit entfernt davon, der Emancipation der Arbeit Vorschub zu leisten, werden sie fortfahren, ihr jedes nur mögliche Hinderniß in den Weg zu legen. Erinnert Euch des Hohnes, mit welchem Lord Palmerston in der letzten Parlamentssession die Fürsprecher des Gesetzentwurfs über die Rechte irländischer Pächter zu Boden 20 schmetterte. Das Haus der Gemeinen, rief er aus, ist ein Haus von Grundbesitzern. Deshalb ist es die große Pflicht der arbeitenden Klassen, politische Macht zu erobern. Sie scheinen dies begriffen zu haben, denn in England, Deutschland, Italien und Frankreich hat ein gleichzeitiges Wiederaufleben stattgefunden, und ein gleichzeitiges Streben nach einer politischen Reorganisation der Arbeiter- 25 partei.

Ein Element des Erfolges besitzen sie - *Zahlen*; aber Zahlen wiegen nur dann schwer in der Wage, wenn sie durch ein Bündniß vereinigt und einem bewußten Ziel entgegengeführt werden. Die Erfahrung der Vergangenheit hat gelehrt, daß Mißachtung des Bandes der Brüderlichkeit, welches zwischen den Arbeitern der 30 verschiedenen Länder bestehen und sie anspornen sollte, in allen ihren Kämpfen für Emancipation fest bei einander zu stehen, sich durch eine allgemeine Vereitelung ihrer unzusammenhängenden Anstrengungen bestraft. Diese Erwägung veranlaßte die Arbeiter verschiedener Länder, welche sich am 28. September 1864 zu einem öffentlichen Meeting in St. Martin's Hall versammelt hatten, die internationale Arbeiterassocation zu gründen.

Noch eine andere Ueberzeugung beherrschte dies Meeting.

Wenn die Emancipation der arbeitenden Klassen deren gegenseitigen brüderlichen Beistand erfordert, wie können sie diese große Mission erfüllen, wenn die auswärtige Politik der Regierungen strafbare Pläne verfolgt, nationale Vorurtheile in Bewegung setzt, und in Raubzügen das Blut und den Schatz des Volkes vergeudet? Nicht die Weisheit der herrschenden Klassen, sondern der heldenmuthige Widerstand der arbeitenden Klassen von England war es, was den Westen von Europa verhinderte, sich über Hals und Kopf in einen infamen Kreuz-

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zug für die Verewigung und Fortpflanzung der Slaverei auf dem jenseitigen Ufer des atlantischen Oceans zu stürzen. Der schamlose Beifall, die nur scheinbare Sympathie oder der beschränkte Gleichmuth, mit welchem die oberen Klassen Europa's die Bergfestung des Kaukasus Rußland zur Beute fallen und das hellenistische Polen durch Rußland haben vernichten sehen, die unwiderstandenen Uebergriffe dieser barbarischen Macht, deren Haupt in St. Petersburg, deren Hände in allen Kabinetten Europa's sitzen, haben den arbeitenden Klassen die Pflicht gelehrt, sich selbst der Mysterien der internationalen Staatskunst zu begeistern, die diplomatischen Streiche ihrer Regierungen zu überwachen, ihnen nöthigenfalls mit aller ihnen zu Gebot stehenden Macht entgegenzuarbeiten, und, wenn außer Stande, den Streich zu verhindern, sich zu gleichzeitiger öffentlicher Anklage zu verbinden und die einfachen Gesetze der Moral und des Rechts zu proklamiren, welche ebenso wohl die Beziehungen Einzelner regeln, als auch die obersten Gesetze des Verkehrs der Nationen sein sollten.

15 Der Kampf für solch eine auswärtige Politik bildet einen Theil des allgemeinen Kampfes für die Emancipation der arbeitenden Klassen.
Proletarier aller Länder, vereinigt Euch! |

|16| 4. Die Statuten der Association.

Diese lauten in der definitiven, sachlich unveränderten Fassung, wie sie vom 20 Genfer Congreß (1866) sanctionirt worden sind, folgendermaßen:

In Erwägung:
daß die Emancipation der arbeitenden Klassen durch die arbeitenden Klassen selbst erobert werden muß, daß der Kampf für die Emancipation der arbeitenden Klassen nicht einen Kampf für Klassenprivilegien und Monopole, sondern für gleiche Rechte und Pflichten und für die Abschaffung aller Klassenherrschaft bedeutet;

25 daß die ökonomische Abhängigkeit des Mannes der Arbeit vom Monopolisten, der Werkzeuge der Arbeit, der Quellen des Lebens, die Grundlage der Knechtschaft in jeder Form, des sozialen Elends, der geistigen Herabwürdigung und politischen Abhängigkeit bildet;

30 daß deshalb die ökonomische Emancipation der arbeitenden Klassen das große Ziel ist, welchem jede politische Bewegung als bloßes Hülfsmittel sich unterordnen sollte;

35 daß alle auf dies große Ziel gerichteten Anstrengungen bisher an dem Mangel der Solidarität zwischen den vielfachen Zweigen der Arbeit jeden Landes und an dem Nichtvorhandensein eines brüderlichen Bandes der Einheit zwischen den arbeitenden Klassen der verschiedenen Länder gescheitert sind;

40 daß die Emancipation der Arbeit weder ein lokales, noch ein nationales, sondern ein soziales Problem ist, welches alle Länder umfaßt, in denen moderne Gesellschaft existirt, und dessen Lösung von der praktischen und theoretischen Mitwirkung der vorgesetzten Länder abhängt;

daß das gegenwärtige Wiederaufleben der arbeitenden Klassen in den gewerbstätigsten Ländern Europa's, während es neue Hoffnungen rege macht, eine feierliche Warnung vor einem Rückfall in alte Irrthümer enthält und ein unmit¹⁷telbares Bündniß der noch getrennten Bewegungen erfordert;

aus diesen Gründen erklärt der erste internationale Arbeitercongrß, daß die internationale Association und alle ihr angehörigen Gesellschaften und Individuen Wahrheit, Recht und Sitte als die Grundlage ihres Betragens unter einander und gegen alle ihre Mitmenschen ohne Rücksicht auf Farbe, Bekenntniß oder Nationalität anerkennen.

Der Congrß betrachtet es als Pflicht des Mannes, die Rechte eines Mannes und Bürgers nicht blos für sich selbst, sondern für Jedermann, der seine Pflicht thut, zu fordern. Keine Rechte ohne Pflichten, keine Pflichten ohne Rechte.

Und in diesem Sinne beschließt er folgende Statuten der internationalen Association:

1. Die Association ist zu dem Zweck errichtet, ein centrales Mittel der Verbindung und Cooperation zwischen den in verschiedenen Ländern bestehenden und dasselbe Ziel, nämlich den Schutz, die Hebung und völlige Emancipation der arbeitenden Klassen verfolgenden Arbeitergesellschaften zu schaffen.

2. Name der Gesellschaft soll sein: „Die internationale Arbeiterassociation“. 20

3. Der Generalrath soll aus Arbeitern bestehen, die den verschiedenen, in der internationalen Association vertretenen Ländern angehören. Er soll aus seinen eigenen Mitgliedern die zur Besorgung der Geschäfte nothwendigen Beamten, einen Präsidenten, Schatzmeister, Generalsecretär, correspondirende Secretäre für die verschiedenen Länder etc. wählen. Der Congrß bestimmt von Jahr zu 25 Jahr den Sitz des Generalraths, wählt eine Anzahl von Mitgliedern mit der Befugniß, ihre Anzahl selbst zu vervollständigen, und bestimmt Ort und Zeit für die Zusammenkunft des nächsten Congresses. Die Delegirten versammeln sich zur bestimmten Zeit am bestimmten Ort ohne jede besondere Einladung. Der Generalrath kann nöthigenfalls den Ort ändern, ist aber nicht befugt, den Termin der 30 Zusammenkunft hinauszuschieben.

4. Bei seinen jährlichen Zusammenkünften soll der Generalcongrß vom Generalrath öffentliche Rechnungslegung seiner Geschäfte erhalten. Letzterer soll in dringlichen Fällen befugt sein, den Generalcongrß vor Ablauf des regelmäßigen Jahrestermins zusammenzurufen. | 35

|18| 5. Der Generalrath soll eine internationale Vermittelung zwischen den verschiedenen cooperirenden Associationen bilden, so daß die Arbeiter eines jeden Landes fortwährend von den Bewegungen ihrer Klasse in den andern Ländern unterrichtet gehalten werden, daß eine gleichzeitige und einheitlich geleitete Untersuchung der socialen Zustände in den verschiedenen Ländern Europa's 40 veranstaltet werden kann, daß Fragen von allgemeinem Interesse, die in einer Gesellschaft angeregt worden, von allen erörtert werden, und daß, wenn eine unmittelbar praktische Thätigkeit nöthig sein sollte, wie z. B. im Falle internationaler Streitigkeiten, eine gleichzeitige und gleichförmige Action der associirten

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Gesellschaften stattfindet. So oft es zeitgemäß erscheint, soll der Generalrath die Initiative zu Vorschlägen für die verschiedenen nationalen oder lokalen Gesellschaften ergreifen. Um die Verbindung zu erleichtern, soll der Generalrath periodische Berichte veröffentlichen.

5 6. In Anbetracht dessen, daß der Erfolg der Arbeiterbewegung in jedem Lande nur durch die Macht des Zusammenhangs und der Einigkeit gesichert werden kann, während andererseits die Nutzbarkeit des internationalen Generalraths wesentlich davon abhängt, ob er es mit wenigen Mittelpunkten nationaler Arbeiterassocationen oder mit einer großen Anzahl kleiner und getrennter Lokalgesellschaften zu thun hat, sollen die Mitglieder der internationalen Association ihre äußersten Anstrengungen darauf richten, die unzusammenhängenden Arbeitergesellschaften ihrer betreffenden Länder zu nationalen, durch Centralorgane vertretenen Körperschaften zu vereinigen. Doch versteht es sich von selbst, daß die Anwendbarkeit dieser Vorschrift von den jedem Lande eigenthümlichen Gesetzen abhängig ist, und daß, abgesehen von gesetzlichen Hindernissen, keiner unabhängigen Lokalgesellschaft verwehrt sein soll, direkt mit dem Generalrath zu correspondiren.

7. Die verschiedenen Branchen und Sectionen sollen an den Orten ihres Domi-
cils und so weit ihr Einfluß reicht, die Initiative nicht allein in Bezug auf allge-
meine fortschrittliche Verbesserung des öffentlichen Lebens, sondern auch in Be-
zug auf die Gründung von Productivassocationen und anderen, der
Arbeiterklasse nützlichen Einrichtungen ergreifen. Der Generalrath soll sie in
jeder nur möglichen Weise unterstützen.

8. Jedes Mitglied der internationalen Association, welches sei |19|nen Wohnsitz
25 von einem Lande nach dem andern verlegt, soll den brüderlichen Beistand der
associirten Arbeiter erhalten.

9. Jeder, der sich zu den Principien der internationalen Arbeiterassocation
bekennt und dieselben vertheidigt, ist wählbar zum Mitglied der Association.
Jede Branche ist verantwortlich für die Rechtschaffenheit der Mitglieder, welche
30 sie aufnimmt.

10. Jede Section oder Branche hat die Befugniß, ihren eigenen correspondirenden Secretär zu ernennen.

11. Die Arbeitergesellschaften, welche sich der internationalen Association an-
schließen und sich mit dieser durch ein immerwährendes Band brüderlicher Ge-
35 meinschaft verbinden, behalten ihre besondere Organisation unangetastet bei.

12. Alles, was in diesen Statuten nicht vorgesehen ist, wird durch specielle, der
Revision eines jeden Congresses unterliegende Verordnungen nachträglich er-
gänzt werden.

5. Vorläufige Conferenz zu London, September 1865.

40 Der auf dem Meeting in St. Martin's Hall erwählte Centrairath (spätere Gene-
ralrath) hatte beschlossen, den ersten Kongreß der internationalen Arbeiteras-

sociation Anfangs September 1865 zu Brüssel abzuhalten. Er fand indeß diese Bestimmung zweckwidrig. Denn einerseits hatte es der Gesellschaft an Zeit gefehlt, um tiefere Wurzeln zu schlagen; andererseits hatte die belgische Regierung, welche sich in Fragen der inneren Politik ihre Verhaltensbefehle in Paris dictiren läßt, das Gesetz erneuert, welches ihr willkürliche Ausweisung von Fremden erlaubt. Der Centrairath berief daher, statt eines allgemeinen Congresses nach Brüssel eine vorläufige Conferenz nach London. Nur die Delegirten der wenigen leitenden Comité's auf dem Continent durften an der Conferenz theilnehmen.

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Auf dieser Conferenz wurden die Fragen festgesetzt, die auf dem nächsten allgemeinen Congreß im September 1866 verhandelt werden sollten. Genf wurde 10 zum Sitz desselben bestimmt. |

|20| 6. Congreß zu Genf, 3.-8. September 1866.

Anwesend waren 60 Delegirte, von denen 45 Mitglieder 25 Sectionen der internationalen Arbeiterassocation und 15 Mitglieder 11 cooperirende Gesellschaften vertraten.

15

Zu Anfang der Debatten entstand eine lebhafte Discussion über das Recht der Theilnahme am Congreß. Es hatten sich aus Frankreich viele einzelne Mitglieder der Association eingefunden, welche, obwohl sie keine Vollmacht einer Section aufzuweisen hatten, dennoch als Delegirte der Pariser Sectionen zugelassen zu werden und an den Verhandlungen des Congresses theilzunehmen wünschten. Sie 20 beriefen sich auf die Lage der Gesetzgebung in Frankreich, welche ihnen eine regelrechte Organisation unmöglich mache. Mehrere Mitglieder unterstützten ihr Verlangen. Nach ihrer Ansicht war die Organisation des Congresses weder vollständig, noch definitiv, darum sollte man nicht allzu streng und gewissenhaft verfahren, sondern lieber jedes sich zu den Principien der Association bekennen- 25 de Einzelmitglied zu den Verhandlungen zulassen. Dagegen aber machten die britischen Delegirten geltend, daß sie als Vertreter von Branchen und Gesellschaften erschienen seien, deren jede viele tausend Mitglieder zähle, daß sie auf Grund dieser Eigenschaft das Repräsentativsystem zur Grundlage des Congresses verlangten, und daß durch die Zulassung von Einzelpersonen, die keine organi- 30 sirté Körperschaft zu vertreten hätten, die Regel der Gleichheit bei der Abstimmung verletzt, und ihre, der britischen Delegirten, Rechte beeinträchtigt würden. Der Congreß beschloß, daß das Recht der Theilnahme an den Debatten und Abstimmungen ausschließlich auf diejenigen Delegirten zu beschränken sei, welche eine reguläre Vollmacht aufzuweisen hätten.

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Nachdem die Vollmachten geprüft waren, wurde zur Wahl des Präsidiums und des Bureau's geschritten, und ein Mitglied des Londoner Generalraths, Uhrmacher Jung, zum Präsidenten erwählt. Derselbe leitete die darauf folgenden Debatten meisterhaft. Die heißblütigen Franzosen, welche lieber sich selbst anhören, als andere Redner, machten die Leitung der Verhandlungen nicht allzu leicht, 40 den| |21|noch siegte der Tact, die Ruhe und Würde des Präsidenten, unterstützt

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durch die feste und besonnene Haltung der englischen und deutschen Arbeiter, über jede drohende Störung.

Es würde zu weit führen, hier auch nur einen kurzen Auszug der Debatten zu geben.* Den Hauptgegenstand der Verhandlungen bildeten die „*Instructionen für die Delegirten des provisorischen Generalraths*“, deren Vorschläge im Wesentlichen von dem Congreß votirt wurden. Die wichtigsten Punkte waren folgende:

§ 1 dieser Instructionen handelt von der *Organisation* der internationalen Association. Es werden die schon oben mitgetheilten, durch die Praxis zweier Jahre bewährten Statuten zur definitiven Annahme empfohlen, London als Sitz des 10 Generalraths für das nächste Jahr vorgeschlagen und dem Congreß die Wahl des Generalraths und eines Generalsecretärs mit einem wöchentlichen Gehalt von 2 Pfund Sterling, des einzigen honorirten Beamten der Association, anheimgeben.

Der Congreß sanctionirte die provisorischen Statuten, beschloß, daß London 15 Sitz des Generalraths bleiben solle, bestätigte den provisorischen Generalrath zu London für das Verwaltungsjahr 1866 bis 1867 in seinen Funktionen und setzte den Beginn des nächsten Congresses auf den ersten Montag im September 1867 zu Lausanne fest.

§ 2 der Instructionen handelt von den *internationalen Hülfsmitteln*, welche die 20 Association den Arbeitern aller Länder in ihrem Kampf gegen das Kapital darbieten könne. Diese Frage nehme die ganze Thätigkeit der Association in Anspruch, deren Ziel ja darin bestehe, die bis jetzt noch unzusammenhängenden Kämpfe für die Emancipation der Arbeiterklasse in den verschiedenen Ländern zu vereinigen und zu verallgemeinern. In einem Fall könne bereits die Association 25 sich rühmen, den Intrigen der Kapitalisten mit Erfolg vorgebeugt zu haben, so weit diese nämlich bei Arbeitseinstellungen fremde Arbeiter als Waffe gegen die einheimischen [22] Arbeiter ins Gefecht geführt hätten. Es sei eine von den großen Aufgaben der Association, die Arbeiter der verschiedenen Länder als Brüder und Kameraden der Emancipationsarmee sich nicht blos fühlen, sondern auch handeln zu machen. Als weiteres internationales Hülfsmittel werde eine „*statistische Untersuchung über die Lage der arbeitenden Klassen aller Länder durch die eigne Initiative der arbeitenden Klassen*“ vorgeschlagen. Um diese Arbeiterstatistik mit Erfolg durchzuführen, würden in nachstehendem Schema die Materialien, auf die es hauptsächlich ankomme, zusammengefaßt. Dadurch, daß sie ein so großes 30 Werk unternähmen, würden die Arbeiter beweisen, daß sie fähig seien, ihr Schicksal in ihre eigne Hand zu nehmen. Daher werde vorgeschlagen, daß das Werk von allen Branchen der Association unverzüglich in Angriff genommen werde, und daß der Congreß alle Arbeiter Europa's und der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika zur Mitarbeiterschaft an der Statistik der Arbeiterklasse einlade, daß alle 35 Berichte und Aussagen dem Generalrath zugesandt würden, der sie zu einem 40

* Ausführliche Berichte über die Verhandlungen aller Kongresse der Association bringt die seit 1866 erscheinende Zeitschrift: „*Der Vorbote*. Politische und sociale Zeitschrift. Centralorgan der Sectionsgruppe deutscher Sprache der internationalen Arbeiterassoziation, redigirt von Joh. Phil. Becker. Genf, Verlag der Association. Pré-1'Evêque 33“.

allgemeinen Bericht ausarbeiten, den Wortlaut der Aussagen als Anhang hinzufügen, und nach eingeholter Sanction des Congresses Bericht und Anhang veröffentlichen solle.

Das vorgeschlagene allgemeine Schema enthält folgende Rubriken, die indefß je nach lokalen Bedürfnissen verändert werden möchten:

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1. Bezeichnung der Industrie.
2. Alter und Geschlecht der Arbeiter.
3. Anzahl der Arbeiter.
4. Salaire und Löhne: a, der Lehrlinge; b, für Tagesarbeit oder Stückwerk; c, Lohnscala der Zwischenhändler. Wöchentlicher, jährlicher Durchschnittsbeitrag.

5. a, Arbeitsstunden in Fabriken; b, Arbeitsstunden bei kleinen Arbeitgebern und bei häuslicher Arbeit, wenn das Geschäft in dieser Weise betrieben wird; c, Nachtarbeit und Tagesarbeit.

6. Mahlzeiten und Art der Beköstigung.
7. Qualität des Arbeitlokals und der Arbeit: Ueberfüllung, mangelhafte Ventilation, Mangel an Sonnenlicht, Gebrauch von Gaslicht. Reinlichkeit etc.

15
8. Art der Beschäftigung. |

|23| 9. Wirkung der Beschäftigung auf die natürliche Körperbeschaffenheit.

10. Sitzenzustand. Erziehung.

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11. Handelsstatistik: ob das Geschäft von der Saison abhängt, oder die Arbeit mehr oder weniger gleichmäßig durch's ganze Jahr vertheilt ist, ob die Waare großen Preisschwankungen unterliegt, der auswärtigen Concurrenz ausgesetzt ist, und ob sie für den inländischen Consum oder für den Export bestimmt ist etc.

Diese Vorschläge des Generalraths wurden vom Congréß einstimmig angenommen, und die statistischen Ermittlungen und Feststellungen der Arbeiter über ihre eigenen Verhältnisse gehen seitdem ruhig ihren Gang.

§3 der Instructionen betrifft die *Beschränkung der Arbeitszeit*. Dies sei eine Präliminarbedingung, ohne welche alle weitergehenden Verbesserungs- und Emancipationsversuche fehlschlagen müßten. Sie sei nothwendig, einmal um die Gesundheit und natürliche Energie der Arbeiterklasse, der großen Masse jeder Nation, wiederherzustellen, sodann um dem Arbeiter die Möglichkeit geistiger Fortentwicklung, gesellschaftlichen Verkehrs, socialer und politischer Thätigkeit zu gewähren. Deshalb möge der Congréß sich zu Gunsten einer *gesetzlichen Beschränkung der Tagesarbeit auf acht Stunden per Tag* erklären. Diese Forderung sei in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika bereits das allgemeine Feldgeschrei der arbeitenden Klassen, und das Votum des Congresses werde dazu dienen, sie zur allgemeinen Forderung aller Arbeiter der Welt zu machen. Nachtarbeit dürfe nur ausnahmsweise für gewisse, gesetzlich specifirte Geschäftszweige gestattet werden, mit dem Bestreben, allmälig alle Nachtarbeit zu unterdrücken. Dieser Vorschlag beziehe sich indefß nur auf Erwachsene im Alter von 18 Jahren und darüber, gleichviel ob männlichen oder weiblichen Geschlechts, doch müßte letzteres streng von Nachtarbeit irgend welcher Art und von jeder Arbeit, welche der Zartheit des Geschlechts schädlich sei, oder den Körper giftigen oder verderblichen Einwirkungen aussetze, ausgeschlossen werden.

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Der Congreß trat diesen Ausführungen mit einer Majorität von 50 gegen 10 Stimmen bei. Die Minorität bestand aus den ||24| französischen Delegirten, welche mit einer gesetzlichen Beschränkung der Arbeitszeit auf 10 Stunden per Tag sich begnügen wollten.

- 5 § 4 der Instructionen über die „*Arbeit der Jugend und Kinder beider Geschlechter*“ greift das sociale Uebel bei der Wurzel an.

Die Tendenz der modernen Industrie, Kinder und jugendliche Personen beider Geschlechter am großen Werk der socialen Produktion cooperiren zu machen, sei eine fortschrittliche, gesunde und rechtmäßige Tendenz, obwohl sie unter der 10 Kapitalherrschaft zu einem Gräuel ausgeartet sei. In einem rationellen Zustande der Gesellschaft sollte *jedes Kind* im Alter von 9 Jahren anfangen, ein productiver Arbeiter zu werden, so daß kein kräftiger Erwachsener von dem allgemeinen Naturgesetz ausgenommen zu werden brauche, welches fordert: Arbeit, um zu essen, arbeite nicht allein mit dem Kopf, sondern auch mit den Händen.

- 15 Für den Augenblick indeß habe der Congreß nur mit der Arbeiterbevölkerung zu thun. Er unterscheide hier *drei Klassen* von Kindern und jungen Personen beider Geschlechter die verschieden zu behandeln seien; die erste Klasse umfasse das Alter von 9-12, die zweite von 13-15, die dritte von 16 bis 17 Jahren. Vorgeschlagen werde, dahin zu wirken, daß die Beschäftigung der ersten Klasse in 20 irgend einer Werkstätte oder für irgend welche häusliche Arbeit gesetzlich auf *zwei*, die der zweiten auf *vier*, die der dritten auf *sechs Arbeitsstunden* beschränkt, und daß für die dritte Klasse eine Unterbrechung von wenigstens *einer Stunde* zu Mahlzeiten oder zur Erholung gesetzlich angeordnet werde.

Es möge wünschenswerth sein, mit dem Elementarunterricht vor dem Alter 25 von 9 Jahren zu beginnen, aber der Congreß habe es hier nur mit dem unerlässlichsten Gegengift gegen die Tendenzen eines socialen Systems zu thun, welches den Arbeiter zu einem bloßen Werkzeuge der Kapitalanhäufung herabwürdige, und Eltern durch das Bedürfniß ihres Lebensunterhaltes zwinge, die eigenen Kinder zu verkaufen. Das *Recht* der Kinder und der Jugend müsse geschützt werden. 30 Sie seien unfähig, für sich selbst zu handeln, daher sei es Pflicht der Gesellschaft, für ihr Wohl zu sorgen.

Wenn die Bourgeoisie und Aristokratie diese ihre Pflicht gegen ihre eigenen Kinder vernachlässige, so sei es ihre eigene Schuld. ||25| Das Kind, welches die Privilegien dieser Klassen theile, sei verurtheilt, auch unter ihren Vorurtheilen zu 35 leiden.

Ein ganz anderer Fall sei es mit der Arbeiterklasse. Der Arbeiter sei kein freier Herr seines Handelns. In leider nur zu vielen Fällen sei er selbst zu unwissend, die wahren Interessen seines Kindes oder die Normalbedingungen des menschlichen Entwicklungsganges zu verstehen. Der aufgeklärtere Theil der Arbeiterklasse in 40 deß begreife sehr wohl, daß die Zukunft der Klasse, und das ist die Zukunft der Menschheit, ganz und gar von der Heranbildung der aufkeimenden arbeitenden Generation abhänge. Die Arbeiter würden sehr wohl, daß vor allem Andern die Kinder und jugendlichen Arbeiter aus den Krallen des gegenwärtigen Arbeitssystems gerettet werden müßten. Dies könne nur dadurch geschehen, daß die so-

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ciale Einsicht in sociale Macht verwandelt würde, und zwar unter gegebenen Verhältnissen durch allgemeine, von der Staatsgewalt in Ausführung zu bringende Gesetze. Wenn die Arbeiterklasse die Regierung bei Ausführung solcher Gesetze unterstütze, stärke sie keineswegs die Macht der Regierung. Im Gegentheil, sie mache die Macht, die jetzt gegen sie gebraucht werde, sich selbst dienstbar. Durch einen allgemeinen Act bewirke sie, was sonst vergebens durch eine Menge vereinzelter individueller Bemühungen versucht werden würde. 5

Von diesem Standpunkt ausgehend, müsse der Congreß sich dahin aussprechen, daß kein Vater und kein Arbeitgeber befugt sein dürfe, jugendliche Arbeit anders als in Verbindung mit Erziehung zu gebrauchen. 10

Unter Erziehung seien drei Dinge zu verstehen:

Erstens: *Ausbildung des Verstandes.*

Zweitens: *Ausbildung des Körpers*, wie sie in Schulen durch Turnunterricht und militärische Uebungen stattfindet.

Drittens: *Technologische Erziehung*, welche die allgemeinen Principien aller 15 Productionsprozesse erklärt, und gleichzeitig das Kind und die Jugend in den praktischen Gebrauch und die Handhabung der Elementarwerkzeuge aller Ge- werbe einweicht.

Ein stufenweiser und fortschreitender Kursus geistiger, körperlicher und technologischer Erziehung sollte der Klasseneinteilung der jugendlichen Arbeiter zu 20 Grunde liegen. Die Kosten der technolo| |26| gischen Schulen sollten theilweise durch den Verkauf ihrer Producte gedeckt werden.

Die Vereinigung bezahlter productiver Arbeit, geistiger Erziehung, körperlicher Uebung und technologischen Unterrichts werde die Arbeiterklasse hoch über das Niveau der Aristokratie und Bourgeoisie erheben. 25

Es verstehe sich von selbst, daß die Beschäftigung aller Personen im Alter bis zu einschließlich 17 Jahren durch Nacharbeit und in irgend einem gesundheitsschädlichen Gewerbszweige durch strenge Gesetze verboten werden müsse.

Der Congreß trat einstimmig diesen Ausführungen bei, und fügte eine Resolution hinzu des Inhalts, daß die technische Erziehung der Jugend sowohl theore- 30 tischer, als auch praktischer Art sein müsse, um zu verhindern, daß aus den projectirten technologischen Schulen nicht eine Klasse von Handwerkern, sondern von Fabrikaufsehern und Werkmeistern hervorgehe.

7. Congreß zu Lausanne, 2.-8. September 1867.

Zu diesem Congreß hatten sich 64 Delegirte eingefunden, unter denen das deut- 35 sehe Element durch 25 Mitglieder vertreten war.

Man verzichtete auf alle Eröffnungsfeierlichkeiten und schritt sofort zur Wahl des Präsidiums und des Bureaus. *Eugen Dupont*, Mitglied des Generalraths und Delegirter der französischen Section zu London, wurde zum Präsidenten erwählt und führte seine eben nicht leichte Aufgabe mit Gewandtheit durch. Unterstützt 40 wurde er durch die meisterhafte Haltung der Versammlung. Es gab kein un-

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freundliches Wort zu corrigiren, keine unschickliche Aeußerung zurückzuweisen, keinen tactlosen Antrag zu registiren. Die Schwierigkeit, die Discussion in drei Sprachen (englisch, deutsch und französisch) zu führen, wurde auch diesmal, wie auch auf dem ersten Congreß, glücklich überwunden.

- 5 Das Wichtigste an diesem Congreß waren die Berichte der einzelnen Sectionen und verbundenen Gesellschaften über die that | 27 | sächlichen Erfolge und das Wachsthum der Association. Es würde zu weit führen, den Inhalt dieser sehr interessanten Berichte auch nur annähernd wiederzugeben und kann hiervon um so mehr abgesehen werden, als die gegenwärtige Ausbreitung der Association
10 unter einer späteren Rubrik zusammengefaßt werden wird. Der officielle Bericht über den Congreß von 1867 ist in französischer Sprache zu „Chaux-De-Fonds, Imprimerie de la Voix de l'Avenir“ erschienen.

Bezeichnend für den Geist des Congresses ist Folgendes:

- Gaspare Stampa von Mailand, Delegirter des Centrairaths der italienischen
15 Arbeiterassoziationen, bestehend aus 600 Arbeitergesellschaften mit dem Cen-
tralsitz zu Neapel, zeigte in der Sitzung vom 4. September an, Garibaldi sei auf
der Reise zum Friedenscongreß in Genf und werde durch Lausanne passiren, und
stellte den Antrag: es möge der Congreß eine Deputation ernennen, welche Gar-
ibaldi bis Villeneuve entgegenhehe, um ihn im Namen des Congresses zu be-
20 grüßen und in seiner Eigenschaft als Ehrenpräsident der vorstehend erwähnten
italienischen Arbeiterassoziationen zum Besuch des Congresses einzuladen. Die-
sem Antrag widersetzen sich andere Delegirte. Wie volksthümlich der Character
Garibaldi's auch immer sein möge, ein Congreß, der die Arbeiterklasse vertrete,
köönne keiner einzelnen Person huldigen. Wolle Garibaldi seinen Sitz im Congreß
25 als Ehrenpräsident der italienischen Arbeiterassoziationen einnehmen, so werde
man ihn, wie jeden andern Delegirten, herzlich empfangen. Es wurde darauf über
den Antrag Stampa's zur einfachen Tagesordnung übergegangen.

- Die fast gleichzeitige Abhaltung des internationalen Friedenscongresses in
Genf, (9-12 September,) an welchem viele Mitglieder des Arbeitercongresses pri-
30 vatim theilzunehmen beabsichtigten, nöthigte letzteren, gegenüber der Genfer
Friedensliga eine bestimmte Stellung einzunehmen. Dies geschah durch folgende,
mit großem Applaus angenommene Resolution:

- „In Erwägung, daß der Druck des Krieges auf keinem Stande der Gesellschaft
schwerer lastet, als auf dem Arbeiterstande, welcher durch denselben nicht blos
35 seiner Ernährungsmittel beraubt wird, sondern auch vorzugsweise sein eigenes
Blut dabei verspritzen muß;

In Erwägung, daß fast ebenso schwer wie der Krieg, der Druck des sogenann-
ten bewaffneten Friedens auf dem Arbeiter lastet, | 28 | indem er die besten Kräfte
des Volkes in unproductiver und zerstörender Arbeit verzehrt;

- 40 In Erwägung endlich, daß um diesem Uebelstande gründlich abzuhelfen, die
Aenderung der gegenwärtigen, auf Ausbeutung des Einen Theiles der Gesell-
schaft durch einen Andern beruhenden socialen Zustände, eine nothwendige Be-
dingung ist,

Erklärt der Congreß der internationalen Arbeiterassoziation seinen vollkom-
45 menen und entschiedenen Beitritt zu der in Genf am 7. September constituirten

Friedensliga und deren Bestrebungen im Interesse und zur Erhaltung des Friedens, und verlangt nicht blos das Aufbören des Krieges, sondern auch die Aufhebung der stehenden Heere und an deren Stelle einen allgemeinen und freien Bund der Völker, auf den Grundlagen der Gegenseitigkeit und der Gerechtigkeit, unter Voraussetzung jedoch, daß die Emancipation der Arbeiterklasse aus ihrer unfreien und gedrückten Stellung und aus ihrer gesellschaftlichen Zurücksetzung erreicht und dem gegenseitigen Klassenkampfe durch Ausgleichung der bestehenden Gegensätze ein Ende gemacht werde.⁵

Der Genfer Arbeitercongrès von 1866 war der Gegenstand lebhafter Debatten in der französischen, besonders Pariser und Lyoner Presse gewesen. Dagegen hatten die großen Londoner Blätter ihn totzuschweigen versucht. Anders ein Jahr später mit dem Congrès zu Lausanne. Die „Times“ hatte dort ihren eigenen Berichterstatter. Sie veröffentlichte außerdem Leitartikel über die internationale Arbeiterassociation. und ihrem Beispiel folgte die Tages- und Wochenpresse von ganz England. Nachdem die „Times“ den Ton angegeben, hielten es auch die andern Blätter nicht mehr unter ihrer Würde, der Arbeiterfrage nicht nur Notizen, sondern sogar lange Leitartikel zu widmen. In allen wurde der Arbeitercongrès besprochen. Daß viele Blätter ihn vornehm und ironisch behandelten, war ganz natürlich. Hat nicht jede Sache neben der erhabenen auch ihre komische Seite, und ein Arbeitercongrès mit seinen plaudersüchtigen Franzosen sollte ganz frei davon sein? Aber trotz alledem und alledem wurde der Congrès von der englischen Presse im ganzen sehr anständig behandelt. Selbst der „Manchester Examiner“, das eigentliche Organ John Bright's und der Manchesterschule, stellte ihn in einem treffenden Leitartikel als wichtig und epochemachend hin. Wurde er mit seinem Stiefbruder, dem Friedenscongrès verglichen, so fiel ||29| der Vergleich stets zum Vortheil des älteren Bruders aus. Man erkannte in dem Arbeitercongrès eine drohende Schicksalstragödie, in dem andern sah man nichts als Farce und Burleske.

8. Die internationale Arbeiterassociation, die Gewerbe-Vereine (*Trades' Unions*), und die Arbeitseinstellungen (*Strikes*), 30

Seit der Stiftung der internationalen Arbeiterassociation beginnt eine neue Aera für die englischen Gewerbe-Vereine (*Trades Unions*). Sie hatten sich bisher ausschließlich in dem Kampf um Arbeitslohn und Arbeitszeit bewegt, und waren nicht frei von den Bornirtheiten des mittelalterlichen Zunftwesens.

Die Gewerbe-Vereine sind eine nicht blos vollkommen berechtigte, sondern auch staatlich anerkannte, durch eine Parlamentsacte vom Jahr 1825 sanctionirte, für die täglichen Conflicte zwischen Arbeit und Kapital nothwendige Körperschaft. Ihre Aufgabe ist, die Interessen der Arbeiter gegen die Meister und Kapitalisten wahrzunehmen. Ihre ultima ratio sind die Arbeitseinstellungen (*Strikes*, *Grèves*), deren Gesetzlichkeit jene Parlamentsacte unter der Voraussetzung zugesanden hatte, daß ein öffentlicher Friedensbruch (*breach of the peace*) vermie-

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den und keine gewaltsame Hemmung des Geschäftsverkehrs (restraint of trade) versucht werde. Die Gewerbe-Vereine haben unter dem Schutz dieses Gesetzes sich über sämmtliche Fabrikdistrikte England's verbreitet und sind zu einer durch Zahl, Organisation und Geldbesitz mächtigen Körperschaft angeschwollen, die 5 den Arbeitgebern achtunggebietend gegenübersteht, und ihren Einfluß auf die mannigfachste Weise fühlbar macht. Sie haben alle politischen Reactionsperioden, alle Gegencombinationen der Meister und Kapitalisten, alle Theuerungen und Handelskrisen der vergangenen Jahrzehnte überlebt, und haben, wie *Karl Marx* bereits 1847 in seiner gegen *Proudhon* gerichteten Schrift: „*Misere de la 10 Philosophie. Réponse à la Philosophie de la Misère* par Möns. ||30|| Proudhon, Paris 1847“ nachgewiesen hat, für die Organisation der Arbeiterklasse dieselbe Bedeutung, wie die Gemeindebildung des Mittelalters für die Mittelklassen der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft.

Diesen Gewerbe-Vereinen wurde es jetzt zum klaren Bewußtsein gebracht, ei-15 nerseits, daß sie, ohne es zu wissen, Mittel der Organisation der Arbeiterklasse seien, und daß sie über ihren unmittelbaren nächsten Zwecken nicht den allge-20 meinen Zweck, die vollständige politische und sociale Emancipation der Arbei-25 terklasse, vergessen dürften. Ebenso wurde ihnen andererseits klar, daß ohne internationale Verbindung kein schließlicher Erfolg möglich sei, und daß die Ar-30 beiterbewegung ihrer Natur nach über die Staats- und Nationalitätsschranken übergreife.

Daher wurde auf der im Jahr 1866 zu Sheffield abgehaltenen großen Confe-25 renz der Delegirten sämmtlicher Gewerbe-Vereine England's folgende Resolution eingebraucht und zum Beschlus erhaben: „Indem die Conferenz der internatio-30 nalen Arbeiterassocation für ihre Bemühungen, die Arbeiter aller Länder durch ein gemeinsames Band der Brüderlichkeit zu vereinigen, volle Anerkennung zollt, empfiehlt sie allen hier vertretenen Gesellschaften auf das Eindringlichste, sich dieser Körperschaft zu affiliiren, in der Ueberzeugung, daß dies von der äußersten Wichtigkeit ist für den Fortschritt und das Gedeihen des gesammten Arbei-35 terstandes.“

Schon vorher hatte der Londoner Gewerbe-Rath (Trades' Council), die Cen-35 traibehörde der Gewerbe-Vereine in England, ein Cartel mit dem Londoner Generalrath der internationalen Arbeiterassocation geschlossen. Der ständige Secretär des Gewerbe-Raths, Herr *Odger*, war und ist zugleich Mitglied des Ge-40 neralraths der internationalen Association. Erst von diesem Augenblick erhielt die Wirksamkeit der Gewerbe-Vereine in England einen allgemeinen Character, der sich sehr bald dadurch offenbarte, daß sie jetzt zum ersten Mal direct sich auch an der politischen Bewegung beteiligten. Mit welchem Erfolg, ist bekannt. Die Durchführung der Parlamentsreform schien nach dem Sturz des Ministeri-45 ums *Russell-Gladstone* im Juni 1866 auf unbestimmte Zeit vertagt zu sein. Die Führer der Tories hatten unter dem lauten Beifall der Majorität erklärt, daß man keine Reform nöthig habe. Da bemächtigten sich die Arbeiter der Bewegung. Es wurden Massenmeetings im größten Maßstab in London, Birmingham, Man-50 chester, Glasgow, Bristol etc. ||31| veranstaltet, an denen die Gewerbe-Vereine als

solche theilnahmen. Der Gewerbe-Rath unterstützte die Reformliga, das Organ der Bewegung. Schon nach wenigen Monaten war der Sieg entschieden und die toryistische Regierung gezwungen, die Initiative der Parlamentsreform zu ergreifen.

Die Jahre 1866-1868 waren sowohl in England als auch auf dem Continent besonders reich an Arbeitseinstellungen von Seiten der Arbeiter und Fabrikschließungen von Seiten der Kapitalisten.^{*} Allgemeiner Grund dieser Erscheinung war die Krise von 1866 und ihre Nachwirkungen. Die Krise hatte die Speculation gelähmt. Große Unternehmungen waren ins Stocken gerathen, ein Theil der Unternehmer selbst, der seinen finanziellen Verpflichtungen aus der Zeit, wo die Wogen der Speculation am höchsten gestiegen waren, bei der veränderten Lage des Geldmarkts nicht nachkommen konnte, banquerott geworden. Es war ein solcher Höhepunkt der Stagnation aller Handelsunternehmungen eingetreten, daß er nur von der außerordentlichen Höhe des Ueberflusses an Gold in den Banken von England und Frankreich übertroffen wurde. Und das Gold hatte sich in den Banken angehäuft, weil es für Zwecke des Handels nicht länger Verwendung finden konnte. Hieraus war eine allgemeine Stockung des Verkehrs, ein allgemeines Fallen der Preise hervorgegangen. Nur Lebensmittel waren im Preis gestiegen, namentlich das nothwendigste Lebensbedürfniß des Arbeiters, Brod, eine Folge der schlechten Erndten von 1866 und 1867. Und gerade während dieser allgemeinen Theuerung trat der Druck der allgemeinen Krise ein, welcher sich dem Arbeiter durch Verkürzung seiner Arbeitszeit und Herabsetzung seines Arbeitslohns von Seiten des Arbeitgebers fühlbar machte. Daher die vielen Arbeitseinstellungen und Fabrikschließungen. Es kam hinzu, daß erst in dieser letzten Zeit die Gesetze gegen Arbeitercoalitionen in Frankreich und anderen Continentalstaaten aufgehoben worden waren. Es unterliegt auch keinem Zweifel, daß die auf den Arbeitercongressen von Genf und Lausanne gefaßten Beschlüsse einen moralischen Einfluß ausübten, ||3| der durch das Bewußtsein, daß die Arbeiter jeder Lokalität an der internationalen Association einen wuchtigen Hintergrund hatten, noch gehoben wurde.

Aber mit Unrecht denuncirte ein Theil der europäischen Bourgeois presse die internationale Arbeiterassociation als Schöpferin dieser Conflicte. Die Association ergriff nirgendswo die Initiative zu Arbeitseinstellungen, sondern beschränkte sich einfach darauf, dort zu interveniren, wo der Character der lokalen Conflicte sie dazu berechtigte und ihr Einschreiten herausforderte.

Namentlich waren es drei große Gelegenheiten, bei denen sie eingriff, und zugleich den Anlaß benutzte, für ihre Prinzipien erfolgreiche Propaganda zu machen.

Vorher einige allgemeine Bemerkungen über die Taktik der Association bei Arbeitseinstellungen englischer Arbeiter, zu denen ihre Cooperation erfordert

* Ein „Lock-out“, temporäre Schließung ganzer Fabriken und aller Werkstätten eines bestimmten Industriezweigs, ist die Waffe des Kapitalisten, um den Arbeiter zur Annahme niedriger Arbeitslöhne zu zwingen.

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wurde. Hierüber ertheilt Aufschluß der „Third Annual Report“ (dritte Jahresbericht), welchen der Londoner Generalrath dem Congreß von Lausanne vorlegte, und in welchem es heißt:

„Es pflegte eine normalmäßige Drohung britischer Kapitalisten nicht blos in

- 5 London, sondern auch in den Provinzen zu sein, ihre Arbeiter, wenn diese sich nicht unterwürfig ihren willkürlichen Vorschriften fügen wollten, durch die Einfuhr fremder Arbeiter aus ihren Stellen zu verdrängen. Die bloße Möglichkeit, daß solche Einfuhr stattfinden könne, war in vielen Fällen hinreichend, die britischen Arbeiter von der Aufrechterhaltung ihrer Forderungen abzuschrecken.
- 10 Die vom Generalrath getroffenen Maßregeln haben die Wirkung gehabt, derartigen öffentlichen Drohungen ein Ende zu machen. Wo irgend etwas dieser Art beabsichtigt wird, muß es insgeheim geschehen, und die geringste Kunde, die den Arbeitern zu Ohren kommt, genügt, den Plan der Kapitalisten zu vereiteln. Wenn eine Arbeitseinstellung oder Fabrikschließung stattfindet, die irgend eines der 15 affiliirten Gewerke betrifft, so werden regelmäßig die continentalen Correspondenten der Association auf der Stelle dahin instruiert, die Arbeiter ihrer Ortschaften zu warnen, sich in kein Engagement irgend welcher Art mit den Agenten der Kapitalisten des Platzes einzulassen, wo der Streit stattfindet. Und diese Maßregel ist nicht blos auf affiliirte Gewerke beschränkt, sondern wird, auf ihr 20 Ansuchen, auch zu Gunsten anderer Gewerke ausgeführt.“ |

131 Und in der That: auf diese Weise wurden die Manöver der englischen Kapitalisten vereitelt in den Arbeitseinstellungen, bezüglich Werkstätten- und Fabrikschließungen der Erdarbeiter an den Eisenbahnen, Eisenbahnconducteure und Locomotivführer, Zinkarbeiter, Drahtarbeiter, Holzschnäpper etc. In einigen

- 25 Fällen, z.B. der Arbeitseinstellung der Londoner Korbblechter, hatten die Kapitalisten heimlich Arbeiter von Belgien und Holland eingeschmuggelt. Letztere aber schlössen sich, in Folge der Zusprache des Generalraths der internationalen Association, den englischen Arbeitern an und machten gemeinschaftliche Sache mit ihnen.

