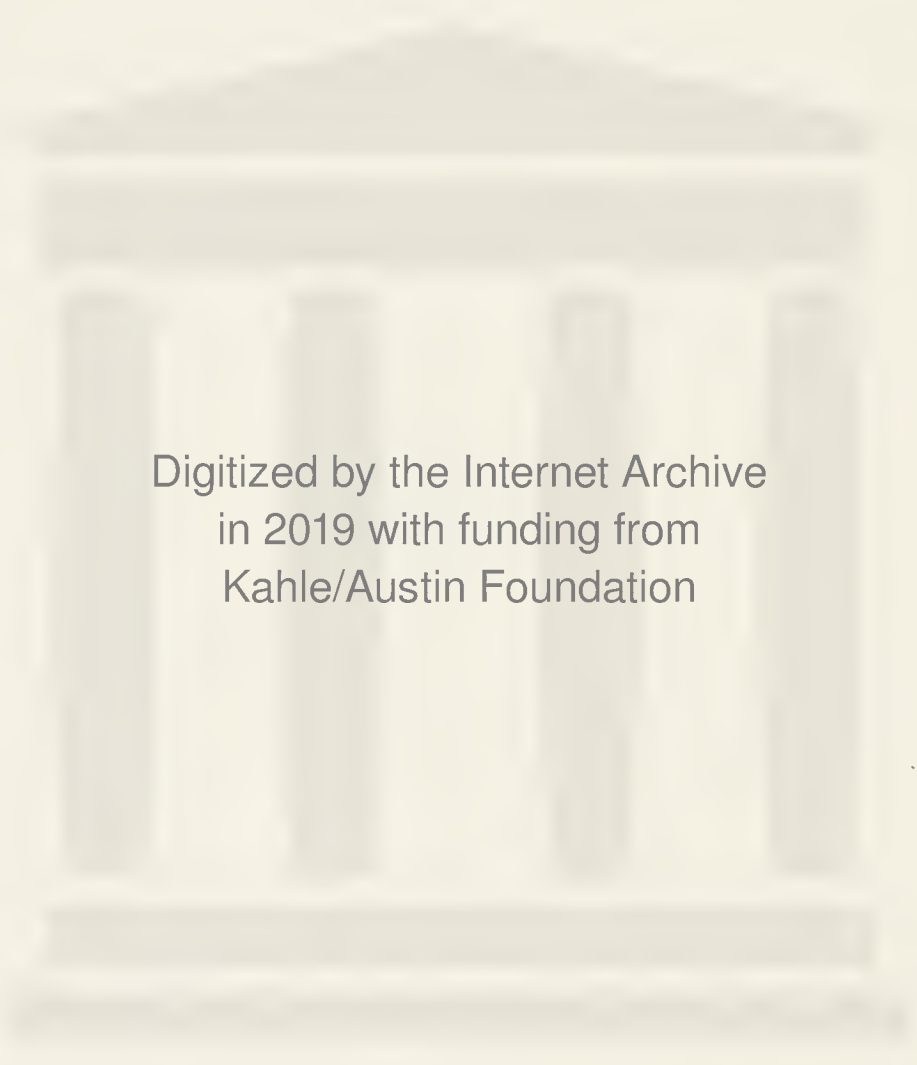


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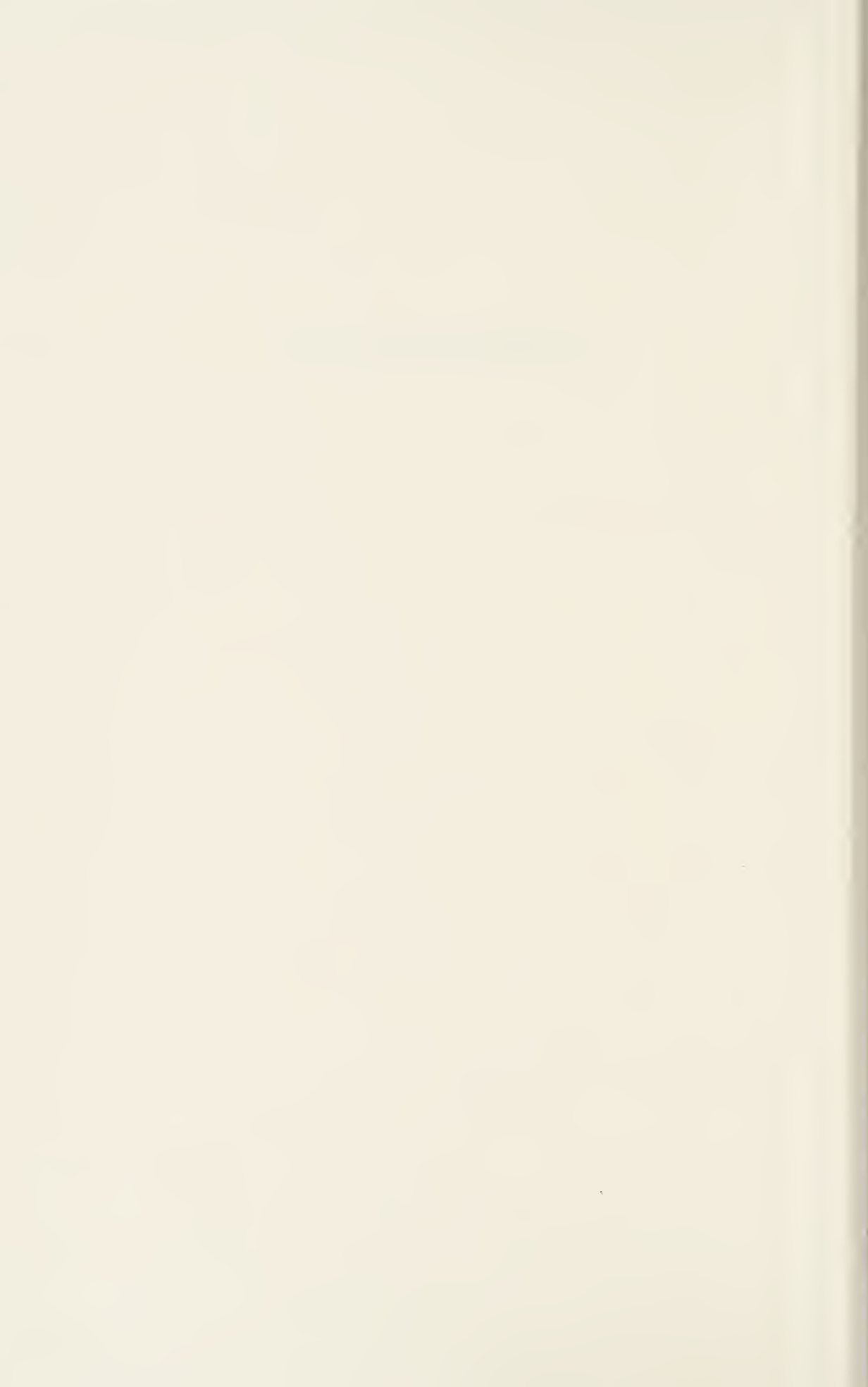


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WILHELM LIEBKNECHT



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Letters to the *Chicago Workingman's Advocate*
November 26, 1870—December 2, 1871

Edited, with an Introduction and Notes
by
Philip S. Foner

HMI

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TO ROSIE AND GEORGE RUDICH

Dear Friends and Colleagues

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Introduction

The following brief notice appeared on the editorial page of the November 26, 1870 issue of the Chicago *Workingman's Advocate*:

OUR EUROPEAN CORRESPONDENT

In this week's issue we present the first of a series of letters from one of the ripest scholars and profoundest thinkers in Europe—a gentleman who is also one of the most prominent members of the German Parliament, and who is eminently qualified to judge of the social and political changes now going on in that country. We bespeak for his communications a careful perusal.

Beginning with that issue and continuing until December 2, 1871, the leading labor paper in the United States carried thirty-one letters in English from Leipzig, Germany by a correspondent who signed his articles, "W.L."¹ Hundreds of scholars have probably seen these articles while studying the files of the *Workingman's Advocate*, but few have noted that the Leipzig correspondent of the American labor paper was Wilhelm Liebknecht,² already one of Germany's leading socialists and a close associate of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.³ Indeed, neither any biography of Liebknecht nor any collections of his writings has mentioned these letters in the *Workingman's Advocate*.⁴