30 Noch größere Dienste leistete einer bestimmten Klasse von Arbeitern das Pariser Verwaltungscomité der Association. In Roubaix hatten die Bandfabrikanten in ihren Fabriken willkürliche Strafreglements eingeführt, die natürlich hauptsächlich auf Lohnabzüge hinausliefen. Die nothwendige Folge dieser Strafreglements war eine Ausschließung der dagegen protestirenden Arbeiter, und diese

- 35 Fabrikschließung führte zu einer Erneute und zu bewaffnetem Einschreiten der Behörde. Da aber schritt seinerseits der Pariser Centrairath der internationalen Association ein und wies nach, daß die Fabrikanten sich eine Gesetzesverletzung zu Schulden kommen ließen, indem sie durch ihre Reglements auf eigne Faust Gesetzgeber, Richter und Gendarm spielten. Und in der That wurde die französische Regierung zu der Erklärung gezwungen, daß die Privat-Fabrikgesetzgebung, so weit sie nicht rein administrativ sei, sondern Strafen verhänge, *widergesetzlich* und eine reine Usurpation sei.

Die entscheidenden wichtigsten Fälle der Intervention der internationalen Arbeiterassoziation aber sind folgende drei:

Wilhelm Eichhoff

/ Schließung der Pariser Broncewerkstätten, Februar 1867.

Die große principielle Bedeutung dieses Conflicts war folgende:

Die Gewerbe-Vereine waren eben erst in Frankreich gesetzlich erlaubt worden. Die Broncearbeiter, eine Anzahl von ungefähr 5000 Personen, waren die ersten, die diese Erlaubniß benutzten und zu Anfang des Jahres 1866 nach englischem Muster einen Gewerbe-Verein stifteten. Natürlich war diese Genossenschaft den Meistern ||34| von vornherein ein Dorn im Auge, und sie beschlossen, dieselbe bei der ersten Gelegenheit zu vernichten. Die Gelegenheit war da, als die Union im Februar 1867 sich genöthigt sah, zu Gunsten von Mitgliedern zu interveniren und an fünf Meister die Aufforderung zu richten, sich den Anordnungen der Union 10 zu fügen. Sofort bildete sich unter den Kapitalisten eine Coalition, welche von ihren Arbeitern verlangte, entweder aus der Union auszutreten, oder die Werkstätte zu verlassen. Die Folge war eine Ausschließung von ungefähr 1500 Broncearbeitern durch 87 Arbeitgeber.

Es handelte sich daher bei dieser Gelegenheit um *die Existenz dieses wichtigen 15 Bewegungsmoments in Frankreich.*

Der Verein der Broncearbeiter besaß beim Beginn der Werkstätten-Schließung ein Vermögen von 35 000 Francs. Er beschloß, jedem der exkludirten Arbeiter 20 Francs per Woche zu zahlen, und zu diesem Zweck durch Vermittlung der internationalen Association Darlehen von englischen Gewerbe-Vereinen gegen 20 eine monatliche Rückzahlung von 5000 Francs aufzunehmen.

Durch die moralische und pecuniäre Unterstützung des Londoner Generalraths, der die gewünschten Beiträge von den englischen Gewerbe-Vereinen verschaffte, und durch das Einschreiten des Pariser Centrairaths der internationalen Association, der die übrigen Gewerbe-Vereine in Frankreich zur thatkräftigen 25 Unterstützung der Broncearbeiter bewog, *siegten* die Arbeiter.

Ueber die internationale Wichtigkeit, welche dieser Fall, wo die *französischen* Arbeiter durch die Hülfe der *englischen* siegten, außer seiner socialen Bedeutung hatte, spricht sich der „*Courrier Français*“ vom 24. März 1867 folgendermaßen aus:

„Herr Thiers hat geäußert, daß für internationale Beziehungen eine neue Politik nicht denkbar sei. Dagegen hat soeben eine bemerkenswerthe Thatsache stattgefunden, die keineswegs isolirt dasteht und die, vom Volk ausgehend, Etwas durchblicken läßt, was wirklich neu ist.

Ob der gewaltige nationale, hundertjährige und beinahe übermenschliche Haß 35 zwischen Engländern und Franzosen noch in dem Busen eines Theils der beiden Völker wurzelt, sind wir außer Stande zu beurtheilen. Aber daß das englische Proletariat den Pariser Broncearbeitern ein Bündniß und pecuniäre Hülfe anbietet, um sie in einer Arbeits- und Lohnfrage zu unterstützen, ist ein ||35| Symptom einer neuen Politik, von welcher die alten Parteien keine Vorstellung haben und 40 haben können.“

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2. Die Genfer Arbeitseinstellung im Frühjahr 1868. *

Handelte es sich bei den Pariser Broncearbeitern um die Existenz der Gewerbe-Vereine in Frankreich, so handelte es sich hier um *die Existenz der internationalen Arbeiterassocation auf dem Continent.*

- 5 5 Die Entstehung und der Verlauf des Conflicts zwischen der internationalen Arbeiterassocation und einem Theil der Genfer Arbeitgeber war folgender Art.

Schon seit August 1867 hatte sich unter den Genfer Bauarbeitern tiefe Unzufriedenheit mit ihrer Lage kundgegeben, und eine am 19. Januar 1868 abgehaltene Generalversammlung sämmtlicher Baugewerbebearbeiter beschloß, ein gemeinsames Comité zu wählen, welches mit den Arbeitgebern in Unterhandlung treten und auf dem Wege gütlicher Verständigung eine Reduction der Arbeitszeit von 12 auf 10 Stunden und eine Lohnerhöhung von 20 Procent erwirken solle. Eine Denkschrift wurde verfaßt und sämmtlichen Meistern zugestellt. Diese, anstatt den Arbeitern entgegenzukommen, schritten zur Gegencoalition, beriefen 10 eine Generalversammlung sämmtlicher Baugewerksmeister zum 18. März, und ihr provisorisches ||[36] Comité lehnte zu wiederholten Malen das Ansuchen des Arbeitercomités ab, noch vor der Generalversammlung in eine freundliche Be- 15 sprechung von beiderseitigen Delegirten zu willigen.

Dies Verhalten des provisorischen Comités der Meister zeigte den Arbeitern, 20 was sie von der bevorstehenden Generalversammlung der Meister zu erwarten hätten. Ihr Comité erklärte seine Aufgabe, mit dem Comité der Meister zu einer Unterhandlung und Verständigung zu kommen, für gescheitert, und ersuchte am Abend des 14. März das Genfer Centralcomité der internationalen Arbeiterassocation, die Sache in die Hand zu nehmen und die Verständigung zu vermitteln. 25 Diesem Begehr zu willfahren, war Pflicht der Association. Sie ernannte eine aus drei Genfer Bürgern bestehende Commission, deren private Vermittlungsversuche indefß ebenfalls erfolglos blieben. Daher richtete diese am 20. März, nachdem in der Generalversammlung vom 18. eine Association der Meister sich definitiv constituirt hatte, eine öffentliche Aufforderung an die „Herren Bau- 30 Unternehmer“, sich zu einer auf den 23. März anberaumten Zusammenkunft ein-

*> Eine ausführliche Darstellung dieser Arbeitseinstellung gibt folgende kleine Broschüre: „Die internationale Arbeiterassocation und die Arbeitseinstellung in Genf im Frühjahr 1868. Von Joh. Phil. Becker. Deutsche Verlagshalle, Pré l'Evèque 33 Genf, 1868. Den Arbeitern, die diese Schrift lesen, sei sowohl die Broschüre des wackren Joh. Phil. Becker, 35 deren Ertrag ausschließlich zur Deckung der durch die Unterstützung der Arbeitseinstellung verursachten Kosten bestimmt ist, als auch die Monatsschrift der „Vorbote“ aufs Angelegenlichste empfohlen. Joh. Phil. Becker ist von Haus aus selbst Arbeiter und hat sein ganzes Leben durch mit dem Schwerdt, dem Wort und der Feder für die Arbeiterklasse in der aufopferndsten und uneigennützigsten Weise gekämpft. Er ist ein ebenso thatkräftiger, als geistig origineller Veteran der Arbeiterbewegung, und verdient gegenüber den heutigen petits grands hommes der „satten Tugend und zahlungsfähigen Moral“, die sich allerwärts in Arbeiterkreisen breit machen, die Anerkennung der gesamten Arbeiterklasse. Er ist die Seele der internationalen Arbeiterbewegung in der Schweiz, und hat in der That auch alle deutschen Elemente geworben, die sich bisher in Deutschland selbst der Association 40 45 angeschlossen haben.

zufinden. Schon am nächsten Tag erschien in den Zeitungen eine öffentliche Antwort im Namen der Generalversammlung vom 18. März, durch welche der Commission der internationalen Association angezeigt wurde, daß die Generalversammlung der Meister mit allen gegen drei Stimmen beschlossen habe, sich in keinerlei Verhandlungen irgend welcher Art mit ihr einzulassen.

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Diesen Stand der Sache machte die von der internationalen Association eingesetzte Commission am Morgen des 23. März durch Maueranschlag bekannt und zeigte an, daß sie, wenn bis zum Abend kein günstigeres Resultat erzielt sei, und alle Aussichten auf eine freundliche Verständigung mit den Arbeitgebern vor der Hand geschwunden seien, durch Trommelschlag eine Generalversammlung aller 10 Sectionen der internationalen Association zusammenberufen werde. Um 6 Uhr Abends wurde das Zeichen gegeben, und von allen Seiten strömten die Mitglieder der Association nach der Rue du Rhône, wo sich das Vereinslokal befindet. Panischer Schrecken bemächtigte sich der Bourgeoisie. Läden und Häuser wurden geschlossen, Kassen in Sicherheit gebracht, das Personal einzelner Comptoirs mit 15 Waffen und Munition versehen. Währenddessen zog die Association, 5000 Mann stark, in musterhafter Ordnung ||3| nach dem Schützenhaus, wo die angekündigte Generalversammlung abgehalten, der Ernst der Lage besprochen und den Bauarbeitern einstimmig die Unterstützung der internationalen Association zugesichert wurde. Und nachdem dies geschehen, wurde von den Vorständen der 20 Gewerke, nicht von der internationalen Association, aber unter rauschenden Beifallsrufen und enthusiastischen Beistandsversicherungen ihrer Mitglieder, für die Steinhacker, Maurer, Stuckaturarbeiter und Anstreicher in Genf die Arbeitseinstellung proclamirt. Darauf ging die Versammlung ruhig auseinander. Schon um 9 Uhr Abends hatte Genf seine alltägliche Physiognomie wieder angenommen.

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Am 25. März ging die Anzeige der unvermeidlich gewesenen Arbeitseinstellung an den Generalrath der internationalen Association in London und an die Verwaltungsräthe in Brüssel, Paris, Lyon ab, und wurden diese um beschleunigte Unterstützung angegangen, da die Arbeitseinstellung die Genfer Section der Association ganz unvorbereitet getroffen hatte, und ihre Dimensionen ihre Kräfte 30 überstiegen.

Die Meister hatten inzwischen aber auch nicht versäumt, sich Arbeiter, namentlich aus Tessin und Piémont, zu verschreiben. Diese wurden indeß sofort nach ihrer Ankunft in das Vereinslokal der internationalen Association geführt, dort vom Stand der Dinge unterrichtet und für die Arbeitseinstellung gewonnen.

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Daß die internationale Association während dieser Zeit den heftigsten Anfeindungen und gehässigsten Beschuldigungen ausgesetzt war, versteht sich von selbst. Das „Journal de Genève“ gab den Ton an und wurde von der „Neuen Zürcher Zeitung“, der Wiener „Neuen freien Presse“ und anderen Organen der radikalen, liberalen und conservativen Bourgeoisie aufs Kräftigste unterstützt.

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Das energische Auftreten des Genfer Centrairaths bewirkte, daß die Ursache der Arbeitseinstellung ganz und gar in den Hintergrund trat, die internationale Association dagegen in den Vordergrund der Bewegung geschoben wurde.

Am 28. März ließ die Association der Meister einen vom 26. März datirten Maueranschlag anheften, in welchem die Meister den Arbeitern in jeder Bezie-

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hung gerecht zu werden versprachen, sie vor dem Despotismus und der Gefährlichkeit der durch fremdes Geld unterstützten internationalen Arbeiterassoziation, welche die ||38| Arbeitseinstellung hervorgerufen habe, warnten, sie an das frühere freundliche Einverständniß erinnerten und sie aufforderten, in gutem Vertrauen einzeln zurückzukehren; man wolle gern ihr Schicksal verbessern und ihnen einstweilen 11 Stunden Arbeitszeit bewilligen. Sollten sie aber wider Erwarten sich dessen weigern, so würden die Meister gezwungen sein, nunmehr ihrerseits auch die Werkstätten jener Zweige des Baugewerkes zu schließen, die sich der Arbeitseinstellung noch nicht angeschlossen hätten.

10 Alle Versuche, zu einer Verständigung zu gelangen, scheiterten daran, daß die Meister mit den Delegirten der internationalen Association nicht unterhandeln wollten, und da sich einzelne Arbeiter zum Wiederantritt der Arbeit nicht gemeldet hatten, so wurde am 30. März die angedrohte Fabrikschließung in Vollzug gebracht, und die Werkstätten der Tischler, Zimmerleute und Klempner geschlossen. Die moralische Wirkung, welche diese Schließung auf die Arbeiter Genf s ausübt, erhellt am besten aus der Thatsache, daß mehrere Gewerke, die bisher der internationalen Association fern gestanden hatten, Sectionen bildeten und in die Association aufgenommen zu werden verlangten. So die Stellmacher, Hufschmiede, Sattler, Tapezierer, Feilenhauer, Gerber u.A. Die Association gewann in diesen Tagen weit über 1000 neue Mitglieder.

Auch die in der Schmucksachen-Industrie beschäftigten Arbeiter, die Goldarbeiter, Uhrmacher, Schalenmacher, Graveure etc., die mit wenigen Ausnahmen alle Genfer Bürger sind, hielten am 30. März eine von mehr als 2000 Mitgliedern besuchte Versammlung und beschlossen einstimmig, alle moralischen und materiellen Mittel aufzubieten, um der Sache der Bauarbeiter zum Sieg zu verhelfen. In Bezug auf die internationale Association sprach sich diese Versammlung ganz entschieden gegen die falsche und unwahre Behauptung aus, die Genfer Arbeiter stünden unter dem tyrannischen Druck einer fremden Gesellschaft.

Hatte die internationale Association bis dahin eifrig den Conflict beizulegen gesucht, so handelte es sich jetzt, wo alle Verständigungsversuche fehlgeschlagen waren, darum, die Mittel für eine längere Fortdauer der Arbeitseinstellung zu beschaffen. Das Genfer Centralcomité der internationalen Association hatte etwa 3000 Arbeiter mit ihren Familien zu unterstützen, eine Last, die von den Genfer Arbeitern allein unmöglich getragen werden konnte. |

35 |39| Aber bereits strömten auch von allen Seiten Beiträge herzu. In erster Linie verdient die Opferfreudigkeit der Genfer Arbeiter und Gewerke die rühmlichste Anerkennung. Ohne Uebertreibung kann man sagen: die beschäftigten Arbeiter von Genf theilten ihr Brod mit den feiernden. Und nicht nur gab jeder Einzelne willig einen Theil seines Lohns her, sondern die Spar- und Unterstützungskassen der Gewerke öffneten sich zu Gaben von 500 bis 5000 Frcs. Die Gewerke anderer schweizerischer Städte und die deutschen Arbeitervereine der Schweiz blieben ebenfalls nicht zurück. Aus Deutschland kamen Beiträge von Hannover (Arbeiterverein), Hamburg (Arbeiterbildungsverein), Schwerin (Bauarbeiter), Rostock, Kaukehmen, Solingen, Mannheim (Schneiderverein), Eßlingen (Arbeiterbil-

dungsverein), München (Arbeiterbildungsverein) etc. Vor Allem aber waren der Generalrath der internationalen Association zu London und ihre Verwaltungscomités zu Brüssel und Paris thätig. Ersterer war trotz aller formellen Schwierigkeiten, die er zu überwinden hatte um größere Summen zu beschaffen, schon Anfangs April in der Lage, dem Genfer Centralcomité nur von England her jeden Monat mindestens 40 000 Francs, theils als Darlehn, theils als Unterstützung, bis zur siegreichen Beendigung der Arbeitseinstellung zuzusichern. Und durch Vermittelung der Brüsseler und Pariser Verwaltungscomités erfolgten namhafte Beiträge der dortigen Gewerke, z.B. 2000 Francs von den Buchdruckern, 1500 Fr. von den Klempnern zu Paris etc.

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Da sahen die Meister ein, daß ihr Plan, die Arbeiter auszuhungern, gescheitert sei. Und weil sie mit dem Centrairath der internationalen Association nicht unterhandeln zu wollen sich verpflichtet hatten, that dies in ihrem Auftrag Herr Camperio, Präsident des Staatsraths und Chef des Justiz- und Polizeidepartements von Genf. Derselbe ließ am 8. April das Centralcomité der Association ersuchen, Delegirte aller Baugewerke Behufs einer Verständigung auf sein Bureau zu entbieten. Schon am dritten Tage der Verhandlungen kam ein Vergleich zu Stande. Die Arbeiter erhielten von den Meistern die Herabsetzung der Arbeitszeit um eine, bezüglich zwei Stunden, und die Erhöhung des Arbeitslohns um 10 Prozent bewilligt.

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Noch an demselben Abend (11. April) ließ Herr Camperio durch Maueranschlag verkünden, daß durch seine Vermittlung der ||40| Conflict zwischen den Arbeitern und Arbeitgebern geschlichtet, die Arbeitseinstellung als beendet zu betrachten sei, und daß am Montag (13. April) die Arbeiten wieder beginnen würden.

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Auch die internationale Arbeiterassocation ließ ohne Zögern durch Maueranschlag die glückliche Beendigung der Arbeitseinstellung bekannt machen, und indem sie den Arbeitern für ihre wackere Haltung in den Wochen des Kampfes dankte, ersuchte sie dieselben, alles Vorgefallene zu vergessen und am Montag mit frohem Mut an die Arbeit zu gehen.

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Für die internationale Arbeiterassocation hatte dieser Conflict einen massenhaften Beitritt der Arbeiter in der Schweiz zur Folge.

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3. Blutiger Conflict zwischen der belgischen Regierung und den Grubenarbeitern im District von Charleroi. (März 1868.) *φ

Belgien ist das Paradies des Bourgeois. Seine Verfassung das Ideal eines Bourgeois-Musterstaats. Seine Regierung eine die Kapitalherrschaft vertretende Agentur der Bourgeoisie. Nichts ist natürlicher, als daß in diesem Lande bei der geringsten Collision der Interessen des Kapitals und der Arbeit der Conflict seine blutige Lösung durch Pulver und Blei erhält.

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Je rückhaltloser die internationale Arbeiterassocation hier der Sache der Unterdrückten und Verfolgten sich angenommen hat, desto mehr dürfte es geboten erscheinen, die Ursachen der Arbeiterunruhen im Kohlenbecken von Charleroi nach allen Richtungen zu beleuchten.

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Unter den nationalen Industrien der verschiedenen Länder steht die Kohlen- und Eisenindustrie obenan. Beide Industriezweige bilden ein zusammenhängendes Ganze. Ohne Kohlen wäre kein Betrieb der Hüttenwerke und Hochöfen möglich, und für die Kohlengruben sind wiederum die Hochöfen und Hüttenwerke der bedeutendste Consument. Daher macht sich jede Fluctuation in dem einen Industriezweig sofort dem andern fühlbar und eine, gleich allen Krisen periodisch wiederkehrende metallurgische Krise hat einen gleichzeitigen, unmittelbaren Rückschlag auf die Kohlenpreise zur Folge.

Das in Bezug auf Kohlen und Eisen von der Natur am Meisten begünstigte Land ist England. Dort liegt beides so ziemlich an der Oberfläche des Bodens und kann mit leichter Mühe gehoben werden. Am Meisten vernachlässigt ist dagegen Frankreich, welches fast gar keine Kohlen producirt und dessen Hochöfenindustrie auf den Consum englischer, resp. preußischer Kohle angewiesen ist. Während nun aber für Frankreich die Einfuhr fremder Kohlen eine ökonomische Notwendigkeit ist, ist sie für das selbst Kohlen producirende Belgien eine sehr unangenehme Concurrenz, namentlich da in Bezug auf den Transport England und Preußen (durch die Wasserstraße des Rheins und seiner Nebenflüsse) mehr begünstigt sind, als Belgien, und die Kosten des Transports denjenigen Factor ausmachen, welcher die lokalen Preise der Kohlen bestimmt.

Der allgemeine Preis der Kohlen eines jeden Landes hingegen ist durch den dafür gezahlten Arbeitslohn bedingt, dessen internationale Bedeutung bei der Verschiedenheit der auf die Production eines gleichmäßigen Quantums Kohle in den verschiedenen Ländern verwandten Arbeitszeit in die Augen springt. Ebenso verschieden, wie die Arbeitszeit ist auch der Arbeitslohn, und zwar in England um mindestens $\frac{2}{3}$ Proc. höher, als auf dem Continent.*!

Für die Arbeiter in den Kohlengruben der verschiedenen Länder ergiebt sich aus diesen Verhältnissen folgendes Resultat:

So oft eine metallurgische Krise oder sonstige ungünstige Handelsconjunctur den Preis der Kohlen herabdrückt, suchen die Grubenbesitzer die Arbeitslöhne herabzudrücken. Und da sie wissen, daß diese schon so niedrig sind, daß jede weitere Herabsetzung eine Härte ist und unter Umständen, z.B. in Zeiten der Theuerung, den Arbeiter leicht zur Verzweiflung treiben kann, sind sie genötigt, nach plausiblen Gründen der Lohnherabsetzung zu haschen. |

*! Deren gibt es in der Regel blos zwei, von denen der eine nur für England, der andere nur für den Continent brauchbar ist.

*! Nach den Ermittlungen von *Richard Whiteing*. Um festzustellen, inwieweit die Arbeiter in Frankreich schlechter situirt seien als ihre Collegen in England, ging dieser von der Annahme aus, daß ein Arbeiter bei dem Unterschied der Preise für die nothwendigsten Lebensbedürfnisse in beiden Ländern mit 5 Frs. in Frankreich ebensoweit komme, wie mit 5 Shillingen (d.i. 6 Frs.) in England. Dies giebt von vornherein eine Differenz von $\frac{1}{3}$ Proc., welche durch die Verschiedenheit der Preise gerechtfertigt ist. Indem nun *Whiteing* kurzweg Franken und Shillinge als gleiche Werthe für beide Länder identificirte, fand er, daß der Arbeitslohn in Frankreich noch außerdem um mindestens 10 Proc. niedriger ist, als in England. Die Löhne in Frankreich aber stehen mit denen in Belgien und Rheinpreußen auf ziemlich gleicher Stufe.

Der plausible Grund des englischen Grubenbesitzers sind *die niedrigen Arbeitslöhne auf dem Continent.*

Der plausible Grund des continentalen Grubenbesitzers ist der *niedrige Preis und die Concurrenz der englischen Kohle.*

Wie sich unter solchen Verhältnissen die sociale Lage der belgischen Kohlenarbeiter gestaltet hat, darüber giebt folgender treffender Artikel des „*Demokratischen Wochenblatts*“⁵: Aufschluß:

„Es ist kaum eine traurigere Lage denkbar, als die des belgischen Kohlenarbeiters. Zur industriellen Maschine herabgewürdigt, hat er aufgehört, gesellschaftliche Rechte und Pflichten zu besitzen. Er ist nur noch eine Sache, die in 10 dem Inventar der Grubenbesitzer neben den Pferden, Eseln, Werkzeugen und dem sonstigen Arbeitsmaterial figurirt. Das ist Thatsache. Eine Gesellschaft von Grubenbesitzern hält sich für um so reicher, je größer die Zahl von Arbeitern ist, welche sie in ihrer Hand hat. Wenn eine Gesellschaft ‚aus Menschenliebe‘ eine Arbeiterstadt gründet, so bringt ihr das darauf verwendete Kapital höchstens 2 15 bis 3 Procent *direct*. Aber der *indirecte* Vortheil ist unverhältnismäßig größer; er besteht darin, eine größere Zahl von Arbeitern, die mit ihrer Existenz an die Grube gekettet sind, *zu besitzen*, und auf diese Weise den Betrieb der *Grube unter allen Umständen zu sichern*. Es wäre zutreffender, den Kohlenarbeiter einen Leib-eigenen oder Sklaven zu nennen, statt ihm den Titel eines *freien Menschen* zu 20 geben, womit die Volkswirthe der Bourgeoisie so außerordentlich freigebig sind.

Unter allen Arbeiterklassen trägt die der belgischen Kohlenarbeiter das Zeichen der Sklaverei am deutlichsten auf der Stirn. Unwissenheit, Verthierung, körperliche und sittliche Verkommenheit, das sind die traurigen Folgen der unbeschränkten Kapitalgewalt in einer Industrie, die schon an und für sich den 25 Menschen mehr entwürdigt, als vielleicht jede andere. Die Bourgeoisie gefällt sich freilich darin, das Elend des Kohlenarbeiters seinen natürlichen ||48| Fehlern und Lastern, seinem Mangel an Voraussicht, seinem Leichtsinn, seiner Genußsucht zuzuschreiben. Sie hütet sich weislich, zu den Quellen dieser Erscheinung zurückzugehen und die Ursachen und Umstände aufzudecken, welche mit Nothwendigkeit einen Zustand erzeugen, dem mit müßigem Bedauern nicht abgeholfen wird, dem aber abzuhelfen, und zwar so schnell als möglich, in dem allgemeinen Interesse liegt.

Zu den besonderen Ursachen, welche aus dem Kohlenarbeiter eine Maschine von Fleisch und Knochen machen, gehört zunächst die Natur und Beschaffenheit 35 der Arbeit selbst; dann die außerordentliche Länge der Arbeitszeit, eine Länge, die nach den ökonomischen Gesetzen der gegenwärtigen gesellschaftlichen Organisation in demselben Maße sich auszudehnen trachtet, wie die Schwere der Arbeit fortwährend steigt.

Die Arbeit des Kohlenbergmanns ist rein körperlich; sie erfordert durchaus 40 keine geistige Anstrengung. Das Gehirn des Kohlenarbeiters ist fast gar nicht thätig; seine geistigen Fähigkeiten, denen es an jeder Anregung gebricht, bleiben

*¹ *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*. Organ der deutschen Volkspartei. Leipzig, Druck und Verlag von C.W. Vollrath. Verantwortlicher Rédacteur: Wilhelm Liebknecht.

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in einem elementaren, trägen, traumartigen Zustande, und folglich sind seine Ideen äußerst beschränkt. Wie seine Thätigkeit eine rein körperliche, so sind auch seine Bedürfnisse und Neigungen rein physischer und thierischer Art. Die geistige und sittliche Erniedrigung des Kohlenarbeiters kann nicht in Erstaunen versetzen, wenn man die Art seiner Beschäftigung betrachtet. Bei dem verderblichen Einflüsse körperlicher Anstrengungen, welche den Organismus verunstalten, wäre es sogar unmöglich, daß sich die Sitten und moralischen Gewohnheiten des Kohlenarbeiters nicht im Widerspruch mit der Vernunft befänden.

Der Werth eines Kohlenarbeiters wird nur nach seiner Muskelkraft geschätzt; 10 die Intelligenz zählt nicht, sie ist unnütz. Um in den Gruben zu arbeiten, braucht es keine Geschicklichkeit, kein Talent, keinen Unterricht; die körperliche Kraft allein genügt. Ein kleines Gemälde der verschiedenen Verrichtungen in den Kohlenbergwerken wird dem Leser zeigen, daß es unter dem gegenwärtigen nationalökonomischen Regiment für den Kohlenarbeiter unmöglich ist, sich körperlich, geistig und sittlich zu entwickeln.

Die Arbeit in den Minen ist im Allgemeinen folgendermaßen eingetheilt: die ouvriers à veine brechen die Kohlen in den Adern ||44| los, welche die bouteurs aus den Gängen schaffen, und die chargeurs à la taille auf die Karren oder Hunde laden. Diese Karren werden von den selöneurs nach den Schachten gezogen, wo 20 die Kohlen emporgewunden werden. Die coupeurs de voies, die releveurs und meneurs de terres graben die Schachte und Galerien und transportiren die Erde und Steine. Alle diese Arbeiten werden bei dem Scheine einer kleinen Lampe in einer ungesunden von Staub erfüllten Luft ausgeführt. Der Kohlenarbeiter muß bei seiner Beschäftigung eine Lage annehmen, die nichts weniger als natürlich ist. 25 Er muß entweder auf der Seite oder auf den Knien liegen, sich zusammenkauern oder mühsam bücken, und oft kann er sich nur kriechend fortbewegen. Das Alles macht seine Lage härter und peinlicher, als die eines Erdarbeitters oder Ackernichts, dessen Beschäftigungen zwar ebenfalls ganz materieller Art sind, aber wenigstens in freier Luft und Tageshelle ausgeübt werden.

30 Ist es unter solchen Umständen ein Wunder, wenn der Kohlenarbeiter geistig und sittlich auf einer so tiefen Stufe steht? Wie vermag ein Mensch, der täglich 15 bis 18 Stunden in einem finstern, mit schlechter Luft angefüllten Loche arbeiten muß, auch nur die Spuren derjenigen Eigenschaften bewahren, welche den Menschen von dem Thiere unterscheiden? Das bestorganisirte, mit den glücklichsten 35 geistigen Anlagen begabte Geschöpf muß unter einem solchen Regimenter, welches die Fähigkeiten des Individuums zu vernichten strebt, unausbleiblich und schnell verthieren. Denn heute kann man nicht mehr den Einfluß des Körpers auf den Geist, des Physischen auf das Moralische im Abrede stellen. Der physische Zustand deutet gewöhnlich den geistigen des Individuums an. Der Bericht der 40 Handelskammer zu Möns von 1844, also ein officielles Aktenstück, schildert den Kohlenarbeiter in folgender Weise: „Diese Arbeiter haben in ihrer Jugend eine bleiche Gesichtsfarbe, ihr Wuchs ist gekrümmmt, sie haben Säbelbeine und ihr Gang ist langsam. Fast immer tragen sie in einem Alter von 40 bis 50 Jahren den Stempel eines vorzeitigen Greisenthums.“

Bidaut, ein Mineningenieur, sagte 1843 in einem officiellen Bericht: „Man kann nicht in Abrede stellen, daß diese Beschäftigung (des Kohlenarbeiters), deren Ausübung das Sonnenlicht entzieht, andere Gase als die atmosphärische Luft einzuathmen nöthigt, den Körper zur Annahme anderer Lagen als der natürlichen zwingt, ||45| ihn fortwährend Gefahren aussetzt u.s. w., eine solche ist welche 5 den Menschen am weitesten von den normalen Bedingungen seiner Existenz entfernt und daher der Gegenstand besonderer Maßregeln sein muß. Für mich ist dies außer Zweifel.“

Was im Jahre 1843 richtig war, ist es auch noch im Jahr 1868. Der physische und moralische Zustand des Kohlenarbeiters hat sich - wenn nicht verschlechtert 10 - so doch sicherlich nicht verbessert. - Die Arbeitszeit ist seitdem nicht vermindert, sondern eher vermehrt worden, und die Löhne sind, abgesehen von der gegenwärtigen Geschäftsstockung, dieselben geblieben, während der Preis der Lebensmittel gestiegen ist. Sind bedeutende Verbesserungen in der Grubenarbeit eingeführt worden, so sind es doch nicht die Arbeiter, welche Nutzen davon 15 ziehen. Fährt z.B. der Kohlenarbeiter nicht mehr auf Leitern in die Gruben ein und aus, so kommt die dadurch erzielte Zeit und Kraftersparnis dem Patron in der größeren Summe der gelieferten Arbeit zu Gut. Die Folge von alle dem ist, daß der Kohlenarbeiter keine geistige Gelenkigkeit besitzt, daß er Unterricht und Bildung als die Beschäftigung von ‚Müßiggängern‘ verachtet, daß er seine Kinder 20 nicht in die Schule schickt, und daß er sich in den grössten Genüssen und Vergnügungen gefällt. Haben die Grubenbesitzer ein Interesse, den Kohlenarbeiter in diesem thierähnlichen Zustande zu erhalten, so steht ihnen eine Menge kleiner Industrien zur Seite, welche allein von dem Arbeiter leben und mithin ihren Vortheil nicht mehr finden würden, wenn der Arbeiter nüchtern, vorsichtig, sparsam würde. Sie stellen den Kohlenarbeitern überall ihre Fallen, um ihnen das Letzte abzulocken, und wie leicht ist es nicht, Menschen zu verführen, die ohne 25 jeden Schulunterricht sind, und deren geistiges Vermögen im Winterschlaf liegt.

Ein solcher Zustand der Dinge kann und darf nicht länger dauern. Es ist vergebens, an die Pflichten der Menschlichkeit zu mahnen; sie ist ohnmächtig 30 gegenüber den Gesetzen der Bourgeois-Oekonomie. Aber die Bourgeoisie befindet sich in einem großen Irrthum, wenn sie wähnt, sie könnte die Arbeiter zu Leibeigenen und Thieren herabwürdigen, ohne daß die moralischen Folgen auf sie zurückfielen. Man betrachte nur diese Bourgeoisie der Kohlenbecken und Fabrikstädte! Woher diese Verachtung der Bildung, der Wissenschaft, dieser 35 Mangel selbstthätigen Denkens außerhalb den Grenzen des Geschäfts, diese rohe Genußsucht, welche sie kennzeichne? ||46| Es ist dieselbe Erscheinung, welche bei den Pflanzern und Sklavenzüchtern der Vereinigten Staaten zu Tage trat. Waren dort die Sklaverei und Sklavenarbeit die Ursache der Demoralisation, so werden auch hier wohl die ähnlichen Wirkungen zum Schlüsse auf ähnliche Veranlassungen berechtigen. Je tiefer der Arbeiter hinabgedrückt wird, je tiefer sinkt ihm der Patron nach und verkommt moralisch wie jener, in welchem er den Menschen zu achten aufgehört hat.

Die Arbeiter selbst haben das Mittel gefunden gegen die Uebel der Privatin- 40 dustrie, unter denen sie leiden, und welche rückwirkend den Körper der Gesell- 45

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schaft mit Eiterbeulen bedecken. Das Mittel heißt: *Unterricht* und *Genossenschaft*. Nur die Verkürzung der Arbeitszeit kann es möglich machen, daß die Wohlthaten des Unterrichts und der Bildung auch dem Arbeiter zu Theil werden. Nur die Theilnahme an den Wohlthaten des Kapitals kann ihn vor dem Elende 5 schützen, dem er jetzt wehrlos preisgegeben ist.

Die moralische und materielle Hebung des Arbeiters ist eine Frage der socialen Gerechtigkeit, wie des öffentlichen Wohls. Diese Frage zu lösen, giebt es kein anderes Mittel, als *Volkserziehung* und die Bildung von *Cooperativ-Genossenschaften*. Diese Mittel ins Werk zu setzen, zu fördern und zu unterstützen, ist die 10 Aufgabe des Staats. Er vernichtet sich selbst, wenn er müßig zusieht, wie die Folgen der Bourgeois-Oekonomie die Gesellschaft zerfressen und zersetzen."

Schon im Februar 1867 hatten Unruhen unter den Grubenarbeitern zu Marchienne stattgefunden, die nur mit Waffengewalt unterdrückt werden konnten. Ursache war die herrschende Theuerung, namentlich die hohen Brodpreise in Folge 15 der schlechten Erndte von 1866. Um von den englischen Arbeitern Beiträge zur Unterstützung der Familien der unglücklichen Schlachtopfer zu erlangen, hatte der Generalrath der internationalen Association Anfangs März 1867 folgenden Aufruf erlassen:

Centrairath der internationalen Arbeiterassociation.
20 18. Bouverie Street, E.C., London.

An die Kohlen- und Eisenarbeiter von Großbritannien.

Arbeiter! Erst vor wenigen Tagen hat ein Orakelspruch der ||47| „Times“ den Ruin und die Zerstörung der britischen Eisenindustrie für den Fall geweissagt, daß die Mitglieder der Gewerbe-Vereine dabei verharren, nicht unter einem ge- 25 wissen Preise arbeiten zu wollen. Die Belgier mit ihren billigen Kohlen und niedrigen Löhnen, hieß es, werden sowohl im eigenen Lande, als auch auf den auswärtigen Märkten den Handel an sich reißen. Zwei Briefschreiber der „Times“, die Herren *Creed* und *Williams*, verbreiteten sich ausführlich über das Glück der belgischen Gruben-, Hütten- und Hochöfen-Besitzer, nicht mit drückenden Fa- 30 brikordnungen und Gewerbe-Vereinen geplagt zu sein; die belgischen Kohlen- und Eisenarbeiter arbeiteten willig mit Weib und Kind 12-14 Stunden per Tag für weniger als den Arbeitslohn den ihre englischen Collegen für zehnstündige Arbeit erhielten. Doch kaum war die Druckerschwärze getrocknet, als die Nachricht ankam, daß diese willigen Geschöpfe revoltirt hätten. Die Eisenindustrie, sagt der 35 „Economiste Beige“, kränkelt schon seit geraumer Zeit in Folge der hohen Kohlenpreise und des unergiebigen Ertrages der Gruben. Dasselbe Blatt sagt ferner: „Die Unwissenheit der Grubenarbeiter ist so tief, ihre Rohheit so groß, die Art ihrer Geldverausgabung so liederlich und unbedachtsam, daß die höchsten Arbeitslöhne unzureichend sein würden.“ Und das ist kein Wunder. Die Verant- 40 wortlichkeit hierfür tragen Diejenigen, welche sie von der Wiege bis zum Grabe im Zustande viehischer Knechtschaft erhalten.

Anfangs Februar wurden drei Hochöfen in der Nachbarschaft von Marchienne außer Betrieb gesetzt, die andern Hüttenbesitzer kündigten auf der Stelle

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eine Lohnherabsetzung von 10 Prozent an, die Grubenbesitzer von Charleroi folgten dem Beispiel, und dennoch sagt der „Economiste beige“, daß niemals eine größere Nachfrage und ein höherer Preis für Kohlen dagewesen sei, als gerade jetzt. Noch verschlimmert wurde das Uebel durch ein gleichzeitiges Steigen der Mehlprix, um so mehr, als die Kohlen- und Eisenpatrone auch Eigenthümer 5 der Mahlmühlen dieses Districts sind. Ein großer Theil der Arbeiter war aufs Aeußerste erbittert, und ohne Organisation und nicht gewohnt, die gemeinschaftlichen Angelegenheiten zu berathen, hatte er keinen Actionsplan zur Richtschnur.

Die Arbeiter versammelten sich auf den Landstraßen und gingen von Ort zu Ort, in der Absicht, diejenigen, die geneigt sein sollten, zum herabgesetzten Lohnpreis zu arbeiten, daran zu verhindern. ||48| Die Grubenarbeiter von Charleroi kamen auf ihrem Wege bei einer Mahlmühle an, zu deren Schutz 100 Soldaten mit geladenem Gewehr aufgestellt waren. Dies provocirte einen Angriff seitens der Arbeiter, das Resultat sind: Todte, Verwundete und Gefangene. Diese armen herausforderten und übel behandelten Schlachtopfer haben jenseits des Grabs 15 und des Gefängnisses Familien hinterlassen, die sich in der traurigsten Noth befinden. In Belgien wagt Niemand zu ihren Gunsten ein Wort zu äußern. In Bezug auf den Gang, den ihre Action genommen hat, haben diese Leute sich geirrt und sind mißleitet worden, und doch sind sie für die Sache der Arbeit gefallen, und ihre Hinterbliebenen verdienen Theilnahme und Unterstützung. 20 Geldhülfe für die Wittwen und Waisen, und der moralische Einfluß, den eine von auswärts kommende Gabe ausüben würde, würde der tiefen Entmuthigung, welche sich der ganzen Klasse bemächtigt hat, ein Ende machen und dürfte zu Mittheilungen und zu einem Austausch der Meinungen führen, der unsfern continentalen Brüdern eine bessere Idee davon beibringen würde, wie die Kämpfe der 25 Arbeit gefochten werden müssen, und was für eine Organisation und Bildung die Armee der im Kampf begriffenen Arbeiter erfordert.

Der Centrairath der internationalen Arbeiterassociation wendet sich mit der Bitte um Berücksichtigung an Euch, denn die Sache der Arbeiter eines Landes ist die der Arbeiter aller Länder. 30

gez. *George Odger*, Präsident.
J. *George Eccarius*, Vicepräsident.
R. *Shaw*, Secretär.

Die englischen Kohlen- und Eisenarbeiter entsprachen trotz der eigenen Bedrängniß willig und gern der an sie gerichteten Aufforderung. Deshalb war aber auch 35 der Einfluß der internationalen Association auf die arbeitende Bevölkerung Belgiens in stetem Steigen begriffen, bis im März 1868 im Bezirk von Charleroi Vorgänge sich ereigneten, welche der internationalen Association in ganz Belgien Bahn brachen und ihr sociales Uebergewicht entschieden.

Der Anlaß der Arbeiterunruhen dieses Jahres war folgender. 40

Große Ueberproduction von Kohlen hatte stattgefunden. Der Kohlenverbrauch in Belgien war theils dadurch verminderst worden, daß aus der allgemeinen Geld- und Finanzkrise von 1866 eine metallurgische Krise hervorgegangen war, welche vorzugsweise schwer auf der Hütten- und Hochöfenindustrie

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Frankreichs und Belgiens lastete, theils durch die Konkurrenz preußischer mit belgischer Kohle. Die Besitzer der belgischen Gruben nämlich hatten eine Coalition gebildet, um den Preis ihrer Kohlen hinaufzutreiben. Da aber fanden es die Besitzer von Hütten und Hochöfen vortheilhafter, ihre Kohlen vom Auslande zu 5 beziehen, und um keiner Preissteigerung ausgesetzt zu sein, schlössen sie auf mehrere Jahre Contracte ab. Für die Grubenbesitzer handelte es sich nun darum, diesen durch ihre Habsucht veranlaßten Ausfall zu decken und vor Allem die Production zu vermindern. Beiläufig mag hier erwähnt werden, daß ein großer Theil der belgischen Kohlengruben durch anonyme Handelsgesellschaften betrie- 10 ben wird, die mit mächtigen Kapitalien operiren und in den letzten Jahren an ihre Actionäre ungeheure Dividenden vertheilt haben. Die Eigenthümer und Directoren der Gruben entschlossen sich nun zunächst, die Wochenarbeit auf 4 Tage zu reduciren, was für die Arbeiter einen Ausfall von 33/4 Proc. ihres regulären Arbeitslohnes ausmachte. Als auch dies nicht genügte, um das gestörte Gleichge- 15 wicht zwischen Angebot und Nachfrage wiederherzustellen, beschlossen sie, die Kohlenpreise herabzusetzen. Um aber nicht die Dividenden ihrer Actionäre herabsetzen zu müssen, setzten sie den schon auf 66/3 Proc. seines Normalbetrages reducierten Arbeitslohn um fernere 10 Proc. herab. Und gerade in dieser Zeit waren die Preise für die nothwendigsten Lebensmittel in Folge zweier Mißerndten 20 von 1866 und 1867 höher wie je. Die halb ausgehungerten Kohlenarbeiter, die ihre unfreiwilligen Ruhetage schon schmerzlich empfunden hatten, widersetzen sich der Lohnherabsetzung, welche sie geradezu dem Hunger preisgab, die Arbeitseinstellung wurde allgemein und verbreitete sich über den ganzen District von Charleroi. Hunger und Elend trieb diese Unglücklichen zum Aufstand, zur 25 Plünderung, sonst würden wahrlich nicht die Weiber gewissermaßen sich an die Spitze gestellt haben und den Arbeitertrupps voraufmarschirt sein mit Stangen, an die einige Fetzen angenagelt waren.

Die Kapitalisten ließen nun Regierungs- und Militärgewalt interveniren und provocirten in der berechnetesten Weise blutige Conflicte, worin viele Arbeiter 30 getötet, verwundet und gefangen wurden. Der erste Zusammenstoß fand statt am 25. März in der Nähe ||| von Charleroi. Die Arbeiter waren eben im Begriff, dem gütlichen Zureden eines Officiers, der mit ihnen parlamentirte, zu weichen und sich zu zerstreuen, als ein vereinzelter Steinwurf, der den kommandirenden Major getroffen hatte, diesen veranlaßte, Feuer zu kommandiren. 7 Tode und 35 13 Verwundete war der Erfolg dieses ersten Zusammenstoßes, welchem andere Conflicte mit der Gendarmerie und Kavallerie folgten. In Arsimont erschienen, noch ehe eine Gewaltthat irgend welcher Art stattgefunden hatte, Gendarmen und der Staatsanwalt und nahmen unter den Arbeitern, die eben erst ihre Arbeitseinstellung angezeigt hatten, Verhaftungen vor. Der Polizei unmittelbar auf 40 dem Fuße folgten Soldaten, welche ohne Weiteres auf die insgesamt von der Grube heimkehrenden Arbeiter einhielten.

Nur die Mord- und Blutscenen des Negeraufstandes in Jamaika sind in der neueren Geschichte diesen Scheußlichkeiten als ebenbürtig an die Seite zu stellen. Hier, wie dort, feierten die Kapitalisten ihre blutigen Orgien. Hier, wie dort,

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hofften sie, durch Handlungen der äußersten Brutalität den letzten Rest von Widerstandsgeist und Selbstgefühl auf Seiten der Arbeiter zu brechen. Der lustige, übermäßige und humoristisch sein sollende Ton, womit sie ihre „terreur blanche“ feierten, zeige u.A. folgender Auszug aus ihrem Organ, der „Independance Beige“ vom 1. April 1868:

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„Das Land ist mit Truppen bedeckt, und wenn sie sich zurückziehen werden, so werden alle diejenigen Individuen, die als Führer bezeichnet worden, so wie alle diejenigen, die im Allgemeinen als gefährlich bekannt sind, sich hinter Schloß und Riegel befinden. Das ist eine Maßregel der Klugheit, die durch die Umstände geboten ist. ... Die Verhaftungen finden statt unter großer Entfaltung militärischen Schaugepränges, theils um einen niederschmetternden Eindruck auf die Gemüther der Bevölkerung hervorzubringen, theils um gegen jeden Handstreich auf der Hut zu sein, der zu dem Zweck, die Gefangenen der bewaffneten Macht zu entreißen, versucht werden könnte. ... Bei einem dergestalt organisirten Druck auf die Massen wird man leicht begreifen können, daß der Aufstand gar nicht 15 daran denken kann, sein Haupt wieder zu erheben. Das blutige Drama hat übrigens eine tiefe Wirkung der Einschüchterung hervorgebracht. ... Diese unruhige, aber keineswegs gefährliche Masse von Ruhestörern wird noch vor dem heutigen ||§1 Abend in einen Zustand völliger Ohnmacht versetzt sein. Man wirft alle Führer, deren Stimme sie in den letzten Tagen gehorcht hat, ins Gefängniß, 20 und verhaftet selbst diejenigen, *deren Stimme zu gehorchen sie vielleicht versucht sein könnte.* ... Es ist eigentlich nicht mehr die Militärmacht, welche hier mit starkem Arm eingreift, sondern die Polizei. ... Man erholt sich Raths von den Bürgermeistern, Polizeioffizienten und Brigadiers der Gendarmerie in den Landgemeinden und läßt im eigenen Hause alle diejenigen verhaften, welche die Be- 25 richte als Unruhestifter bezeichnen.“

Mitten unter der Betäubung, in welche diese Brutalitäten den zunächst getroffenen Theil der Arbeiter versetzt hatten, erhob das Brüsseler Centralcomité der internationalen Association für Belgien die Stimme in der Presse, berief Volksversammlungen, brandmarkte die Patrone und ihren Helpershelfer, die Regierung, elektrisierte die belgische Arbeiterklasse zum gemeinsamen Widerstand, verschaffte den Verfolgten Rechtsbeistände und Vertheidiger, und erklärte die Sache der Kohlenarbeiter von Charleroi für gemeinsame Angelegenheit der internationalen Arbeiterassociation. Der Generalrath zu London, wie auch die beiden Comité's zu Paris und Genf, unterstützten das Brüsseler Comité.

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Nachdem die Bewegung unter den Kohlenarbeitern im Landbezirk von Charleroi mit Waffengewalt unterdrückt worden war, thaten die Patrone nichts, die feiernden und hungernden Arbeiter zu versöhnen. Ihnen war damit gedient, daß sie ihre Gruben auf längere Zeit schließen konnten. Die Regierung that ebenfalls nichts. Die Arbeiter, denen von keiner andern Seite Unterstützung zu- 40 floß, außer von der internationalen Arbeiterassociation, die wiederum durch die gleichzeitigen Vorgänge in Genf in Anspruch genommen war, und deren Hülfscomité's erst in der Organisation begriffen waren, waren dem Verhungern nahe. Da aber ward es der städtischen Bevölkerung von Charleroi, die das täglich

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wachsende Elend mit ansehen mußte, unheimlich zu Muth. Die liberale Association von Charleroi drohte der Regierung, daß, wenn sie den arbeitslosen Arbeitern nicht auf der Stelle Arbeit geben würde, ihr Wahlcomité sich auflösen und den Katholiken das Feld räumen würde. Diese Drohung wirkte. Die Furcht, bei 5 den nächsten Wahlen eine Stimme zu verlieren, *nicht* der Nothschrei der am Hungertuch na|52|genden Arbeiterbevölkerung war es, was die liberale Regierung im Mai 1868 veranlaßte, zur Ausführung bedeutender öffentlicher Bauten zu schreiten.

Währenddem geht die Untersuchung gegen die Märzgefangenen ihren Gang.
10 Welcher Art auch das Ende sein mag, gleichviel ob die Richter auf Verurtheilung, ob auf Freisprechung erkennen, in jedem Fall erleidet die Regierung eine Niederlage. Die Arbeiter wissen, daß sie von der Regierung nichts als Pulver und Blei oder Gefängniß zu erwarten haben. Es ist nicht die Regierung, von welcher sie Abhülfe ihrer gerechten Beschwerden, Schutz und Beistand gegen die Uebergriffe 15 der Patrone erwarten. Die Regierung selbst hat den Arbeitern die Augen darüber geöffnet, von wo die Hülfe kommen muß, auf wen sie ihr Augenmerk zu richten haben. Und das ist nicht die Regierung, sondern - die internationale Arbeiterassociation.

9. Politische Thätigkeit des Generalraths der internationalen Arbeiterassoziation.

Getreu dem Programm, worin er die Arbeiter aufgefordert hatte, ihre sociale Emancipation dadurch vorzubereiten, daß sie politische Macht eroberten, ver-säumte der Generalrath über seiner socialen Thätigkeit keineswegs, bei passenden Gelegenheiten auch politisch zu interveniren. Die bedeutendsten Schritte auf die- 25 sem Gebiete waren folgende.

1. Schon vor der Stiftung der Association hatten die einzelnen Mitglieder des Generalraths in ihren Kreisen für die Sache der nordamerikanischen Union gewirkt. In demselben Maße, wie die Regierung und die herrschenden Klassen die Conföderirten begünstigt, das durch die Blokade der amerikanischen Häfen in 30 England verursachte Elend als Hebel benutzt und alle möglichen Mittel ange-wandt hatten, um Demonstrationen englischer Arbeiter für die Secessionisten hervorzurufen, in demselben Maße hatten die Führer der Arbeiter diese Intrigen vereitelt, die Regierung und das Volk der ||5| Vereinigten Staaten durch Adressen von der wahren Stimmung der Massen in England unterrichtet und Massende- 35 monstrationen der Londoner Arbeiter zu Gunsten der Union veranstaltet. Die durch die Abstimmung vom 8. November 1864 gesicherte Wiederwahl *Lincolns* gab dem Generalrath Anlaß zu einer Glückwunschadresse. Gleichzeitig berief er Massenmeetings für die Sache der Union. Deshalb hat *Lincoln* in seinem Ant-wortschreiben die Dienste der internationalen Arbeiterassoziation für die gute 40 Sache auch ausdrücklich anerkannt.

2. Ferner berief der Generalrath von Zeit zu Zeit öffentliche Meetings, um die Sympathie der englischen Arbeiter für Polen rege zu halten und die Uebergriffe Rußlands in Europa bioszustellen.

3. Als nach den Ereignissen von 1866 in Deutschland Krieg zwischen Frankreich und Preußen bevorzustehen schien, und die Regierungsblätter in Frankreich alles Mögliche aufboten, das Feuer zu schüren, den nationalen Ehrgeiz der Franzosen herauszufordern und nationalen Haß zwischen Frankreich und Deutschland zu erzeugen, veranlaßte das Pariser Centralcomité der internationalen Arbeiterassociation überall in Frankreich Demonstrationen von Seiten der Arbeiter gegen die Kriegspartei, erließ Sympathieadressen an die deutschen Arbeiter und Arbeiter-Vereine und verhinderte, daß die französischen Arbeiter in die ihnen gestellte Falle gingen. Der Geschichte bleibt es vorbehalten festzustellen, inwieweit die durch diese thatkräftige Initiative hervorgerufene antichauvinistische Haltung der Arbeiterklassen Frankreichs damals den Krieg, zu welchem ein Vorwand sich glücklich gefunden hatte, verhindert hat. 15

4. An der Entstehung und Bildung der englischen Reform-Liga, deren Agitation die Parlamentsreform von 1867 hervorrief, nahm der Generalrath der internationalen Arbeiterassociation hervorragenden Anteil. Bis zu dieser Stunde sind die thätigsten Mitglieder der Executive der Reform-Liga Mitglieder des Generalraths. Die öffentlichen Demonstrationen in London, welche den Rücktritt des Toryistischen Ministers des Innern, Mr. Walpole, zur Folge hatten, und die Indignationsmeetings in allen Hauptstädten des Landes, waren ihr Werk. 20

5. Die Procedur gegen die des Mordes angeklagten Fenier in ||54| Manchester^{**} hielt der Generalrath für Farce und ungesetzlich. Als im November 1867 die Hinrichtung bevorstand, sandte der Generalrath eine Petition an die englische Regierung, diese vor Blutvergießen warnend. Zugleich hielt er inmitten der Panik, die das Manchester Ereigniß in London hervorgerufen hatte, eine öffentliche Sitzung, in welcher die Rechte Irlands und der Irländer vertheidigt wurden. Dies war die erste Kundgebung, die zu Gunsten der unglücklichen Opfer der Justiz 25

* Am 18. September 1867 hatten bewaffnete Fenier in Manchester einen von Polizei eskortierten Gefangenewagen angegriffen und zwei politische Gefangene (Fenieroffiziere) befreit. Dabei war ein Polizeisergeant getötet worden. Gegen das englische Gesetz, welches für alle Justiz-Districte des Landes periodische, regelmäßig wiederkehrende Assisen festgesetzt hat, wurde der Fall einer Specialkommission, einem Ausnahmegerichtshof, überwiesen, und die der Theilnahme an der Attaque bezüglichen Fenier wegen Mordes des Polizeisergeanten unter Anklage gestellt. Zum Richter wurde Mr. Blackburn ernannt, welcher durch Trugschlüsse aller Art die Jury zu überzeugen wußte, daß jeder der Angeklagten, welcher der Theilnahme an dem Befreiungsversuch überführt würde, sich des Mordes schuldig gemacht habe. Daraufhin erfolgten 5 Verurtheilungen und 5 Todesurtheile des Herrn Blackburn. Von den Verurteilten wurden 2 begnadigt. 3 gehängt. Derselbe Mr. Blackburn hatte am 2. Juni 1868 die Verhandlungen gegen den Ex-Gouverneur von Jamaika, Herrn Eyre zu leiten, präjudicirte unter Berufung auf eine angebliche Entscheidung des Lord-Oberrichters Sir A. Cockburn die große Jury dahin, daß Herr Eyre die Grenzen der ihm anvertrauten Regierungsgewalt nicht überschritten habe, rettete hierdurch Herrn Eyre von der Anklage, wurde am 8. Juni in öffentlicher Sitzung des Gerichtshofes der Queens Bench vom Lord-Oberrichter Sir A. Cockburn der Fälschung von Thatsachen bezüglicht und entschuldigte sich mit einem Rechtsirrthum. 30
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stattfand. Die „Times“ und die gesammte Tagespresse stattete darüber Bericht ab. Die Stimmung unter den Londoner Arbeitern wurde dadurch so umgewandelt, der Plan der englischen Aristokratie, die englischen Nationalvorurtheile auszubeuten, um die stark mit irlandischem Element versetzte Arbeiterklasse in zwei feindliche Fraktionen zu spalten, so vereitelt, daß die Organe der englischen Aristokratie, z.B. die „Saturday Review“, anfingen, die internationale Arbeiterassoziation als staatsgefährlich zu denunciren.

10. Conflicte mit den Regierungen.

1. Conflict mit der französischen Regierung.

10 In Frankreich existirt bekanntlich ein Gesetz, wonach keine Gesellschaft von mehr als 20 Personen ohne Autorisation der Regierung bestehen darf. Nach dem Wortlaut dieses Gesetzes sind die meisten industriellen und commerciellen Gesellschaften in Frankreich ungesetzlich oder existiren nur auf Dulldung. Denn nach einer Ent[55]scheidung des Kassationshofes ist die Autorisation eine stillschweigende (tacite), wenn die betreffende Gesellschaft öffentlich ist und für längere Zeit nicht von Regierungswegen aufgelöst wird. Ob autorisirt oder nicht autorisirt, jedenfalls sollte man meinen, daß die Regierung höchstens das Recht habe, solche Gesellschaften, zu deren Bildung sie stillschweigende Autorisation gegeben hat, aufzulösen, nicht aber die Mitglieder zu bestrafen.

15 20 Was nun die Organisation der internationalen Arbeiterassoziation in Frankreich betrifft, so ist sie folgender Art. Alle Zweiggesellschaften in Frankreich existiren nur als Mitglieder der englischen Gesellschaft, in deren Generalrath sie durch *Eugen Dupont* vertreten sind. (Es existirt außerdem eine französische Gruppe zu London wie auch eine deutsche.) Die französischen Sectionen stehen nicht 25 in Verbindung unter einander, obwohl sie in gegebenen Fällen gemeinsam handeln, sondern alle nur mit dem Generalrath zu London. Jede einzelne Gesellschaft bildet eine besondere Gruppe mit einem Executivcomité an der Spitze, welches mit dem Londoner Generalrath correspondirt. Die Stiftung der Gesellschaft in Frankreich ging von dem Pariser Verwaltungscomité der Pariser Gruppe 30 aus. Letzteres zeigte schon im Jahr 1864 seine Gründung und Existenz dem Minister des Innern und dem Polizeipräfeten von Paris an. Und seit dieser Zeit hat sowohl das Pariser Comité, wie auch die Comité's in den übrigen Städten Frankreichs *öffentlich* functionirt, von Woche zu Woche *öffentliche* Versammlungen der Mitglieder der Association abgehalten, über welche in *öffentlichen* Blättern referiert worden ist, wie überhaupt diese Gesellschaft in schroffem Gegensatz zu den Verschwörungsgesellschaften vergangener Jahrzehnte ihrer Natur nach *öffentlich* ist und über die Sitzungen des [56] Generalraths in London *wöchentlich* in den Londoner Zeitungen berichtet wird.

Der erste Conflict zwischen der internationalen Arbeiterassociation und der französischen Regierung trat im September 1867 ein, nach dem Congreß von Lausanne. Ein Theil der Documente des Congresses war *Jules Gottraux*, einem der französischen Delegirten, anvertraut, um sie von Frankreich nach England zu schicken. Sobald er die französische Grenze überschritt, wurden die Papiere confiscated. Der Generalsekretär des Londoner Generalraths wandte sich in Folge dessen brieflich an den französischen Minister des Innern und forderte Herausgabe der confisirten Papiere, da dieselben britisches Eigenthum seien. Er erhielt keine Antwort. Darauf wandte sich der Generalrath der Association an *Lord Stanley*, den englischen Minister des Auswärtigen. Dieser ertheilte dem britischen Botschafter zu Paris, *Lord Cowley*, Befehl, die Herausgabe der Papiere zu verlangen, und die französische Regierung gab nach. 5

Der zweite Conflict spielte sich zu ungefähr derselben Zeit ab. Eine Denkschrift, welche die Pariser Delegirten auf dem Genfer Congreß vorgelesen und worin sie ihren - beiläufig einseitig *proudhonistischen*, specifisch französischen und keineswegs von der Association als solcher adoptirten - Standpunkt entwickelt, ihre Grundsätze vertheidigt hatten, hatte zu Paris kein Drucker zu drucken gewagt. Das Pariser Comité ließ in Folge dessen die Denkschrift zu Brüssel drucken und als sie von dort nach Frankreich verschickt worden war, wurde sie hier auf der Grenze confiscated. Darauf schrieb am 3. März 1867 das Pariser Central-comité der Association an den Staatsminister *Rouher*, den alter ego des Kaisers, und verlangte die Gründe der Confiscation zu wissen. *Rouher* lud in seinem Antwortschreiben, welches nach dem officiellen Lokal des Pariser Bureau der Association, Rue de Gravilliers 44, gerichtet war, ein Mitglied des Comités ein, bei ihm zu erscheinen. Das Comité ernannte einen Deputirten, welcher sich zum Minister begab. *Rouher* verlangte Aenderung und Milderung einiger anstößiger Stellen. Der Deputirte verweigerte dies, da jede Abschwächung dem Schriftstück seine Bedeutung nehmen würde. Darauf that *Rouher* folgende charakteristische Aeußerung: „*Gleichwohl, wenn Sie einige verbindliche Aeußerungen in Bezug auf den Kaiser, der soviel für die arbeitenden Klassen gethan j[57] hat, einfließen lassen, könnte man zusehen.*“ (Pourtant, si vous y faisiez rentrer quelques remerciements à l'adresse de l'empereur qui a tant fait pour les classes ouvrières, l'on pourrait voir.) Der Deputirte antwortete, daß die Association nicht in Politik mache, und daß weder Schmeichelei noch Verleumdung, sei es einer einzelnen Persönlichkeit oder einer politischen Partei zu ihren Befugnissen gehöre. Darauf brach *Rouher* 35 die Unterhandlung ab und hielt die Beschlagnahme der Denkschrift aufrecht. 20 25 30 35

Die französische Regierung hatte gewähnt, sie könne die internationale Arbeiterassociation als Werkzeug benutzen. Sie sah sich getäuscht. Sie sah andererseits die wachsende Macht und den steigenden Einfluß der Gesellschaft bei Gelegenheit der Arbeitseinstellungen von Amiens, Roubaix und Paris. Sie sah 40 endlich mit dem größten Mißvergnügen wenige Wochen nach der oben geschilderten Unterredung die Agitation der Gesellschaft gegen den imperialistischen Chauvinismus. Sie beschloß einzugreifen. Daraus entstand

Der dritte Conflict. Anfangs 1868 überfiel die Pariser Polizei während der Nacht die Wohnungen der Mitglieder des Pariser Centralcomité's. Alle Briefe und 45

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Papiere, die sich vorfanden, wurden confiscirt. Sie ersah daraus, daß die Zahl der *eingeschriebenen* Mitglieder der Pariser Gruppe ungefähr 2000 betrug. (Diese Zahl ist seitdem bedeutend gestiegen.) Die Anklage lautete auf Theilnahme an einer *geheimen Gesellschaft*, wurde aber nach zweimonatlicher Untersuchung von 5 Gerichtswegen unterdrückt. An ihre Stelle trat eine Anklage wegen Polizeivergehens, nämlich wegen Bildung einer Gesellschaft von mehr als 20 Personen ohne Autorisation der Regierung.

Am 20. März 1868 fand die Verhandlung vor dem Zuchtpolizeigericht der Seine statt. Das Wort für die 15 Angeklagten führte der Mitangeklagte Ciseleur 10 Tolain. Die Vernehmung ergab folgenden Thatbestand:

Präsident. Erkennen Sie an, daß die internationale Arbeiterassocation, deren Mitglied Sie und Ihre Mitangeklagten geworden sind, niemals autorisirt worden ist?

Tolain. Ich glaube nicht, daß dies der passende Augenblick für die Beantwortung dieser Frage ist. In unserer allgemeinen Vertheidigung werden wir plaidiren, daß die öffentlichen Handlun[58]gen unserer Gesellschaft eine stillschweigende Anerkenntniß ihrer Existenz voraussetzen.

Präsident. Aber Sie erkennen an, daß die Autorisation nie erlangt worden ist?

Tolain. Sie ist selbst niemals verlangt worden. An welche Regierung sollte wohl 20 eine internationale Association sich wenden, um autorisirt zu werden? An die französische, belgische, englische oder die deutschen Regierungen? Sie könnte es nicht wissen, und Niemand würde es ihr sagen können. Was würde z. B. in England eine französische Autorisation gelten, und umgekehrt.

Präsident. Sind in Ihren Versammlungen politische Fragen discutirt worden?

25 Tolain. Niemals und nirgends.

Präsident. Man hat bei Ihnen ein zu Brüssel gedrucktes Manifest vom Jahr 1866 confiscirt, dessen Inhalt aus Politik, und sogar aus überschwänglicher Politik (politique transcendante) besteht.

Tolain. Dies Manifest ist mein Privateigenthum und ich glaube, ich allein in 30 Frankreich besitze es. Es ist von englischen Arbeitern verfaßt und veröffentlicht, denn der Gerichtshof möge wissen, daß jede Gruppe eines jeden Landes das Recht hat, diese oder jene Meinung kundzugeben, ohne dadurch die Gruppen der andern Nationen solidarisch zu verpflichten. Es ist daher nichts Außergewöhnliches, wenn eine englische oder deutsche Zweigesellschaft Gegenstände der Politik abhandelt, an die *wir* uns nicht heranwagen dürfen. Ich erkläre, daß *wir* in 35 unseren Sitzungen uns stets der Politik ferngehalten haben.

Präsident. Welcher Art ist die Organisation Ihrer Association, wo ist ihr Sitz, was sind ihre Zwecke, was die Functionen des Generalraths und des Pariser Bureau?

40 Tolain. Der Generalrath hat sich im Jahr 1864 zu London constituirt. Sein Sitz ist niemals dauernd festgesetzt worden. Wenn er dennoch seit 3 Jahren seinen Sitz in London beibehalten hat, so ist dies wegen Schwierigkeiten geschehen, die wir nicht haben überwinden können. Die Zwecke der Gesellschaft aber kann ich Ihnen gar nicht besser auseinandersetzen, als indem ich Ihnen ihre Statuten zur 45 Einsicht vorlege. (Er liest diese vor.) |

|59| *Präsident.* Erzählen Sie mir etwas von der Organisation des Pariser Bureau.

Tolain. Das Pariser Bureau ist durch einen in den Zeitungen veröffentlichten Aufruf an alle Arbeiter zu Stande gekommen. Zweck der Einrichtung dieses Bureau's war, einen Mittelpunkt für die Thätigkeit der Pariser Gruppe zu schaffen, sowohl um Delegirte nach den internationalen Congressen zu schicken, als auch 5 andere der Gesellschaft Nutzen bringende Handlungen vorzunehmen. Alles dies ist am hellen, lichten Tage und ganz öffentlich geschehen. In einem kleinen gedruckten Buch wurde die Geschäftsordnung des Pariser Bureau angezeigt und der wöchentliche Beitrag jeden Mitgliedes auf 10 Pfennige festgesetzt.

Präsident. Hat sich dies Bureau direct mit der Propaganda für die Ausbreitung 10 der Gesellschaft befaßt?

Tolain. Mitunter hat man uns um Rath gefragt, wie ein Bureau zu constituiren sei. Meistens haben wir auf den Londoner Generalrath verwiesen.

Präsident. Hat sich das Pariser Bureau in die Arbeitseinstellungen, z. B. der Broncearbeiter zu Paris, oder zu Roubaix, Amiens etc. eingemischt? 15

Tolain. Die Association hat in der That bei den angeführten Ereignissen einen möglichst thätigen Anteil genommen und hat geglaubt dadurch, daß sie die Ursachen dieser Arbeitseinstellungen erforschte, ebensowohl den Patronen als auch den Arbeitern einen Dienst zu leisten.

Das Plaidoyer des öffentlichen Anklägers *Lepelletier* begann folgendermaßen: 20

„Meine Herren, die Angeklagten, die vor Ihnen erscheinen, sind arbeitsame, intelligente, rechtschaffene Arbeiter. Keine Verurtheilung hat sie getroffen, kein Makel haftet auf ihrer Moralität, und ich, meine Herren, habe, um die gegen sie erhobene Anklage zu rechtfertigen, kein Wort zu sagen, welches ihre Ehre angreifen könnte.“ 25

Darauf suchte der öffentliche Ankläger nachzuweisen, daß das Gesetz verletzt sei und Verurtheilungsgründe vorlägen. In Bezug auf die zur Entkräftigung der Anklage vorgebrachten Vertheidigungsgründe bemerkte er:

„Was also wirft man der Anklage vor? Meine Herren, wenn Sie seit einigen Tagen den ‚Siècle', die ‚Opinion nationale', den j|60| ‚Courrier français' gelesen 30 haben, so werden Sie darin Ausdrücke des Bedauerns gefunden haben seitens derjenigen Partei der Presse, die mit ihren Sympathien die internationale Association protegiert. Ihr Raisonnement ist folgendes. Seit drei Jahren existire die Association am hellen, lichten Tage, von den Verwaltungsbehörden zwar nicht erlaubt, aber geduldet, ihr Ziel sei die materielle und moralische Emancipation 35 der Arbeiter, ihre Mittel zum Zweck das Studium der ökonomischen Fragen und deren Lösung durch die Principien der Wahrheit, Sittlichkeit und Gerechtigkeit ... Und auf eine so lange Duldung folge plötzlich ohne andere Beweggründe als bloße Willkür der Macht und Laune der Gewalt die Härte einer strafrechtlichen Verfolgung! Wenn noch wenigstens die Mitglieder der Association ihr Programm vergessen, sich mit staatsgefährlichen Problemen beschäftigt, mit Politik befaßt hätten, aber im Gegentheil, sie hätten diese ihren Berathungen fern gehalten, von ihren Congressen ausgeschlossen, sie hätten sich auf den engen Kreis ihrer der Verwaltung wohlbekannten, von dieser wenigstens mittelbar durch ihr Stillschweigen gebilligten Statuten beschränkt.“ 40 45

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Dies, meine Herren, ist der Vorwurf. Ich schwäche ihn nicht ab, und ebenso wenig übertreibe ich ihn. Ist er begründet? Ist es wahr, daß die Association sich nicht mit Politik befaßt hat? Ist es wahr, daß sie sich auf das Studium der ökonomischen Fragen beschränkt hat, welches ihr Programm aufwies?"

- 5 Demnächst suchte der öffentliche Ankläger die Theilnahme des Pariser Bureau an Fragen der Politik nachzuweisen, was ihm mit Rücksicht auf die allgemeine Haltung der Association in der Luxemburg Affaire nicht schwer fiel und forderte im Interesse des Gesetzes eine Verurtheilung.

Darauf erhob sich der Angeklagte *Tolain* und überreichte dem Gerichtshof 10 folgendes Petition:

„In Erwägung, daß die Ungezetzlichkeit einer Gesellschaft aus dem Mangel einer Autorisation der Verwaltung herrührt; daß für diese Autorisation kein formelles Verfahren festgestellt ist; daß diese Autorisation selbst stillschweigend ertheilt werden kann; daß das Verlangen nach einer besonderen Form der Autorisation ein Gesetz verschärfen heißt, welches schon durch den Gesetzgeber selbst als Ausnahmegesetz anerkannt ist; daß hierdurch das öffentliche Vertrauen getäuscht wird; ja noch mehr, da aus den Erörterungen selbst, ||61| deren Gegenstand das Gesetz von 1834 gewesen ist, und aus den Aeußerungen der Vertreter der Regierung hervorgeht, daß die Autorisation stillschweigend ertheilt werden kann; da diese stillschweigende Erlaubniß oder Duldung die Form ist, unter welcher alle Industrie- und Handelsgesellschaften von mehr als 20 Mitgliedern existieren; da die Einräumung der Befugniß, solche Gesellschaften ohne vorherigen Widerruff zu verfolgen, ein Verstoß gegen das öffentliche Bewußtsein ist, indem es auf der Hand liegt, daß die Staats-Verwaltung sie in Folge ihres notorischen 20 Vorhandenseins als rechtsgültig autorisiert betrachtet; in Erwägung, daß die der Association ertheilte stillschweigende Autorisation sich ergiebt: 1, aus der fortwährenden Oeffentlichkeit ihrer Existenz und ihrer Thaten, die tatsächlich weit größer ist, als bei Handelsgesellschaften; 2, aus zwei Briefen der internationalen Association an den Minister des Innern und den Polizeipräfekten, worin die Bildung und Existenz der Association schon im Jahr 1864 constatirt worden ist; in Erwägung, daß die ausdrückliche und formelle Autorisation der Verwaltungsbehörden aus einem an den Secretär der Gesellschaft gerichteten, aus dem Kabinett des Ministers des Innern, resp. seines interimistischen Stellvertreters, des Herrn Staatsministers herrührenden Brief hervorgeht; daß bei einer Zusammenkunft mit dem Herrn Minister keinerlei Einwand gegen die Gesetzmäßigkeit der Association gemacht worden ist; daß die Staatsanwaltschaft nicht behaupten kann, daß inzwischen die Association ihre Lehren und ihr Ziel verändert habe; in Erwägung, daß tatsächlich der Secretär der Association, vorgeladen, um sich über die Denkschrift der französischen Delegirten zum Congréß von 1866 zu erklären, dieselben Lehren und Zwecke der Gesellschaft vorgetragen hat, welche jetzt gerügt und angeklagt werden; daß damals die Staatsanwaltschaft selbst die Gesellschaft für hinreichend legalisiert gehalten hat, weil sie ihre Existenz gekannt und dennoch in der öffentlichen Verhandlung vom 4. Januar 1867 erklärt hat, daß keinerlei Verfolgung beabsichtigt werde; aus diesen Gründen ersuchen wir 30 40 45 den Gerichtshof, die Anklage der Staatsanwaltschaft zurückzuweisen.“

Wilhelm Eichhoff

Nach Ueberreichung dieses Schriftstücks nahm *Tolain* im Namen der übrigen Angeklagten das Wort. Seine Rede war ein feuriger Protest gegen die Rechtlosigkeit der arbeitenden Klassen. Er schilderte die Gefahren, welche der Arbeiter laufe, wenn er seine ||2| sociale Lage durch gegenseitige Belehrung, durch Studium der Verhältnisse, die seine theuersten Interessen berühren, klar zu legen und 5 eine Verbesserung anzubahnen suche. Was er auch thun, welche Vorsichtsmaßregeln auch immer er gebrauchen, wie rein und harmlos seine Absicht auch immer sein möge, stets werde er bedroht, verfolgt und verfalle dem Strafgesetz. Seit 20 Jahren hätten zahllose industrielle Schöpfungen neue Bedürfnisse geschaffen und die Socialökonomie völlig umgestaltet, die Regierung selbst sei absichtlich 10 oder unabsichtlich der Bewegung gefolgt und habe an dieser Umgestaltung thätig mitgeholfen.

„Wir Arbeiter“, fuhr *Tolain* fort, „wir hatten ein großes Interesse zu wissen, was aus uns werden würde, und dies war die Ursache unserer Vereinigung zur internationalen Association. Die Arbeiter wollten selbst sehen, aber nicht durch 15 die Brille der officiellen Bourgeoisökonomie. Die englischen Arbeiter traten zusammen um die französischen zu empfangen, sie und wir waren alle von demselben Gedanken geleitet, er galt der socialen Frage. Die Vervollkommnung der Maschinen, sagten die englischen Arbeiter, ändert jeden Tag die sociale Lage des Arbeiters, laßt uns gegenseitig uns belehren, laßt uns das Mittel finden, uns un- 20 sere Existenzmittel zu sichern. Und wir hatten dieselben Interessen zu vertreten, auch wir waren von denselben Eingebungen beseelt. Seitdem lautet die gemeinsame Parole, daß der Arbeiter die Verbesserung seiner socialen Lage nur durch eigene Kraft zu erwarten habe, eine Parole, die im Jahr 1864 in einem öffentlichen Meeting zu London ausgesprochen wurde.“ 25

Nachdem *Tolain* hierauf die Entstehung, Organisation und Thätigkeit des Londoner Generalraths und des Pariser Bureau geschildert und nochmals behauptet hatte, die Regierung habe ihre Autorisation stillschweigend gegeben, *sie dagegen hätten aus Princip keine officielle Autorisation verlangt*, weil sie der Regierung nicht das Recht zugestehen könnten, Rechte, die den Arbeitern und allen Staats- 30 bürger von selbst zukämen, zu erlauben oder zu versagen, schloß er mit folgender bedeutsamen Erklärung:

„Ich habe hinzuzufügen, daß die Lage, in die man uns versetzt hat, wohl erwogen werden muß. Wie Ihr Urtheil auch immer ausfallen möge, morgen werden wir dasselbe thun, was wir gestern ||3| gethan haben; dies ist bei uns weder 35 Haß, noch Geist der Widersetzlichkeit, es ist das Bewußtsein unseres Rechts. Wir erheben von jetzt an den Anspruch, alle uns betreffenden Angelegenheiten selbst in die Hand zu nehmen; wir haben nur ein Mittel um aus unserer gegenwärtigen Lage herauszukommen, und dies Mittel ist, das Gesetz zu überstreiten, um zu zeigen, daß es schlecht ist. Aber bis jetzt haben wir es nicht überstreiten wollen, 40 denn, ich wiederhole es, die Polizei, die Regierung, die städtische Behörde, das Publikum hat alles gewußt, alles gesehen, alles geduldet.“

Das Urtheil des Gerichtshofes lautete:

„In Erwägung, daß aus der Untersuchung und Verhandlung hervorgeht, daß die Angeklagten seit 3 Jahren Pariser Mitglieder der Gesellschaft, die den Namen 45

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internationale Arbeiterassocation führte, gewesen sind, daß diese Gesellschaft aus mehr als 20 Personen bestand und nicht autorisiert war;

in Erwägung, daß die associirten Arbeiter unter sich durch die Zwecke der Association verbunden, zur Erreichung dieser Zwecke mitgewirkt haben, daß der 5 Zweck die Verbesserung der Lage der Arbeiter durch Cooperation, Production und Credit ist, und daß sie sich zu bestimmten Zeiten versammelt und sich zu einer permanenten Körperschaft constituiert haben;

in Erwägung, daß die Artikel 291 und 292 des Code pénal und das Gesetz vom 10. April 1834 Polizei- und allgemeine Sicherheitsgesetze sind, anwendbar gegen 10 Jedermann, der sie auf französischem Territorium verletzt, daß es nicht darauf ankommt zu wissen, daß London Sitz der Gesellschaft ist, daß es vollkommen genügend ist zu constatiren, daß das Pariser Bureau eine Uebertretung dieser Gesetze begangen hat;

in Erwägung, daß die Bekanntmachung der Existenz der besagten Gesellschaft 15 durch die Zeitungen, oder ihre Duldung von Seiten der Staatsverwaltung, sie nicht von der ausdrücklichen Autorisation der Regierung entbindet;

in Erwägung, daß die Angeklagten daher durch ihre Handlungsweise sich des in den Artikeln 291 und 292 des Code pénal und § 2 des Gesetzes vom 10. April 1834 vorgesehenen und bestraften Vergehens schuldig gemacht haben;

20 erklärt der Gerichtshof die unter dem Namen Pariser Bureau zu Paris etablierte internationale Arbeiterassocation für aufgelöst, ||64| und verurtheilt jeden der Angeklagten zu 100 Franken Geldbuße, welchen im Unvermögensfall 30 Tage Gefängniß zu substituieren sind."

Gegen dies Urtheil legten die Verurtheilten Berufung ein. Unterdeß handelte die 25 Pariser Gruppe ganz, wie Tolain dem Gericht erklärt hatte. Statt der 15 gerichtlich Verfolgten wurde ein neues Bureau von 9 Mitgliedern der Association erwählt. Ihre Wahl wurde in den Zeitungen angezeigt. Sie forderten mit ihrer Unterschrift die Pariser Arbeiter öffentlich zu Beiträgen für die Genfer Arbeits-einstellung auf.

30 Der Proceß der 15 kam in zweiter Instanz am 22. April 1868 zur Verhandlung. Die Hauptpunkte der öffentlichen Anklage bestanden in der *erklärten Wider-setzlichkeit* des Bureau gegen das imperialistische, gegen Gesellschaften von mehr als 20 Personen gerichtete Strafgesetz; in dem *politischen* Charakter der Gesell-schaft, welche alle Grundlagen des Bestehenden ihrer Kritik unterwerfe; in der 35 *Macht* der Gesellschaft, der keine Regierung widerstehen könne, wenn man ihr erlaube, in der bisherigen Weise alle Länder zu umfassen, schon sei sie eine Art universeller Vermittlung von Arbeitseinstellungen.

Die Angeklagten vertheidigten sich auch hier, wie in allen anderen Fällen, selbst, ohne Advokaten. Mit Bezug darauf, daß sie keine officielle Autorisation 40 hätten, erklärt sie:

„Wenn wir, die Pariser Correspondenten des Londoner Generalraths, nachdem wir der Polizei und der Verwaltungsbehörde Anzeige von der Constitution unseres Bureau gemacht hatten, benachrichtigt worden wären, daß eine ausdrück-liche Autorisation erforderlich sei, so würden wir auf eine andere Organisation

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bedacht gewesen sein, denn wir sprechen es geradezu aus, *niemals hätte es uns in den Sinn kommen können, uns der Demütigung einer Autorisation zu unterwerfen.* Schon der erste Erwägungsgrund unserer Statuten würde uns dies nicht erlaubt haben. Denn dort heißt es, daß die Emancipation der Arbeiter das Werk der Arbeiter selbst sein müsse. Wer aber die Autorisation gelten läßt, läßt auch Unterthänigkeit, Unterordnung, Patronatrecht, mit einem Wort die Knechtschaft gelten, und gerade aus dieser in allen ||6| ihren Formen den Arbeiter zu befreien ist das Bestreben der internationalen Association." 5

Der Appelhof bestätigte das Urtheil des Zuchtpolizeigerichts und verurteilte außerdem die Appellanten zu den Kosten. Die Gründe stimmten im Wesentlichen 10 mit denen des Urtheils erster Instanz überein, neu war blos folgende Phrase:

„Daß die Gefahr noch vergrößert werde durch die gewaltige Macht der Organisation und durch die weite Ausdehnung ihrer Thätigkeit.“

Inzwischen waren auch die 9 Mitglieder des im März erwählten neuen Bureau's 15 unter Anklage gestellt und erschienen am 22. Mai 1868 vor dem Zuchtpolizeigericht.

Der Gang der Verhandlungen war derselbe wie bei der Verhandlung vom 20. März.

Die Vertheidigung führte der Mitangeklagte, Buchbinder *Varlin*. Nachdem 20 auch dieser Arbeiter die juristischen Ausführungen der Anklage mit einer Logik und Schärfe widerlegt hatte, die jedem Juristen Ehre gemacht hätte, ging er zur Beleuchtung der moralisch-politischen und socialökonomischen Seite der Frage über, und hier erhob sich der Redner zu einer Würde des Ausdrucks, zu einer Höhe der Anschauung, wie sie nur Bewußtsein der guten Sache und des tiefen 25 sittlichen Rechts verleihen kann. Er sagte:

„Die Arbeitseinstellung ist in unsren Augen nur ein rohes Mittel, um den Arbeitslohn zu bestimmen; wir wenden es nur wider Willen an, denn es setzt den Arbeiter und seine Familie Wochen, Monate lang den empfindlichsten Entbehungen aus, ohne ihm die Sicherheit zu bieten, endlich einen gerechten Lohn zu 30 erhalten. Die internationale Association stellt es sich zur Aufgabe, durch das Studium der ökonomischen Verhältnisse eine gütliche Regulirung der Arbeitsfrage zu erzielen; aber da man unsren Studien Hindernisse in den Weg legt und dadurch die Lösung der sozialen Frage verzögert, so werden wir noch oft, um unser Brod zu schützen, zur Arbeitseinstellung greifen müssen.“ 35

Ich muß aber noch einen andern Punkt berühren.

Vor dem Gesetze sind Sie Richter und wir Angeklagte; aber ||6| vor den Prinzipien sind wir zwei Parteien, Sie die Partei der Ordnung um jeden Preis, des Stillstandes, wir die Partei der Reform, des Socialismus. Untersuchen wir denn einmal ehrlich: welches ist dieser gesellschaftliche Zustand, an dessen Vollkommenheit gezweifelt zu haben unser Verbrechen ist? Von der Ungleichheit bis aufs Mark zerfressen, von der Selbstsucht am Leben bedroht, verröchelt er unter den eisernen Krallen der antisocialen Vorurtheile. Trotz der Erklärung der Men-

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schenrechte, trotz kurzer Siege des Volkswillens, hängt es doch nur von wenigen Machthabern ab, im brudermörderischen Kampfe von Nation gegen Nation stromweise das Blut des Volkes zu vergießen, des Volkes, das, unter gleichem Drucke seufzend, nach gleicher Befreiung sich sehnt.

- 5 Genüsse giebt es nur für eine kleine Minderheit, die sich deren denn auch im vollsten Maße und in raffinirtester Weise erfreut; die große Masse verkümmert in Elend und Unwissenheit, hier unter unerbittlichem Drucke stöhnend, dort vom Hunger hingerafft, überall aber in der Nacht der Vorurtheile und des Aberglaubens tappend, daß ihrer Sklaverei kein Ende werde.
- 10 Wollen Sie Einzelnes, nun, so sehen Sie, wie die Operationen an der Börse Verwirrung und Unheil erzeugen, wie Ueberfluß oder Hungersnoth in den Händen der Finanz-Pascha's liegen, neben deren Goldhaufen Lüge, Ruin und der scheußliche Bankerott lagern. Im Gewerbsstande eine maßlose Konkurrenz, die den Arbeiter erdrückt und jedes vernünftige Verhältniß zwischen Production und
- 15 Verbrauch aufgehoben hat. Für das Nothdürftige fehlt es an Armen, aber das Unnötige ist im Ueberfluß da; während Millionen armer Kinder nackt gehen, glänzen auf den Weltausstellungen Shawls zu fabelhaften Preisen, die über zehntausend Arbeitstage gekostet haben. Der Arbeiter erschwingt nicht das Nöthigste, aber von reichlich gefütterten Nichtsthuern wimmelt es.
- 20 Das Alterthum mußte untergehen, weil ihm der Pfahl der Sklaverei im Fleische stak; wenn die Neuzeit sich eben so wenig um die Leiden der Massen kümmert, wenn sie die Gesammtheit zwingen will, fortwährend zu arbeiten, zu leiden, zu entbehren, nur damit Einzelne in Herrlichkeit und in Freuden leben können, wenn sie nicht einsehen will, daß ein solcher gesellschaftlicher Zustand geradezu
- 25 empörend ist, dann wird auch ihr Ende nicht mehr ferne sein. |

J67| Dr. W. *Palley*, von der Oxfordner Universität, sagt im Blatte *'La Coopération'* vom Mai d.J.:

,Denkt euch einen Flug Tauben auf einem Kornfelde. 99 Tauben, statt frisch loszupicken, nehmen für sich nur das Stroh und den Abfall, die Körner aber 30 sammeln sie zu einem großen Haufen, allein bestimmt für eine einzige Taube, oft die schwächste und erbärmlichste von allen; diese stolziert glücksend, fressend, zertretend und verderbend einher, während die fleißigen Tauben gutmütig zuschend im Kreise sitzen; da wagt es auf einmal eine andere Taube, vielleicht muthiger, vielleicht hungeriger als ihre Mitschwester, ein Körnchen wegzu-35 schnappen; nun stürzen aus blindem Gehorsam alle übrigen auf die Missethäterin los, um sie zu zerzausen, ihr den Raub abzujagen und sie aus der Gesellschaft auszuschließen.'

Betrachten Sie dieses Bild, so finden Sie freilich, daß es in der Natur nicht vorkommen kann, dafür aber tagtäglich sich hundertfach wiederholt bei den mit 40 Vernunft begabten Menschen. Die Folgerung aber ist zweifach; *Sie* folgern daraus: dafür stehe der Mensch durch Vernunft über dem Thiere. *Ich* aber sage Ihnen, der Mensch kann *trotz* seiner Vernunft noch bei dem Thiere in die Schule gehen!

Und gehört es vielleicht nicht zu den 99, jenes Wesen, das im Elende geboren 45 seine Mutter kaum sieht, weil die zur Arbeit gehen muß, das Hunger und Kälte

erduldet, jedem Unfall ausgesetzt im Schmutze groß wird und schon in der Kindheit den Keim zu einer Krankheit legt, die ihm bis zum Grabe folgen wird? Kaum ist es acht Jahre alt, kaum ist nur die geringste Kraft da, so heißt es: arbeiten! Arbeiten in dünner, ungesunder Luft, mißhandelt, zur Unwissenheit verdammt, und durch die bösen Beispiele jeder Verführung Preis gegeben. So geht das fort 5 bis in's Jünglingsalter. Nun, mit 20 Jahren, muß der Bursche die Eltern, die seiner bedürfen, verlassen, um in irgend einer Kaserne entmenscht oder auf irgend einem Schlachtfelde todgeschossen zu werden. Kommt er mit dem Leben davon, so kann er heirathen (falls es anders der englische Philantrop *Malthus* und der französische Minister *Duchâtel* erlauben, die übrigens meinen, der Arbeiter braucht 10 weder Frau noch Familie, und kein Mensch zwinge ihn, am Leben zu bleiben, sobald er nichts mehr habe, sein Leben zu fristen). Also er heirathet, und bald halten Armuth, Theuerung, Arbeitslosigkeit, Krankheit 15 | 68 | heiten und Kinder ihren Einzug in sein Haus. Wenn er nun im Hinblick auf die Noth der Seinen, einen gerechteren Lohn für seine Arbeit verlangt, dann fesselt man ihn durch den Hunger wie in Preston, man schießt ihn nieder wie zu Charleroi, man kerkt ihn ein wie zu Bologna, man überliefert ihn dem Belagerungszustand wie in Catalonien, man schleppt ihn vor's Gericht wie in Paris. ...

So geht dieser Unglückliche weiter auf der Bahn der Leiden und der Kränkungen; im reifen Mannesalter, ohne eine versöhnende Rückerinnerung an seine 20 Jugendzeit, sieht er mit Schrecken das Alter herannahen; hat er keine, oder nur eine arme Familie, so stirbt er endlich, wie ein Uebelthäter, in einer Anstalt für Bettler.

Und doch hat dieser Mann viermal mehr producirt als verzehrt. Was hat denn die Gesellschaft mit dem Ueberfluß gemacht? Fragt die hundertste Taube, ... die 25 nichts hervorbringt, sondern von der Arbeit der 99 andern lebt.