There is clear evidence that these letters were written by Liebknecht. Apart from the initials identifying the author, there is the fact that Liebknecht was fluent in English. Having foregone the possibility of receiving an academic degree by his participation as a twenty-three-year-old student in the 1848 revolution, he had joined the distinguished band of German political refugees in Switzerland in 1849, and then had spent over twelve years in London, much of the time in almost daily contact with Marx. Then again, Liebknecht was a member of the parliament of the North German Confederation, and the letters bear the stamp of his opinions. During the war between France and Germany in 1870, Liebknecht had come out sharply against the predatory plans of the Prussian Junkers and bourgeoisie, and later he had risen to the defense of the Paris Commune. Both attitudes are reflected in his letters. Indeed, several of these articles were actually written in prison, since, like August Bebel, Liebknecht had been arrested and imprisoned for his attacks on the Prussian militarists.⁵ (He spent the period from December 19, 1870 to March 28, 1871 in a Leipzig jail.) Furthermore, a comparison of Liebknecht's writings in *Der Volks-*

staat, of which he was the editor during this period,⁶ with the letters in the *Workingman's Advocate* reveals several striking similarities between them. Then too, there is the statement of Friedrich A. Sorge, the leading American Marxist in the post-Civil War era,⁷ in one of his articles in the series *Die Arbeiterbewegung in den Vereinigten Staaten* (The Labor Movement in the United States), published in *Neue Zeit* from 1890 to 1892. Discussing the *Workingman's Advocate*, Sorge adds the comment: "The main force behind the paper . . . was a certain A. C. Cameron, an unreliable man who still hangs around Chicago and who cheated Wilhelm Liebknecht of the fruits of a long partnership."⁸ This sentence must have mystified the readers of *Neue Zeit*. Readers of *Wilhelm Liebknecht Briefwechsel mit Deutschen Sozial-Demokraten* (Exchange of Correspondence between Wilhelm Liebknecht and German Social Democrats), published in 1973, must be similarly mystified by the frequent references in Sorge's letters to Liebknecht to his vain efforts to collect money due the German socialist from Cameron. (The late George Eckert, the distinguished editor of the collection, did not know of the existence of Liebknecht's articles in the *Workingman's Advocate*, so his notes fail to clarify the issue.) The fact is that Cameron never paid Liebknecht for the articles, and, hard-pressed as he was for funds after his release from prison, the latter sought time and again, through Sorge, to collect what was due him.⁹

We can conclude, then, that the letters in the *Workingman's Advocate* are by Wilhelm Liebknecht. It is the judgment of Liebknecht scholars whom I have consulted in Europe that some are among his most important writings.

In the list of delegates to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Workingmen's Association (the First International) held in Basel, Switzerland in September, 1869, there are the following notations:

Name	Occupations	Address	Bodies Represented
AMERICA			
Cameron, A. C.	Ed. <i>Workingman's Advocate</i>	155 South Clark Street, Chicago, Ill., U.S.	National Labor Union, U.S.
GERMANY			
Liebknecht, Wilhelm	Ed. <i>Volksstaat</i>	11 Braustrasse, Leipzig	Social Democratic Congress, Eisenach

Cameron was the only delegate from the United States, while Liebknecht was one of ten delegates from Germany.¹⁰ The two journalists came to Basel by markedly different routes.

The outbreak of the Civil War in the United States extinguished most of the

trade unions that had flourished during the 1850s.¹¹ By the middle of 1862, however, and particularly after 1863, workers again began to move into unions. The early war depression was all but over, and business and industry were beginning to flourish as never before. But the workingmen reaped none of the benefits of the good times that began in late 1862. Soaring prices made the vast majority of them worse off than they had been in 1860. Of all classes in American society, only the wage-earners were subjected to ever-increasing hardships brought on by the war, and this fact made organization a matter of sheer necessity for them.¹²

By the beginning of 1863, the revival of trade unionism was in full swing, and hardly a week passed without the formation of a new union in some part of the country. Once the organizing wave got under way, it expanded rapidly. Between December 1863 and December 1864, the number of local unions increased from 79 to 270. The number of national unions also grew during this period. In the decade from 1860 to 1870, twenty-one new national unions were created, with the greatest upsurge coming during the 1863–1865 period.¹³

The wartime revival of trade unions was assisted by the re-emergence of a labor press, and the relationship was mutual. *Fincher's Trades' Review*, edited by Jonathan Fincher of the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union, rapidly became the most influential labor journal of the Civil War era,¹⁴ but it did not last beyond the war. Few of the 130 daily, weekly, and monthly journals representing labor that were launched between 1863 and 1873 survived.¹⁵ One that continued throughout most of these years and even beyond was the *Workingman's Advocate* of Chicago.