Die Geschichte zeigt uns, daß jedes Volk oder Gesellschaftswesen, das, vom Wege der strengen Gerechtigkeit abweichend, sich auf s Unrecht stützte, der Zersetzung und Auflösung verfiel; und gerade das ist unser Trost in dieser Zeit des Luxus und des Elendes, der Gewalt und der Sklaverei, der Unwissenheit und 30 Verdummung, der Entstättigung und Fäulniß, daß wir mit Sicherheit aus den Lehren der Vergangenheit den Schluß ziehen können: so lange noch ein Mensch an der Schwelle eines von allen Schätzen strotzenden Palastes verhungern kann, so lange haben die staatlichen Einrichtungen keinen Bestand.

Fühlt unserer Zeit den Puls, und ihr werdet einen dumpfen Groll entdecken 35 zwischen der Klasse, die Alles behalten und der, die die Frucht ihres Fleißes wieder gewinnen will. Der krasse Aberglaube, den unserer Meinung nach das 18. Jahrhundert vernichtet hatte, wird wieder hervorgeholt; überall zügellose Selbstsucht und Sittenlosigkeit: das sind die Zeichen des Verfalls; der Boden wankt und entschlüpft unter euren Füßen: seid auf der Hut! 40

Eine Klasse, die bisher auf der Weltbühne nur hin und wieder erschien, um einen großen Act der Gerechtigkeit auszuüben, die zu allen Zeiten und unter allen Regierungen unterdrückt war, die Klasse der Arbeit, sie bietet euch jetzt ein Mittel zur Wiedergeburt; es wäre weise, ihre vernünftige Berechtigung anzuer-

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kennen, ihr gemeinnütziges ||Ø| Werk nicht zu stören. Ein Hauch absoluter Freiheit kann allein diese Luft reinigen, die Unwetter verscheuchen, die uns drohen. ...

Wenn eine Klasse das moralische Uebergewicht, das ihr zur Herrschaft verholfen, verloren hat, so muß sie vom Schauplatz verschwinden, wenn sie nicht zu Grausamkeiten, dem letzten Mittel aller untergehenden Gewalten, greifen will. Möchte die Bourgeoisie begreifen, daß ihr Streben nicht groß genug ist, um alle Bedürfnisse der Zeit zu umfassen, und daß ihr deshalb nichts anderes mehr übrig bleibt, als in der jungen Klasse aufzugehen, die ihr eine mächtige politische Wiegegeburt, die Gleichheit und die Solidarität durch die Freiheit entgegenbringt!"

Das Urtheil des Gerichtshofs lautete für jeden der 9 Angeklagten auf 3 Monat Gefängniß und 100 Franken Geldstrafe, wogegen die Verurteilten Berufung eingelegt haben, die schließlich verworfen worden ist.

Diese Verfolgung der internationalen Arbeiterassocation durch die französische Regierung hat neben ihrer socialen Bedeutung auch eine politische. Zum ersten Mal seit dem Staatsstreich von 1852 hat eine in Frankreich bestehende Gesellschaft es gewagt, der strafrechtlichen Verfolgung civilrechtlichen Widerstand entgegenzusetzen und bürgerliche Rechte für sich zu beanspruchen, welche der Erwählte des allgemeinen Stimmrechts durch seine Organe nicht gut verweigern konnte, ohne dadurch seinem jahrelangen Kokettiren mit der Arbeiterklasse ein Ende mit Schrecken zu machen. Es läßt sich mit ziemlicher Gewißheit annehmen, daß die Verfolgung vom Staatsminister *Rauher* ausgeht. So groß aber ist die Verlegenheit, in welche die vermeinte Notwendigkeit des Vorgehens aus politischen Gründen diesen versetzt hat, daß er, während er das Pariser Bureau verfolgt, noch nicht gewagt hat, die Gruppen der Association zu Lyon, Rouen, Roubaix, Bordeaux, Marseille etc. aufzulösen.

Das Pariser Journal „Le Réveil“, Organ der Partei *Ledru Rollin*, spricht sich über die Haltung der Mitglieder des Pariser Comité's äußerst beifällig aus. Es stellt den politischen Scharfblick und die sittliche Ueberlegenheit der Arbeiterklasse den Kabalen und der Bornirtheit der herrschenden Klassen gegenüber. Es thut folgenden bemerkenswerthen Ausspruch: |

170j „Die Uebereinstimmung der Ideen und der Gesinnung unter den Arbeitern der verschiedenen Länder Europa's ist es, auf welcher unsere Friedenshoffnungen basiren. In wenigen Wochen wird der Congréß der internationalen Arbeiterassocation zusammenentreten. Alle Länder Europa's werden dort vertreten sein, vielleicht mit alleiniger Ausnahme von Frankreich. Und dürfte es zu viel gesagt sein, daß diese Versammlung von Delegirten der Arbeit aus ganz Europa durch die Weisheit ihrer Beschlüsse ein amphitryonischer Senat von Europa zu werden verspricht? Ja, wenn dieser Congréß auf der Grundlage der ewig unvergänglichen Principien der französischen Revolution und der geheiligten Interessen der Arbeit, welche Ordnung, Sicherheit der Person und Freiheit verlangen, den Frieden decretirt, so wird ganz Europa dies Gebot mit Enthusiasmus aufnehmen.“

2. Conflict mit der belgischen Regierung.

Aufgehetzt durch die Journale der belgischen Bourgeoisie, an ihrer Spitze die „Independance beige“, suchte die belgische Regierung die internationale Arbeiterassocation als Urheberin der Vorfälle im District von Charleroi darzustellen. Die gerichtliche Untersuchung gegen die belgischen Märzgefangenen aber stellte 5 sehr bald die völlige Grundlosigkeit dieser Behauptung heraus, die wohl von vornherein weiter nichts war als eine wohlüberlegte Tendenzlüge.

Nichts desto weniger ergriff im Mai 1868 der belgische Justiz- und Polizeiminister *Jules Bara* die Gelegenheit der Debatte über die Erneuerung des Ausweisungsgesetzes gegen Fremde in der belgischen Deputirtenkammer, um die internationale Arbeiterassocation heftig anzugreifen, ihre Existenz zum Hauptgrund der beantragten Erneuerung des Fremdengesetzes zu machen, und sogar zu erklären, *er werde die Zusammenkunft des nächsten allgemeinen Congresses der Association*, welche der Congreß zu Lausanne auf den 7. September 1868 nach Brüssel ausgeschrieben hatte, *nicht dulden*. 10 15

Darauf vereinigten sich die Verwaltungscomité's der Brüsseler und sämmtlicher übrigen Gruppen der internationalen Association in Belgien zu einem Schreiben an den Herrn Minister, welches |71| vom 22. Mai datirt, gedruckt und der Oeffentlichkeit übergeben wurde. Darin wurde dem Minister gesagt, er habe in dieser Sache absolut nichts zu sagen, und *der Congreß werde in Brüssel stattfinden*. Im Eingange dieses unehrerbietigen Schreibens heißt es:

„Herr Minister! Die Unterzeichneten kommen, um sich bei Ihnen für den großen Dienst zu bedanken, welchen Sie ihrer Sache geleistet haben, indem Sie sich damit in der Kammersitzung befaßten und somit die parlamentarischen Annalen zur Verbreitung unserer Grundsätze dienen ließen.“ 20 25

Sie verschmähen uns heute nicht mehr, wie es scheint. Lange haben Ihre Zei- tungen die Fortschritte der Association im Lande mit Stillschweigen übergangen; dem Vogel Strauß ähnlich schlössen Sie die Augen zu, um der Gefahr zu entgehen. Heute halten Sie sich verpflichtet, uns als eine Macht zu betrachten, Sie geben uns eine officielle Weihe und erkennen in Ihrer Stellung an, daß wir Ihnen 30 eine Macht entgegensezten. ...

Doch es fällt Ihnen schwer, einzugestehen, daß Sie und die Ihrigen in Belgien unpopulär sind, und wenn irgend ein Fremder kommt, unserer Association Beistand zu leisten, so beeilen Sie sich, ihm Alles, was da gemacht wird, in die Schuhe zu schieben.“ 35

Nachdem darauf die ministerielle Zumuthung, als wäre die Bewegung unter den belgischen Arbeitern von Außen her inspirirt und geleitet, mit Energie zurückgewiesen, heißt es weiter:

„Sie begreifen, Herr Minister, daß wir uns ebensowenig von einem Mann, als von einem Faß Wacholderschnaps bestimmen lassen. Wir wissen sehr gut, durch 40 uns selbst zu handeln, und das Verlangen nach Gerechtigkeit, welches in jedem ehrenhaften Gewissen existirt, bestimmt unsere Handlungen allein. Kaum gestern geboren, zählt unser Bund schon Tausende von Theilnehmern in unserm Lande; und wir Alle haben die gleiche Meinung, und wir Alle sind fest entschlossen, dem gemeinsamen Ziel entgegen zu schreiten: *der Emancipation der Arbeit*.“ 45

Die Internationale Arbeiterassoziation

Diese Lehren scheinen Ihnen unglaublich, Herr Minister; vernehmen Sie noch andere."

Nun ward dem Herrn Minister Näheres über die Bestrebungen der internatio-

nalen Arbeiterassocation mitgetheilt und ihm gerathen, sich in den Akten der

- 5 Congresse noch genauere Auskunft zu ver|72| schaffen. Dann wurden ihm die Regierungssünden vorgehalten und die Leichen der im Bassin von Charleroi ohne Noth gemordeten Arbeiter, denen man statt Brod den Tod gab, vor die Seele geführt. Auch wurden die Arbeitseinstellungen als ein unzulängliches Mittel, die Lage des Arbeiters zu bessern, anerkannt, aber erklärt, daß es ein legitimes und

- 10 das einzige der Arbeit übrig gebliebene sei, um gegen die Ungebührlichkeit des Kapitals zu protestiren. Zum Schluß heißt es;

„Jawohl, Herr Minister der ‚Gerechtigkeit‘, wir wollen die Gerechtigkeit, welche Sie verleugnen, triumphiren machen, ja, wir thun dies ohne Sie, trotz Ihnen und gegen Sie. ...

- 15 Sie haben gesagt, Sie erlauben unsren Congreß nicht. Sie müssen wahrlich, Herr Minister, sehr erhitzt gewesen sein, als Sie solch' absurde Worte aussprachen. ... Sie haben z.B. das ‚Recht der Versammlung‘ proklamirt, und wir sind begierig, zu sehen, zu welchem Mittel Sie greifen werden, um es ungestraft zu verletzen. ... Trotz all' Ihrer Großsprecherei wird der Congreß im September in

- 20 Brüssel stattfinden. ... Ein letztes Wort: Sie sprechen von dem Blitzstrahl, den wir auf Belgien herableiten. Den Blitzstrahl aber haben Sie selbst durch Ihr unver-

söhnliches System der Autorität hervorgerufen. Der wahre Gewittersturm ist da, neben Ihnen, und Sie merken es nicht."

Der Generalrath der internationalen Association zu London bestätigte in sei-

- 25 ner Sitzung vom 16. Juni 1868 den Beschuß der belgischen Comité's, den Congreß trotz des erklärten Widerstandes der Regierung zur festgesetzten Zeit in Brüssel abzuhalten.

Auch die Verwaltungscomité's in Frankreich erklärten durch Zustimmungs-

adressen ihren Entschluß, an dem Congreß in Brüssel Theil zu nehmen und den

- 30 Folgen Trotz zu bieten.

Der Pariser „Courrier français“ aber erklärte in Bezug auf die gleichzeitigen Angriffe auf die internationale Association in der Schweiz, in Frankreich und Belgien:

- „Diese Begebenheiten sind sehr interessant, denn die Association gewinnt in

35 diesem Augenblick eine großartige Verbreitung auf dem ganzen europäischen

Continent. Ueberau ist sie ein wenig Sündenbock der Reaction, und dies beweist,

daß man sie überall als die Avantgarde der socialen Reformation betrachtet.“ \

|73| 11. Ausbreitung der Association.

In England haben sich der internationalen Arbeiterassocation seit dem Beschuß

- 40 des Congresses der Gewerbe-Vereine zu Sheffield im Jahr 1866 ungefähr 50 Ge-

werbe-Vereine mit ihren Zweiggesellschaften im Vereinigten Königreich ange-

schlössen. Darunter Arbeitergruppen, z. B. 30 000 Erdarbeiter an den Eisenbahnen, die bisher sich nie, weder an Gewerbe-Vereinen noch andern Bewegungen betheiligt hatten.

In *Irland* befindet sich eine Section zu Dublin.

In den *Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* beschloß am 20. August 1866 der fédérale Arbeitercongreß zu Chicago mit der internationalen Association sich zum gemeinsamen Wirken zu verbinden. Seitdem steht der Londoner Generalrath in Correspondenz mit der allgemeinen nationalen Arbeiterassociation in den Vereinigten Staaten. Sie wird auf dem diesjährigen Brüsseler Congreß durch einen besondern Deputirten vertreten sein. 5

In *Frankreich* sind die direct und ausschließlich mit London correspondirenden Gruppen sehr zahlreich. Es bestehen Sectionen zu Paris, Rouen, Lyon, Marseille, Bordeaux, Lille, Roubaix, Argentan (Orne), Caen, Digne (Basses-Alpes), Fleuriex (sur Saône), Fuveau (Bouches-du-Rhône), Fiers (Orne), Granville (Manche), Harcourt, Thierry (Calvados), Havre, Lisieux, Neuville (sur Saône), Nantes, 15 Neufchâteau (Vosges), Orléans, Crets (Bouches-du-Rhône), Villefranche (Rhône), Vienne (Isère) u.s. w. Bemerkenswerth ist, daß auch mehrere französische Landgemeinden der Association beigetreten sind. In den französischen *Kolonieen* existirt eine Gruppe in Algier und eine in Gouadeloupe. 10

In *Belgien* sind die Hauptsitze der Association zu Brüssel, Lüttich, Verviers und Louvain. Unter den Kohlen- und Eisenarbeitern hat in diesem Jahr ein Massenbeitritt stattgefunden. 20

In *Holland* existiren zwei Sectionen zu Rotterdam und Amsterdam.

In *Spanien* eine Section zu Barcelona.

In *Italien* steht die aus 600 Arbeitergesellschaften bestehende allgemeine Arbeiterassocation, mit dem Hauptsitz zu Neapel und ||74| Mailand, zur internationalen Association in demselben Cartel, wie die Gewerbe-Vereine in England und die nationale Arbeiterassocation in den Vereinigten Staaten. Außerdem existiren besondere Gruppen der internationalen Association in Genua und Bologna. 25

In der *Schweiz* hat seit der Genfer Arbeitseinstellung ein Massenbeitritt von 30 Arbeitern stattgefunden. Hauptgruppen finden sich in den Städten der Cantone Basel, Bern, wo auch Landgemeinden in den villages de la montagne des Bois beigetreten sind, Genf, hier allein zählt die Gesellschaft in der Stadt Genf über 6000 Mitglieder, Canton Neufchâtel, Canton de Vaux, Canton Zürich. Der Schweizer Grüttiverein und verschiedene deutsche Arbeiterbildungsvereine der 35 Schweiz sind der Association affiliirt.

In *Deutschland* existiren mehrere Gruppen. Doch erklären die meisten dieser Gesellschaften, trotz ihrer Sympathieen *aus Mangel an gesetzlicher Autorisation* officiell nicht beitreten zu können. Die Verbindung mit Deutschland ist daher noch mangelhaft. Das besondere Centralbüro für Deutschland ist dasselbe wie 40 das für die deutschredenden Schweizer, und steht unter der Leitung von Joh. Phil. Becker zu Genf, Pré-f Evêque 33. Im Londoner Generalrath ist Deutschland vertreten durch Karl Marx. Secretär für Deutschland, wohnhaft 1. Modena Villas, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, London N.W., und durch George Eccarius, Generalsecretär der Association. 45

Die Internationale Arbeiterassoziation

Die Journale der Association sind:

The Bee-Hive Newspaper zu London.

The Workingman's Advocate zu Chicago.

Le Courier Français zu Paris. Auch le Siècle, la Liberté, l'Opinon nationale

5 veröfentlichen die Beschlüsse etc. der Association.

Die *demokratischen* Organe zu Lyon, Rouen, Bordeaux etc.

La Voix de l'Avenir zu Lausanne.

Der Vorbote zu Genf.

Das Demokratische Wochenblatt zu Leipzig, welches, wenn auch nicht Organ

10 der Association, so doch ihre Principien vertritt.

La Tribune du Peuple, la Liberté, l'Espiègle, le Devoir, le Mirabeau, la Cigale, l'Ingénue, le Peuple Belge, alle in Belgien (Brüssel, Verviers etc.).

Endlich die Arbeiterblätter in Italien. |

|75| Schluß.

15 Noch eine angenehme Pflicht hat der Verfasser zu erfüllen, ehe er sich von den deutschen Arbeitern, denen diese Schrift gewidmet ist, verabschiedet.

Unter der Ueberschrift „Die Achtstunden-Bewegung“ bringt die „Kölnische Zeitung“ vom 19. Juli 1868 folgende erfreuliche Mittheilung:

„Eine Agitation, welche schon seit einigen Jahren in den Vereinigten Staaten 20 im Schwange gewesen ist, sieht sich plötzlich, weniger durch das eigene innere Verdienst, als durch Zusammentreffen äußerer Umstände, die auf die Gesetzgebung einwirkten, mit vollem Erfolge gekrönt. Schon einmal war die Arbeitszeit in den Werkstätten und Faktoreien der Regierung von zwölf auf zehn Stunden täglich herabgesetzt worden. Hiermit nicht zufrieden, verlangten die Arbeiter eine

25 weitere Verkürzung auf acht Stunden, (wohl zu merken, ohne Verminderung der bisherigen Löhne, und daher der Name ‚the eight hours movement‘). Mehrmals hatte der Congres dieses Ersuchen abgewiesen, einem erneuerten Antrage aber das gleiche Schicksal widerfahren zu lassen, hat er nunmehr nicht gewagt. Denn beide Parteien bedürfen der Stimmen der Arbeiter bei der bevorstehenden Prä-

30 sidentenwahl, und keine will sich durch Bethättigung des vielleicht von ihrer inneren Ueberzeugung gebotenen Widerstandes gegen die erwähnte Bewegung in die Gefahr bringen, es mit jenen zahlreichen Stimmen zu verderben. Auch in England hat ein Theil der Arbeiter schon die nach einem Spiel mit Worten schmeckende Devise auf seine Fahne geschrieben: ‚Acht Stunden Arbeit, acht Stunden Erho-

35 lung, acht Stunden Schlaf und acht Schilling Lohn.‘ So lange sich eine solche Bewegung in den Schranken des Gesetzes hält, und so lange keine Einschüchterung, kein unerlaubter Zwang gegen solche Arbeiter ausgeübt wird, die für sich selbst denken und nach eigenem Ermessen über die Verwendung ihrer eigenen Arbeitskräfte bestimmen wollen, wird man der Agitation ihren natürlichen Lauf

40 lassen müssen und wollen. Das all | 76(mächtige Gesetz, welches ungeschrieben die Nachfrage und das Angebot regelt, wird sich schließlich auch hier zur Geltung bringen.“

Daß die „Kölnische Zeitung“, das Organ des deutschen Bourgeois, von dem plötzlichen Erfolge der Achtstunden-Bewegung in Amerika nicht sonderlich erbaut ist, darf Niemand Wunder nehmen, der, wie sie, von der „Allmacht“ des „ungeschriebenen“ Gesetzes über Angebot und Nachfrage überzeugt ist.

Vom „Angebot und Nachfrage“ Standpunkt hat auch die „New-Yorker Handelszeitung“ Recht, wenn sie unwirsch sich dahin äußert: 5

„Einen Beschuß, welcher nach Demagogenthum riecht, müssen wir rügen. Beide Häuser des Congresses haben die Arbeitszeit in den Regierungs-Werkstätten auf acht Stunden festgesetzt, unter Fortbestand des bisherigen Lohnes, und der Präsident hat das Gesetz prompt unterzeichnet. Mit andern Worten: die Nationalbehörden haben das Achtstunden-System eingeführt. Dazu haben sie das Recht; ein Prinzipal kann die Arbeitszeit in seinen Etablissements bestimmen. Aber zugleich haben sie damit eine Agitation sanctionirt, die keinen Sinn und Verstand hat, und das wissen sie. Im Allgemeinen hat die Gesetzgebung mit der Regelung des Verhältnisses zwischen Arbeiter und Arbeitgeber gerade so viel zu thun, wie mit der Frage, wie häufig der edle und freie Bürger dieser Republik ein neues Hemd anziehen, ob er auf ganzen oder zerrissenen Strümpfen durch das Leben wandeln soll, und ob gerade der Versuch zeitgemäß ist, den fünften Theil der Productionskraft brach zu legen, ist auch doch wohl eine offene Frage. Ein Mann, der sich beim blinden Theil der Arbeitermassen beliebt machen wollte, 20 warf den Feuerbrand hinein, und beim Bevorstehen der Nationalwahlen wollte Niemand der Gefahr trotzen, sich daran die Finger zu verbrennen. Der Preis der Arbeit wie der jeder andern Waare wird geregelt durch das Verhältniß zwischen Angebot und Nachfrage. Will die Gesetzgebung sich damit befassen, so blamirt sie sich. Daß die Herren Repräsentanten und Senatoren dies nicht einsehen, ist 25 undenkbar. Zu unserem Befremden äußerte selbst ein Mann wie Senator *Sumner* über das Bildungsbedürfniß des Arbeiters, dem auf diese Weise Rechnung getragen werden müsse, eine Reihe schöner Worte, von deren totaler Inhaltslosigkeit er selbst tief durchdrungen sein mußte. Nur der ist ein Freund des Volkes, welcher ihm uner| |77|schrocken, auch auf die Gefahr, sich selbst zu schaden, die 30 Wahrheit sagt. Ist die Wahl vorbei, so werden die Arbeiter merken, daß sie betrogen sind.“

Ob die Achtstunden-Bewegung „keinen Sinn und Verstand“ hat, ob die amerikanischen Arbeiter, sobald die Präsidentenwahl vorüber ist, merken werden, daß sie „betrogen seien“, ist eine Frage, deren Lösung die nächste Zukunft bringen wird. 35

Für Europa tritt sie in den Hintergrund gegenüber dem großen Ereigniß, daß die Gesetzgebung der Vereinigten Staaten die Achtstunden-Bewegung sanctionirt hat.

Die Folgen werden nicht ausbleiben. Von den Werkstätten und Factoreien der Vereinigten-Staaten-Regierung wird sich das Achtstunden-Princip Bahn brechen und als sittliche und berechtigte Forderung der Arbeiterklasse Geltung verschaffen allerwärts in Amerika, England und dem Continent von Europa, allerwärts, wo bis auf den heutigen Tag der Glaube an die „Allmacht“ von Angebot und 40

Die Internationale Arbeiterassoziation

Nachfrage die Arbeitszeit auf das äußerste Maß der Arbeitsfähigkeit hinaufgetrieben, den Arbeitslohn auf das äußerste Maß der Lebensnothdurft des Arbeiters herabgedrückt hat.

Jetzt beginnt sich zu bewahrheiten, was *Karl Marx*, der gründliche Forscher und Kenner der socialen Zustände, schon am 25. Juli 1867 prophezeiht hat:

*„Wie der amerikanische Unabhängigkeitskrieg des 18. Jahrhunderts die Sturm- glocke für die europäische Mittelklasse läutete, so der amerikanische Bürgerkrieg des 19. Jahrhunderts für die europäische Arbeiterklasse.“ *

Friedrich Leßner
Aufruf an die deutschen Arbeiter Londons

Hermann.
Nr. 502, 15. August 1868

Aufruf an die deutschen Arbeiter Londons.

Arbeiter!

Am 7. September d.J. versammelt sich der dritte Internationale Arbeiter-Congreß zu Brüssel.

Auf diesem Congreß sollen die besten Mittel zur Ausbreitung, Kräftigung und gemeinsamer Wirksamkeit des internationalen Bundes der Arbeiter berathen werden; ferner solche Fragen, die den Interessen der Arbeiterklasse am nächsten liegen und nach Lösung drängen. 5

Endlich soll man sich gegenseitig über die Mittel der Propaganda verständigen.

Die Fragen, die dem Congreß von dem Generalrath vorgelegt werden, sind 10 folgende:

- 1) Abkürzung und Regelung des Arbeitstages;
- 2) Der Einfluß der Maschinerie in den Händen der Capitalisten;
- 3) Die Natur des Grundeigenthums;
- 4) Die Erziehung der Arbeiterklasse; 15
- 5) Errichtung von Creditanstalten, um die sociale Befreiung der Arbeiterklasse zu fördern;
- 6) Die besten Mittel zur Gründung von co-operativen Produktionsgesellschaften.

Um an der Durchführung des durch Zeit und Umstände gebotenen Unternehmens mitzuwirken, fordern wir Euch auf zu thun was in Euren Kräften steht, als Vereine oder auch als einzelne Personen. Es gilt, durch freiwillige Beiträge so viel zusammen zu bringen, daß die deutschen Arbeiter Londons durch einen oder mehrere Abgeordneten vertreten werden können. Es wäre schmachvoll, wenn in der jetzigen so bewegten Zeit unter den Tausenden von deutschen Arbeitern in 20 London nicht genug Gemeinsinn für die eigenen Klasseninteressen herrschte, um ihre Vertretung auf dem Brüsseler Congreß zu sichern. Darum Hand ans Werk! Es ist hohe Zeit, daß die Arbeiter aller Länder sich vereinigen und begreifen, daß zum erfolgreichen Kampfe gegen die Herrschergewalt der Capitalisten ein mächtiger Bund aller Glieder der Arbeiterklasse nöthig ist. 25 30

Aufruf an die deutschen Arbeiter Londons

Laßt uns nicht vergessen, daß in den Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerikas der *achtstündige* Arbeitstag bereits als *Gesetz* für alle Regierungswerkstätten proklamirt worden ist.

Erinnern wir uns auch jener geschichtlichen, inhaltsreichen Worte, welche Karl Marx in der Vorrede seines Werkes: „Das Kapital; Kritik der politischen Oekonomie“, 1867 niederschrieb:

„Wie der amerikanische Unabhängigkeitskrieg des 18. Jahrhunderts die Sturm-glocke für die europäische Mittelklasse läutete, so der amerikanische Bürgerkrieg des 19. Jahrhunderts für die europäische Arbeiterklasse.“

10 Beiträge werden im Deutschen Arbeiter-Bildungsverein Montags, Mittwochs und Samstags Abends von 9 Uhr an in Empfang genommen vom Sekretär und Kassirer.

„Windsor Castle," Long Acre, W.C.

Im Namen des Deutschen Arbeiter-Bildungsvereins, deutscher Zweig der Internationalen Arbeiter-Association:
15 Der Vorstand.

Karl Marx/Paul Lafargue
Le quatrième rapport annuel du Conseil Général
de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs

L'année 1867-68 marquera dans l'histoire de l'Association Internationale des travailleurs. Après une époque de développement paisible, elle a pris des dimensions assez puissantes pour provoquer les dénonciations haineuses de la bourgeoisie européenne et les démonstrations hostiles des gouvernements. Elle est entrée dans la phase de la lutte.

5

Le gouvernement français a naturellement pris l'initiative des attaques réactionnaires contre la classe ouvrière. Déjà l'année dernière, nous avions à signaler ses manœuvres occultes : il confisquait notre correspondance, saisissait nos statuts et les documents du Congrès de Lausanne. Après les démarches infructueuses pour rentrer en possession de ces pièces, le gouvernement impérial ne les a rendues que sous la pression officielle de Lord Stanley, ministre anglais des affaires étrangères.

Mais cette année l'Empire a jeté bas le masque et a essayé de détruire l'Internationale par des coups de police et des actes judiciaires. Le gouvernement impérial, produit de la lutte des classes, dont les journées de Juin 1848 sont l'ex-pression la plus grandiose, fut forcé de se poser comme le sauveur officiel de la bourgeoisie et comme le protecteur paternel du prolétariat. Le pouvoir croissant de l'Internationale se manifestant dans les grèves de Roubaix, Amiens, Paris, Genève, etc., le mettait dans la nécessité de l'englober ou de le détruire. L'empire voulait bien, pour le commencement, se contenter de peu de choses. Le manifeste des Parisiens, lu au Congrès de Genève, ayant été arrêté à la frontière française, notre bureau de Paris demanda au ministre de l'intérieur les motifs de cette saisie. M. Rouher sollicita une entrevue, dans laquelle il consentit à autoriser l'entrée du manifeste si on y faisait quelques modifications ; sur le refus des membres parisiens, il ajouta : « Pourtant si vous faisiez entrer quelques remerciements à l'adresse de l'Empereur qui a tant fait pour les classes ouvrières, l'on pourrait voir. » Le sous-empereur, M. Rouher, en fut pour sa demande.

Dès ce moment, l'Empire chercha un prétexte pour supprimer l'Internationale. Sa colère fut encore exaltée par l'agitation anti-chauvinique, créée par nos membres, après la guerre allemande. Peu après, lorsque la panique féniane fut arrivée à son comble, votre conseil général envoya au gouvernement anglais une pétition pour demander la commutation de la peine des trois martyrs de Manchester, en

Le quatrième rapport annuel du Conseil Général

qualifiant leur pendaïson d'assassinat juridique ; en même temps, il tenait à Londres des meetings publics, où il soutenait les droits des Irlandais. L'Empire, toujours désireux de mériter les bonnes grâces de l'Angleterre, crut le moment propice pour mettre les mains sur l'Internationale. Il fit des perquisitions nocturnes, 5 fouilla avec avidité dans les correspondances privées, et annonça à grand bruit qu'il tenait le centre de la conspiration féniane dont l'Internationale était un des principaux organes. Malgré toutes ses laborieuses recherches, le gouvernement impérial en fut pour ses frais. Le parquet même ne put trouver des preuves pour le satisfaire.

10 Ne pouvant intenter à l'Association un procès de société secrète, on se contenta d'une société non autorisée de plus de vingt personnes. Néanmoins les juges français, rompus à la discipline impériale, s'empressèrent de dissoudre l'Internationale et de jeter en prison notre bureau de Paris. Le tribunal eut la naïveté de déclarer dans ses considérants que l'Empire était incompatible avec une association de prolétaires proclamant comme principes, la vérité, la justice, la morale.

Le contre-coup de ces persécutions se fit sentir dans les départements, les mesquineries préfectorales contre les sections succédèrent aux condamnations de Paris.

Les tracasseries gouvernementales, loin de tuer l'Internationale, lui ont donné 20 un nouvel essor en coupant court aux coquetteries malsaines de l'Empire avec la classe ouvrière.

En Belgique, l'Internationale a fait de grands progrès. Les patrons des mines du bassin de Charleroi, après avoir poussé à bout les ouvriers mineurs par leurs exactions incessantes, forcèrent le gouvernement à leur prêter son armée pour les 25 massacer. Alors l'Internationale que les bourgeois belges essayèrent en vain de faire le bouc émissaire de leurs propres infamies, prit en main la cause des mineurs, mit à nu leur misérable condition économique, secourut les familles des morts et des blessés et procura des défenseurs aux prisonniers qui furent tous acquittés. Après l'affaire de Charleroi, le succès de l'Internationale en Belgique 30 était assuré. Le ministre Bara, dans la Chambre des députés dénonça l'Association et fit de son existence un motif principal pour le renouvellement de la loi contre les étrangers. Il osa même menacer d'empêcher la tenue du Congrès à Bruxelles. Le gouvernement belge devrait comprendre que les petits Etats n'ont plus de raison d'être en Europe, à moins qu'ils ne soient l'asile de la liberté.

35 En Italie, la marche de l'Internationale a été entravée par la réaction qui venait à la suite du guet-apens de Mentana : une des premières conséquences étaient les restrictions apportées au droit de réunion. Mais, d'après les nombreuses correspondances qui nous sont parvenues, on peut voir que la classe ouvrière italienne constitue de jour en jour son individualité en dehors des vieux partis.

40 En Prusse, l'Internationale ne peut exister légalement à cause d'une loi qui défend toute relation avec les associations étrangères. Outre cela, le gouvernement prussien, vis-à-vis de l'*Union générale des ouvriers allemands*, a imité sur un petit pied des manœuvres bonapartistes. On le voit, les gouvernements militaires, quoique toujours prêts à s'entre-dévorer, s'entendent à merveille dès qu'il faut se 45 croiser contre leur ennemi commun, la classe ouvrière.

Karl Marx/Paul Lafargue

Malgré toutes ces entraves légales, depuis longtemps des branches indépendantes disséminées sur toute la surface du pays s'étaient ralliées au centre genevois.

L'Union générale des ouvriers allemands, dont les principales branches appartiennent au nord de l'Allemagne, dans son récent Congrès de Hambourg, a décidé d'agir de concert avec l'Internationale, quoiqu'elle ne puisse s'affilier officiellement. Le Congrès de Nuremberg, où sont représentées plus de cent sociétés ouvrières du sud et du centre de l'Allemagne, a mis à l'ordre du jour : l'adhésion directe à l'Internationale. Sur l'invitation du comité directeur, nous avons envoyé un délégué à Nuremberg. 5

En Autriche, le mouvement ouvrier prend une forme de plus en plus révolutionnaire. Au commencement de septembre, un congrès devait se tenir à Vienne dans le but de faire fraterniser les ouvriers des différentes races de l'Empire. Ils avaient aussi envoyé une adresse aux ouvriers anglais et français, dans laquelle ils proclamaient les principes de l'Internationale. Votre conseil avait déjà nommé un 10 délégué à Vienne quand le gouvernement libéral de l'Autriche, sur le point de succomber sous les coups de la réaction féodale, eut la clairvoyance de provoquer la colère des ouvriers en interdisant leur congrès. 15

Dans la lutte qu'ont soutenue les ouvriers en bâtiment de Genève, l'existence de l'Internationale était mise en question en Suisse. Pour entrer en pourparlers, 20 les patrons sommaient les ouvriers d'abandonner l'Association. Les ouvriers ont refusé. Grâce aux secours reçus de France, d'Angleterre, de Belgique, d'Allemagne, etc., par l'intermédiaire de l'Internationale, les ouvriers ont obtenu une diminution des heures de travail et une augmentation de salaire. L'Association déjà 25 enracinée en Suisse a vu le nombre de ses adhérents s'accroître rapidement. Au mois d'août dernier, le congrès d'une partie des ouvriers allemands résidant en Suisse s'est tenu à Neuenburg (Neuchâtel) et a voté unanimement l'adjonction à l'Internationale. 25

En Angleterre, l'état incertain de la politique, la dissolution des vieux partis, la préparation pour la prochaine campagne électorale ayant absorbé une grande 30 partie de nos forces, ont retardé en quelque sorte notre propagande. Néanmoins nous sommes entrés en correspondance avec un grand nombre de « Trade's-Unions » provinciales, plusieurs ont envoyé leur adhésion. A Londres, parmi les nouvelles affiliations, les sociétés des corroyeurs et des cordonniers de la Cité sont les plus importantes. 35

Votre conseil général est en constante correspondance avec l'Union nationale du travail des Etats-Unis. Même dans son dernier congrès, l'Union nationale avait voté l'envoi d'un délégué au Congrès de Bruxelles ; mais pressé par le temps, ils ont oublié de prendre les décisions spéciales pour l'exécution de ce vote. 40

La puissance latente de la classe ouvrière américaine s'est dernièrement manifestée en forçant les législateurs de plusieurs Etats particuliers de l'Union à passer une loi qui réduit la journée de travail à huit heures. Le gouvernement fédéral l'a mise immédiatement en vigueur dans tous les ateliers publics. 45

Mais pour la faire exécuter dans les ateliers privés, les ouvriers américains, ceux de New-York, par exemple, sont actuellement engagés dans une lutte acharnée contre le capital qui ne veut pas de loi. 45

Le quatrième rapport annuel du Conseil Général

Ce fait nous prouve que même sous les conditions politiques les plus favorables, tout succès sérieux du prolétariat dépend d'une organisation qui concentre ses forces, et que toute organisation isolée du prolétariat d'une nation se brisera toujours contre sa désorganisation dans les autres pays, qui tous se font concurrence sur le marché du monde, agissant et réagissant les uns contre les autres.

Il n'y a que l'entente internationale des classes ouvrières qui puisse garantir leur triomphe définitif. Ce besoin a donné naissance à l'Association internationale des travailleurs. Elle n'est fille ni d'une secte, ni d'une théorie. Elle est le produit spontané du mouvement prolétaire, engendré lui-même par les tendances naturelles et irrépressibles de la société moderne. Dans le sentiment profond de sa grande mission, l'Association internationale des travailleurs ne se laissera ni intimider, ni détourner. Sa destinée est désormais inséparable du progrès historique de la classe qui porte dans ses flancs la régénération de l'humanité.

Hermann Jung
Résumé of the meetings of the
General Council of the International
Working Men's Association.
To the Editor of "The Bee-Hive"

The Bee-Hive.
Nr. 379, 16. Januar 1869

International Workingmen's Association.

To the Editor of The Beehive.

Sir,—At the meeting of this Association, held on the 5th inst, letters were read from Germany announcing the adhesion of 2,000 miners, from Lugau, in Saxony, and arrangements are in progress with two other bodies, of 7,000 miners each, 5 with a view of their joining the International Working Men's Association.

A democratic Working Men's Club has been formed at Berlin; the members have joined the International Working Men's Association, and declared themselves opposed to the Prussian Government and to Schulze-Delitzsch. The trades' unions in Germany, on the model of the English ones, with some improvements 10 suggested by the resolutions of the Geneva, Lausanne, and Brussels' Working Men's Congresses, brought into existence by the efforts of the International Working Men's Association, number already 110,000 members.

The Belgian secretary stated that in Belgium they had sixty branches, and that they were getting new members at the rate of 1,000 per week. 15

The secretary for Switzerland stated that he had received information concerning some riband weavers of Basel, who had been locked out. The matter will come up again on Tuesday, when the Council will be in possession of the facts.

The secretary for France reported an agreement come to between the cotton masters of Rouen, the northern and some other departments of France, to reduce 20 the workmen's wages, in order to undersell the English manufacturers in their own markets.

The following resolution, proposed by Citizen Applegarth, and seconded by Citizen Marx, was unanimously agreed to:—

Resolved—That in the opinion of this Council the attempt of the employers of 25 Rouen, of the northern and other departments of France, to reduce the wages of their workpeople with the avowed object of underselling the manufacturers of England in their own markets is deserving the reprobation of the workmen and employers of all nations. That while recognising the right of free competition carried on by legitimate means, we utterly deprecate the extension of trade by 30 reducing the wages of workpeople already underpaid.

Résumé of the meetings of the General Council

Resolved—That the various societies be invited to send delegates to the next meeting of the Council, to be held on Tuesday 19 inst. at eight p.m., to devise the best means to frustrate the unwarrantable attempts of the French manufacturers, and to render to the workmen concerned such assistance as they may need.

Hermann Jung, Sec. pro. tern.

6th Jan. 1869.

Karl Marx/Paul Lafargue
Rapport annuel du Conseil Général au
quatrième congrès général de l'Association
Internationale des Travailleurs

L'Internationale.
Nr. 37, 26. September 1869

Rapport du Conseil Général
au quatrième Congrès général de
l'Association Internationale des travailleurs.

Citoyens,

Les rapports des délégués des différentes sections vous raconteront en détail les 5 progrès de notre association dans leurs pays. Le rapport du conseil général s'occupera principalement des guerillas entre le capital et le travail, c'est-à-dire des grèves, qui durant l'année dernière ont troublé l'Europe, et que l'on disait être engendrées non par la misère des ouvriers ou par le despotisme des capitalistes, mais par les secrètes intrigues de notre association. 10

Quelques semaines après la tenue de notre dernier congrès, une mémorable grève des rubanniers et des teinturiers en soie eut lieu à Bâle. Cette ville jusqu'à aujourd'hui a conservé beaucoup des traits des villes du moyen-âge, avec leurs traditions locales, leurs préjugés étroits, leurs patriciens orgueilleux de leur argent et leurs rapports patriarchaux entre les maîtres et les ouvriers. 11 y a à peine 15 quelques années un manufacturier bâlois se vantait auprès d'un secrétaire de l'ambassade anglaise, de ce que « l'entente entre l'ouvrier et le patron était mieux établie ici qu'en Angleterre », qu'en « Suisse le travailleur qui quitterait un bon patron pour un meilleur salaire serait *méprisé* par ses propres *compagnons* » et que leur supériorité consistait principalement « dans la longueur de la journée de 20 travail et dans la modicité des salaires ». Vous le voyez, le *patriarcalisme*, modifié par les influences modernes, arrive à ceci : que le maître est bon mais que les salaires sont mauvais : que, quoique l'ouvrier se sente comme un serf du moyen-âge, il est exploité comme un moderne esclave salarié.

Ce patriarcalisme peut être encore mieux apprécié par une enquête officielle 25 suisse sur l'emploi des enfants dans les manufactures et sur l'état de leurs écoles primaires. Il y est dit que « l'atmosphère des écoles primaires de Bâle est la pire du monde ; que, tandis que l'acide carbonique à l'état libre ne constitue que 3 parties sur 10 000, et que dans les endroits enfermés il ne devrait pas excéder

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10 parties, cependant dans les écoles communales bâloises il y avait de 20 à 81 parties d'acide carbonique l'après-midi et dans la soirée de 52 à 94. » A quoi un membre du grand conseil de Bâle, M. Thurneysen, répondait froidement : « N'allez pas vous alarmer ! Les parents ont passé par des écoles aussi mauvaises et ils 5 s'en sont tirés la peau sauve. »

On comprendra facilement qu'une révolte économique des ouvriers bâlois devait faire époque dans l'histoire sociale de la Suisse. Rien de plus caractéristique que le point de départ du mouvement ! Une vieille coutume accordait aux ouvriers rubanniers quelques heures de repos à la St-Michel. Dans la manufacture 10 de MM. Debary et fils un des maîtres déclara à ses ouvriers d'une voix rude et avec un geste impérieux : « Que celui qui quitterait la fabrique serait expulsé pour toujours. » Voyant qu'ils protestaient en vain, 104 des 172 rubanniers quittèrent l'atelier sans croire à leur renvoi définitif, puisque les ouvriers comme les patrons s'étaient engagés par écrit à ne donner congé que quinze jours à l'avance.

15 Le lendemain à leur retour, ils trouvèrent la fabrique entourée de gendarmes chargés de repousser les rebelles de la veille avec qui leurs camarades firent alors cause commune. Privés de leur travail, les rubanniers et leurs familles furent en même temps chassés de leurs demeures appartenant à leurs patrons, qui par-dessus le marché envoyèrent des circulaires à tous les boutiquiers les invitant à 20 refuser aux séditions tout crédit pour les vivres. La lutte ainsi commencée dura du 9 novembre jusqu'au printemps de 1869. Les limites de notre rapport ne nous permettent pas d'entrer dans les détails : il suffit de dire, que la lutte commença par un acte capricieux et rancunier du despotisme capitaliste, par un cruel lock-out qui amena des grèves, interrompues de temps en temps par des compromis, 25 sans cesse brisés par les maîtres, et qu'elle se termina par l'infructueuse tentative du « haut et honorable conseil » de Bâle d'intimider le peuple ouvrier par des mesures militaires et presque par un état de siège.

Dans leur sédition l'Internationale n'avait pas seulement soutenu les ouvriers : 30 les maîtres disaient que cette société avait été la première à introduire par contrebande l'esprit moderne de révolte dans la bonne vieille ville de Bâle. La chasser de leurs murs devint alors leur grande affaire. Ils travaillèrent dur quoique inutilement pour imposer à leurs sujets comme condition de paix l'abandon de l'Internationale. Ayant été battu par elle, ils soulagèrent leur colère en lui jouant des tours. Possédant quelques établissements industriels à Loerrache dans le grand 35 duché de Bade, ces républicains poussèrent le représentant du grand duc à supprimer la section de l'Internationale de cette ville ; mais cette mesure fut rappelée peu après par le gouvernement central. La *Gazette Universelle d'Augsbourg*, journal allemand qui circule dans tous les pays, ayant rapporté impartiallement les événements de Bâle, nos républicains indignés menacèrent de suspendre leurs 40 abonnements. Ils envoyèrent à Londres un messager avec la mission fantastique d'étudier les dimensions de notre trésor. Quoique chrétiens orthodoxes, s'ils avaient vécu au temps de la naissance du christianisme, ils auraient avant tout voulu connaître à un sou près le compte courant de St-Paul à la banque de Rome.

Leur procédé stupidement barbare mérita quelques leçons économiques de 45 sagesse mondaine de la part des organes capitalistes de Genève. Cependant, quel-

ques mois plus tard, le bourgeois mal léché de Bâle aurait pu retourner le complément avec intérêt usuraire aux gens du monde de Genève.

Au mois de mars, les ouvriers en bâtiment et les compositeurs de Genève se mirent en grève ; ils étaient affiliés à l'Internationale.

La grève des premiers était provoquée par les maîtres qui brisaient la convention qu'ils avaient solennellement signée l'année précédente. 5

La grève des compositeurs n'était que la terminaison de dix années de querelles que les ouvriers avaient essayé d'éteindre par cinq commissions consécutives. Comme à Bâle, les maîtres transformèrent leurs disputes privées avec leurs ouvriers en une croisade d'Etat contre *Y Association internationale des Travailleurs*. 10

Le Conseil d'Etat de Genève dépêcha des sergents de villes pour recevoir aux gares et pour séquestrer de toute communication avec les grévistes tous les ouvriers étrangers que les maîtres réussiraient à faire venir. Il permit à la jeunesse dorée, les gens de sac et de corde de la jeune Suisse, de s'armer de revolvers et d'attaquer dans les rues et sur les places publiques les ouvriers et les ouvrières. Et 15 en différentes occasions il lança sur le peuple sa propre police. Le 24 mai il y eut à Genève une de ces scènes que Raspail a stigmatisées « *d'orgie infernale de cassetêtes* ». Lorsque les ouvriers genevois, dans un meeting public, redigèrent une adresse requérant du Conseil d'Etat une enquête sur ses orgies infernales de la police, ils reçurent une fin de non recevoir. Evidemment la pensée secrète des 20 capitalistes était de pousser le peuple dans une émeute pour l'écraser avec la force armée, pour extirper du sol *Y Internationale* et pour soumettre les ouvriers à un régime décembriste. Leur plan fut renversé par l'action énergique et modératrice de notre comité fédéral de Genève. Les maîtres furent obligés de céder.

A présent écoutez les invectives des capitalistes genevois et de leur tourbe de 25 plomitifs contre l'Internationale. Dans un meeting public ils votèrent une adresse au Conseil d'Etat où se trouvait la phrase suivante : « On (*Y Internationale*) ruine le canton de Genève par des décrets envoyés de Londres et de Paris, on veut y supprimer toute industrie et tout travail. » Un de leurs journaux affirmait que les chefs de *Y Internationale* étaient « des agents secrets de l'Empereur, lesquels à un 30 moment donné pourraient très bien se transformer en accusateurs publics contre la petite Suisse ». Et ceci était dit par des hommes qui s'étaient montrés si anxieux de transplanter à la minute le régime décembriste en Suisse, par des barons financiers, les vrais maîtres de Genève et d'autres villes suisses, dont toute l'Europe connaît depuis longtemps la transformation de républicains suisses en feudataires 35 du crédit mobilier et d'autres associations internationales ... de voleurs.

Les massacres par lesquels le gouvernement belge répondit à la grève des puddleurs de Seraing et des mineurs du Borinage ont été longuement détaillés dans une adresse du Conseil général à tous les ouvriers d'Europe et des Etats-Unis.

Nous considérons cette adresse d'autant plus urgente que pour le gouvernement modèle du constitutionnalisme, de tels massacres d'ouvriers ne sont pas un accident mais une institution. L'horrible drame militaire était suivi par une farce judiciaire. Dans ces mesures contre notre comité central de Bruxelles, dont le siège était brutalement forcé par la police, et dont plusieurs membres étaient mis

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au secret, le juge d'instruction trouva la lettre d'un ouvrier demandant 500 *Internationaux*. Du coup il conclut que 500 combattants devaient être envoyés sur les lieux de l'action.

Les 500 Internationaux étaient 500 copies de *Y Internationale*, l'organe hebdomadaire de notre comité de Bruxelles. Après une laborieuse recherche on mit la main sur un télégramme envoyé à Paris par un des membres de *Y Internationale*, dans lequel on demandait une certaine quantité de poudre, le paquet incriminé fut saisi à Bruxelles ; mais ce n'était que de la poudre insecticide. A la fin la police belge, dans une de ses visites domiciliaires, se flattâ d'être parvenue à s'emparer 10 de ce fameux trésor qui tracasse tant les cervelles des capitalistes continentaux, c'est-à-dire, le trésor de *Y Internationale*, dont l'énorme masse s'accumule à Londres, tandis que les sommes inférieures circulent continuellement dans tous les centres de l'association. La police crut qu'il était enseveli dans une colossale et solide caisse, cachée dans un endroit obscur. On saisit la caisse, on la force et l'on 15 trouve des ... morceaux de charbon. Peut-être que s'il est touché par des mains ennemis, l'or pur de *Y Internationale* se convertit en charbon.

De toutes les grèves qui en décembre 1868 infestèrent plusieurs districts cotonniers de la France, la plus importante est celle de *Sotteville-lès-Rouen*. Les manufacturiers du département de la Somme, il y a peu de temps de cela, s'étaient 20 réunis à Amiens pour étudier comment ils pourraient battre les manufacturiers anglais sur leur propre marché. Ayant reconnu, que outre les tarifs protecteurs, l'infériorité comparative des salaires français leur avait jusqu'alors permis de défendre la France contre les cotonns anglais, ils conclurent naturellement qu'en abaissant encore plus les salaires ils pourraient envahir l'Angleterre avec les 25 200 tons français. Ils ne doutaient pas que les ouvriers cotonniers seraient fiers de faire les frais de cette guerre de conquête que les maîtres avaient si patriotiquement résolu de livrer sur l'autre côté du canal.

Peu après le bruit courait que dans un conclave secret les manufacturiers en coton de Rouen et des environs avaient accepté la même ligne de conduite. Alors 30 une réduction importante de salaires fut soudainement proclamée à Sotteville-lès-Rouen et pour la première fois les tisseurs se révoltèrent contre les actions du capital. Ils agirent sous l'impulsion du moment. Ils n'étaient pourvus ni de *Trades-Unions* ni daucun moyen de résistance. Dans leur détresse ils en appellèrent au comité *international* de Rouen qui leur trouva un secours immédiat à 35 Rouen, dans les districts environnants et à Paris.

Vers la fin de décembre 1868, le comité de Rouen s'adressa au Conseil général dans un moment de détresse extrême de tous les districts cotonniers de l'Angleterre, de misère sans pareille à Londres et des dépressions générales dans toutes les branches de l'industrie anglaise. Cet état de chose dure encore. Malgré ces 40 circonstances si défavorables, le Conseil général pensait que le caractère particulier du conflit rouennais forcerait les ouvriers anglais à agir. C'était une grande occasion pour montrer aux capitalistes que leur guerre internationale, soutenue grâce à l'abaissement des salaires tantôt dans un pays tantôt dans un autre, allait être enfin arrêtée par l'union internationale des ouvriers. A notre demande les

ouvriers anglais répondirent immédiatement par une première contribution envoyée à Rouen ; et le *Trade conseil* de Londres, d'accord avec le *Conseil général*, résolut de convoquer un meeting monstre en faveur de leurs frères normands. Mais la soudaine nouvelle de la cessation de la grève de Sotteville arrêta les préparatifs. L'insuccès matériel de cette révolte économique fut largement compensé par ses résultats moraux. Elle enrégimenta les ouvriers cotonniers de la Normandie dans l'armée révolutionnaire du travail, elle donna naissance à des *Trades-unions* à Rouen, Elboeuf, Darnetal et les environs, et scella de nouveau le pacte d'alliance des classes ouvrières anglaises et françaises.

Pendant l'hiver et le printemps de 1869 la propagande de notre association en France fut paralysée par la violente dissolution de notre section de Paris en 1868, par des chicaneries policières dans les départements et par l'absorbant intérêt des élections générales françaises. Les élections une fois terminées, de nombreuses grèves firent explosion dans les districts houillers de la Loire, à Lyon et dans beaucoup d'autres places. Les faits économiques relevés pendant cette lutte entre les maîtres et les ouvriers, frappèrent l'attention publique comme autant de démentis aux fantaisies fortement épicees sur la prospérité des classes ouvrières sous les auspices du second empire. Les réclamations des ouvriers étaient si modérées et si pressantes, qu'après la résistance de rigueur les maîtres durent céder. Le seul caractère étrange de ces grèves était leur soudaine explosion après un calme apparent et leur rapide succession. Cependant la raison en était simple et palpable. Ayant pendant les élections essayés avec succès leur pouvoir contre le despote public, les ouvriers devaient fatallement après les élections l'essayer contre leurs despotes privés. En un mot, les élections générales avaient réveillé l'esprit de révolte. La presse gouvernementale payée pour voiler et déformer les faits désagréables, trouva la cause des événements dans un *secret mot d'ordre* parti du *Conseil général*, qui, d'après eux, envoya ses emissaires de place en place pour enseigner aux ouvriers français (d'ailleurs pleinement satisfaits de leurs conditions) qu'il est mauvais d'être surchargé de travail, misérablement payé et brutalement traité. Un organe de la police française publié à Londres, *Y Internationale*, dans son numéro du 3 août, avait révélé au monde les motifs cachés de notre déletière activité : « Ce qu'il y a de curieux, disait ce journal dans son numéro du 3 août, c'est que les grèves ont reçu l'ordre de se déclarer dans les pays où la misère était loin de se faire sentir. Ces explosions inattendues et arrivant si à propos pour tirer d'embarras certains voisins qui pouvaient craindre la guerre, ont conduit bien des gens à se demander si les déclarations des grèves n'avaient pas eu lieu à la requête de quelque Machiavel étranger qui se serait concilié la bienveillance de toute la puissante société. » Au moment où cette feuille policière nous reprochait d'embarrasser le gouvernement français par des grèves à l'intérieur, afin de débarrasser Bismarck de toute guerre à l'extérieur, un journal Prus-sien nous accusait d'harasser la fédération de l'Allemagne du Nord avec des grèves afin de détruire l'industrie allemande au profit des manufacturiers étrangers.

Nous allons montrer par deux cas typiques quels sont les rapports de *Y Internationale* avec les grèves françaises. Dans la grève de St-Etienne et dans les mas-

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sacres de la Ricamarie qui en était la conséquence, le gouvernement français lui-même n'osera plus prétendre que *Y Internationale* y ait trempé les mains. A Lyon ce n'était pas *Y Internationale* qui jeta les ouvriers dans la grève, mais la grève qui les jeta dans *Y Internationale*.

- 5 Les mineurs de St-Etienne, de Rive-de-Giers et de Firminy avaient d'une manière calme, mais ferme, demandé aux directeurs des compagnies de réduire la journée de travail, qui était de 12 heures de rude travail souterrain, et de réviser le tarif des salaires. Leur tentative conciliatrice n'ayant pas abouti, ils se mirent en grève le 11 juin. Il était pour eux d'une importance vitale de s'adjointre les autres
10 ouvriers qui travaillaient encore. Pour les en empêcher, les directeurs des compagnies demandèrent et obtinrent du préfet de la Loire une forêt de bayonnettes. Le 12 juin les grévistes trouvèrent les puits gardés par les soldats. Pour s'assurer de leur zèle, les directeurs distribuèrent à chaque soldat un franc par jour. Les soldats gagnèrent leur argent en empoignant 60 mineurs désireux de converser
15 avec ceux qui étaient dans les puits. Ces prisonniers étaient le même jour envoyés à St-Etienne sous escorte de 150 hommes du 4^e de ligne. Avant le départ de ces courageux guerriers un ingénieur de mines de la maison Holzeret Dorian leur fit boire 60 bouteilles de cognac, et leur recommanda d'ouvrir l'œil sur leurs prisonniers ; les mineurs étant des sauvages, des barbares, des forçats libérés.
- 20 L'eau de vie et le sermon étaient les meilleurs moyens pour préparer une collision sanglante. Une troupe de mineurs, avec leurs enfants et leurs femmes, les suivirent, les enveloppèrent du haut du puits du Moncel (quartier de la Ricamarie) au moment où ils passaient dans le défilé et les prièrent de rendre leurs prisonniers.
- 25 Les soldats, après avoir refusé, reçurent des volées de pierres ; alors, sans aucune sommation préliminaire, ils firent feu avec leurs chassepots, 15 personnes furent tuées, dont 2 femmes et 1 enfant, et un nombre considérable furent blessés. Les tortures des blessés furent horribles. Un d'eux était une pauvre enfant âgée de 12 ans, *Jeanne Petit* ; son nom vivra immortel dans le martyrologue du prolétariat.
30 Deux balles l'avaient frappée par derrière, l'une se logea dans la cuisse, l'autre passa à travers le dos, brisa son bras et s'échappa par l'épaule droite. *Les chassepots avaient encore fait merveille.*
- Cependant cette fois-ci le gouvernement ne fut pas long à trouver qu'il avait commis non seulement un crime, mais une bêtise. Il n'était plus acclamé le sauveur de la société par la bourgeoisie. Tout le conseil municipal de Saint-Etienne donna sa démission en dénonçant la barbarie de la troupe et insistant sur l'éloignement du 4^e de ligne. La presse française fut saisie d'horreur. Même des journaux conservateurs, comme le *Moniteur universel*, ouvrirent des souscriptions pour les victimes. Le gouvernement fut obligé de faire changer de garnison le
40 4^e de ligne.

Dans des circonstances si difficiles, il était lumineux de trouver un bouc expiatoire pour être sacrifié sur l'autel de l'indignation publique ; comme toujours on prit *Y Association internationale des Travailleurs*. Les présumés émeutiers pour être jugés furent classés ingénieusement en 10 catégories indiquant leur respective

Karl Marx/Paul Lafargue

noirceur. Les premiers inscrits, les plus noirs étaient accusés d'être plus particulièrement suspectés d'être suspects d'avoir obéi à un mot d'ordre venu de l'étranger, et donné par *Y Internationale*.

La preuve fut accablante : « L'interrogatoire et l'audition des témoins, dit un journal français, n'ont pas permis d'établir nettement la participation de *Y Internationale*. Les témoins affirment seulement la présence, en tête des bandes, d'inconnus en blouses blanches et en casquettes. Mais aucun de ces inconnus n'a été arrêté et ne figure sur les bancs. » A cette question : Croyez-vous à l'intervention de *Y Internationale*, un témoin répond : « Je le crois, mais sans preuve. »

Peu après le massacre de la Ricamarie, la danse des révoltes économiques était ouverte à Lyon par les ovalistes, la plupart des femmes. Elles s'adressèrent à *Y Internationale*, qui principalement par ses membres de France et de Suisse, les aidèrent à supporter la lutte. En dépit des tentatives d'intimidation faites par la police, les ouvriers proclamèrent publiquement leur adhésion à *Y Internationale*, et y entrèrent formellement en envoyant au Conseil général leur cotisation.

A Lyon comme auparavant à Rouen, les femmes jouèrent un noble et puissant rôle dans le mouvement. D'autres métiers de Lyon suivirent l'exemple des ovalistes : et nous recrutâmes plus de 10 000 nouveaux membres dans cette héroïque population, qu'il y a plus de 30 ans inscrivait sur sa bannière le cri de guerre du prolétariat moderne :

« Vivre en travaillant ou mourir en combattant.»

Pendant tout ce temps le gouvernement français continuait ses mesquines tracasseries contre *Y Internationale*. A Marseille on défendait à nos membres de se réunir pour élire un délégué. Les mêmes taquineries se répétaient dans d'autres villes. Mais les ouvriers du continent, comme ceux des autres pays, commencent à comprendre enfin que le moyen le plus sûr de conquérir ses droits est de les exercer à ses risques et périls.

Les ouvriers autrichiens, spécialement ceux de Vienne, quoique commençant leur mouvement de classe à partir des événements de 1866, ont déjà conquis du terrain. Ils s'enrôlèrent du premier moment sous les étendards du socialisme et de *Y Internationale*, à laquelle ils se sont incorporés en masse par leurs délégués au congrès d'Eisenach. S'il y a un pays où la bourgeoisie libérale a montré ses instincts égoïstes, son infériorité mentale et sa ridicule jalousie contre la classe ouvrière, c'est en Autriche. Leur ministère libéral, voyant l'empire déchiré et menacé de ruine par une intestine lutte de races et de nationalités, se tourne contre les ouvriers, qui proclament la fraternité de toutes les races et de toutes les nationalités. La bourgeoisie elle-même, qui a gagné sa nouvelle position non par un acte héroïque, mais par le désastre signalé de l'armée autrichienne, à peine capable de défendre ses nouvelles conquêtes contre les attaques de la dynastie, de l'aristocratie et du parti clérical, dépense cependant son peu d'énergie dans de vains attentats contre le droit de coalition, de réunion publique et de libre pensée des classes ouvrières.

En Autriche comme dans tous les états continentaux de l'Europe, *Y Internationale* supplante le ci-devant spectre rouge. Quand le 13 juillet on pratiquait un petit

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massacre d'ouvriers à Brünn, le Cotonopolis de la Moravie, le malheur était mis sur le compte de l'*Internationale*, dont les agents malheureusement étaient doués de l'étrange pouvoir de se rendre invisibles. Quand quelques meneurs socialistes de Vienne étaient sur les bancs de la justice, l'accusateur public les stigmatisa 5 comme instruments de l'étranger. Pour montrer combien attentivement il avait étudié l'affaire, il commit la légère erreur de prendre la bourgeoise *Ligue de la paix et de la liberté pour l'Association internationale des Travailleurs*.

Si le mouvement ouvrier était tracassé dans l'Autriche Cis-Leithanienne, il était persécuté sans pitié en Hongrie. Sur ce point, les rapports les plus certains 10 sont parvenus au *Conseil général* de Pesth et de Presbourg. Un exemple de la manière dont les autorités publiques traitent les ouvriers Hongrois suffira. M. de Wenckheim, le ministre de l'intérieur de la Hongrie, était à Vienne pour raison politique. Les ouvriers de Presbourg depuis des mois étaient interdits de toutes réunions publiques, même de toutes fêtes destinées à collecter de l'argent pour la 15 fondation d'une société de secours ; à la fin ils envoyèrent à Vienne des délégués chargés de porter leurs plaintes devant l'illustre M. de Wenckheim. Notre illustre, nonchalelement reposé, fumait son cigare ; il les accueillit avec cette polie rebuffade : « Etes-vous ouvriers ? Travaillez-vous raide ! Eh bien ! que demandez-vous de plus ? Vous n'avez pas besoin de sociétés, et si vous politiquez nous nous 20 occuperons des mesures à prendre contre vous. Je ne ferai rien pour vous et les ouvriers peuvent grommeler à se désopiler la rate. » Les délégués lui demandant si le bon plaisir de la police devait être encore la loi suprême, le ministre libéral répondit : « Oui, sous ma responsabilité. » Après une longue et inutile explication, les ouvriers se retirèrent en disant au ministre : « Puisque les questions d'état 25 influencent le sort des ouvriers, les ouvriers doivent s'occuper de politique et certainement ils s'en occuperont. »

En Prusse et dans le reste de l'Allemagne, l'année passée se distinguait par la formation de *Trades-Unions* sur toute la face du pays. Dans le récent Congrès d'Eisenach les délégués de cent mille ouvriers allemands, appartenant à l'Alle- 30 magne propre, à l'Autriche et à la Suisse, ont organisé un nouveau parti démocratique socialiste, avec un programme qui littéralement reproduit les principes généraux de nos statuts. Empêchés par la loi de se former en sections de notre association, ils s'en sont néanmoins constitués membres en prenant directement des cartes individuelles au *Conseil général*. Au Congrès de Barmen *l'Association 35 générale des ouvriers allemands* a adhéré de nouveau aux principes de notre association tout en déclarant que la loi prussienne leur défendait de se fusionner avec nous.

De nouvelles branches de notre association ont été fondées à Naples, en Espagne, en Hollande. A Barcelone et à Amsterdam, deux nouveaux organes de notre 40 association ont été créés.

Les lauriers cueillis par le gouvernement belge sur les glorieux champs de bataille de Seraing et de Frameries semblent avoir troublé le sommeil des grands pouvoirs européens. Il n'y a donc pas lieu de s'étonner, si l'Angleterre a voulu cette année se vanter de son massacre d'ouvriers. Les mineurs de Galles, au grand

puits Leeswood près de Mold dans le Denbigshire, avaient reçu de leur directeur l'annonce d'une soudaine diminution dans les salaires : depuis longtemps ils étaient habitués à le considérer comme un misérable et incorrigible oppresseur. Les ouvriers de toutes les mines environnantes se groupèrent, l'attaquèrent, en-vahirent sa maison et transportèrent ses meubles à la gare de chemin de fer : ces malheureux, dans leur ignorance enfantine, croyaient que c'était là le moyen de s'en débarrasser pour toujours. Comme de juste, des poursuites judiciaires furent commencées contre les émeutiers. Un d'entre eux fut arraché des mains de la police et transporté hors la ville. Le 28 mai, deux des chefs furent traînés devant le magistrat de Mold, escortés d'un détachement du quatrième de ligne « the king's own ». Une foule de mineurs essayèrent de dégager les prisonniers, la police et la troupe résistèrent, les ouvriers les attaquèrent alors avec des pierres ; les soldats à la grêle de pierres répondirent par une grêle de balles, avec les fusils Snider. Cinq personnes, dont deux femmes, furent tuées, un grand nombre fut blessé. Jusqu'ici l'analogie entre le massacre de Mold et celui de la Ricamarie est frappant : mais ici elle cesse. En France les soldats n'étaient responsables que devant leur commandant, en Angleterre ils durent subir une enquête judiciaire : mais l'officier judiciaire qui en était chargé était un vieux bonhomme sourd et abruti ; il était obligé de recevoir les dépositions des témoins à travers un cornet acoustique appliqué à son oreille ; et les jurés qui donnèrent le verdict, étaient imbus de préjugés de leur classe. Ils déclarèrent le massacre un «*justifiable homicide* ». En France les émeutiers étaient condamnés de 3 à 18 mois de prison et amnistiés peu après, en Angleterre ils furent condamnés à 10 ans de travaux forcés. En France la presse toute entière retentit de cris d'indignation, en Angleterre la presse n'était que sourire pour les meurtriers et que froncement de sourcils pour les victimes. Cependant les ouvriers anglais ont gagné beaucoup en perdant une grande et dangereuse illusion : jusqu'ici ils se figuraient être plus ou moins protégés par la formalité de la loi sur les émeutes et par la subordination des militaires aux autorités civiles. Grâce à la déclaration faite dans la chambre des communes par M. Bruce, le ministre libéral de l'intérieur, ils savent maintenant, que sans avoir besoin de lire les sommations préliminaires, n'importe quel magistrat campagnard, le premier chasseur de renard ou pasteur venu à le droit d'ordonner aux troupes de faire feu sur ce qu'il lui plairait d'appeler une foule d'émeutiers ; de deuxièmement, que les soldats eux-mêmes peuvent de leur propre mouvement faire feu sous prétexte de *défense personnelle*. Le ministre oublie d'ajouter que dans ces circonstances, chaque citoyen doit-être armé aux frais publics pour se *défendre* contre les soldats.

Le 30 août 1869 la résolution suivante était votée au congrès des *Trades unions* anglaises, tenu à Birmingham :

« Que comme les organisations locales ont presque disparu devant une organisation ayant un caractère national, et comme nous croyons que l'extension du libre-échange établissant entre toutes les nations une concurrence générale, les intérêts de l'ouvrier sont susceptibles d'être dédaignés et sacrifiés dans la sauvage course au clocher des capitalistes, nous demandons qu'une semblable organisa-

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tion soit encore élargie et de nationale devienne internationale ; que comme *l'Association internationale des travailleurs* essaie de consolider et de combiner les intérêts des masses travailleuses, qui partout sont identiques, ce congrès recommande chaudement une telle association à tous les ouvriers du Royaume-Uni et spécialement à tous les corps organisés, et les presse fortement de s'affilier à cette société, croyant de plus que la réalisation de ces principes établira sur la terre la paix universelle. »

Pendant le mois de mai dernier, une guerre entre les États-Unis et l'Angleterre semblait imminente. Votre Conseil général envoya une adresse à M. Sylvis, le 10 président de l'Union Nationale Américaine du Travail, demandant aux ouvriers des États-Unis d'ordonner la paix là où leurs maîtres vociféraient : guerre ! La mort soudaine de M. Sylvis, ce vaillant champion de notre cause, nous justifiera si, comme hommage à sa mémoire, nous concluons le rapport par sa réponse à notre lettre.

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Philadelphie, le 26 mai 1869.

Votre lettre du 12 présent contenant votre adresse m'est parvenue hier. Je suis heureux de recevoir des paroles si amicales de nos frères ouvriers de l'autre côté de l'eau ; notre cause est commune : c'est une guerre entre les pauvres et les riches. Partout le travail est dans une position inférieure, partout le capital est le 20 même tyran : c'est pourquoi je dis que notre cause est commune. Moi, au nom du peuple ouvrier des États-Unis, je vous tends, et par vous à tous ceux que vous représentez, et à tous les fils et filles du travail opprimés et foulés aux pieds, la main droite de la camaraderie. Allez en avant dans la bonne œuvre que vous avez entreprise, jusqu'à ce que le plus glorieux succès couronne vos efforts. Telle est 25 notre résolution. Notre dernière guerre a eu pour résultat d'édifier la plus infâme aristocratie financière de toute la terre. Ce pouvoir monétaire pompe la substance du peuple, nous lui avons déclaré la guerre, et pensons remporter la victoire. Nous essayerons d'abord le suffrage, mais s'il fait défaut, nous aurons recours à 30 des moyens plus efficaces. Une petite saignée est parfois nécessaire dans les cas désespérés.

Au nom du Conseil général,

R. Applegarth, président de la séance.

Cowell Stepney, trésorier.

J. George Eccarius, secrétaire général.

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Londres, le 1^{er} septembre 1869.

Office, 256, High Holborn, W.C.

Johann Georg Eccarius
Address of the Land and Labour League
to the working men and women
of Great Britain and Ireland

|i| Address of the Land & Labour League
to the Working Men and Women
of Great Britain and Ireland |

|3| Address.

Fellow Workers,—

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The fond hopes held out to the toiling and suffering millions of this country thirty years ago have not been realized. They were told that the removal of fiscal restrictions would make the lot of the labouring poor easy; if it could not render them happy and contented it would at least banish starvation for ever from their midst.

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They rose a terrible commotion for the big loaf, the landlords became rampant, the money lords confounded, the factory lords rejoiced—their will was done—Protection received the *coup de grace*. A period of the most marvellous prosperity followed. At first the Tories threatened to reverse the policy, but on mounting the ministerial benches, in 1852, instead of carrying out their threat, 15 they joined the chorus in praise of unlimited competition. Prepared for a pecuniary loss, they discovered to their utter astonishment that the rent-roll was swelling at the rate of more than £2,000,000 a year. Never in the history of the human race was there so much wealth—means to satisfy the wants of man—produced by so few hands, and in so short a time, as since the abolition of the Corn Laws. 20 During the lapse of twenty years the declared value of the annual exports of British and Irish produce and manufactures—the fruits of your own labour—rose from £60,000,000 to £ 188,900,000. In twenty years the taxable income of the lords and ladies of the British soil increased, upon their own confession, from £98,000,000 to £140,000,000 a year; that of the chiefs of trades and professions 25 from £60,000,000 to £ 110,000,000 a year. Could human efforts accomplish more?

Alas! there are step children in Britania's family. No Chancellor of the Exchequer has yet divulged the secret how the £ 140,000,000 are distributed amongst the territorial magnates, but we know all about the trades-folk. The special favourites increased from sixteen, in 1846, to one hundred and thirty-three, in 1866. Their 30

Address of the Land and Labour League

average annual income rose from £74,300 to £100,600 each. They appropriated one fourth of the twenty years' increase. ||4| The next of kin increased from three hundred and nineteen to nine hundred and fifty-nine individuals: their average annual income rose from £17,700 to £19,300 each: they appropriated another 5 fourth. The remaining half was distributed amongst three hundred and forty-six thousand and forty-eight respectables, whose annual income ranged between £100 and £10,000 sterling. The toiling millions, the producers of that wealth – Britannia's cinderellas—got cuffs and kicks instead of halfpence.

In the year 1864 the taxable income under schedule D increased by 10 £9,200,000. Of that increase the metropolis, with less than an eighth of the population, absorbed £4,266,000, nearly a half. £3,123,000 of that, more than a third of the increase of Great Britain, was absorbed by the city of London, by the favourites of the one hundred and seventy-ninth part of the British population: Mile End and the Tower, with a working population four times as numerous, got 15 £175,000. The citizens of London are smothered with gold; the householders of the Tower Hamlets are overwhelmed by poor-rates. The citizens, of course, object to centralization of poor-rates purely on the principle of local self government.

During the ten years ending 1861 the operatives employed in the cotton trade increased 12 per cent.; their produce 103 per cent. The iron miners increased 6 per 20 cent.: the produce of the mines 37 per cent. Twenty thousand iron miners worked for ten mine owners. During the same ten years the agricultural labourers of England and Wales diminished by eighty-eight thousand one hundred and forty-seven, and yet, during that period, several hundred thousand acres of common land were enclosed and transformed into private property to enlarge the estates 25 of the nobility, and the same process is still going on.

In twelve years the rental liable to be rated to the poor in England and Wales rose from £86,700,000 to £ 118,300,000: the number of adult able bodied paupers increased from one hundred and forty-four thousand five hundred to one hundred and eighty-five thousand six hundred.

30 These are no fancy pictures, originating in the wild ||5| speculations of hot-brained incorrigibles; they are the confessions of landlords and money lords, recorded in their own blue books. One of their experts told the House of Lords the other day that the propertied classes, after faring sumptuously, laid by £ 150,000,000 a year out of the produce of your labour. A few weeks later the 35 President of the Royal College of Surgeons related to a jury, assembled to inquire into the causes of eight untimely deaths, what he saw in the fool ward of St. Paneras.

Hibernia's favourites too have multiplied, and their income has risen, while a sixth of her toiling sons and daughters perished by famine, and its consequent diseases, and a third of the remainder were evicted, ejected and expatriated by tormenting felonious usurpers.

This period of unparalleled industrial prosperity has landed thousands of our fellow toilers—honest, unsophisticated, hard-working men and women—in the stone yard and the oakum room; the roast beef of their dreams has turned into

Johann Georg Eccarius

skilly. Hundreds of thousands, men, women and children, are wandering about –homeless, degraded outcasts—in the land that gave them birth, crowding the cities and towns, and swarming the highroads in the country in search of work to obtain food and shelter, without being able to find any. Other thousands, more spirited than honest, are walking the treadmill to expiate little thefts, preferring prison discipline to workhouse fare, while the wholesale swindlers are at large, and felonious landlords preside at quarter sessions to administer the laws. Thousands of the young and strong cross the seas, flying from their native fire sides, as from an exterminating plague; the old and feeble perish on the road side of hunger and cold. The hospitals and infirmaries are overcrowded with fever and famine-stricken: death from starvation has become an ordinary every day occurrence.

All parties are agreed that the sufferings of the labouring poor were never more intense, and misery so widespread, nor the means of satisfying the wants of man ever so abundant as at present. This proves above all that the moral foundation of all civil government, "*that the welfare of the entire community is the highest law, [16] and ought to be the aim and end of all civil legislation*" has been utterly disregarded. Those who preside over the destinies of the nation have either wantonly neglected their primary duty while attending to special interests of the rich to make them richer, or their social position, their education, their class prejudices have incapacitated them from doing their duty to the community at large or applying the proper remedies, in either case they have betrayed their trust.

Class government is only possible on the condition that those who are held in subjection are secured against positive want. The ruling classes have failed to secure the industrious wages labourer in the prime of his life against hunger and death from starvation. Their remedies have signally failed, their promises have not been fulfilled. They promised retrenchment, they have enormously increased the public expenditure instead. They promised to lift the burden of taxation from your shoulders, the rich pay but a fractional part of the increased expenses; the rest is levied upon your necessities—even your pawn tickets are taxed—to keep up a standing army, drawn from your own ranks, to shoot you down if you show signs of disaffection. They promised to minimise pauperism: they have made indigence and destitution your average condition—the big loaf has dwindled into no loaf. Every remedy they have applied has but aggravated the evil, and they have no other to suggest—their rule is doomed. To continue is to involve all in a common ruin. There is one,—and only one,—remedy. Help Yourselves! Determine that you will not endure this abominable state of things any longer; act up to your determination, and it will vanish.

A few weeks ago a score of London working men talked the matter over. They came to the conclusion that the present economical basis of society was the foundation of all the existing evils—that nothing short of a transformation of the existing social and political arrangements could avail, and that such a transformation could only be effected by the toiling millions themselves. They embodied

Address of the Land and Labour League

their conclusions in a series of resolutions, and called a conference of [7] representative working men, to whom they were submitted for consideration. In three consecutive meetings those resolutions were discussed and unanimously adopted. To carry them out a new working men's organisation, under the title of the "*Land and Labour League*", was established. An executive council of upwards of forty well-known representative working men was appointed to draw up a platform of principles arising out of the preliminary resolutions adopted by the conference, to serve as the programme of agitation by means of which a radical change can be effected.

- 10 After mature consideration the Council agreed to the following:—
 1. *Nationalization of the Land.*
 2. *Home Colonization.*
 3. *National, Secular, Gratuitous and Compulsory Education*
 4. *Suppression of Private Banks of Issue. The State only to Issue Paper Money.*
- 15 5. *A Direct and Progressive Property Tax, in lieu of all other Taxes.*
6. *Liquidation of the National Debt.*
7. *Abolition of the Standing Army.*
8. *Reduction of the Number of the Hours of Labour.*
9. *Equal Electoral Rights, with Payment of Members.*
- 20 The success of our effects will depend upon the pressure that can be brought to bear upon the powers that be, and this requires numbers, union, organisation and combination. We therefore call upon you to unite, organise and combine, and raise the cry throughout Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England "*The Land for the People*" — the rightful inheritors of nature's gifts. No rational state of society can leave the land, which is the source of life, under the control of, and subject to the whims and caprices of, a J[8] few private individuals. A government elected by, and as trustee for, the whole people is the only power that can manage it for the benefit of the entire community.
- 25 Insist upon the State reclaiming the unoccupied lands as a beginning of its nationalization, and placing the unemployed upon it. Let not another acre of common land be enclosed for the private purposes of non-producers. Compel the Government to employ the army, until its final dissolution, as a pioneer force to weed, drain, and level the wastes for cultivation, instead of forming encampments to prepare for the destruction of life. If green fields and kitchen gardens are 35 incompatible with the noble sport of hunting let the hunters emigrate.
- 30 Make the Nine points of the League, the Labour programme, the touch-stone by which you test the quality of candidates for parliamentary honours, and if you find them spurious reject them like a counterfeit coin, for he who is not for them is against you.
- 40 You are swindled out of the fruits of your toil by land laws, money laws, and all sorts of laws. Out of the paltry pittance that is left you, you have to pay the interest of a debt that was incurred to keep your predecessors in subjection; you have to maintain a standing army that serves no other purpose in your generation, and you are systematically over worked when employed, and underfed at all

Johann Georg Eccarius

times. Nothing but a series of such radical reforms as indicated on our programme will ever lift you out of the slough of despond in which you are at present sunk. The difficulty can be overcome by unity of purpose and action. We are many; our opponents are few. Then working men and women of all creeds and occupations claim your rights as with one voice, and rally round, and unite your forces under the banner of the "*Land and Labour League*" to conquer your own emancipation!

John Weston, Treasurer.

Martin J. Boon,)
J. George Eccarius,) } *Secretaries.* ✓

Russische Übersetzung eines Antwortbriefes von
Karl Marx an die Mitglieder der russischen Sektion
der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation in Genf

Народное Д*ло.
Nr. 1,15. April 1870

ГЛАВНЫЙ СОВЪТЪ МЕЖДУНАРОДНАГО ТОВАРИЩЕСТВА РАБОЧИХЪ

Членамъ Комитета Русской Секции въ Женевѣ.

Граждане,

5 Въ своемъ зас*данш 22-го Марта Главный Сов*тъ объявилъ, единодушнымъ вотомъ, что ваша программа и статутъ согласны съ общими статутами Международного Товарищества Рабочихъ. Онъ посп*шилъ принять вашу в*твъ въ составъ Интернационала. Я съ удовольствиемъ принимаю почетную обязанность, которую Вы мн* предлагаете, быть въ 10 10 представителемъ при Главномъ Сов*т*.

Вы говорите въ вашей программ*:

... „что императорское иго, гнетущее Польшу, есть тормазъ, одинаково препятствующей политической и социальной свобод* обоих* народов* - какъ русскаго так* и польскаго;“

15 Вы могли бы прибавить, что русскш насильственный захватъ Польши есть пагубная опора и настоящая причина существоваша военного режима въ Германш, и всл*дств1е того, на ц*ломъ континент*. Поэтому, работая над* разбщчемъ ц*пей Польши, русскie соцалисты возлагают* на себя высокую задачу, заключающуюся въ томъ уничтожениш военного режима, 20 которое существенно необходимо какъ предварительное уановіе для общаго освобождешя европейскаго пролетар1ата.

Н* сколько м*сяцевъ тому назад*, мн* прислали из* Петербурга сочинеше Флеровскаго: „Положеше рабочаго класса въ Россш.“ Это настоящее открыте для Европы. Русски оптимизмъ распространенный на 25 континент* даже такъ-называемыми револ10шонерами, безпощадно разоблачен* въ этом* сочиненш. Достоинство его не пострадает*, если я скажу, что оно въ н*которыхъ м*стахъ не вполн* удовлетворяет* критик* съ точки зр*ша чисто теоретической. Это - труд* серьезнаго наблюдателя, безстрашнаго труженика, беспристрастнаго критика, мощнаго художника и, прежде всего, челов*ка, возмущеннаго против* гнета во вс*xъ

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его видахъ, нетерпящаго всевозможныхъ национальныхъ гимновъ, и
страстно дѣлящаго всъ страдашя и всъ стремлешя производительного
класса.

Taide труды какъ Флеровскаго и какъ вашего учителя Чернышевскаго
дѣлаютъ действительную честь Россіи и доказываютъ, что ваша страна 5
тоже начинаетъ участвовать въ общемъ движениш нашего в*ка.

Прив*тъ и братство.

Карлъ МАРКСЪ.

Лондонъ 24 марта 1870.

Jenny Marx (Tochter)
Articles sur la question irlandaise

La Marseillaise.
Nr. 71, 1. März 1870

Londres, 27 février 1870.

La *Marseillaise* du 18 février rapporte un article du *Daily News*, dans lequel la feuille anglaise donne des renseignements à la presse française au sujet de l'élection de O'Donovan Rossa. Comme ces renseignements sont assez embrouillés, et
5 comme des explications à demi-mot ne servent qu'à mettre dans un faux jour les choses qu'elles prétendent éclaircir, je vous prie de vouloir bien publier mon commentaire sur ledit article.

D'abord le *Daily News* dit que O'Donovan Rossa a été condamné par un jury, mais il n'ajoute pas qu'en Irlande le jury se compose de suppôts plus ou moins
10 directement nommés par le gouvernement.

Puis, en parlant avec une sainte horreur de *treason-felony*, les libérâtres du *Daily News* oublient de dire que cette nouvelle catégorie du code pénal anglais a été expressément inventée pour assimiler les patriotes irlandais aux plus vils criminels.

15 Prenons le cas de O'Donovan Rossa. Il était un des rédacteurs du *Irish People*. Il a été condamné, comme la plupart des fénians, pour avoir écrit des articles soi-disant séditieux. Donc, la *Marseillaise* ne s'était pas trompée en établissant des analogies entre Rochefort et Rossa.

Pourquoi le *Daily News* qui tient à informer la France sur les fénians condamnés, ne parle-t-il pas de leur traitement infâme ? J'espère que vous me permettrez de suppléer à son silence prudent.

O'Donovan Rossa a été mis, il y a quelque temps, dans une cellule noire, les mains liées derrière le dos. Ni nuit ni jour on ne lui ôtait les menottes, de sorte qu'il se vit contraint de se coucher par terre pour lécher sa nourriture, du gruau fait à l'eau. Pigott, rédacteur du *Irishman*, ayant appris ces faits de Rossa, qui lui en eut fait récit en présence du gouverneur de la prison et d'un autre témoin, les publia dans son journal, ce qui excita M. Moore, un des membres irlandais du *House of Commons* à demander une enquête parlementaire afin de constater ce qui se passe dans les prisons. Le gouvernement s'opposa énergiquement à cette
30 demande. Ainsi, 36 membres votèrent pour, et 171 contre la proposition de Moore ; un pendant des votes qui ont foulé au pied le droit de suffrage.

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Et ceci a eu lieu durant le ministère du béat Gladstone. Vous voyez que ce grand chef libéral se moque pas mal de l'humanité et de la justice. Il y a aussi des Judas qui ne portent pas de lunettes.

Voici un autre cas qui, aussi, fait honneur à l'Angleterre. - O'Leary, prisonnier fénian, âgé de soixante à soixante-dix ans, ne recevait que du pain et de l'eau 5 pendant trois semaines, parce que, - non jamais les lecteurs de la *Marseillaise* ne le devineraient, - parce [que] Leary se disait « *paien* », et qu'il refusa de se déclarer *protestant*, *presbytérien*, *catholique* ou *quaker*. On lui avait donné l'alternative d'une des religions ou du pain. De ces cinq maux, O'Leary ou « *paien O'Leary* », 10 comme on l'appelle, choisit ce qu'il lui paraissait le moins grand, le pain et l'eau.

Il y a quelques jours, le *coroner* (officier de justice, chargé au nom de la couronne d'informer concernant les individus trouvés morts), ayant examiné le corps d'un fénian, mort à la prison de *Spike-Island*, condamna en des termes très sévères la manière dont avait été traité le défunt.

Samedi dernier, *Gunner Hood*, jeune irlandais, sortit de la prison où on le 15 tenait depuis quatre ans ; à l'âge de 19 ans, il se fut enrôlé dans l'armée anglaise, et au Canada il avait servi l'Angleterre. Pour avoir écrit des articles séditieux, il fut traduit, en 1866, devant un tribunal militaire, et condamné à deux ans de travaux forcés. Ce jugement rendu Hood prit son casque et le jetant dans l'air, il 20 s'écria : « Vive la république irlandaise ! » Ce cri du cœur lui coûta cher. On le condamna à être incarcéré deux ans de plus, et à recevoir, par dessus le marché, cinquante coups de fouet. Cet arrêté s'exécuta de la manière la plus atroce. Hood fut attaché à une charrue, et on arma la main de deux forgerons musculaires du *cat-o-nine-tails* - la langue française n'offre pas un sens synonyme du *knout* anglais. Il n'y a que les Russes et les Anglais pour s'entendre là-dessus ! Les beaux 25 esprits se rencontrent.

M. Carey, journaliste, habite dans ce moment-ci, la partie de la prison destinée aux fous ; le silence et les autres formes de torture qu'il a subis ayant fait de lui une masse de vie, privée de raison.

Le colonel Burke, fénian, un homme qui s'est distingué, non seulement par ses 30 services militaires dans l'armée américaine, mais aussi comme écrivain et peintre, est aussi réduit à un état pitoyable ; il ne reconnaît plus ses parents les plus proches. Je pourrais encore ajouter bien des noms à cette liste de martyrs irlandais. Qu'il suffise de dire, que depuis l'année 66, quand on a fait la razzia dans l'office du « *Irish People* » 20 fénians sont morts ou devenus fous dans les cachots 35 de la philanthropique Angleterre.

J. WILLIAMS



Karl Marx mit seiner Tochter Jenny.
Foto von Januar 1869

Articles sur la question irlandaise

La Marseillaise.
Nr. 79, 9. März 1870

Lettre d'O'Donovan Rossa

Londres, le 5 mars.

Dans la séance de la maison des communes du 3 mars, M. *Stacpoole* interpella M. Gladstone sur le traitement des prisonniers fénians. Il dit, entre autres choses, que
5 le docteur *Lyons*, de Dublin, avait récemment déclaré que « la discipline, la diète, les restrictions personnelles et les autres punitions ne pourraient que causer un préjudice permanent à la santé des prisonniers. »

M. Gladstone, après avoir exprimé sa satisfaction parfaite du traitement des prisonniers, couronna son petit *speech* par ce brillant jeu d'esprit : « Quant à la
10 santé de O'Donovan Rossa, je suis bien aise de me trouver en état de dire que madame O'Donovan Rossa pendant sa dernière visite chez son mari, le félicita sur le changement favorable de son extérieur. » Et un rire homérique d'éclater sur tous les bancs de la noble assemblée ! *La dernière visite !* Remarquez bien que madame O'Donovan Rossa avait été non seulement séparée de son mari depuis
15 des années, mais qu'elle avait parcouru l'Amérique pour gagner le pain de ses enfants, en faisant des lectures publiques sur la littérature anglaise.

N'oubliez pas non plus que ce M. Gladstone - dont les plaisanteries sont si pleines d'à-propos - est l'auteur presque saint des « Prayers » (prières), de la « Propagation of the Gospel » (propagation de l'Evangile), « The functions of
20 Laymen in the church » (les fonctions des laïques dans l'Eglise), et de l'homélie, « Ecce homo », tout récemment publiée.

La grande satisfaction du geôlier en chef est-elle partagée par ses prisonniers ? Lisez les extraits suivants d'une lettre de *O'Donovan Rossa*, qui par miracle a franchi la prison, et est arrivé à sa destination après des retards fabuleux :

25

LETTRE DE ROSSA

Je vous ai parlé de l'hypocrisie de ces maîtres anglais, qui après m'avoir placé dans une position qui me forçait de me mettre sur les genoux et les coudes pour prendre ma nourriture, m'affament, me privent de lumière, et me donnent des chaînes et une bible. Je ne me plains pas des pénalités que mes maîtres veulent me faire subir - mon office est de souffrir - mais, je maintiens que j'ai le droit d'informer le monde du traitement qu'on m'inflige, et qu'il est illégal de supprimer mes lettres qui parlent de ce traitement. Les précautions minutieuses prises par les autorités de la prison, afin de m'empêcher d'écrire des lettres, sont aussi ridicules que repoussantes. Le procédé le plus outrageant fut de me mettre à nu,
30 une fois par jour, pendant plusieurs mois, et de m'examiner les bras, les jambes et toutes les parties du corps. Ceci a eu lieu à *Millbank*, chaque jour de février jusqu'à mai 1867. Un jour je m'y refusai. Alors arrivèrent cinq des officiers, ils me rouèrent de coups et arrachèrent mes habits.

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Une fois j'ai pu envoyer une lettre au dehors, elle m'a valu la visite de MM. *Knox* et *Pollock*, deux *police magistrates* (des juges de police).

Quelle ironie que d'envoyer deux employés du gouvernement pour constater la vérité sur des prisons anglaises. Ces messieurs refusèrent de noter ce que j'avais d'important à leur dire. Quand j'abordai un sujet qui ne leur convenait pas, ils 5 m'arrêtèrent en disant que la discipline des prisons ne les regardait pas. N'est-ce point vrai, MM. *Pollock* et *Knox*? Quand je vous dis, qu'on m'avait forcé à me baigner dans l'eau qui avait déjà servi à une demi-douzaine de prisonniers anglais, n'avez-vous pas refusé de noter ma plainte ?

A *Chattam*, on me donna une certaine quantité d'étoupe à tirer, en me disant 10 que l'on me ferait jeûner si je n'avais pas achevé mon travail à une certaine heure.

- Peut-être, m'écriai-je, me punirez-vous de même si j'accomplis ma tâche. Cela m'est déjà arrivé à *Millbank*.

- Comment donc, répondit le geôlier.

Alors je lui racontai que le 4 juillet, comme j'avais fini ma tâche dix minutes 15 avant le temps fixé, je pris un livre. L'officier me vit, m'accusa de paresse, et je fus condamné au pain et à l'eau, et enfermé dans une noire cellule pendant quarante-huit heures.

Un jour, j'aperçus mon ami *Edward Duffy*. Il était très pâle. Peu de temps après, j'entendis raconter que *Duffy* était sérieusement malade, et qu'il avait ex- 20 primé le désir de me voir (nous avions été fort liés en Irlande.) Je pria le directeur de me donner la permission de le visiter. Il me refusa net. C'était à l'époque de Noël 67 - et quelques semaines après, un prisonnier me dit tout bas, à travers le grillage de ma cellule : « *Duffy* est mort ! »

Si une telle chose s'était passée en Russie, quel récit pathétique les Anglais 25 n'auraient-ils point imaginé !

Si M. Gladstone avait assisté à une pareille mort à Naples, quel tableau il nous aurait peint ! Ah ! Pharisiens doucereux, trafiquants en hypocrisie, la bible sur les lèvres, le diable au ventre !

Je dois un mot à la mémoire de *John Lynch*. Au mois de mars 1866, je me 30 trouvais avec lui dans la cour d'exercice. On nous guettait tellement, qu'il ne me put dire que ces mots : « Le froid me tue. » Mais ces Anglais que firent-ils ? Ils nous conduisirent à Londres le jour avant Noël. Arrivés dans la prison, ils nous dépouillèrent de nos flanelles, et nous laissèrent pendant des mois dans nos celules, grelottants de froid. Oui, - ils ne peuvent pas le nier, - ils ont assassiné *John 35 Lynch* ; mais, à l'enquête, ils avaient néanmoins produit des officiers prêts à prouver que *Lynch* et *Duffy* avaient été traités très tendrement.

Les mensonges de nos dominateurs anglais passent toutes les bornes de l'imagineable.

Si je dois mourir en prison, je conjure ma famille et mes amis de ne pas croire 40 un mot de ce que disent ces gens. Qu'on ne me suppose pas de rancune personnelle contre ceux qui m'ont poursuivi de leurs mensonges. Je n'accuse que la tyrannie qui rend nécessaire le maintien de tels procédés.

Bien des fois, les circonstances me rappellent ces mots de Machiavel : « que les tyrans ont un intérêt particulier de faire circuler la bible pour que la masse du 45

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Oh ! oh ! pharisiens vertueux, vous avouez donc enfin que O'Donovan Rossa a été condamné aux travaux forcés à perpétuité pour *écrits séditieux*, et non pour tentative d'*assassinat* sur la reine Victoria, comme vous l'aviez perfidement insinué dans votre premier appel à la presse française.

« Après tout » conclut ce journal éhonté « O'Donovan Rossa est simplement 5 traité comme ce qu'il est, c'est à dire comme un forçat ordinaire. »

Après le journal spécial de M. Gladstone, voici une autre nuance de la presse libérâtre, « le *Daily Telegraph*, » qui affecte généralement des allures plus brusques. « Si nous condescendons, » dit-il, « à prendre note de la lettre de O'Donovan Rossa, ce n'est pas à cause des fénians, qui sont incorrigibles ; c'est exclusivement pour le plus grand bien de la France. » 10

« Sachez donc, » dit-il, « qu'il n'y a que peu de jours, M. Gladstone, à la maison des communes, a donné un démenti formel à toutes ces faussetés impudentes, et il n'y a certes pas de Français Intelligents, à quelque parti ou à quelque classe qu'il appartienne, qui ose douter de cette parole de gentleman anglais. » 15 Mais si, par impossible, il y avait en France des partis ou des hommes assez pervers pour ne pas ajouter foi aux paroles d'un gentleman anglais comme M. Gladstone, du moins la France ne saurait résister aux avis bienveillants de M. Levy, qui, lui, n'est pas un gentleman, et qui vous apostrophe dans ces termes : « Nous conseillons à nos voisins les Parisiens de traiter tous les contes des cruautés commises sur les prisonniers politiques en Angleterre comme autant d'inventions impudentes. » 20

Avec la permission de M. Levy, je vais vous donner un nouvel échantillon de la valeur des *paroles* des gentlemen qui composent le cabinet Gladstonien.

Vous vous souvenez que je mentionnais dans une première lettre le colonel 25 *Richard Burke*, prisonnier fénian, tombé en démence grâce aux procédés humanitaires du gouvernement anglais. C'était *Y Irishman* qui, le premier, avait publié cette nouvelle. Ensuite M. Underwood adressa une lettre à M. Bruce, ministre de l'intérieur, pour lui demander une enquête sur les traitements des prisonniers politiques. 30

M. Bruce y répondit par une lettre publiée dans les journaux anglais, où se trouve la phrase suivante :

« Quant à Richard Burke, à la prison de Woking, M. Bruce doit refuser de faire une enquête fondée sur des *insinuations si dénuées de tout fondement et si extravagantes* que celles contenues dans les extraits de *Y Irishman*, que vous 35 m'avez envoyés. »

Cette déclaration de M. Bruce est datée du 11 janvier 1870. Maintenant, dans un dernier numéro, *Y Irishman* publie la réponse du même ministre à une lettre de madame Barry, sœur de Richard Burke, qui lui avait demandé des nouvelles sur la situation « alarmante » de son frère. A la réponse ministérielle du 24 février, est 40 joint un rapport officiel du 11 janvier, où le médecin de la prison et le garde spécial de Burke déclarent que ce dernier est tombé en démence. Ainsi, le jour même où M. Bruce traita publiquement les affirmations de *Y Irishman* comme mensongères et dénuées de tout fondement, il en cacha les preuves accablantes et

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officielles dans sa poche ! Remarquons en passant que M. Moore, membre irlandais de la maison des communes, interpellera le ministre sur le traitement du colonel Burke.

5 L'*Echo*, journal récemment fondé, affecte une couleur plus foncée de libéralisme que ses confrères. Il a un principe à lui ; le principe de se vendre à un sou, tandis que les autres journaux se vendent à deux, quatre ou six sous. Ce prix d'un sou l'oblige d'un côté à des professions de foi soi-disant démocratiques pour ne pas perdre ses abonnés prolétaires, et de l'autre côté à des ménagements perpétuels, pour gagner les abonnés respectables de ses concurrents.

10 Dans sa longue tartine sur la lettre de O'Donovan Rossa, il débite des choses de cette force, que « peut-être même les fénians amnistisés refuseront de croire aux exagérations de leurs compatriotes, » comme si M. Kickham, M. Costello, etc., n'avaient pas déjà publié des relations sur leurs souffrances de prison tout à fait conformes à la lettre de Rossa ! Mais après tous ses faux-fuyants et toutes ses 15 tergiversations amphigouriques, *Y Echo* touche à la plaie vive. Les « publications de la *Marseillaise*, dit-il, feront du scandale et ce scandale fera le tour du monde. » L'esprit continental est peut-être trop obtus pour justement distinguer entre les forfaits d'un Bomba et les rigueurs d'un Gladstone ! Alors il vaudrait mieux faire une enquête, etc.

20 Le *Spectator*, journal hebdomadaire, libérateur et gladstonien, se rédige sur ce principe que tous les genres sont mauvais, excepté le genre ennuyeux. C'est pour cela qu'il s'appelle à Londres le journal des sept sages. Après avoir donné un résumé de O'Donovan Rossa, et après l'avoir gourmande à cause de son aversion pour la Bible, le journal des sept sages rend le jugement suivant :

25 « Le fénian O'Donovan Rossa semble n'avoir souffert rien au delà des souffrances ordinaires des forçats, mais nous avouons que nous souhaitons de voir changer ce régime. Il est très juste, et souvent très prudent, de faire fusiller des rebelles. Il est encore juste de les séquestrer comme des criminels de l'espèce la plus dangereuse. Mais il n'est ni juste, ni sage de les dégrader. » Bien dit, Salomon le sage !

Arrive enfin le *Standard*, l'organe principal du parti Tory, des conservateurs. Vous savez que l'oligarchie anglaise se compose de deux fractions : l'aristocratie foncière et la ploutocratie. Si, dans leurs querelles de famille, on prend parti pour les ploutocrates contre les aristocrates, on s'appelle libéral, même radical. Si, au 35 contraire, on prend parti pour les aristocrates contre les ploutocrates, on s'appelle tory.

Le *Standard* traite la lettre de O'Donovan Rossa de romance apocryphe, probablement composée par « A. Dumas. » Pourquoi, dit-il, la *Marseillaise* n'a-t-elle pas ajouté, que M. Gladstone, l'archevêque de Canterbury, et le lord Mayor, 40 assistent chaque matin aux tortures de O'Donovan Rossa ?

Dans la maison des Communes, un membre a caractérisé le parti tory comme le « stupid party » (le parti stupide). N'est-ce pas que le *Standard* n'a pas volé son titre d'organe en chef du parti stupide !

Avant d'achever cette lettre, je dois prévenir les Français de ne pas confondre 45 le bruit des journaux avec la voix du prolétariat anglais, qui, malheureusement

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pour les deux pays, l'Irlande et l'Angleterre, ne trouve pas d'écho dans la presse anglaise.

Il suffit de dire que plus de 200 000 hommes, femmes et enfants de la classe ouvrière anglaise ont élevé leurs voix, au Hyde-Park, pour réclamer la libération de leurs frères irlandais, et que le conseil général de *Y Association internationale des travailleurs*, siégeant à Londres et comptant parmi ses membres des chefs reconnus de la classe ouvrière anglaise, a sévèrement flétrti le traitement des prisonniers fénians et a défendu les droits du peuple irlandais contre le gouvernement anglais.

P.S. En conséquence de la publicité donnée par la *Marseillaise* à la lettre de O'Donovan Rossa, Gladstone craint qu'il ne soit forcé par l'opinion publique de faire une enquête parlementaire et publique sur les traitements des prisonniers politiques. Pour y échapper encore une fois (nous savons combien de fois sa conscience gangrenée s'y est déjà opposée), ce diplomate vient de donner un démenti officiel, mais anonyme, aux faits que cite Rossa. 10 15

Que les Français sachent que ce démenti n'est qu'une reproduction des dépositions faites par le geôlier de la prison, les policiers Knox, Pollok, etc., etc. Ces messieurs savent fort bien que Rossa ne pourra pas leur répondre. On le surveillera plus que jamais - mais - moi je leur répondrai dans une prochaine lettre par des *faits* dont la constatation ne dépend pas du bon vouloir des geôliers. 20

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La Marseillaise.
Nr. 91, 21. März 1870

Londres, 18 mars 1870.

Comme je vous l'annonçais dans ma dernière lettre, M. Moore, membre irlandais de la maison des communes, a interpellé hier le ministère sur le traitement des prisonniers fénians. Il fit allusion à la demande de Richard Burke et de quatre autres prisonniers détenus à Montjoy-prison (à Dublin), et demanda au gouvernement, s'il le croit conforme à son honneur, de détenir les corps de ces hommes après les avoir privés de leur raison ? Enfin, il insiste sur une « enquête » entière, libre et publique. 25

Le voilà (M. Gladstone), mis dans un cul de sac. En 1868, il refusa catégoriquement et dédaigneusement l'enquête demandée par le même M. Moore. Depuis ce temps, il répondit toujours de la même façon aux demandes d'enquête périodiquement réitérées. 30

Et pourquoi céder aujourd'hui ? Dire qu'on est effrayé du bruit de l'autre côté de la Manche ? pas si bête. Quant aux charges faites contre nos administrateurs des bagnes et des prisons nous les avons requis de vouloir bien s'expliquer là-dessus. 35

Ils nous ont unanimement répondu que tout cela sont des contes bleus. Alors, notre conscience ministérielle était naturellement satisfaite. Mais d'après les ex-

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plications de M. Moore - c'est littéral - il semble « que la matière en question n'est pas exactement la satisfaction. Que l'âme du gouvernement (the satisfaction of the minds of the government) » dérive de sa confiance dans ses subalternes, et « conséquemment » (there fore) il sera et politique et juste de faire une enquête 5 sur la vérité des allégations des geôliers.

« Voilà l'homme en effet. Il va du blanc au noir. Il condamne au matin ses sentiments du soir. Importun à tout autre, à soi-même incommodé, il change à tout moment d'esprit comme de mode. » Mais s'il s'exécute enfin, c'est avec une nouvelle réservation mentale.

10 M. Moore demande une enquête entière, libre et publique. M. Gladstone lui répond qu'il est responsable pour la « forme » d'enquête, et nous savons déjà que ce ne sera pas une « enquête parlementaire », mais au contraire une enquête par voie de commission royale. En d'autres mots, les juges d'instruction dans ce grand procès, où M. Gladstone joue le rôle d'accusé en chef, seront choisis et 15 nommés par M. Gladstone lui-même.

Quand à Richard Burke, M. Gladstone déclare que le gouvernement s'était déjà au 9 janvier informé de sa démente. Par conséquent, son digne confrère, M. Bruce, le ministre de l'intérieur, a menti effrontément, quand dans sa lettre publique du 11 janvier, il déclara ce fait contrové. Mais poursuit M. Gladstone, 20 l'aliénation mentale de M. Burke n'est pas arrivée à un tel degré qu'il faudrait lui faire grâce du bagne. Il ne faut pas oublier que cet homme a été accessoire à l'explosion de Clerkenwell prison. Comment ? Richard Burke se trouvait détenu comme accusé à Clerkenwell prison, quand d'autres hommes prirent la fantaisie de faire sauter cette prison pour le délivrer. Donc, il était accessoire à cette 25 tentative folle, dont on soupçonne la police anglaise d'avoir été l'auteur - et qui, en cas de réussite l'aurait enseveli sous les ruines de la prison ! Du reste, conclut M. Gladstone, nous avons déjà mis en liberté deux fénians, tombés fous dans nos bagnes anglais. Mais interrompt M. Moore, je parlais des quatre aliénés, détenus à Montjoy, prison de Dublin. Qu'à cela ne tienne, répond M. Gladstone. Ce sont 30 toujours deux fous de moins dans nos prisons !

Pourquoi M. Gladstone est-il si anxieux d'échapper à toute mention de la Montjoy-prison ! nous verrons. Les faits se trouvent cette fois constatés non pas dans les lettres venant des prisonniers, mais dans un livre bleu, publié en 1868 par ordre du parlement.

35 Après l'escarmouche fénianne, le gouvernement anglais mit l'Irlande sous une loi de sûreté générale. Toute garantie de liberté individuelle était donc suspendue. Tout homme « suspect d'être suspect de fénianisme » pouvait donc être jeté en prison et sans l'ombre d'une procédure judiciaire y être retenu d'après le bon plaisir des autorités. Une des prisons encombrées de suspects était la Montjoy- 40 Convict-Prison, à Dublin, dont John Murray était l'inspecteur et M. M'Donnell le médecin. Maintenant que lissons-nous dans le *Livre-Bleu*, publié en 1868, par ordre du Parlement ?

Pendant des mois, M. M'Donnell adressa d'abord des lettres de protestation contre le traitement cruel des suspects à l'inspecteur Murray. Comme l'inspecteur

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n'y répondit pas, M. M'Donnell adresa trois ou quatre rapports au gouverneur de la prison. Dans une de ces lettres, il spécifie « diverses personnes » - je cite textuellement - « qui montrent des symptômes indubitables de démence. » Il ajoute: « Je n'ai pas le moindre doute que cette démence soit la conséquence du régime de prison. Abstraction faite de toute considération d'humanité, ce serait 5 une matière grave si quelqu'un, parmi ces prisonniers qui ne sont pas condamnés, mais seulement suspects, commettait un suicide. »

Toutes ces lettres, adressées par M. M'Donnell au gouverneur, furent interceptées par John Murray. Enfin, M. M'Donnell écrivit directement à lord Mayo, le ministre du vice-roi de l'Irlande. Il lui dit, par exemple: «Il n'y a personne, 10 milord, qui soit mieux informé que vous même de la dure discipline à laquelle les prisonniers < suspects > ont été assujettis depuis longtemps, discipline cellulaire plus sévère que celle infligée aux galériens. »

Quel fut le résultat de ces révélations publiées par ordre du parlement ? Le docteur, M. M'Donnel, fut destitué !!! Murray garda toujours sa place. 15

Tout cela se passait au temps du ministère Tory. Quand M. Gladstone avait enfin réussi à déplacer lord Derby et M. Disraeli par des déclamations brûlantes, où il dénonça le gouvernement anglais comme la véritable cause du fénianisme, il confirma non seulement le féroce Murray dans ses fonctions, mais, comme preuve de sa satisfaction particulière, il joignit à son poste d'inspecteur une grosse 20 sinécure, celle de « Registrar of habitual criminals ! »

Dans ma dernière lettre j'affirmai que la réponse anonyme à la lettre de Rossa, circulée par les journaux de Londres, émane directement du ministère.

On avoue aujourd'hui que c'est l'œuvre de M. Bruce, ministre de l'intérieur. Voici un échantillon de sa « conscience ministérielle ! » Quant à la plainte de 25 Rossa qu'il est obligé « à se baigner dans l'eau qui a déjà servi aux ablutions des galériens ; les commissaires Knox et Pollock ont déclaré, dit M. Bruce, qu'après leur enquête scrupuleuse il serait superflu de s'arrêter à de pareilles absurdités. » Heureusement le rapport des policiers Knox et Pollock a été publié par ordre du Parlement. Qu'est-ce qu'ils disent page 23 de leur rapport ? Que d'après le régime 30 de prison, un certain nombre de galériens usent du même bain, l'un après l'autre, et que « le garde ne pouvait pas donner la priorité à O'Donovan Rossa sans offenser les autres. » Il serait donc superflu de s'arrêter à de pareilles absurdités.

Ainsi, d'après le rapport des policiers Knox et Pollock l'absurdité ne consiste pas, comme M. Bruce les fait dire, dans l'allégation de O'Donovan Rossa qu'il 35 était obligé de se baigner dans l'eau salie par les galériens. Au contraire, ces messieurs trouvent simplement absurde que O'Donovan Rossa se soit plaint de cette infamie !

Dans la même séance de la maison des communes, où M. Gladstone se déclara prêt à faire une enquête sur le traitement des prisonniers fénians ; il introduisit un 40 nouveau « *Coercion bill* » pour l'Irlande, c'est-à-dire la suppression des libertés constitutionnelles et la proclamation d'une loi de sûreté générale.

D'après une fiction théorique, la liberté constitutionnelle est la règle, et la suspension, l'exception ; mais d'après les us et coutumes du régime anglais [en]

Articles sur la question irlandaise

Irlande, la loi de sûreté générale constitue la règle et la constitution l'exception. Gladstone fait des crimes agraires le prétexte pour mettre l'Irlande de nouveau en état de siège. Son véritable motif, c'est le désir de supprimer les journaux indépendants de Dublin. Désormais la vie ou la mort de tout journal irlandais dépendra du bon plaisir de M. Gladstone. Du reste, ce *Coercion bill* était le complément obligatoire du *Land bill*, récemment introduit par M. Gladstone, de cette loi qui, sous l'apparence de venir en aide aux fermiers, consolide le landlordisme irlandais. Pour caractériser cette loi, il suffit de dire qu'elle porte l'empreinte de lord Dufferin, membre du cabinet et grand propriétaire irlandais. Il n'y a que 10 l'année passée que ce docteur Sangrado a publié un gros volume pour prouver que la population irlandaise n'a pas été suffisamment saignée, qu'il faudrait encore la réduire d'un tiers afin que l'Irlande accomplisse sa destination glorieuse de produire les plus grosses rentes possibles pour ces seigneurs terriens, et le plus de viande et de laine possibles pour le marché anglais.

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J. WILLIAMS.

La Marseillaise.
Nr. 99, 29. März 1870

Londres, le 22 mars.

Il y a à Londres un journal hebdomadaire très répandu parmi le peuple, qui s'appelle « *Reynolds Newspaper !* » Il s'exprime de la manière suivante sur la question irlandaise:

20 « Maintenant les autres nations nous regardent comme le peuple le plus hypocrite qui existe sur la terre. Nous avons sonné nos propres trompettes si hautement et si joyeusement, et nous avons tellement exagéré l'excellence de nos institutions, que quand nos mensonges, l'un après l'autre se décèlent, il n'est pas du tout surprenant que les autres peuples se moquent de nous et qu'ils se demandent 25 si c'est possible. Ce n'est pas le peuple de l'Angleterre qui a causé un tel état de choses, car, le peuple, lui aussi, a été joué et trompé - la faute en est imputable aux classes régnantes et à une presse vénale et parasite ...»

Le *Coercion Bill* pour l'Irlande, proposé jeudi soir, est une mesure détestable, abominable, exécutable. Ce bill éteint jusqu'à la dernière étincelle de liberté nationale en Irlande, et met un bâillon à la presse de ce pays malheureux afin d'empêcher ses journaux de protester contre une politique qui est une infamie et le scandale de notre temps. Le gouvernement en veut à tous les journaux qui n'ont pas accueilli avec transport son misérable *Land bill* et il s'est vengé. Le *Habeas corpus acte* sera, en effet, suspendu, car les personnes qui désormais ne seront pas 35 à même d'expliquer leur conduite à la satisfaction des autorités pourront être emprisonnées pendant six mois ou même durant la vie.

L'Irlande est livrée à la merci d'une bande d'espions bien dressés que l'on appelle par euphémisme des « détectives. »

Nicolas de Russie n'a jamais publié ukase plus cruel contre les infortunés Polonais que ce bill de M. Gladstone contre les Irlandais. C'est une mesure qui aurait gagné à M. Gladstone les bonnes grâces de l'illustre roi de Dahomey. Et cependant, avec une affronterie incommensurable, Gladstone ose se vanter devant le Parlement et la nation de la politique généreuse que son gouvernement a 5 l'intention d'adopter à l'égard de l'Irlande. A la fin de son oraison de jeudi, Gladstone s'est laissé aller à des expressions de regrets prononcées avec une sainte et larmoyante solennité digne du révérend M. Stiggins. Mais il a beau pleurnicher - le peuple irlandais ne s'y trompera pas.

Nous le répétons, le Bill est une mesure honteuse, une mesure digne de *Castle-reagh*, une mesure qui appellera l'exécration de toute nation libre sur la tête de ceux qui l'ont inventée, et de ceux qui la sanctionnent et l'approuvent, est une mesure enfin qui couvrira d'opprobre bien mérité le ministère Gladstone et qui, nous l'espérons sincèrement, en amènera la prochaine chute. Et le ministre démagogue M. Bright, comment peut-il se faire pendant quarante-huit heures ? 10 15

Nous déclarons sans hésitation que M. Gladstone s'est prouvé l'ennemi le plus acharné et le maître le plus implacable qui ait écrasé l'Irlande depuis les jours de l'infâme *Castlereagh*.

Comme si la coupe de la honte ministérielle n'était pas déjà remplie à déborder, jeudi soir, la même nuit où a été introduit le *coercion bill*, on annonça à la 20 Chambre des communes que Burke et d'autres prisonniers fénians ont été torturés jusqu'à l'aliénation mentale, dans les bagnes anglais, et en face même de ce résultat horrible, Gladstone et son chacal Bruce protestèrent hautement que les prisonniers politiques étaient traités avec tous les égards possibles. Lorsque M. Moore proclamait à la maison ce fait funeste, il était à tout moment interrompu 25 par des éclats d'un rire bestial. Si une scène aussi dégoûtante et révoltante avait eu lieu au Congrès américain, quel cri d'indignation de notre côté !

Jusqu'ici le journal de *Reynolds*, le *Times*, le *Daily-News*, le *Pall-Mall*, le *Telegaph*, etc., etc., ont salué ; le *coercion-bill* avec des hurlements de joie sauvage, surtout la mesure pour la destruction de la presse Irlandaise. Et ceci a lieu, en 30 Angleterre ce sanctuaire reconnu de la presse ! Mais après tout ne faut-il pas trop en vouloir à ces écrivains nouveaux. Vous conviendrez que ce n'était pas trop dur de voir chaque samedi *Y Irishman* détruire le tissu de mensonges et de calomnies que ces Pénélopes à eux tous travaillaient à la sueur de leurs fronts pendant les six 35 jours de la semaine ; et que c'est assez naturel, qu'ils accueillent par des acclamations frénétiques la police qui vient de lier la main à leur ennemi formidable. Au moins ces braves ont-ils la juste conscience de leur valeur collective.

Une correspondance caractéristique a eu lieu entre Bruce et M. Carthy Doroning à l'égard du colonel Richard Burke. Avant de vous la donner, je remarquerai en passant que ce M. Doroning est un membre irlandais de la maison des 40 communes.

Avocat ambitieux, il s'est enrôlé dans la phalange ministérielle, dans le but sublime de faire carrière. Donc ce n'est pas un témoin suspect qui parlera.

Articles sur la question irlandaise

22 février 1870.

Monsieur,

Si je suis informé au juste, Richard Burke, un des prisonniers fénians autrefois enfermé à Chatam Prison, a été transféré à Woking, dans un état de démence. Au 5 mois de mars 1869, je pris la liberté de vous rendre attentif à son état apparent de mauvaise santé, et le mois de juillet suivant M. Blake, ci-devant membre pour Waterford, et moi, nous vous écrivîmes notre opinion que si le système de son traitement n'était pas changé, les pires conséquences seraient à craindre. A cette lettre, je ne reçus pas de réponse ; mon objet, en vous écrivant, c'est la cause de 10 l'humanité, l'espérance d'obtenir son élargissement afin que sa famille ait la consolation de subvenir à ses besoins, de mitiger ses souffrances. J'ai dans mes mains une lettre écrite par le prisonnier le 3 décembre à son frère, où il dit qu'il a été systématiquement *empoisonné*, ce qui à ce que je suppose, fut une phase de sa maladie. J'espère sincèrement que les sentiments bienveillants qu'on vous connaît 15 vous engageront à accueillir cette prière.

Agréez, etc.

A. CATHY DORONING.

Ministère de l'Intérieur, 25 février 1870.

Monsieur,

20 Richard Burke fut transféré de Chatham, en conséquence de son illusion qu'il était empoisonné ou cruellement traité par les officiers médicaux de la prison. En même temps, sans être positivement malade, sa santé s'empira. Conséquemment je donnai des ordres pour sa translation à Woking et je le fis examiner par le docteur Meyer de Broadmoor Asylone, qui fut de l'opinion que son illusion 25 disparaîtrait avec l'amélioration de sa santé. Sa santé s'est rapidement améliorée et un observateur ordinaire ne s'apercevrait pas de sa faiblesse mentale. Je voudrais bien être à même de vous faire espérer sa prochaine mise en liberté, mais je ne le puis pas. Son délit et les conséquences jointes à la tentative de sa délivrance étaient trop sérieux pour que je puisse suggérer telle attente. En attendant, 30 tout ce que peuvent la science et les bons traitements se fera afin de lui rendre la santé mentale et physique.

H.A. Bruce

29 février 1870.

Monsieur,

35 Depuis la réception de votre lettre du 25, réponse à ma prière que Burke soit rendu aux soins de son frère, j'ai espéré trouver une occasion pour vous parler à ce sujet dans la Maison des communes, mais vous étiez si occupé jeudi et vendredi qu'une entrevue était hors de question. J'ai eu des lettres de la part des amis de Burke. Ils attendent avec inquiétude au succès de ma demande. Je ne leur ai pas 40 encore communiqué qu'elle ne l'a pas été. Avant de les désillusionner, je me sens « justifié » à vous écrire encore une fois à ce sujet. Il me paraît, comme homme

Jenny Marx (Tochter)

qui a toujours et à quelque risque dénoncé le fénianisme, que je peux me permettre de donner un conseil impartial et amical au gouvernement.

Je n'ai aucune hésitation à dire que la libération d'un prisonnier politique, qui est tombé en démence ne sera pas censurée encore moins condamnée par un public généreux. En Irlande, on dira : « Eh bien, le gouvernement n'est pas aussi cruel que nous croyions. » Tandis que, si de l'autre côté Burke est retenu en prison, ça prêtera de nouveaux matériaux à la presse nationale pour l'attaquer comme plus cruel que les gouverneurs napolitains dans leurs pires jours, et je confesse que je ne puis pas voir comment des hommes d'opinions modérées puissent défendre l'acte d'un refus dans un tel cas. ...

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M. CARTHY DORONING

Monsieur,

Je regrette de ne pouvoir recommander la libération de Burke.

Il est vrai qu'il a montré des symptômes de démence et que dans des cas ordinaires, je serai « justifié » en le recommandant à la merci de la couronne. Mais son cas n'est pas un cas ordinaire, car non seulement a-t-il été un conspirateur d'un caractère désespéré, mais sa participation à l'explosion de Clerkenwell, qui, serait-elle réussie, eût été encore plus désastreuse qu'elle n'était, fait de lui-même dans sa position un « récipient impropre de pardon. » (*Improper recipient of pardon*)

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H.A. BRUCE.

L'infamie peut elle aller plus loin ! Bruce sait parfaitement bien que s'il y avait eu l'ombre d'un soupçon contre le colonel Burke lors du procès à cause de l'attentat de Clerkenwell, Burke aurait été pendu à côté de Barrett qui lui, fut condamné à mort sur la déposition d'un homme qui avait auparavant faussement dénoncé trois autres hommes comme auteurs du crime, et malgré les témoignages de huit citoyens qui tirent le voyage de Glasgow pour prouver que Barrett s'y trouvait quand l'explosion a eu lieu. Les Anglais ne se gênent pas (M. Bruce peut le spécifier) quand il y va de la pendaison d'un homme - surtout d'un fénian.

Mais tout cet échafaudage de brutalité ne peut rien contre l'esprit indomptable des Irlandais. Ils viennent de célébrer, à Dublin, plus démonstrativement que jamais leur fête nationale de saint Patrick. Les maisons étaient décorées de drapeaux portant ces mots : « L'Irlande pour les Irlandais, liberté » et vive les prisonniers politiques, et l'air raisonnait des chants nationaux et de la - *Marseillaise*.

G. WILLIAMS 35
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Articles sur la question irlandaise

La Marseillaise.
Nr. 113, 12. April 1870

Le Crime Agraire en Irlande

Londres, 2 avril 1870.

En Irlande, la spoliation, voire même l'extermination du cultivateur et de sa famille par le landlord, s'appelle le droit de propriété, tandis que la révolte du cultivateur exaspéré contre son bourreau impitoyable s'appelle le crime agraire. Ces crimes agraires (agrarian outrages), du reste très clairsemés, mais multipliés à l'infini et exagérés par le kaléidoscope de la presse anglaise, agissant sur un mot d'ordre, ont, comme vous le savez, fourni le prétexte pour renouveler le régime de la terreur blanche en Irlande. De l'autre côté, ce régime de la terreur met les propriétaires en état de redoubler impunément leurs oppressions.

J'ai déjà dit que, sous le prétexte de venir en aide aux cultivateurs, le landbill consolide le landlordisme. Néanmoins, pour jeter de la poudre aux yeux et par acquit de conscience, Gladstone était bien forcé de n'accorder ce nouveau sursis de vie au despotisme terrien, que sous la condition de quelques formalités légales à remplir. Il suffira de dire qu'après, comme auparavant, le bon plaisir du landlord fera loi s'il réussit à imposer à ses tenanciers annuels (*tenants at will*), des rentes fantaisistes, impossibles à payer, ou, dans le cas des baux à ferme, à faire souscrire par ses fermiers des contrats de servitude volontaire !

Et comme les landlords s'en donnent à cœur joie ! Le *Freeman*, journal de Dublin, publie une lettre du père P. Lavelle, auteur du *Irish landlord since the Revolution*, dans laquelle il dit : « J'ai vu des pyramides de lettres adressées à ses tenanciers par leur landlord, brave capitaine, <absentee>, résidant en Angleterre, qui les avertit que, dorénavant, leurs rentes seront augmentées de 25 pour 100. Ceci est l'équivalent d'autant d'annonces d'éviction ! Et cela de la part d'un homme qui ne rend autre service à la terre que d'en manger annuellement la moelle ! »

Ulrichman, d'autre part publie les nouveaux baux à ferme, dictés par lord Dufferin, le membre du cabinet Gladstone qui a inspiré le Landbill et introduit le Coercion bill dans la maison des lords. Ajoutez à l'insolence féodale le calcul rapace d'un usurier expert et la chicane ignoble de l'avocassier, et vous aurez une notion approximative des nouveaux baux à ferme inventés par ce noble Dufferin !

On comprend maintenant que le régime de terreur vient tout à propos pour inaugurer le régime du *Landbill* ! Supposez, par exemple, que dans un comté quelconque de l'Irlande, les fermiers refusent ou de laisser les rentes augmenter de 25 % ou de signer de baux à ferme *Dufferin's* ! Alors les landlords du comté, comme cela s'est déjà vu, se feront adresser des lettres anonymes de menace par leur valet de chambre ou par des policiers quelconques. Cela constitue autant de « crimes agraires. » Les landlords dénoncent le fait à lord Spencer, le vice-roi. Lord Spencer déclare le district tombé sous le régime du *coercion act*, et puis les mêmes landlords, comme magistrats, vont l'exécuter contre leurs propres fermiers !

Jenny Marx (Tochter)

Les journalistes assez imprudents pour protester seront non seulement poursuivis pour sédition, mais tout le matériel de leur imprimerie sera confisqué, sans l'ombre d'une procédure juridique !

On s'expliquera maintenant peut-être pourquoi le chef de votre exécutif a congratulé Gladstone sur les améliorations qu'il allait introduire en Irlande, et pourquoi Gladstone a retourné le compliment en congratulant votre exécutif sur ses concessions constitutionnelles. « Un Roland pour un Ollivier ! » diront vos lecteurs connaisseurs de Shakespeare, mais d'autres, plus versés dans la lecture du *Moniteur* que dans celle de Shakespeare, se souviendront de la lettre adressée par le chef de votre exécutif à feu lord Palmerston, et où on lit ces mots : « N'agissons pas en larrons ! »

Maintenant, je reviens à la question des prisonniers politiques, et pour cause.

En Angleterre, la première lettre de Rossa publiée dans la *Marseillaise* a produit un grand effet - elle aura une enquête pour suite.

Aux Etats-Unis, tous les journaux ont publié la dépêche que voici : « La *Marseillaise* dit que O'Donovan Rossa a été mis à nu une fois par jour et examiné, qu'on l'affame, qu'on l'enferme dans une cellule noire, qu'il est attelé à une charrette, que la mort de ses camarades a été causée par le froid auquel ils ont été exposés. » Le *New York*, correspondant du *Irishman* dit : « La *Marseillaise* de Rochefort a mis sous les yeux du peuple américain les souffrances des prisonniers fénians. Nous devons une dette de gratitude à la *Marseillaise* qui, je l'espère, sera payée avec empressement. »

Des journaux allemands ont aussi reproduit la lettre de Rossa.

Désormais, le gouvernement anglais ne pourra plus commettre ses infamies au milieu du silence. M. Gladstone aura beau bâillonner la presse irlandaise - il n'y gagnera rien. Un journaliste emprisonné en Irlande sera remplacé par cent journalistes en France, en Allemagne, en Amérique.

Que peut la politique étroite et surannée de M. Gladstone contre l'esprit international du dix-neuvième siècle ?

J. WILLIAMS 30

La Marseillaise.
Nr. 118, 17. April 1870

La Mort de John Lynch

Citoyen rédacteur,

Je vous adresse des extraits d'une lettre écrite à *Ylrishman*, par un prisonnier politique irlandais, pendant sa détention (à présent il est libre) dans une colonie pénale en Australie.

5 Je me bornerai à traduire l'épisode de John Lynch.

Lettre de John Casey

« Voici un rapport concis et impartial des traitements auxquels nous étions assujettis, mes confrères exilés (au nombre de vingt-quatre) et moi, durant notre 10 incarcération dans cette tanière pleine d'horreurs - cette tombe vivante, qu'on appelle Portland-Prison.

Avant tout, il est de mon devoir de payer un tribut de respect et de justice à la mémoire de mon ami John Lynch, qui fut condamné par un tribunal extraordinaire, au mois de décembre 1865, et qui mourut à Woking Prison, en avril 1866.

15 Quelle que soit la cause à laquelle le jury ait attribué sa mort, moi, j'affirme, et je suis à même d'en fournir les preuves, que sa mort a été accélérée par la cruauté des gardiens de la prison.

Etre emprisonné, au cœur de l'hiver, dans une froide cellule, pendant vingt-trois heures sur vingt-quatre ; être insuffisamment vêtu ; dormir sur une planche 20 dure, avec une bûche de bois comme oreiller et deux couvertures usées pesant à peu près dix livres, seule défense contre le froid excessif ; ne pouvoir même, par un raffinement inqualifiable de cruauté, couvrir nos membres gelés de nos habits, que nous étions forcés de mettre à la porte de notre cellule ; être assujetti à une nourriture malsaine et insuffisante ; n'avoir pour tout exercice qu'une promenade 25 de trois quarts d'heure tous les jours, dans une cage ayant environ 20 pieds de longueur sur 6 pieds de largeur, et destinée aux plus infâmes coquins : - ce sont là des privations et des souffrances qui doivent briser un corps de fer. Aussi ne vous étonnez point qu'un homme aussi délicat que l'était Lynch y ait presque immédiatement succombé.

30 A son arrivée dans la prison, Lynch demanda la permission de garder sa flanelle. Sa demande fut repoussée durement. « Si vous me refusez, je serai mort avant trois mois, » répondit-il alors. Ah ! je ne me doutais pas que ce fût une prophétie, je ne m'imaginais pas que l'Irlande dût sitôt perdre un de ses fils les plus dévoués, les plus ardents, et les plus nobles ; que moi je dusse perdre, un ami 35 à toute épreuve.

Jenny Marx (Tochter)

Dans le commencement de mars, je remarquai que mon ami avait l'air très malade, et, un jour, je profitai de l'absence momentanée du geôlier pour lui demander des nouvelles de sa santé. Il me répondit qu'il se mourait, qu'il avait plusieurs fois consulté le médecin, mais que celui-ci n'avait fait aucune attention à ses plaintes. Sa toux était si violente, que bien que je fusse dans une cellule très éloignée de la sienne, j'entendais nuit et jour cette toux résonner à travers les corridors déserts. Un geôlier même me dit : (L'emprisonnement du numéro 7 sera bientôt fini - depuis un mois il devrait être à l'hôpital. Bien des fois, j'y ai vu des prisonniers ordinaires se portant cent fois mieux que lui.)

Un jour au mois d'avril, j'aperçus de ma cellule, se traînant avec difficulté et s'appuyant contre les grilles pour se soutenir, la forme d'un spectre, à la figure mortellement pâle, aux yeux éteints, aux joues creusées. C'était Lynch. J'hésitai à le reconnaître jusqu'à ce qu'il me regardât, me sourit et me montrât la terre, comme s'il voulait me dire : <C'en est fait de moi.‑

Ce fut la dernière fois que je vis Lynch. »

Tel est le témoignage de Rossa, à propos de Lynch, corroboré par celui de Casey. Et il ne faut oublier que Rossa a écrit sa lettre dans une prison en Angleterre, tandis que Casey écrivait dans une colonie pénale de l'Australie ; ainsi toute communication entre eux était impossible. Cependant, le gouvernement vient d'affirmer que les assertions de Rossa sont des mensonges. Bruce, Pollock et Knox déclarent même « que des flanelles ont été données à Lynch, avant même qu'il les demandât. »

D'un autre côté, M. Casey constate aussi positivement que M. Bruce le nie, que Lynch s'est plaint que « même quand il fut hors d'état de marcher, et qu'il se vit forcé de rester dans la solitude terrible de sa cellule, on repoussa encore sa demande. »

Mais, comme l'a dit M. Laurier dans son beau discours : « Laissons de côté le témoignage des hommes, et faisons parler les témoins qui ne mentent pas, les témoins qui ne trompent pas, les témoins muets. » Le fait est que Lynch est entré à Pentonville, à la fleur de son âge, plein de vie et d'espérance, - et que, trois mois après, ce jeune homme était un cadavre.

Tant que MM. Gladstone, Bruce et sa cohue de policiers n'auront pas prouvé que Lynch n'est pas mort, ils perdent leur temps à prêter des serments.

J. WILLIAMS

La Marseillaise.
Nr. 125, 24. April 1870

Lettres d'Angleterre

Londres, le 19 avril 1870.

« Pas de prêtres en politique » - c'est le cri qui en ce moment, se fait partout entendre en Irlande.

- 5 Le grand parti qui depuis le « *disestablishment* » de l'église protestante s'est opposé de toutes ses forces au despotisme de l'église catholique, s'accroît de jour en jour avec une rapidité merveilleuse ; et vient de battre le clergé à plate couture.

A l'élection de Longford, M. Greville Nugent, candidat du clergé l'avait emporté sur le candidat du peuple, John Martin, mais les nationalistes contestèrent 10 la validité de son élection, en raison des moyens illégaux à l'aide desquels elle a été obtenue - et ils ont eu raison de leurs adversaires. L'élection de Nugent a été cassée par le juge Fitzgerald qui déclare les agents de Nugent, c'est-à-dire les prêtres, coupables d'avoir corrompu les électeurs en inondant le pays - non de l'esprit saint, mais de l'esprit de vin. Il paraît que dans un seul mois, du 1^{er} 15 décembre jusqu'au 1^{er} janvier, les révérends pères ont dépensé 3500 livres sterling, en eau-de-vie !

Le *Standard* se laisse aller à des remarques bien curieuses à propos de l'élection de Longford : « Quant à leur mépris de l'intimidation des prêtres, dit l'organe du <stupid parti), les nationalistes méritent des louanges ...

- 20 La grande victoire qu'ils ont remportée les encouragera à nommer de nouveau des candidats contre M. Gladstone et ses alliés ultramontains. »

Le *Times* dit : « Dès le décret épiscopal daté de la ville éternelle jusqu'aux brigues des prêtres ruraux, tout le pouvoir ecclésiastique était rangé d'un côté contre le fénianisme et les nationalistes. Malheureusement, cette ardeur n'était 25 pas accompagnée de prudence, et aura pour résultat une seconde bataille à Longford. »

Le *Times* a raison. La bataille de Longford recommencera, et elle sera suivie par celle de Waterford, de Mallow et de Tipperary, les nationalistes de ces trois provinces ayant aussi présenté des pétitions, afin d'invalider l'élection des députés 30 officiels. A Tipperary, O'Donovan-Rossa avait d'abord été élu, mais comme le Parlement le déclara incapable d'être le représentant de Tipperary, les nationalistes proposèrent à sa place Kickham, un des patriotes fénians qui vient de sortir des bagnes anglais. Maintenant les électeurs de Kickham affirment que leur candidat a été dûment élu, bien que Heron, le candidat du gouvernement et des 35 prêtres, paraisse avoir une majorité de quatre voix.

Sachez que l'un des quatre électeurs de Heron est un pauvre *maniaque* qui a été conduit au poil par un révérend père - vous connaissez le faible des prêtres pour les pauvres d'esprit, car à eux est le royaume du ciel. Que son second électeur est un *cadavre* ! oui. - Le parti honnête et modéré a osé souiller le nom d'un homme

Jenny Marx (Tochter)

mort quinze jours avant l'élection en le faisant voter pour un gladstonien. Outre cela, les électeurs patriotes déclarent que onze de leurs votes ont été refusés parce que la première lettre du nom de Kickham était illisible ; que leurs dépêches télégraphiques ont été supprimées, que les autorités ont graissé des pattes à droite et à gauche, et qu'on a eu recours à un système d'intimidation abject. 5

Même dans l'histoire de l'Irlande, la pression exercée à Tipperary marquera. Le bailli et l'agent, ces personnifications des lettres d'éviction, assiégeaient les cabanes des tenanciers, afin d'épouvanter les femmes et les enfants des premiers. Les baraqués où l'on devait voter étaient entourées de police, de soldats, de magistrats, de landlords et de prêtres. 10

Ces derniers, assommant à coup de pierre les hommes en train de mettre les affiches de Kickham. Pour comble d'horreur, dans les baraqués mêmes, on avait placé l'usurier qui dévorait des yeux son malheureux débiteur pendant qu'il votait. Mais le gouvernement en fut pour ses frais d'imagination. Mil six cent soixante-huit petits tenanciers le bravèrent et donnèrent ouvertement, le secret du 15 scrutin ne les protégeant pas, - leurs suffrages pour Kickham !

Cet acte de courage nous rappelle les luttes héroïques des Polonais.

En présence des batailles livrées à Longford, Malford, Waterford et à Tipperary - osera-t-on encore dire que les Irlandais sont [les] esclaves abjects de la prétraille. 20

J. WILLIAMS

La Marseillaise.

Nr. 149, 18. Mai 1870

Lettres d'Angleterre

Londres, le 12 mai.

L'enquête sur les traitements infligés aux prisonniers fénians est encore une fois ajournée. 25

Le gouvernement trouve des prétextes pour la différer de jour en jour. Si ça continue, plus d'un prisonnier succombera à ses bourreaux.

D'après les dernières nouvelles, le capitaine Mackay se trouve dans un état voisin de la mort.

C'est la première fois qu'on parle de lui depuis son incarcération. - Jamais 30 plainte ne s'était échappée des lèvres de ce stoïque. Agé de vingt-six ans, Mackay a tout le dévouement, tout l'enthousiasme de la jeunesse. Son héroïsme chevaleresque arracha même à la presse anglaise des cris d'admiration.

Lors de sa condamnation aux galères, les journaux rapportèrent « qu'il n'y avait pas un œil sec dans la cour, que le juge, l'accusateur, les avocats, versèrent 35 des larmes quand on lui mit les menottes. »

Et maintenant ce jeune héros gît sur ce qui est peut-être son lit de mort - et pas un de ces misérables de la presse ou du barreau qui l'ont comblé de leurs louan-

Articles sur la question irlandaise

ges, qui ont versé sur lui leurs larmes de crocodile, n'a le courage d'élever la voix en sa faveur, de dénoncer le système infernal qui enchaîne un tel homme à des voleurs, à des assassins !

Mme Mackay serait morte de faim, ils auraient encore gardé le silence. Cette pauvre jeune femme ne doit la vie qu'aux efforts généreux de Mme Luby et de Mlle Mulcahy, les fondatrices du « comité des femmes irlandaises », grâce auquel les familles des prisonniers reçoivent du secours.

Je profite de cette occasion pour rendre un tribut de respect à ces dames. Elles sont dignes de leur mari et frère, - les prisonniers fénians Luby et Mulcahy. Depuis des années, ces femmes dévouées ont présenté pétition sur pétition demandant au gouvernement une enquête, - mais jusqu'à présent le gouvernement n'y a fait aucune attention. Enfin M. Gladstone et son chacal Bruce, dans la crainte que la voix de Mme Luby et de Mlle Mulcahy ne pénétrât à travers la Manche, leur ont promis une enquête sur les allégations suivantes, qu'elles viennent de faire dans leur dernier mémorial ;

1. Que Mulcahy à Portland-Prison, recevait, ainsi que les autres prisonniers politiques, de la soupe faite des os de bœuf, dont la viande avait été ôtée, et qui étaient généralement gâtés avant d'être bouillis ; qu'on a trouvé dans cette soupe des entrailles de volaille, une souris et d'autres vermines.
20 Que le dit Mulcahy, quand il fut emprisonné à Dartmoor, était obligé de porter à travers une fondrière de plusieurs centaines de verges de largeur, des pierres lourdes, et qu'il était fréquemment attelé à une charrette, un col autour du cou, pour traîner des pierres.

Que Mulcahy a constamment souffert d'un dérangement d'estomac, que la diète de la prison lui donne des nausées, de sorte qu'il est souvent forcé de se passer de son dîner.

Qu'on n'a jamais fait un examen médical de son cas, et qu'il n'a pas reçu de médicaments pour alléger ses souffrances. Que la qualité de sa nourriture n'a pas été améliorée.
30 Enfin que le dit Mulcahy a été exposé, au mois de février, insuffisamment vêtu, à un froid sévère, et que, depuis ce temps, il est sujet à des douleurs rhumatismales et névralgiques.

2. Que O'Connor a été privé des visites et des lettres de ses amis pendant deux années et demie et qu'il ne recevait, durant une longue période, que deux pintes de gruau, et tout au plus une livre de pommes de terre.

3. Que le souper de Kickham consistait en six onces de pain et une pinte d'eau.
4. Que Byrne a été fréquemment insulté par les geôliers.
5. Que Mulcahy, souffrant de l'hémorragie des poumons, se vit néanmoins forcé de tailler des pierres dans les carrières de Dartmoor.
40 6. Que O'Donovan Rossa est resté trente-cinq jours les mains derrière le dos.
7. Que les officiers médicaux négligent leurs devoirs envers les prisonniers en ne les examinant pas, afin de savoir quels effets la nourriture produit sur eux. Quand les prisonniers se plaignent de l'état de leur santé, les médecins les traitent « d'imposteurs ».

Jenny Marx (Tochter)

8. Que Carey, quand il souffrait de la poitrine, s'adressa au médecin de Portland Prison, et que celui-ci lui versa du liniment dans la main, lui ordonnant de s'en frotter la poitrine à son retour dans sa cellule. Alors Carey remarqua naturellement : « Mais où sera le liniment à mon retour dans la cellule ? » Cette question lui coûta cher. On l'accusa d'insolence, et, pendant 28 jours, il fut mis au pain et à l'eau. 5

9. Que Burke est tombé en démence, en conséquence des tourments qu'il a subis.

10. Que la diète des bagnes est insuffisante et qu'elle produit la dyspepsie, la diarrhée et d'autres désordres du système. 10

11. Que Power est encore assujetti à une discipline rigoureuse, quoique ses poumons soient attaqués.

12. Que Melody a été brutalement maltraité par les officiers du bagne, qu'on lui met des fers lourds à la cheville du pied.

13. Que O'Connel, Devoy, Clure et Halpin sont tombés dangereusement malades, en conséquence de la sévérité de la discipline et de la mauvaise qualité de la nourriture. 15

A un grand meeting qui a eu lieu à Birmingham, le 6 mai, en faveur de la libération des prisonniers fénians et contre le *Coercion bill*, le gouvernement a été sévèrement condamné et une résolution demandant « the repeal of the Union » 20 (l'abrogation de l'Union) a été unanimement adoptée. Le meeting était presque exclusivement composé de prolétaires anglais, et tous les orateurs étaient des Anglais.

C'est un événement qui marquera dans l'histoire contemporaine. Après Manchester, Birmingham est la ville manufacturière la plus importante de l'Angleterre. C'est une ville d'où sont déjà parties de grandes initiatives historiques. Elle était le centre de *Y Union* qui, en 1830, commença le mouvement aboutissant au *Reform bill* et formant le complément anglais de la révolution de Juillet. 25

Elle prend maintenant l'initiative d'un mouvement qui finira par la conversion de *Y Union*, c'est-à-dire de l'esclavage politique imposé à l'Irlande en 1801, en 30 fédération libre et égale avec l'Angleterre. Elle a compris ce que le *Conseil général* de *Y Association Internationale des travailleurs* a pris tant de peine à inculquer ; qu'en permettant l'asservissement de l'Irlande, le peuple anglais ne fait que perpétuer le despotisme des aristocrates et des ploutocrates chez lui, et se forge ses propres chaînes. 35

En attendant, le ministère Gladstone ne se croise pas les bras. Occupé dès longtemps à discipliner à Londres un nouveau corps d'espions, le gouvernement est en train d'en expédier un grand nombre en Irlande, où, revêtus des caractères de laboureurs, artisans et boutiquiers, ils agiront comme agents provocateurs, afin d'enrôler de jeunes Irlandais dans des combinaisons illégales. 40

Comme les beaux espoirs se rencontrent ! Le gouvernement russe vient de fonder à Saint Pétersbourg, « l'Académie des Espions ! » Elle a pour curateur le comte Schouvaloff, chef de la police secrète de l'Europe, et pour recteur le général Treppoff, grand maître de police à Saint Pétersbourg. « En vue des dangers qui

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menaçant l'Etat », cette académie a pour but officiel d'élever et de perfectionner les espions.

Tous les fonctionnaires de la police, à commencer par les simples soldats, jusqu'aux mouchards les plus hauts placés, sont obligés d'y faire au moins un 5 cours, pour achever leur éducation, et ils y subissent un examen très détaillé et très sévère. Le colonel Kozloff, attaché du général Trepoff, y fonctionne comme principal examinateur.

Il ne faut pas s'imaginer qu'il y ait seulement coïncidence de conception théorique ! Il y a coopération active parmi tous les gouvernements européens. Par 10 exemple, le gouvernement anglais se glorifie dans ses organes demi-officiels, - le *Daily News* et *l'Observer* - d'avoir mis la police anglaise au service de l'empereur de tous les Français.

A Londres, on ne peut pas aller dans les rues sans se coudoyer avec des Gaulois qui sentent la rue de Jérusalem d'une lieue. La police prussienne, de son côté, 15 traque les réfugiés russes comme des bêtes fauves. Enfin, le comte Bismark a bien voulu envoyer à Paris les fameux policiers Stieber et Hentze, pour assister leurs collègues français dans la fabrication des complots.

Ainsi vous voyez, les gouvernements européens sont tombés sur cette idée lumineuse : - d'opposer à *Y Association internationale des travailleurs Y Association 20 internationale des mouchards* !

G. Williams.

Charles Cassal/Eugen Oswald
To the People of France and of Germany

To the People of France and of Germany.

A hundred thousand men, belonging to two of the principal civilized nations of the world, have been condemned to die in a few days hence, and to be their own executioners.

Upon whom must rest the responsibility of this monstrous human sacrifice? 5 The Governments of France and Prussia accuse one another and get ready for the massacre, while invoking Providence in their favour. The scandalous way in which they give one another the lie, forces the conclusion upon us that neither speaks the truth.

We do not claim to have discovered from which of the two the first provocation has proceeded. This, moreover, is a question which each German and each Frenchman has already decided for himself, according to his lights, or rather, in too many cases, according to his passions.

But that of which we cannot convince ourselves, is that the great majority of the inhabitants of either country desired this war. 15

What, indeed, have Germany and France to gain or to hope for from these ambitious and perfidiously aspiring men, whose whole force is used to hamper one another?

The probable result of the conflict, if it last for any length of time, and if the actual governing powers are allowed to fight it out, will be to strengthen the 20 Napoleons and the Hohenzollerns, who will know well, at an opportune moment, how to come to an understanding at the expense of the enslaved nations.

The almost certain result, for one of the two nations, will be a frightful humiliation, which will re-open an abyss between them; for both of them a violent ruin and chains more strongly riveted; for the small neutral States the loss of 25 their independence. The freedom of a great part of Europe will be stifled between Bismarck and Bonaparte.

If victory favour the German Unity under Prussian militarism, "Germany threatens to be", according to one of her greatest publicists, "a permanent danger for neighbouring nations, and we shall find ourselves at the commencement of a 30 period of wars which threaten to throw us back to the darkest epochs of the middle ages."

To the People of France and of Germany

But if France be victorious under the Caesarism of Napoleon, she will, whatever she may do, not cease to be suspected of wishing to renew the period of Louis XIV, or of Napoleon I.

Thus this war, itself engendered by that of 1866, will engender new wars, and
5 will necessarily lead to the apogee of military despotism.

And there is in Europe a dark power which has an interest in the weakening of civilised nations! How that power must rejoice in this war! France and Germany have undertaken to realize its ardent wish. How worthy is this war of the applause of Russian autocracy!

10 Born, some of us in France, some in Germany,—ardent friends of the liberty of all nations,—believing in the dogma of human brotherhood as not less sacred than the one of the brotherhood of the children of one country,—remembering with grief the disasters of Germany in 1805-6-7 and 9, and the disasters of France in 1812-13-14 and 15;—however limited be our influence, however un-
15 known our names;—persuaded that our convictions are shared by all men sincerely loving their country and mankind, we believe it our duty to declare the following:—

A War of Conquest, whether it come from North or South, from East or West, is infamous, impious and barbarous. It cannot, in our days, found anything
20 durable; it outrages civilization, as it violates morality.

A war begun with the intention of tearing away from Germany an inch of German ground, or from France a particle of French soil, is criminal. A war, if it is not defensive, is a monstrosity. And whilst accepting the duty of repelling aggression, we must refrain from being carried away into making ourselves instruments of dynastic tendencies or reviving national hatred.
25

It is an error to believe that all Germans, whilst forced to resist, in legitimate defence, a foreign invasion, have renounced their political convictions and their aspirations towards freedom, and become bitter haters of France, or defenders at any price of a military autocracy engaged in strengthening itself.

30 It is an error to believe that all Frenchmen, determined as they are to defend their territory in every case, consider themselves bound by the deeds of their government; the fifteen hundred thousand electors—the heart and the intellect of the country—who have recently voted against the Empire, are enough to prove it.

What we believe to be the truth, is that the two antagonists in this conflict—
35 and the antagonists are the governors, not the governed—have been weaving a net of intrigue, and that of these men of unbridled ambition, neither the one nor the other hesitates to imbrue his hands in dirt and blood to build up or consolidate his work of despotism.

It is possible, then, that these two noble countries, these rivals in letters, in arts,
40 in sciences—the countries that have given birth to a Montesquieu and a Leibnitz, to a Goethe and a Voltaire, to a Rousseau and a Herder, to a Kant and a Diderot, to a Corneille and a Schiller,—is it possible that Germany and France, throwing aside their civilisation, stifling their aspirations towards progress, are making ready to cut each other's throat, in a war of races, and to push back, for

three or four generations, the friendly union of two nations made to esteem, to respect, yeah, to love one another?

As to patriotism, we recognize none other than that large patriotism which is a form of the love of mankind; but that other patriotism which despotism has always endeavoured to foster, that patriotism imposed on us by some selfishly ambitious man, or some perverse conqueror, that patriotism which finds or perpetuates international hatred, which leads people to kill their neighbours because they live on the other side of the border—that patriotism is but another kind of servitude. We know whither it leads and what it finds. 5

How much patriotic devotedness, how much self-sacrifice, has already been shown by citizens of both nations during the first few days of this war! What if, instead of being offered to the frenzy of fight, their efforts had, for the common good of both nations and of the world, been employed to call out a decisive *veto* to both governments? There could then have been no war. And since this means has not been taken to prevent this war, let now at least every high-minded and generous man use, in his own sphere and way, his efforts towards bringing the slaughter to a speedy end. 10 15

German brothers! French brothers! The war between Germany and France is a civil war, consequently a fratricidal war. What remains of liberty in continental Europe will be definitely swamped in this disaster, and for a space of time impossible to foresee, human progress will be suspended. 20

We condemn this war with all our energies, both as men and as citizens.

And, since the France and the Germany of the 19th century will have to bear this horrible black spot on their faces, since our sons and brothers are condemned to kill and murder, let us at least not imitate the authors and the accomplices of this frightful and criminal attempt upon humanity. No hatred from nation to nation! no uncontrolled anger! no exasperation! no calumnious imputations! no unjust interpretations! Let us not dwell on the bloodstained leaves of our past national histories! Away with the recollection of the evil that, led by despots, we have done to one another! 25 30

Rather let us make all our efforts to preserve every friendly bond existing between Frenchmen and Germans, and which was tied in happier times; let us intensify and multiply all such connections, and may, even out of such private and personal intercourse, a body of sentiment and opinion arise, which, in some measure, can contribute to help any offers of mediation, or when our rulers shall be tired of killing, will change the parchment of the treaty of peace they have to sign, into a real and a lasting international amity. 35

And whatever be the issue of the struggle, whichever of the two nations will succumb, in defending the sacred soil of our countries, let us not cease to repeat that, in our view, the nations are brethren, and that they have no enemies but their despots. And let us ever actively strive towards the fulness of that time, 40

"when the battle flags are furled

In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World!"

To the People of France and of Germany

London, July 31st, 1870.

CH. CASSAL. EUG. OSWALD.

FIRST LIST OF ADHESIONS:

Karl Marx.*	Th. Karcher.	Alfred Talandier.*
Fr. L. Weinmann.	A.W. Moll.	E. Rougerie.
V. Cerexhe.	Th. Rausch.	P. Poincelet.
Umbrecht.	O. Riehmer.	E. Foucault.
Eugène Bonis.	Jacques Lorgue.	G. Jourdain.
F. A. Schwarzenberg.	Henry Dick.	G. Gaillard, <i>fils</i> .
J.D Impens	N. Fontaine.	J. Roret.
F.D Leblanc	Charles Lecapé.	N. Fourdin, <i>aîné</i> .
Fried. Engels.*	Joseph Bonnert, <i>fils</i> .	P.A.V. Le Lubez.
H.J. Rothschild*	A. Boularon.	J. Steiner.
Sigismund L. Borkheim*	A. Baudouin.	J. Reider.
J. Reinhardt.	P. Daurat.	J. Schaub
G. Rosenthal.	J. Heray.	Wilhelm Högh.
V. Wohlbold.	Léon Beaupin.	Jean Balagué.
C. Walther.	Armand Rochas.	M. Hervé.
A. Videky.		

20 * I agree with the above address, so far as its general sentiments coincide with the manifesto on the war issued by the General Council of the "International Working Men's Association."

NOTE.—We invite Frenchmen and Germans who share our views, to let us have their adhesions addressed to 39, Gloucester Crescent, Regent's Park, N. W.

Friedrich Engels' Mitarbeit im „Comite zur Unterstützung
der Verwundeten und Bedrängten in Deutschland“.

Anzeigen und Berichte

The Manchester Guardian.
Nr. 7465, 21. Juli 1870

[Aufruf zu einer Versammlung der Deutschen in
Manchester]

Die Unterzeichneten erlauben sich ihre Deutschen Landsleute in Manchester zu einer Versammlung im Saale der Town Hall, King-street, auf Donnerstag Den 21. D.M. 4 Uhr nachmittags einzuladen, zur Berathung, welche Massregeln seitens der hier wohnenden Deutschen zu ergreifen sind, zur Linderung der durch den bevorstehenden Krieg unter Verwundeten und Bedrängten in Deutschland ent- 5 stehenden Noth.

Manchester, den 20. Juli, 1870.

C. ARNING.	CF. SCHMIDT.
JULIUS BODENSTAFF.	E. SCHNEIDER.
E. DELIUS.	MARTIN SCHUNCK.
F. ENGELS.	CA. VON STRALENDORFF.
PH. GOLDSCHMIDT.	C TAFEL.
TH. HILTERMANN.	R. WEDEMEYER.
PAUL NATHAN.	J.G. WEHNER.

The Manchester Guardian.
Nr. 7466, 22. Juli 1870

Meeting of Germans in Manchester.

15

A number of German gentlemen called upon their countrymen resident in Manchester, by advertisement and circular, to assemble in the large room of the Town Hall, yesterday, for the purpose of deciding upon the means to relieve the distress about to arise in Germany from the impending war. About 400 Germans met, and we are informed that there were present amongst them the heads of nearly 20

Engels' Mitarbeit im „Comite zur Unterstützung der Verwundeten ... in Deutschland“

every German firm in this city. The proceedings of the meeting were conducted in the German language.

On the motion of Mr. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Mr. C.F. SCHMIDT took the chair.

5 The CHAIRMAN, having briefly addressed the meeting, called upon

Mr. F. ENGELS, who moved the first resolution, namely "That a committee be formed for the purpose of receiving and distributing contributions towards the relief of the distress about to arise among the wounded and other sufferers in Germany during the impending war." He said this war had been forced upon 10 Germany, and Germany stood united as one man to meet the invader. But let it not be forgotten that this war, to a great extent, had been forced upon France also. If Germany was unanimous, France was not. The Opposition in the Chambers and in the press had nobly done their duty, and used every effort to prevent the war. The French bands of rabble, paid by the police at the rate of 40 c. a piece 15 to parade the streets and shout "Vive la guerre!" "A Berlin!" might dare to show their faces on the Boulevard des Italiens, but when they came towards the Boulevard du Temple and the districts inhabited by the working-classes, the workmen soon put them down. The working men of Paris had shown the most determined opposition to this war, and if the French army should meet with a serious reverse 20 they would originate a movement which might cost Louis Napoleon his throne. It was a great misfortune that through the ambition of one man the two most advanced nations of the continent should be again thrown into mutual hostility, which might rankle for years after the war was over, just as the memory of the old Napoleonic wars had kept Germany and France asunder for many years 25 afterwards. Then it was not to be forgotten that this meeting took place in a neutral country. He had no doubt it was the sincere wish of every German that England should remain neutral. Germany now, for the first time after many centuries, had the good fortune to be united and unanimous in meeting a powerful foe single-handed. All Germans were there but the German Austrians, and 30 he wished they were there too; and it was to be wished for the honour of Germany that single-handed both combatants should remain. If, then, a committee was to be formed for the relief of the distress to be caused by the war, let it be distinctly understood that this was not intended to imply an appeal to English charity. If English sympathisers were willing to give their support in the cause of 35 humanity, no doubt it would not be refused; but let there be on the part of the Germans no attempt to solicit contributions from a neutral nation for their own national purposes.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. J. BODENSTAFF, and unanimously adopted.

40 The second resolution was proposed by Mr. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, and seconded by Mr. C. ARNING:— "That the following gentlemen be requested to form the committee, with power to add to their number, viz. Messrs. C. Arning, J. Bodenstaff, G. Boer, Dr. Borchardt, A. Davisson, E. Delius, F. Engels, P. Goldschmidt, E. Götz, Dr. Gumpert, G. Haubensack, T. Hiltermann, J.M.

Engels' Mitarbeit im „Comite zur Unterstützung der Verwundeten ... in Deutschland“

Koecher, Julius Knoop, Julius Liepmann, G. Lempfert, Paul Nathan, G. Prusmann, G. Roskill, W. Rohmer, H. Schill, C F. Schmidt, E. Schneider, M. Schunck, E M. Stohr, CA . Von Stralendorff, R. Strauss, C. Tafel, R. Wedemeyer, and J.G. Wehner." In moving this resolution, Mr..Goldschmidt observed that these names had been hastily selected by the Provisional Committee at a preliminary meeting in the forenoon. He therefore called upon those present to suggest further names, so as to make the committee as much as possible representative of the whole of the German community of Manchester, and at the same time of all parts of Germany.

Messrs. B. Liebert, Rev. E. Marotzky, Rev. Dr. Gottheil, Mr. F.W. Ebeling, 10 and Mr. H. Altgeldt were then proposed, and their names added to the list.

The CHAIRMAN, in putting the resolution, added that probably every one present, having relatives and near friends in the ranks of the army and their homes threatened, would already feel the calamity of the impending war. This war, he feared, might last a long time. A momentary enthusiasm would not 15 suffice, and it was possible that demands might have to be made upon every one for personal sacrifices for many a day to come. It should also be understood that the funds collected would be employed for the relief of all sufferers on German soil, not excluding the wounded French on a German battlefield.—The resolution was adopted.

Mr. Schmidt having vacated the chair, it was taken by Mr. ARNING, when

Mr. E.M. STOHR, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman, said this meeting was not a political demonstration. The Provisional Committee had rightly felt that such ought not to take place in neutral England, but still he thought that a few patriotic words would not be out of place. They saw approaching a 25 great crisis. It would be a terrible calamity for Germany, but he felt sure every one would look it in the face with stern resolution. He could not quite agree with Mr. Engels that the French nation were so blameless in the matter. Had not M. Ollivier, amidst the cheers of the Corps Législatif, said, that he went with a light heart into this war, partly his own doing? They ought to honour the sincere 30 sorrow and distress of the old soldier, King William I. when he found this iniquitous war forced upon himself and his country. Although no one could foresee how long the war might last, one thing was sure, that as long as there was a man in Germany to fight, not a foot of German soil would be ceded to the invader.

Dr. L. BORCHARDT, in seconding the vote, said, he had only within an hour 35 arrived from Germany. This meeting showed him that if there was any difference observable between the enthusiasm here and in Germany, it was that he saw a greater outward excitement here, while in Germany the feeling was quite as deep or deeper, but had already settled into a fixed determination to strain every nerve to repel the enemy. All political parties were united for the great struggle; and as 40 unfortunately the Germans in Manchester could not all join in the defence of their country, it was doubly their duty to do all in their power to alleviate the distress of the sufferers.

The vote of thanks to the Chairman was then adopted by acclamation, and the meeting ended.

Engels' Mitarbeit im „Comite zur Unterstützung der Verwundeten ... in Deutschland“

Manchester Courier.
Nr. 4272, 22. Juli 1870

Meeting of Germans in Manchester.

... Mr. Engels proposed a resolution appointing a committee to carry out the object of the meeting. He spoke as follows:—"In several places resolutions similar to that proposed now have been come to, and we must not be behind in the 5 duty we owe to our country. We all have friends and relatives engaged in the sanguinary struggle, and therefore in giving relief to-day we feel that we are helping brothers and sisters. Gentlemen, this war has been forced upon us; Germany does not seek it, and it is not the first time that Germany has fought against her will, but for the sake of her honour and independence. (Cheers.) It is a great 10 misfortune that two nations like France and Germany should be forced to fight, for the animosities which linger behind a great war are difficult to eradicate. But we must not forget that into this war the French are not throwing themselves with the same spirit as the Germans. In France it is a war with the government; in Germany it is a war with the people. In Paris the police have been paid 40 15 centimes a night to cry 'A Berlin', 'To the Rhine', but they have been cried down by the workpeople. (Loud cheers.) England is neutral in this war, and it is the wish of every honourable German that she should remain so. (Cheers.) We are rich enough to support our own wounded, and don't let us seek the support of neutral Englishmen. If they like to give their sympathetic feelings let them do so, 20 but let us show that we who can't give our lives are willing to give that which is dearer really, even than our lives, viz., our money. Therefore let us agree to form a committee." ...

The Manchester Times.
Nr. 660, 23. Juli 1870

Meeting of Germans in Manchester

... Mr. F. Engels moved the first resolution: "That a committee be formed for the 25 purpose of receiving and distributing contributions towards the relief of the distress about to arise among the wounded and other sufferers in Germany during the impending war." In several [pl]aces, he said, resolutions similar to that now proposed had been come to, and they must not be behind in the duty they owed to their country. They had all friends and relations engaged in the sanguinary 30 struggle, and, therefore, in giving relief, they felt that they were helping their brothers and sisters. This war had been forced upon them. Germany did not seek it, but this was not the first time that Germany had fought against her will for the sake of honour and independence. (Cheers.) It was a great misfortune that two nations like France and Germany should be forced to fight, for the animosities 35 which lingered behind a great war were difficult to eradicate. But they could not forget that the French were not throwing themselves into the war with the same

Engels' Mitarbeit im „Comite zur Unterstützung der Verwundeten ... in Deutschland“

spirit as the Germans. In France, it was the war of the Government; in Germany, it was the war of the people. In Paris, the police had been paid 40 centimes a night for shouting "To Berlin" and "To the Rhine", but they had been cried down by the workpeople themselves. (Loud cheers.) England was neutral in this war, and it was the wish of every honourable German that she should remain neutral. 5 (Cheers.) They were rich enough to support their own wounded, and do not let them seek the support of neutral Englishmen. If Englishmen liked to give from sympathetic feelings let them do so, but let Germans show that those who could not give their lives were ready and willing to give their money. ...

The Manchester Guardian.
Nr. 7469, 26. Juli 1870

[Gründungserklärung des „Comites zur Unterstützung der
Verwundeten und Bedrängten in Deutschland“]

Comité zur Unterstützung der Verwundeten und Bedrängten in Deutschland.—Das 10 Comité hat in seiner heutigen Sitzung Herrn C.F. Schmidt zum Vorsitzenden, die Herren F. Engels und G. Boer zu Schriftführern, und Herrn J.G. Wehner zum Schatzmeister erwählt. Dieselben bilden mit den Herren C. Arning, Dr. Borchardt, E. Goldschmidt, E. Liebert, W. Rohmer, G. Roskill, E.M. Stöhr, C.A. Von Stralendorff, C.E. Tafel, R. Wedemeyer, den Executiv-Ausschuss des Co- 15 mités.

Die Mitglieder des Executiv-Ausschusses sind beauftragt Zeichnungen für die Zwecke des Comités entgegen zu nehmen. Zahlungen nimmt entgegen der Schatzmeister Herr J.G. Wehner (Droege and Co., 21, Major-street).

Manchester, 25th July, 1870.

20

F. ENGELS.
C BOER.

The Manchester Guardian.
Nr. 7471, 28. Juli 1870

[Spendenaufruf des „Comites zur Unterstützung der
Verwundeten und Bedrängten in Deutschland“]

Sammlung zur Unterstuetzung der Verwundeten und Bedraengten in Deutschland.
—Der Executive-Ausschuss des Comité's zeigt hiermit an, dass jedes seiner Mitglieder bereit ist, Beitraege fuer obigen Zweck in Empfang zu nehmen.

Die eingehenden Gaben werden den sich in Deutschland bildenden Comités 25 zur Verwendung zugesandt werden.

Engels' Mitarbeit im „Comite zur Unterstützung der Verwundeten ... in Deutschland“

Das Local des Comité's ist 21 Major-street bei Herren Droege and Co.
Manchester, 27. Juli, 1870.

5 C. Arning	C F. SCHMIDT, Vorsitzender	Ph. Goldschmidt
Emil Liebert	J.G. WEHNER, Schatzmeister.	C. Roskill
E.M. Stoehr	Dr. Borchardt	
E.C. Tafel	W. Rohmer	
	C A. von Stralendorff	
	R. Wedemeyer	

F ENGELS 1
G. BOER, ')
S c h r i f t f ü h r e r -

Manifest des Ausschusses der Sozialdemokratischen
Arbeiterpartei zum Deutsch-Französischen Krieg.
Mit Auszügen aus einem Brief von Karl Marx

Manifest des Ausschusses der
social-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei.

An alle deutschen Arbeiter!

Eine neue unerwartete Wendung der Dinge ist eingetreten. Napoleon ist in deutscher Gefangenschaft, in Paris ist die Republik erklärt und eine republikanische Regierung eingesetzt worden. Nach zwanzigjährigem schmachvollem Bestehen des zweiten Kaiserreichs hat sich das französische Volk in der Stunde der größten Bedrängniß ermannnt und seine Geschicke in *seine* Hände genommen. Es hat sich losgesagt von dem Manne, von dem es sich 20 Jahre hatte knechten lassen und der endlich diese Bedrängniß auf Frankreich herabbeschworen. Ein „Hurrah“ der 10 französischen Republik!

Mit dieser Wendung der Dinge ist, so hoffen wir, das Ende des Krieges gewiß. So lange die napoleonischen Söldnerschaaren Deutschland bedrohten, war es unsere Pflicht, als Deutsche den „Vertheidigungskrieg, den Krieg um die Unabhängigkeit Deutschlands“ zu führen. Ein solcher Vertheidigungskrieg schließt 15 nicht aus, daß man den Feind angreife; er schließt, wie jeder Krieg, ein, daß Letzterer zum Frieden gezwungen wird. Daher mußten wir selbst dann noch den deutschen Heeren den Sieg wünschen, als die unmittelbare Bedrohung der deutschen Grenzen beseitigt und unser braves Heer mitten in Frankreich hineingedrungen war; freudig bewegten uns die in unerhörter Tapferkeit, in großartigster 20 Todesverachtung von unseren deutschen Brüdern errungenen glorreichen Siege. Und gewiß können wir stolz darauf sein, einem solchen Heldenvolke anzugehören. Aber mehr als je ist es jetzt, in dem Bewußtsein des ruhmvollsten Sieges, unsere Pflicht, uns nicht zu berauschen in dem wilden Siegestaumel, „der so leicht der Menschen Geister berückt“, sondern kühl und besonnen uns zu fragen nach 25 dem, was wir jetzt zu *thun*. Doppelt ist dies unsere Pflicht der neuen Wendung der Dinge gegenüber.

Die neue Volksregierung muß und wird den Frieden mit Deutschland zu erreichen suchen, sie muß und wird die Kriegserklärung des Napoleoniden zurückziehen.

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Manifest der Sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei zum Deutsch-Französischen Krieg

War es das französische Volk, das uns den Krieg erklärte? Nein! Der *Napoleo-nide* war es; von ihm hat das deutsche Schwert nunmehr Frankreich befreit und Frankreich hat mit ihm endgültig gebrochen. Lassen wir uns nicht beirren durch den Umstand, daß das siegreiche Vorschreiten der deutschen Heere dem Kriege 5 mehr und mehr die Herzen der Franzosen gewann. Eine große Nation kann den Feind auf ihrem Boden unmöglich lange erdulden. So berechtigt die Begeisterung war, die das deutsche Volk in dem Gedanken einte, daß die Unantastbarkeit des deutschen Bodens und die Unabhängigkeit des deutschen Vaterlandes zu wahren seien, so erklärt ist es, daß Frankreich, zeitweilig den Mann vergessend, der 10 sein Unglück verschuldet, nur daran dachte, das Land von dem Feinde zu befreien. Dieser Gedanke wird auch heute, wo Frankreich wieder Herr seiner Geschicke geworden, die französischen Herzen beherrschen. Aber die heutige Volksregierung wird sich dessen bewußt sein, daß das französische und das deutsche Volk zwei Brudervölker sind, die beide dieselben 15 Interessen, die beide die heilige Pflicht haben, im Geiste der Neuzeit zusammenzugehen und in den Künsten des Friedens zu wetteifern. Die heutige Volksregierung wird Frankreich von dem „Feinde“ zu befreien suchen durch den Frieden.

Aber dieser Frieden muß für diese Regierung *möglich* sein, d.h. es muß ihr ein 20 ehrenvoller Frieden gestattet werden. Wahrlich, Frankreich ist dafür, daß es die Schmach des zweiten Kaiserreiches so lange geduldet, genugsam gestraft, und eine Pflicht des deutschen Volkes ist es, ja in seinem eigenen Interesse liegt es, einen ehrenvollen Frieden der französischen Republik zu gewähren. Es ist die Pflicht des deutschen Volkes, denn auch das deutsche Volk wird sich dessen be- 25 wußt sein, daß es nicht seine Aufgabe sein kann, einem großen Brudervolke den Fuß auf den Nacken zu setzen, noch in gegenseitigen Kämpfen sich aufzureiben, sondern daß es dieselbe Pflicht hat, wie Frankreich gegen Deutschland, die Pflicht, gemeinsam mit Frankreich im Geiste der Neuzeit zu wirken. Im Interesse Deutschlands liegt ein ehrenvoller Frieden mit Frankreich, denn ein schimpfli- 30 eher Frieden würde Nichts sein, als ein Waffenstillstand, geschlossen bis dahin, wo Frankreich sich wieder stark genug fühlt, den Schimpf von sich abzuwälzen. Vor Allem aber ist es die Pflicht der deutschen *Arbeiter*, denen die Einheit der Interessen zwischen dem deutschen und dem französischen Volke zur heiligen Ueberzeugung geworden ist, die in den französischen Arbeitern nur ihre Brüder 35 sehen, mit denen gleiches Loos und gleiches Streben sie einen, solchen Frieden für die französische Republik zu verlangen. An den deutschen Arbeitern ist es aus-zusprechen, daß sie, im Interesse Frankreichs und Deutschlands, nicht gesonnen sind, eine Beschimpfung des französischen Volkes zu dulden, nachdem dasselbe sich endgültig von dem infamen Friedensbrecher⁴⁰ losgesagt.

40 ⁴⁰ *¹ Dieser infame Friedensbrecher ist in deutschen Händen; wenn es eine Gerechtigkeit giebt, so muß dieser Elende der französischen Republik ausgeliefert und von dieser als gemeiner Verbrecher abgeurtheilt werden. Jede Handlung im Interesse Napoleon's ist für Deutschland eine Schmach.

Manifest der Sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei zum Deutsch-Französischen Krieg

Die deutschen Arbeiter haben daher sofort in Masse ihre Stimme zu erheben für einen ehrenvollen Frieden mit dem französischen Volke.

Kommt der Frieden jetzt nicht zu Stande, so wird entweder die französische Republik im Blute der Republikaner, im Blute des französischen Volkes ersticken 5 werden - und vor Scham müßte in solchem Falle Deutschland vergehn; - oder aber das *freie* Frankreich wird wieder, wie zur Zeit der großen Revolution, „die Fremden“ glorreich besiegen. Darum nochmals: „Einen ehrenvollen Frieden für Frankreich!“

Aber man sagt uns, es sei zum mindesten nöthig, daß Frankreich Elsaß und 10 Lothringen genommen wird.

„Die Militairkamarilla, Professorschafft, Bürgerschaft und Wirthshauspolitik - so schreibt uns einer unserer ältesten und verdientesten Genossen in London - giebt vor, dies sei das Mittel, Deutschland auf ewig vor Krieg mit Frankreich zu schützen. Es ist umgekehrt das probateste Mittel, diesen Krieg in eine europäische Institution zu verwandeln. Es ist in der That das sicherste Mittel, den Militairdespotismus in dem verjüngten Deutschland zu verewigen als eine Nothwendigkeit zur Behauptung eines *westlichen Polens*, des Elsaß und Lothringens. Es ist das unfehlbarste Mittel, den kommenden Frieden in einen bloßen Waffenstillstand zu verwandeln, bis Frankreich so weit erholt ist, um das verlorene Terrain heraus zu verlangen. Es ist das unfehlbarste Mittel, Deutschland und Frankreich durch wechselseitige Selbstzerfleischung zu ruiniren. 15 20 25

Die Schufte und Narren, welche diese Garantien für den ewigen Frieden entdeckt haben, sollten doch aus der preußischen Geschichte wissen, aus Napoleon's Pferdekur im Tilsiter Frieden, wie solche Gewaltmaßregeln zur Stillmachung eines lebensfähigen Volkes gerade das Gegentheil des beabsichtigten Zweckes bewirken. Und was ist Frankreich, selbst nach Verlust von Elsaß und Lothringen, verglichen mit Preußen nach dem Tilsiter Frieden!

Wenn der französische Chauvinismus, so lange die *altstaatlichen* Verhältnisse dauerten, eine gewisse materielle Rechtfertigung hatte in der Thatsache, daß seit 30 1815 die Hauptstadt Paris und damit Frankreich nach wenigen verlorenen Schlachten Preis gegeben war, welche neue Nahrung wird er nicht erst saugen, sobald die Grenze östlich an den Vogesen und nördlich an Metz liegt.

Daß die Lothringer und Elsasser die Segnungen *deutscher* Regierung wünschen,³¹ wagt selbst der enragirteste Teutone nicht zu behaupten. Es ist das Prinzip des Pangermanismus und „sicherer“ Grenzen, das proclamirt wird und das von östlicher Seite zu schönen Resultaten für Deutschland und Europa führen würde. 35

Wer nicht ganz vom Geschrei des Augenblicks übertäubt ist, oder ein *Interesse* hat, das deutsche Volk zu übertäuben, muß einsehen, daß der Krieg von 1870 ganz so nothwendig einen Krieg zwischen Deutschland und Rußland 40 im Schooße trägt, wie der Krieg von 1866 den Krieg von 1870.

³¹ Im Gegentheil! Die Elsasser und Lothringer sind trotz ihrer deutschen Sprache die fanatischsten Franzosen.

Manifest der Sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei zum Deutsch-Französischen Krieg

Ich sage nothwendig, unvermeidlich, außer im unwahrscheinlichen Fal-
le eines vorherigen Ausbruches einer Revolution in Rußland.

Tritt dieser unwahrscheinliche Fall nicht ein, so muß der Krieg zwischen
Deutschland und Rußland schon jetzt als *un fait accompli* (eine vollendete That-
sache) behandelt werden.*

Es hängt ganz vom jetzigen Verhalten der deutschen Sieger ab, ob dieser Krieg
nützlich oder schädlich.

Nehmen sie Elsaß und Lothringen, so wird Frankreich mit Rußland Deutsch-
land bekriegen. Es ist überflüssig, die unheilvollen Folgen zu deuten.

10 Schließen sie einen ehrenvollen Frieden mit Frankreich, so wird jener Krieg
Europa von der moskowitischen Dictatur emancipiren, Preußen in Deutschland
aufgehen machen, dem westlichen Continent friedliche Entwicklung erlauben,
endlich der russischen socialen Revolution, deren Elemente nur eines solchen
Stoßes von außen zur Entwicklung bedürfen, zum Durchbruch helfen, also auch
15 dem russischen Volke zu Gute kommen.**

Aber ich fürchte, die Schufte und Narren werden ihr tolles
Spiel ungehindert treiben, wenn die deutsche Arbeiter-Classe
nicht en masse ihre Stimme erhebt."

Diese Vertreter der Annexion werden ihr Spiel *nicht* ungehindert treiben und
20 Namens der deutschen social-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei erheben wir
hiermit gegen die Annexion von Elsaß und Lothringen Protest.
Und wir wissen uns Eins mit den deutschen Arbeitern. Die deut-
schen Arbeiter werden, im Interesse Frankreichs wie Deutschlands, im Interesse
des Friedens und der Freiheit, im Interesse der westlichen Civilisation gegen die
25 kosackische Barbarei, die Annexion von Elsaß und Lothringen nicht dulden. -

Und Deutschland?

„Der jetzige Krieg - so schreibt unser Genosse - eröffnet dadurch eine neue
weltgeschichtliche Epoche, daß Deutschland bewiesen hat, daß es selbst mit Aus-
schluß von Deutsch-Oesterreich fähig ist, unabhängig vom Auslande, seine
30 eigenen Wege zu gehen. Daß es zunächst seine *Einheit* in der *preußischen Kaserne*
findet, ist eine Strafe, die es reichlich verdient hat. Aber ein Resultat ist selbst so
unmittelbar gewonnen. Die kleinlichen Lumpereien, wie z. B. der Conflict zwi-
schen national-liberalen Norddeutschen und volkspartheilichen Süddeutschen wer-
den nicht länger nutzlos im Wege stehen. Die Verhältnisse werden sich auf gro-
35 ßem Maßstab entwickeln und vereinfachen. Wenn die deutsche Arbeiter-Classe
dann nicht die ihr zukommende historische Rolle spielt, ist es ihre Schuld. Die-
ser Krieg hat den Schwerpunkt der continentalen Arbeiter-Bewegung von Frankreich nach Deutschland verlegt. Damit haftet grö-
ßere Verantwortlichkeit auf der deutschen Arbeiter-Classe.“

40 *¹ Man lese nur in den russischen Zeitungen, wie die Annexion des Elsaß als direkte Be-
drohung des russischen Besitzes von Esthland, Kurland und Livland bezeichnet und schon
jetzt zum Kriege gegen Deutschland gehetzt wird!

** Wir erinnern hierbei an den Ausspruch Napoleon's I.: „Binnen 50 Jahren wird Europa
kosackisch oder republikanisch sein.“

Manifest der Sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei zum Deutsch-Französischen Krieg

Kameraden! Deutsche Arbeiter! Die Hand auf die Brust! Und dann wollen wir uns geloben, daß die deutsche Arbeiterclasse ihre historische Rolle spielen wird, auch wenn uns die Freude über das verjüngte Deutschland, was nach *unserem* Willen indefß nicht auf lange die Einheit allein in der *preußischen Caserne* finden soll, ausbrechen läßt in den Ruf:

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„Es lebe Deutschland!“

Die Hand auf die Brust! Und dann wollen wir uns geloben, treu mit unseren arbeitenden Brüdern in allen civilisirten Ländern in allen Kämpfen um die gemeinsame Sache zusammenzustehen!

„Es lebe der internationale Kampf des Proletariats!“

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Und wenn wir jetzt sehen, wie wieder ein großes Volk seine Geschicke in *seine* Hände genommen, wenn wir heute die Republik nicht allein mehr sehen in der Schweiz und jenseits der Meere, sondern auch factisch Republik in Spanien, Republik in *Frankreich*, so lasset uns ausbrechen in den Ruf, der, wenn es auch heute noch nicht sein kann, auch für Deutschland einst die Morgenröthe der 15 Freiheit verkünden wird, in den Jubelruf:

„Es lebe die Republik!“

Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, 5. Sept. 1870.

Der Ausschuß.

Edward Spencer Beesly
The International Working Men's Association

The Fortnightly Review.
1. November 1870

|5i7| The International Working Men's Association

On many occasions during the last three or four years public attention has been fitfully directed to the proceedings of a body, called the International Working 5 Men's Association, or, as it is more familiarly known among workmen, "the International". From time to time paragraphs, with the well-known smack of the police office or the counting-house, have gone the round of the papers, containing alarming statements as to the aims of the association, its mysterious activity, and still more mysterious resources. If one of M. Pietri's periodical assassination 10 plots was in course of display, documents compromising the International were as much a part of the *mise en scène* as daggers, revolvers, and Orsini shells. If a strike took place in Germany, Belgium, or France, it was in obedience, so the telegrams invariably informed us, to instructions from the International, whose agents had distributed large sums among the workmen. In the early autumn of 15 the last four years this mysterious body emerged into light, held its congresses, published its reports, and discussed social questions in open session. Autumn is usually the dull season for journalists, and they were glad to fill their columns with tolerable lengthy reports of debates at Brussels or Bale. But these left very vague impressions on the recollections of readers, and the International con- 20 tinued to be the subject of mysterious allusions and startling telegrams.

I purpose in this article to give a short sketch of the history of the International, of the objects it aims at, and the results it has accomplished. I doubt if any other Englishman has equal means at his disposal for writing such an account.

In 1863 the gallant struggle of Poland against her Russian oppressors excited 25 the warmest sympathy among the workmen of Paris and London. A meeting held in St. James's Hall, on April 28th in that year, was attended by MM. Fribourg and Tolain, two Paris workmen, who had come over for the purpose. Before returning home they had a conference with a few of the leading London workmen, at which it was determined to organise an international society. An address 30 to French workmen was drawn up by Mr. Odger, translated, and sent over to

Paris. A cordial answer was returned by those who had entered into the movement there, and the result was a public meeting on September 28th, 1864, in St. Martin's Hall, at which the present writer presided. M. Tolain again attended, with two other Paris workmen. The International Working Men's Association was there founded, and a provisional council appointed, with Mr. Odger for President. On November 1st of the same year this council issued an address, and provisional rules, and [518] announced its intention to convoke in due time a congress of workmen from all parts of Europe, at which the organisation of the association would be definitely settled.

The address thus issued is probably the most striking and powerful statement of the workman's case as against the middle class that has ever been compressed into a dozen small pages. I wish I had space for copious extracts from it. It starts by calling attention to Mr. Gladstone's last financial anthem, the budget speech of 1864, and the curious contrast between his exultation at an import and export trade tripled in twenty years, and his admissions as to the frightful poverty of large masses of people. It passes on the terrible statistics of blue books recently published, from which it appeared that prisoners in penal servitude toiled much less and fared far better than agricultural labourers; that the nourishment of the Lancashire operatives then out of work amounted to about the weekly quantity of carbon and nitrogen which science calculated would keep an average adult just over the level of starvation diseases; that the nourishment of silk-weavers, needle-women, kid-glovers, and stocking-weavers was even lower than that of the unemployed Lancashire operatives; that more than a fifth of the agricultural population had less than the estimated sufficiency of carbonaceous food, and more than a third less than the estimated sufficiency of nitrogenous food; that considerably the worst fed agricultural population of the United Kingdom is that of its richest division—England; but, finally, that even the agricultural labourers of Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Somersetshire fare better than great numbers of skilled indoor operatives in the East of London.

From these appalling statistics the address passes to the incometax returns, from which it appeared that the taxable income of the country had increased in eight years twenty per cent., "an intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power", as Mr. Gladstone observed, "entirely confined to classes of property". With this are contrasted the facts of the last Public Health Report and the Report of the Children's Employment Commission of 1863. The census of 1861 is quoted to show the rapidly-increasing concentration of landed property, and it is remarked that by this process "the land question will become singularly simplified, as it had become in the Roman empire, when Nero grinned, at the discovery that half the province of Africa was owned by six gentlemen".

On the Continent the industrial development had followed the same course. There, too, might be seen "an intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power entirely confined to classes of property", while the great mass of the working class were sinking down to a lower depth. "With local colours changed, and on a scale somewhat contracted, the English facts reproduce themselves in all the industrious and progressive countries of the Continent." |

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The International Working Men's Association

[519] The address then shows how the defeat of the Continental workmen in 1848 reacted on the prospects of labour in England. "All the efforts made at keeping up or remodelling the Chartist movement failed signally, the press organs of the working class died, one by one, of the apathy of masses, and in point of fact, never before seemed the English working class so thoroughly reconciled to a state of political nullity. If there had been no solidarity of action between the British and the Continental working classes, there was at all events a solidarity of defeat." But after a time the movement recommenced in another direction. The workmen concentrated their efforts on social changes. The Ten Hours Bill was carried in the teeth of the Economists, and its principle has been extended since. The co-operative movement was "a victory of the political economy of labour over the political economy of capital". But the workmen are warned that these one-sided efforts are not enough. "The lords of land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their economical monopolies. Remember the sneer with which last session Lord Palmerston put down the advocates of the Irish Tenants Right Bill. The House of Commons, cried he, is a house of landed proprietors. To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes. They seem to have comprehended this, for in England, Germany, Italy, and France, there have taken place simultaneous revivals, and simultaneous efforts are being made at the political reorganisation of the working-men's party." To the success of these efforts there are two conditions essential: the workmen of all countries must enter into close bonds of brotherhood, and wars must cease. It is to promote these two objects that the International has been founded.

25 I have devoted some space to a summary of this address, because we see thereby what the feelings were to which the International appealed, and what has been the cause of its rapid growth.

On May 23, 1865, the provisional council determined to postpone the first congress till 1866, and to convoke for 1865 a small conference in London. This conference met in September, and was attended by a few delegates from France, Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland. A programme for the congress of the next year was drawn up, and on September 28 the anniversary of the association was celebrated by a public meeting in St. Martin's Hall.

The first congress was summoned to meet at Geneva on September 3, 1866. It came together under unfavourable circumstances. The Austro-Prussian war had interfered with the growth of the association in Germany and Italy. In France the rigorous application of the law which forbade meetings of more than twenty persons threw great difficulties in the way of electing representatives. [520] Of the sixty delegates who made their appearance, the large majority were French and Swiss. But the preliminary labours of the provisional council which had sat for two years in London, as might have been expected, determined the character of the congress. All the resolutions adopted emanated from London. They related to the following subjects: 1. International combination of efforts, by the agency of the association, in the struggle between labour and capital; 2. limitation of the working day; 3. juvenile labour; 4. co-operative labour; 5. trades unions.

As there had never been any secrecy about the proceedings of the International, its existence had not entirely escaped the notice of persons interested in industrial questions. For example, the eminent French historian, M. Henri Martin, had welcomed its first anniversary in an eloquent article in the *Siecle*. But it was the Geneva congress of 1866 which first excited general attention. From that date 5 the French Government assumed an attitude of determined hostility to the association. The Swiss sections having entrusted certain papers and pamphlets relating to the congress to M. Jules Gottraux, a Swiss naturalised in England, that he might convey them to the general council in London, his valise was opened at the frontier by the imperial police, and the documents taken from him. The 10 general council, after applying in vain to the Minister of the Interior for their restitution, appealed to Lord Stanley, then our Foreign Secretary, and by his intervention recovered their property. But the Imperial Government continued to annoy the association in every possible way. A report of the Geneva congress, drawn up by the Paris committee and printed in Belgium, was confiscated on its 15 arrival in France. The committee having begged to be informed of the reason of the seizure, were invited to call on M. Rouher, who offered to permit the publication of the report if they would modify it in some respects. This they declined to do. "Well", said the minister, "if you could introduce some expressions of gratitude to the Emperor, who has done so much for the working classes, we 20 might see about it". This suggestion also was declined, and the interview came to an end. The anti-Chauvinist agitation kept up by the association after Sadowa was another source of annoyance to the empire. With a view to disturb the general council in London, the imperial police announced that it had seized papers which proved that the International was one of the principal organs of 25 Fenianism. But no such papers were ever produced.

In 1867 occurred the strike of the bronze-workers in Paris. This was the first occasion on which the intervention of the International was attended with important results. Trades' combinations were not legalised in France till 1864, but benefit societies existed, and afforded facilities for tacit collective action in trade 30 matters, not |521 [withstanding the severity of the tribunals, evidenced by the fact that there was 749 prosecutions for "coalition" from 1853 to 1862. Among the bronze-workers one of these societies was converted into a regular trades' union in 1864. Several advantages were gained by negotiation or partial strikes in 1865 and 1866. In February, 1867, the employers adopted the tactics with which we are 35 so familiar in England, and "locked out" their men to the number of 5,000. On February 24, for the first time since the legalisation of combinations, a public meeting was held for a trade purpose. Some 3,000 bronze-workers assembled in the Rue Menilmontant, and to the surprise of most Parisians separated again without disorder. On March 4 the Paris committee of the International laid the 40 case of the bronze-workers before the central council in London, which forthwith appealed to all its affiliated societies to support the men on strike. The result shall be told in the words of the bronze-workers themselves:—

"Some days after the appeal of the committee of the International Working-men's Association three delegates of our commission set out for London, in order 45

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to seek from the English societies the support which their old organisation is able to afford to the young trades' unions of France. The reception which they met with justified the hopes we had placed in our brothers across the Channel. Wher-
ever our delegates presented themselves our cause was judged to be that of all
5 men, who had been offended in their dignity and in their rights. Several societies at once voted weekly contributions in our aid. The rules of others necessitated delay till the opinion of their lodges could be taken; but hopes of assistance were held out to us, which would have been realised on an immense scale if the com-
bination of our employers had not come to an end before our own resources, and
10 the collections made for us in France, had been exhausted. We warmly thank our friends in England, and we can promise, in the name of all our comrades, that there shall be no lack of reciprocity in like case."

On March 10 the *Courrier Français*, which supported the cause of the men, published a letter from the general council of the International in London, an-
15 nouncing that it had appointed a sub-committee to act on behalf of the bronze-
workers, and that its first application to a trade society had been successful, the day-book-bindery, though numbering hardly 400 members, having voted a do-
nation of £5 and a loan of £10. On March 17, at a public meeting, attended by upwards of 4,000 of the men on strike, one of the delegates who had returned
20 from London gave the following account of his mission:-

"We visited the committees of some twenty unions, comprising more than 200,000 members. Everywhere the ultimatum of our employers insisting on the dissolution of our society excited the energetic disapprobation of our brothers on the other side [of] the Channel. That alone, they said, was enough to justify them
25 in intervening. ... All the societies we visited voted subscriptions, which have either been remitted to us or are about to arrive in due course. We could not visit all the unions. We had, as you know, to return ||522| with all speed. The following are the societies with which we have been in relation:—Gilders (2), Compositors, Engineers, Carpenters (2), Cabinet makers, French polishers (2), Coach makers,
30 French branch of the International, Curriers, Tin-plate workers, Masons, Excavators, Hatters, Shoemakers, Iron moulders. Our friends in each committee we visited undertook to go for us where we had not time to go ourselves. We may, therefore, hope that hence-forward the solidarity of workmen is established among all peoples desirous of seeing labour take the position it deserves."*

35 Soon after this meeting the employers gave way, and the narrative of the strike, published by the men's committee, attributes the result mainly to the sensation excited by the statement I have just quoted. Upon these events the *Courrier Français* remarked:—"M. Thiers has just stated in the Corps Législatif

* Some English employers are beginning to see that this solidarity may have its compen-
40 sating results even for them. At the half-yearly meeting of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce last winter, a resolution against Trades' Unions having been moved, Mr. Booth "pointed out that there were Trades' Unions in France, East Prussia, and Belgium, and that wages were assimilating so rapidly that in a little while there would be no difference in wages between England and the Continent. The question of wages was therefore not so
45 important as Mr. Carpenter thought."

that the creation of a new International policy was impossible. The working classes have given him the lie. That English workmen, through the agency of the International General Council, have given their pecuniary and moral support in a question of labour and wages is a fact which is indeed altogether beyond the conception of the old school of politicians. But M. Thiers may feel sure it is the symptom of a *new* International policy." Perhaps after his recent diplomatic tour M. Thiers himself may have come to the conclusion that the sort of thing he has been accustomed to call international policy is out of date. 5

To the English unions the International soon began to render important services, not indeed by procuring pecuniary assistance from abroad, but by preventing the importation of underpaid Continental workmen into the British labour market. Formerly, when a strike took place, the masters always endeavoured to intimidate the men by threatening to bring over Germans, or Belgians, or Frenchmen, and many a time the mere threat was enough. It is never heard now. If employers wish to import foreign workmen they do it in silence and by stealth. 10 This change of tactics dates from the earliest operations of the International, and was already noticeable in 1867. The moment a strike or lock-out occurred in any of the affiliated trades, the correspondents of the association on the Continent were instructed to warn the workmen in their respective localities against any invitations they might receive. Occasionally the employers succeeded in inducing 15 foreigners to come by false pretences; but these generally repudiated their engagements when the facts were explained to them. | 20

j5231 "During the London basket-makers' dispute, in 1867, information was received that six Belgians were at work under the railway arches in Blue Anchor Lane, Bermondsey. They were as strictly guarded against contact with the outside 25 public as a kidnapped girl in a nunnery. By some stratagem a Flemish member of the council succeeded in obtaining an interview, and upon being informed of the nature of their engagement, the men struck work, and returned home. Just as they were about to embark a steamer arrived with a fresh supply. The new arrivals were at once communicated with; they, too, repudiated their engage- 30 ments and returned home, promising they would exert themselves to prevent any further supplies."

In the summer of the same year, during the great strike of the London tailors, the International succeeded in foiling the efforts of the employers to obtain hands from France. Similar services were rendered to the excavators, wire-workers, 35 block-cutters, hairdressers, and others.

The year 1867 was a critical one for Unionism. The employers of labour had procured the appointment of the Trades' Union Commission, with a view to legislative action against the unions. Great crimes were brought to light at Sheffield. The middle-class public became violently excited; the unionists throughout 40 the country were for a moment staggered and depressed by the charge of guilt in which it was sought to involve them; and the employers looked on the victory as already won. But things soon righted themselves. The session of parliament came to an end without legislation, and it became pretty clear before long that a

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reformed House of Commons would have indeed to amend the law, but in accordance with the demands not of the masters but of the men.

The September of this eventful year brought round the anniversary of the International, and its second congress, which was held at Lausanne. The general 5 council was able to announce the affiliation of thirty-three organised bodies in England, notwithstanding unfavourable circumstances, among which was reckoned the Reform agitation, which had diverted the attention of many of the most energetic workmen.

"The past year", said the report, "has been characterised by intense struggles 10 and agitation. In America, in England, in France, in Belgium, strikes, lock-outs, persecution, and prosecution of the working-class, have been the order of the day. One society in the United States has spent 70,000 dollars to resist the encroachments of capital. In England it has been decided in the courts of law that to rob the funds of trades' unions is not punishable by law. An official inquiry 15 into the working of trades' unions has been instituted, with a view to damage their character. The wholesale prosecution of the London master tailors against their men, the attitude of magistrates, judges, and the daily press, the convictions of the Paris tailors, and the massacre at Marchienne, are facts that demonstrate incontrovertibly that society consists of two hostile classes, and that nothing 20 short of a solidary union of the sons of toil throughout the world will ever redeem them from their present thraldom. We, therefore, conclude with the motto, 'Proletarians of all countries, unite!' |

[524] The Geneva congress of 1866 had been ignored by the London papers. But the labour question had come to the front in 1867, and the *Times* had lengthy 25 reports of the proceedings at Lausanne.

During the next twelve months, 1867-8, the most important events in the history of the International were the prosecutions of its French sections, and its action in connection with the great building strike at Geneva. The members of the Paris committee were harassed with repeated nocturnal domiciliary visits, 30 prosecutions, fines, and imprisonments. It was impossible to prosecute them as members of a secret society, for the International has always repudiated secrecy and courted publicity. They were, therefore, charged with belonging to an unauthorised society of more than twenty persons, whose governing body sat in London, and with being dangerous to social order. In support of the last charge, 35 intercepted telegrams from the general council were read, in which French workmen were requested not to come to London to replace men on strike. The courage and ability with which the accused defended themselves excited much attention and sympathy in Paris, and increased the numbers of the association. Their condemnation did not prevent others from stepping into their places, but when 40 these also were condemned and imprisoned the Paris association had to submit to dissolution. Its members, however, continued individually to belong to the International, and to correspond directly with the general council. "Thus ended", says the report, "les coquetteries malsaines de l'Empire avec la classe ouvrière."

In the spring of 1868, the master builders of Geneva locked out their men for 45 refusing to renounce their connection with the International. The exertions of the

general council procured large pecuniary assistance for the men from England, France, Belgium, and Germany; and the result was that the masters had not only to withdraw their tyrannical demand, but to make concessions in wages and hours of work. This triumph added greatly to the strength of the International in Switzerland.

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In Germany, during this year, trades' unionism burst into life, and made up for its late birth by an extraordinary rapidity of development. In August, 1868, one hundred and twenty societies, of middle and southern Germany, held a congress at Nuremberg, and affiliated themselves to the International. The North German societies were prohibited by law from connecting themselves with any foreign society. "Unfortunately", said Mr. President Jung, at the Brussels congress, "since Sadowa the Prussian people has lost much of its liberty. True, it has covered itself with glory, which is some compensation." In its official report of April, 1868, to the Prussian government on Count Bismarck's proposals for a revised tariff, the Elberfeld chamber of commerce protested against any reduction of £251 the duties on foreign iron. "Much capital", it said, "would be lost, and thousands of workmen deprived of their means of subsistence, a matter that would be the more critical since the labour question becomes more and more serious, and the International Working Men's Association assumes a more and more active and menacing attitude."

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The third congress was held at Brussels in September, 1868, and was attended by delegates from England, France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, and Spain. It occupied itself chiefly with discussing the questions of war, strikes, machinery, instruction, credit, property, and reduction of hours of labour. Its proceedings were reported at considerable length in all the papers, and the *Times* made them the subject of four leading articles.

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In the year 1868-9, the industrial war raged over Europe, but nowhere so fiercely as in France. The French strikes, however, were in no case stirred up by the International. In December, 1868, the cotton manufacturers of Rouen and the Somme conceived the idea that, by lowering wages, they might compete with Lancashire in the English market. The operatives struck at Sotteville-lès-Rouen, and appealed to the International. The general council felt that this was just the case in which the English unions would see the importance of supporting a foreign strike. It procured some pecuniary assistance immediately, and arrangements were being made for a monster meeting in London; but, unfortunately, the Sotteville men having no trades' union, were unable to hold out till the slow-moving machinery of the English unions could be got into play, and the strike ended almost as soon as it had begun. But the result was the formation of unions throughout the Norman cotton districts.

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After the elections of 1869, there was an explosion of strikes all over France. At St. Etienne, fifteen persons were killed by the troops. According to the French police, these outbreaks were planned by the International, and it was even insinuated that Count Bismarck "had known how to win the graces of this all-powerful association", with a view to incapacitate France for attacking Prussia! The

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truth was that, though the uniform result of these strikes, whether successful or not, was to recruit the ranks of the International, they arose quite spontaneously, and without the knowledge of that body.

In Germany, during the year 1868-9, the working-class organisation grew prodigiously. A new democratic and socialist party was formed out of the wrecks of the Lassalle and Schulze Delitzsch parties, which had corresponded respectively to the Socialists of France and the co-operative Radicals of Lancashire and Yorkshire. Herr von Schweitzer, who succeeded the famous Lassalle in the leadership of the former, had discredited himself, and broken up his party by his open support of Count Bismarck. Schulze Delitzsch, a once popular ||526| and still respected man, had come to be about as true a representative of working-class feeling as Mr. Bright is in England. The new party, calling itself Democratic Socialist, met in congress at Eisenach in August, 1869, where 263 delegates represented societies numbering about 150,000 workmen. The programme of the International was adopted; and, as the law prohibited corporate affiliation to any foreign society, it was arranged that each member should belong individually to the International, and that the central committee having its seat at Brunswick should act at the same time as a central committee for the International. These were the men who last September, faithful to the programme of the International, courageously denounced Count Bismarck's claims upon France, and were, for so doing, sent to prison, chained like common felons. This is the organisation which the *Quarterly Review*, in a remarkably feeble *plaideroy* for Napoleon III., speaks of as "a poor, wretched socialistic club of cobblers at Brunswick". Count Bismarck knows better.

The fourth annual congress of the International was held at Bale, in September, 1869, and was attended by seventy-eight delegates from America, Belgium, England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Switzerland. At its rising it resolved to meet in September, 1870, at Paris. "Stranger things than that", said the seconder of the proposal, "had come to pass. They were living in such changeable times that nobody could tell what might happen in a year."

During the year 1869-70 the working-class movement continued to spread over a wider area, and with redoubled intensity. The great strike at Le Creuzot, among the workmen of that typical Bonapartist, M. Schneider, excited unusual interest in England. We were informed every day, by Mr. Reuter, that it had been got up by "emissaries of the International", who had bribed the men to leave off work. The truth was that, as in so many other cases, the men had no relations with the International until they applied for its assistance, after the commencement of the strike. They had not even any trades' union, and were in no way prepared for the conflict. The French sections of the International gave them some assistance, but, owing to the depression of trade in England, and a simultaneous strike of the same kind on a large scale in Silesia, no money could be obtained from other countries. The result, however, of the struggle was that the Creuzot men, though defeated, enlisted in the ranks of the International.

On the eve of the plebiscite, the members of the Paris Committee of the International, which had again organised itself, without any attempt at concealment,

in defiance of the Imperial police, were imprisoned on a charge of conspiring against the life of the Emperor. The object of M. Pietri was to alarm the *bourgeoisie*, and to have the most active leaders of the workmen under lock and key during the ||527| plebiscitary period. The general council in London published a protest, in which it said, "according to the tenor of our rules, it is certainly the special mission of all our branches to act, not only as centres for the organisation of the working classes, but also to aid all political movements tending to the accomplishment of our ultimate end—the economical emancipation of the working class; at the same time these rules bind all our sections to act openly. If our rules were not positive on this point, the very nature of an association which identifies itself with the working classes would exclude from it every form of secret society. If the working classes conspire, they conspire publicly, as the sun conspires against darkness." To this declaration were appended the signatures of Mr. Applegarth, the chairman, and the other members of the general council. The charge of conspiracy to assassinate was dropped after the plebiscite, but the accused were sentenced to a long term of imprisonment for "belonging to a secret society", and only regained their liberty when the Republic was proclaimed. Similar sentences were pronounced on the committees of the International at Lyons, Marseilles, Toulouse, Brest, and Rouen. Between organised labour and military despotism, whether personified by a Bonaparte or a Bismark, there can be no truce.

In Austria the working-class movement began after the war of 1866. Sadowa was a victory for the middle class, who have been since occupied as much in persecuting the workmen as in making good their position against crown, church, and aristocracy. At the end of 1868, the Socialist Democratic Centres at Vienna, Pesth, and Pressburg, opened relations with the International, and they were represented at the Bale congress. From that time they have been violently persecuted by the Government. On December 13, 1869, at the re-opening of the Reichstag, 40,000 workmen assembled in the streets of Vienna, to make their grievances heard. A deputation carried a petition to the Ministry, demanding that a bill completely legalising trade combinations should at once be brought in, and that, in the course of the session, other bills should be passed, establishing full liberty of association and public meeting, universal suffrage and full liberty of the press. The Ministry was for the moment intimidated, and, on the very next day, introduced a bill legalising trade combinations. But on the night of the 21st, the bearers of the petition were arrested, and the *Volksstimme*, edited by one of their members who had attended the Bale congress, was suppressed. On January 1 in the present year, a mass meeting of Viennese workmen protested against the combination bill of Dr. Herbst, the Minister of Justice. But coercion was now the policy of the Cabinet. The funds of workmen's societies were arbitrarily seized and confiscated. Mr. Neumayer, the editor of the *Gleichheit*, the organ of the 15281 International, was arrested, and his paper was suppressed. One of the charges against him was, that he had published in his paper the resolutions of the Bale congress, and a circular issued by a section of the International at Geneva. He

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was, however, acquitted by a jury. At the end of last July, the delegates who had been arrested in December were placed on their trial for high treason, the public prosecutor stating that the principles of the International Working Men's Association were considered treasonable in Austria. The accused, in masterly speeches, defended the cause for which they suffered, and, by their bold and dignified bearing, enlisted the sympathy of many even among the middle class. Mr. Oberwinder, who had been one of the Vienna delegates at Bale, and Mr. Scheu, were sentenced to six and five years' penal servitude respectively, and the rest to shorter terms of imprisonment. Immediately after this, on August 3, by a sort of *coup 5 d'état*, all the workmen's clubs and the twenty-five trades' unions of Vienna were dissolved. Next day, August 4, a great street demonstration took place, to protest against this arbitrary act. From 50,000 to 60,000 persons took part in it. They were dispersed by the troops, several being killed and wounded, and many arrested. The last news is, that a similar war against labour has been begun in 10 Hungary, where the working class has to reckon amongst its enemies the famous constitutionalist, M. Deak.

The fifth congress, which was to have met at Paris last September, of course did not come off; but just before the war broke out, the various national congresses of the association had been held at Stuttgart, Lyons, Barcelona, La 15 Chaux de Fonds, and Antwerp.

In drawing up this short summary of the proceedings of the International, I have been obliged to confine myself to typical cases. These I have selected from a host of similar instances, in which the association has made its influence felt. If space had permitted, I should have liked to describe its battles in Belgium, which, 20 from the coincidence of grinding industrial tyranny with considerable political liberty, has always been one of its busiest spheres of operation. But enough has been said to show its working, and to correct such mistaken notions as those of the Bale manufacturers, who two years ago sent an agent to London to obtain information about the vast fund in the coffers of the association; or of the *Pall 25 Mall Gazette*, which lately told its readers that the Lyons workmen were "receiving the highest wages required by the rules of the International Union." The association never pretends to say what the conditions of labour should be in any place; but wherever a struggle has begun, it aims at obtaining for the workmen the co-operation of their fellows throughout Europe. Take the latest example. 30 Just before the war broke out the Paris iron-moulders struck for an advance of wages, for the abolition of piecework, overtime, and Sunday labour, and for | 529 | a fortnightly instead of monthly payment of wages. The International recommended their case to the consideration of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers in London. I have before me the June report of that society, in which the facts are 35 laid before the 299 branches, and the application is submitted to their votes. After stating the facts, the secretary, Mr. Allan, says:—

"The council is perfectly aware of the delicacy of such a question being submitted to our members at the present time, particularly when they have been painfully prevented from tendering assistance to a number of deserving societies

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at home, by the long and severe strain which the depression of trade has made upon the resources of our members; notwithstanding these facts, we sincerely trust that the special nature of the case will not only free them from the reproach of partiality on this account, but the members will feel as they do, and kindly give it their support. The deputation asked a loan, not a grant, and believed that obtaining a loan from our society—whose prestige as a trade organisation stands so high on the Continent—might produce an influence powerful enough to settle this dispute in their favour." 5

In July comes a Return, from which it appears that 7,045 members voted for granting the loan, and 557 against it. Of the noes it is curious to observe that 234 10 came from Scotland. Ashton-under-Lyne is the only considerable town in England which votes in the minority. Edinburgh declines to vote, "as they think we should look at home first". Leith "writes in reference to the security for repayment of the loan". Glasgow sixth branch "considers when the loan is repaid the members should decide by vote what shall be done with the money". On the 15 contrary seven English branches suggest that the money should be given instead of lent. "This large majority", says the report, "will go far to enhance the value of the assistance to our friends at Paris, as it will show that we are fully aware of the affinity of interests which belong to the vindication of workmen's rights, independent of the country in which it takes place." The amount handed over was 20 £264. It should be added that these engineers had no selfish interest to serve in this support of a different trade. The English iron-moulders, to their great regret, could give only £25, having laboured for three years under very severe depression.

The various congresses have always kept London as the seat of the general 25 council, which has therefore been composed of Englishmen or foreigners residing in London. It thus escapes police persecution, while the practical English element prevents it from splitting to pieces on economic and political theories. The foreign members, in whose hands the continental correspondence necessarily lies, are men of great ability and information, who have devoted themselves to the 30 International from its foundation. To no one is the success of the association so much due as to Dr. Karl Marx, who, in his acquaintance with the history and statistics of the industrial move|530|ment in all parts of Europe, is, I should imagine, without a rival. I am largely indebted to him for the information contained in this article. 35

It will no doubt be expected that I should not conclude without giving some account of the political and economic principles advocated by the International. I have made few allusions to them hitherto because, in truth, I look on them as of very little importance in comparison with the practical work done by the association. Moreover, although certain theories have been endorsed by majorities of 40 the delegates at the various congresses, the representatives of different opinions are perfectly ready to co-operate in action, and in extending the sphere of the International. Certainly the large mass of English members do not trouble themselves much about theories of property. They devote themselves simply to raising

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their wages and diminishing their hours of work by means of unions, and in my opinion they show their wisdom by doing so. Whether it is the same with the mass of continental workmen, I will not venture an opinion. Still the mere fact that these doctrines have been proclaimed at the annual gatherings, and embodied in the reports, must of course gain increased acceptance for them in Europe, and it is vain to expect that they will not continue to agitate society as long as the evils they attack are unremedied. According to the leading members of the International—who are, it may be observed, for the most part Germans—wage-paid labour is destined to pass away, as serf labour and slave labour have passed away; and will give place to associated labour, which ought to be developed to national dimensions and fostered by national means. No man has a right to call anything his own which he has not produced by his own labour; private property, in the means of production, should come to an end; national debts should be wiped out; the land, mines, machines, and railroads should revert to the community; whether the land so resumed should be cultivated by the "commune", or leased by the State to co-operative associations, is a moot point: where the working class possesses political power, it is to produce these changes in a direct way.

These communistic views were opposed at the Bale congress by M. Tolain, one of the original founders of the International, and several French delegates who call themselves "Mutualists", but who are stigmatised by the "Collectivists" as "Individualists". Both parties appealed to certain "rights" of man which they conceived to be inalienable. A different line was taken up by M. Mollin, a metal-gilder, delegate of the club of Positivist Proletarians of Paris. He had once, he said, been a Communist; he was now a Positivist; it was the glory of Communism that it had laid down the principle that, as the source of wealth is social, its employment ought ||531| to be social; but where Communists went wrong was in wishing to introduce social changes by political means, instead of trusting to moral means. He proposed the following resolution: "The Proletarians here assembled solemnly repudiate the employment of governmental action, in whatever form, for the establishment of social systems; they declare that governmental action should be reduced to the protection of the liberty of all, and that no doctrine ought to prevail otherwise than by perfectly voluntary acceptance, resulting from free exposition." In a most able and lucid report upon the congress presented to his comrades, M. Mollin maintained that the International was a great power, but that its representatives were far from satisfying the conditions of knowledge necessary, if it is to pursue a rational and progressive course; they showed the existence of numerous needs and ardent desires, but they had no satisfactory general views, no rational solution; both parties treated the question of property from the arbitrary, selfish, and absolute point of view of *right*, which metaphysical term was always in their mouths, while the positive term *duty* was scarcely heard; they leave the abuses of property untouched, and only dispute who should have the right to abuse it. Positivists, on the other hand, who consider *property* not as the personal right of arbitrary disposition, but as the social duty of equitable administration, and who substitute the peacable determination

of duties for the stormy dicussion of rights—Positivists must regard debates on the possession of wealth as a barren agitation, and must trust for the transformation of our institutions not to political measures, but to an intellectual and moral regeneration to be brought about by a vast system of freely-organised education. Although M. Mollin professed views so widely differing from those of the majority of the delegates, he was a zealous member of the International, and as one of the Paris committee had been imprisoned in Ste. Pélagie the year before. 5

On two points, I believe, there is no difference of opinion among members of the International; they are all Republicans, and all determined opponents of war. In both these qualities they have drawn upon themselves the persecution of the 10 despots of France and Prussia. The *Times* of Oct. 1 says:—

"The Kreuz Zeitung refers the arrest of Dr. Jacoby to the discovery of a vast scheme contemplated by the European Socialist party, having for its object the proclamation of a Republic in every State. The arrest of the members of the Socialist Democratic Committee of Brunswick is said to have led to the discovery 15 of this plan, the existence of which was proved by numerous letters found upon the persons arrested. Committees formed in all the manufacturing centres of Europe, and which maintained a constant intercommunication, were charged with making a socialist republican propaganda. The proclamation of the Republic in France had increased the activity of these committees, which fully believed 20 that in a very short time the Socialists would be at the head of the French Government. The word was then passed to all the members of the ||52| league that in no case must the honour of the French Republic be diminished. The German Socialists, especially, received from the directing committees an order to oppose with all their might the continuation of the war, and not to countenance 25 in any way the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany."

Of course this wonderful discovery was no discovery at all, because the International is not a secret society. Letters, no doubt, were found, proving what did not need to be proved, that the International has branches all over Europe, maintaining "constant intercommunication". It does not plot to establish Re- 30 publics. The day is gone by—we say it with heads erect—when Republicans have any need to plot. The German branches received no "order from the directing committees", though no doubt they had been exhorted by their fellow-members in London to hold fast by the anti-military programme of the association. Let not cynical politicians imagine that the protest of the workmen of Europe against war 35 is to be ranked with the hollow unreasoning sentimentalities of the press, the pulpit, and the counting-house. In England they mean to have their way about this thing, and they will grind to powder all institutions, classes, and interests that attempt to militarise them, whether as regulars, militia, reserves, volunteers, or anything else. 40

The language and action of the general council of the International, and of its branches both in France and Germany, have been clear, decisive, and consistent, from the earliest commencement of the present war, and for foresight, dignity, and courage, offer a remarkable contrast to the low aims and blind selfishness

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displayed by the middle classes. On July 12, three days before war was declared, the Paris section published a manifesto against it in the *Reveil*:—

"Once more, on the pretext of European equilibrium, of national honour, the peace of the world is menaced by political ambitions ... In answer to the warlike 5 proclamations of those who exempt themselves from the blood-tax, and find in public misfortunes a source of fresh speculations, we protest—we who want peace, labour, and liberty. ... Brothers of Germany! our division would only result in the complete triumph of despotism on both sides of the Rhine. ... Workmen of all countries! whatever may for the present become of our common 10 efforts, we, the members of the International Working Men's Association, who know of no frontiers, we send you as a pledge of indissoluble solidarity, the good wishes and the salutations of the workmen of France."

On July 16, a mass meeting of workmen at Brunswick expressed its full concurrence with the Paris manifesto, spurned the idea of national antagonism to 15 France, and wound up its resolutions with these words:—

"With deep sorrow we are forced to undergo a defensive war as an unavoidable evil; but we call at the same time upon the whole German working class to render the recurrence of such an immense social misfortune impossible, by vindicating for the peoples themselves the power to decide on peace and war." |

20 15331 At Chemnitz, about the same time, a meeting of delegates, representing 50,000 Saxon workmen, adopted unanimously the following resolution:—

"In the name of the German democracy, and especially of the workmen forming the Democratic Socialist party, we declare the present war to be exclusively dynastic. ... We are happy to grasp the fraternal hand stretched out to us by the 25 workmen of France. ... Mindful of the watchword of the International Working Men's Association, *Proletarians of all countries unite!* we shall never forget that the workmen of all countries are our friends, and the despots of all countries our enemies."

The Berlin members also replied to the Paris manifesto:—

30 "We join with heart and hand your protestation. ... Solemnly we promise that neither the sound of the trumpet, nor the roar of the cannon, neither victory nor defeat, shall divert us from our common work for the union of the children of toil of all countries."

On July 23, the general council in London issued a manifesto, in which it 35 recalled the persecutions of the French branches of the International, because:—

"They told the French people publicly and emphatically that voting the Plebiscite was voting despotism at home and war abroad. ... The Stock Exchange, the Cabinets, the ruling classes, and the press of Europe celebrated the Plebiscite as a signal victory of the French Emperor over the French working-class; and it was 40 the signal for the assassination, not of an individual, but of nations. ... Whatever may be the incidents of Louis Bonaparte's war with Prussia, the death-knell of the Second Empire has already sounded in Paris." (Be it observed this was published before a shot had been fired.) "On the German side the war is a war of defence; but who put Germany to the necessity of defending herself? *Prussia!* It

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was Bismarck who conspired with Louis Bonaparte for the purpose of crushing popular opposition at home, and annexing Germany to the Hohenzollern dynasty. If the battle of Sadowa had been lost instead of won French battalions would have overrun Germany as the allies of Prussia. ... If the German working-class allow the present war to lose its strictly defensive character, and to degenerate into a war against the French people, victory or defeat will prove alike disastrous. ... The principles of the International are, however, too firmly rooted amongst the German working-class to apprehend such a sad consummation." 5

On September 5, the central committee of the German Socialist Democratic party, the head-quarters of which are at Brunswick, issued the now famous manifesto, in which they said:— 10

"We protest against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. And we are conscious of speaking in the name of the German working-class. In the common interest of France and Germany, in the interest of peace and liberty, in the interest of Western civilisation against Eastern barbarism, the German workmen 15 will not patiently tolerate the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. ... We shall faithfully stand by our fellow-workmen in all countries for the common international cause of the Proletariat."

This committee, as is well known, has been imprisoned for its manifesto. The general council in London commenting upon it on September 9, says:— | 20

[534] "Unfortunately we cannot feel sanguine of their immediate success. If the French workmen amidst peace failed to stop the aggressor, are the German workmen more likely to stop the victor amidst the clangour of arms? However that may be, history will prove that the German working-class are not made of the same malleable stuff as the German middle-class. They will do their duty. ... 25 The English workmen call also upon their Government to oppose by all its power the dismemberment of France, which part of the English press is shameless enough to howl for. ... This pious king stood pledged before France and the world to a strictly defensive war. How to release him from his solemn pledge? The stage managers had to exhibit him as reluctantly yielding to the irresistible protest of the German nation. They at once gave the cue to the liberal German middle-class, with its professors, its capitalists, its aldermen, and its penmen. That middle-class which in its struggles for civil liberty had from 1846 to 1870 been exhibiting an unexampled spectacle of irresolution, incapacity, and cowardice, felt, of course, highly delighted to bestride the European scene as the roaring lion of German patriotism. It revindicated its civic independence by affecting to force upon the Prussian Government the secret designs of that same Government." 30 35

To appreciate properly the force of this address, it should be mentioned that it was drawn up by a German. Its prescience is vindicated by the statements now 40 continually forwarded to the English press from Germany, to the effect that Count Bismarck is obliged by public opinion to insist on the cession of Alsace and Lorraine, whether he desires it or not. The truth is that for him and his master and the Junker party it is absolutely necessary that the wound of France should

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be kept open and rankling in order that North Germany may be retained in a permanent state of military organisation, and civil reforms indefinitely adjourned. And it is to this transparent policy that German burgherdom, led by its pestilent literary class, is shamefully as well as blindly lending itself, while the
5 workmen are clear-sighted enough to repudiate it. Probably, if I ventured this as my own individual opinion, it would be set down as an instance of my unfairness to the middle class. I will therefore shut certain mouths beforehand by an extract from the *Pall Mall Gazette* of Oct. 14, which comes to hand very opportunely as I am finishing this article:—

10

"Political Differences in Germany.

Dresden, Oct. 8.

The expectation that the war would put an end to political dissensions among the Germans has only been very partially fulfilled. It is true that the desire for German unity has become universal, but the strife of parties and the unpopularity of
15 the Prussian Government is as great as ever. Here in Dresden, for instance, the question of the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine has given rise to a struggle between the Bürgerthum, or middle class, and the lower classes, which is very characteristic of the differences in political feeling and aspiration between these two important sections of the population all over Germany. The Bürgerthum,
20 which belongs chiefly to the so-called 'National Liberal' party, not only warmly advocates the proposed annexation, but, in strange contradiction to its Liberal professions, uses its influence with the Government to put down all demonstrations in a contrary sense. The labouring ||55| class, on the other hand, which feels the burthens of the war more severely than the other classes, is anxious for peace,
25 and shares the opinions of Dr. Jacoby (who is very popular among them) on the question of annexation. They have no opportunity, however, of making their opinions public; for all meetings called for such purpose are strictly forbidden by the authorities.*¹ Their conduct towards the French prisoners, too, contrasts very favourably with that of the Bürger class. Crowds of them assemble daily before
30 the barracks where the prisoners are confined; and, though the military authorities have proclaimed that they will not permit any gifts to be made to the French, cigars, wine, and other luxuries are often surreptitiously introduced into the prison by the working men. This has excited great indignation among the Bürgers, who denounce the workmen in the press as traitors to their country, and urge the
35 authorities to be more vigilant in preventing such unseemly courtesies to the enemies of Germany.

The great majority of the German working men belong to the 'Democratic Socialist' party. This party is much more practical in its objects and organisation than that of the Communists of 1848; it is in constant communication with the
40 trade societies all over the country, and has its representatives in all the German Parliaments. Its former leaders, who signed the famous Brunswick manifesto,

*¹ The "patriotic" party, on the other hand, no longer ventures to hold public meetings, on account of the known hostility of the workmen to the further prosecution of the war.

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calling upon the workmen of Germany to protest against any territorial acquisitions from France, are now in prison in East Prussia; and the party is for the present led by a committee at Dresden, consisting of Drs. Walther, Knieling, and Kohler. Dr. Jacoby, who was arrested for a similar demonstration, is only one of many members of this party who have thus had to suffer for expressing opinions 5 opposed to those of the Prussian Government on the above question. Several Democratic Socialists have since been imprisoned on similar grounds at Mayence, in Hanover, at Gotha, at Celle, in Hamburg, at Offenbach, and at Meerane (in Saxony). In the latter place, and at Heidhausen, in Bavaria, enthusiastic meetings have been held by members of the same party in favour of the French 10 Republic, and against the 'humiliation of the French nation for the advantage of the ruling caste in Germany'."

I have nothing to add to this very circumstantial confirmation of the views I have advanced, except a repetition of my statement, that this "Democratic-Socialist" organisation is only prevented by law from publicly affiliating itself to the 15 International, and that it is to all intents and purposes the German section of that association.

Edward Spencer Beesly. |

Von Marx oder Engels
mitunterzeichnete Dokumente

Mémoire du Conseil Général
de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs
au gouvernement anglais

Le Courier Français.
Nr. 160, 24. November 1867

A M. G. Hardy, secrétaire d'Etat de
Sa Majesté

Les soussignés, représentants des associations ouvrières de toute l'Europe exposent:

- 5 Que l'exécution des prisonniers irlandais condamnés à mort à Manchester, va grandement affaiblir l'influence morale de l'Angleterre sur le continent européen;
L'exécution des quatre prisonniers due à des témoignages et à un verdict, dont les uns ont été officiellement déclarés faux, l'autre erroné par la mise en liberté de Maguire, portera la marque non d'un acte judiciaire, mais d'une vengeance po-
10 litique.

Même si le gouvernement anglais n'avait pas flétrti le verdict et les témoignages, il aurait toujours à choisir entre les pratiques sanglantes de l'Europe et la magnanimité humanité de la jeune Amérique transatlantique.

La commutation de la sentence que nous demandons sera non seulement un
15 acte de justice, mais de sagesse politique.

Par ordre du conseil central:

John Weston, président de la séance.

Shaw, secrétaire pour l'Amérique; - Dupont, secrétaire pour la France; - Karl Marx, secrétaire pour l'Allemagne; - Lafargue, secrétaire pour l'Espagne; - Der-
20 kinderen, secrétaire pour la Hollande; - Besson, secrétaire pour la Belgique.

G. Eccarius, secrétaire général.

Vollmacht für Johann Georg Eccarius zur Vertretung des
Generalrats der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation
auf dem fünften Vereinstag der Deutschen
Arbeitervereine vom 5. bis 7. September 1868 in Nürnberg

Vorzeiger dieses

J. George Eccarius
wird hierdurch bevollmächtigt den Generalrath der Internationalen Arbeiter-
Association bei der zu Nürnberg stattfindenden General Versammlung der Ar-
beiter Bildungs Vereine zu vertreten.

London den 25 August 1868

Robert Shaw	Vorsitzender	
Eugène Dupont	Sekretär für Frankreich	
Karl Marx	Sekretär für Deutschland	
H.Jung	Sekretär für die Schweiz	10
Jules Johannard	Sekretär für Italien	
Paul Lafargue	Sekretär für Spanien	
J. George Eccarius	General Sekretär	

Vollmacht für Wilhelm Liebknecht
als Korrespondent und Bevollmächtigter des
Generalrats der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation
in Deutschland

Vollmacht für W. Liebknecht.

Der Generalrath der Internationalen Arbeiterassocation ernennt hierdurch Bürger Liebknecht zu seinem Korrespondenten und Bevollmächtigten.

5 Im Auftrag des Generalraths der
Internationalen Arbeiterassocation
Karl Marx
Secretary for Germany.
H. Jung. Chairman
J. George Eccarius. Secretary Pro tern.

10 London. 22. Sept. 1868.

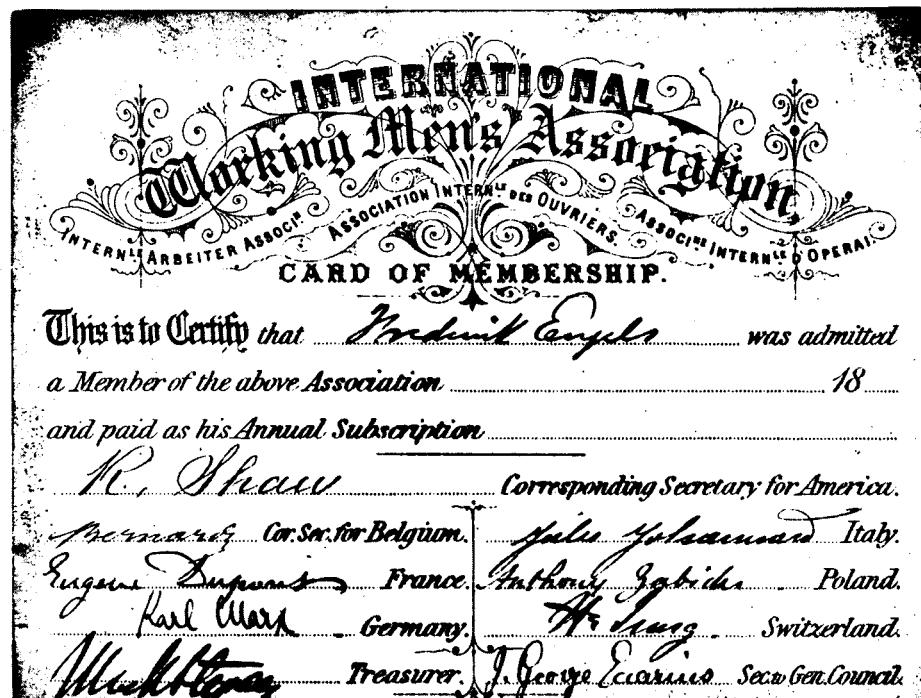
Card of membership

International Working Men's Association.
Internationale Arbeiter Association.
Association Internationale des Ouvriers.
Associazione Internazionale d'Operai.

Card of Membership.

This is to Certify that Frederick Engels was admitted
a Member of the above Association _____ 18 _____
and paid as his Annual Subscription _____

R. Shaw	Corresponding	Secretary for America.		
Bernard Cor. Sec. for	Belgium.	Jules Johannard	Italy.	10
Eugène Dupont	France.	Anthony Zabicki	Poland.	
Karl Marx	Germany	H. Jung.	Switzerland.	
Cowell Stepney	Treasurer.	J. George Eccarius	Sec. to Gen. Council.	



M 33

International Working Men's Association. Card of membership

Johann Georg Eccarius
Letter of condolence on the death of William H. Sylvis.
The General Council of the International
Working Men's Association to the
National Labor Union of the United States of America

The Workingman's Advocate.
Nr. 8, 25. September 1869

To the Members of the National Labor Union of the United States.

Fellow Working-Men and Women,—

The sad tidings that death has so unexpectedly and prematurely removed your honored and able President, William H. Sylvis, a loyal, persevering, and indefatigable worker in the good cause, from among you, have filled us with indefatigable grief and sorrow. The great brotherhood and sisterhood of toil can but ill afford to loose such tried champions in the bloom of life as him, whose loss we mourn in common. But though able counsellors and tried leaders are not over abundant, we find consolation in the knowledge that there are others in your ranks willing and able to serve you in his stead, and with the same zeal and devotion. We are pre-assured that your present session will select the right men for the right places, and make arrangements that will enable you to continue the great struggle without any interruption, and to insure its success. Yours in the bonds of labor, brotherhood and sisterhood. By order of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association.

R. Shaw, Cor. Secretary for America,
E. Dupont, France,
Karl Marx, Germany,
20 J. Johannard, Italy,
A. Zabicki, Poland
H. Jung, Switzerland.
Benjamin Lucraft, Chairman,
Cowell Stepney, Treasurer,
J. George Eccarius, Gen. Secretary.

25

London, August 18, 1869.