During a strike at the Chicago *Times* in the summer of 1864, some of the printers involved in it established the *Workingman's Advocate*, which they entrusted to the editorship of Andrew C. Cameron, a native of Scotland, the son of a printer and a printer himself, and one of the leaders of the strike. Its first issue appeared on July 1, 1864.¹⁶ The vigorous Chicago Trades' Assembly, of which Cameron became president in 1866, adopted the *Workingman's Advocate* as its official organ. When the National Labor Union was launched in 1866 at a congress of trade unions, trade assemblies, national unions, eight-hour leagues, and other associations striving for "the amelioration of the condition of those who labor for a living," it made the *Advocate* its official organ for Illinois. Cameron remained editor for the entire life of the paper from 1864 to 1880, but he had the assistance of several coeditors. Eduard Schlaeger, leader of Chicago's *Arbeiterverein*, was an associate editor. William H. Sylvis, the outstanding labor leader of the era until his untimely death on July 27, 1869 at the age of forty-one, became joint proprietor of the weekly with Cameron and wrote for it regularly.¹⁷

Although the labor papers were unable to compete with the commercial press in circulation because of their inadequate financial backing, they did

exercise considerable influence.¹⁸ Sylvis, who headed both the Iron Molders' Union and the National Labor Union, emphasized this point:

Not until their advent did we make the slightest advance toward equalizing wages with the cost of living nor would our best efforts to establish the eight-hour law or to accomplish any other reform have availed us anything without their aid.¹⁹

One of the great contributions of the labor press was in advancing the cause of international labor solidarity. This development was initiated by the heroic support given by European workers to the Union cause during the Civil War. American workers were well aware of these contributions to the Union cause by the International Workingmen's Association (IWA) in London, under the leadership of Karl Marx.²⁰ After the war, the struggles of European workers, ably led by the IWA, were reported in the American labor press. *Fincher's Trades' Review* featured reports of "the working of Labor Reform in the older countries of the world,"²¹ and announced on April 8, 1865 that it would begin publishing extracts from foreign labor publications in the hope that its "exertions" would "eventually secure a grand union of the working trades of the world." On September 25, 1865, the *Boston Daily Evening Voice* featured an editorial on "The Labor Movement in Germany," which reported that a congress of workingmen had recently been held in Stuttgart, "which joins with the American workingmen's movement in favor of shortening the hours of labor."²² It editorialized:

The labor movement is no local or temporary thing. From country to country its seed principles are fast flying and taking root in the soil. and its inspiration is seizing upon the minds of thoughtful workingmen in every land. It is to become a universal movement, and it is destined, by making labor honorable, to reverse the old order—setting the self-reliant, developed, manly worker upon the throne of dignity and power, and thrusting pretentious lords and kings down from their invidious heights, to find their human level among the masses of men. . . . The zeal of our transatlantic brethren should kindle our own.

God speed the noble reform in all lands.

The *National Workman*, organ of the New York Workingmen's Assembly, devoted many columns to news of European labor affairs and to the decisions of the General Council of the IWA.²³ Moreover, many of the articles and editorials relating to international labor published in the *Arbeiter-Union*—organ of the General German Workingmen's Association, which was formed by German Socialist trade unionists in New York—were translated and reprinted in the English-language labor papers. The *Arbeiter-Union*, which was ably edited by Adolph Douai, a leading American Marxist, continually stressed the need for international labor unity. "The solidarity of the working classes of both hemispheres has long been evident," it declared. "The sufferings of one are the

sufferings of the other, and there are common causes for the suffering of both.”²⁴

More than most other English-language labor papers in the post-Civil War era, the *Workingman's Advocate* devoted both attention and space to international labor news and to the activities of the IWA. It carried a column in each issue headed “From the Old World: Progress of the Labor Movement.” It published the releases of the subcommittee of the General Council of the IWA—although to the occasional annoyance of Sorge and others it carried edited versions²⁵—and it regularly printed material issued by American sections of the International, including a leaflet put out by the New York section containing an extract from Marx’s *Capital* in English, entitled “The Workingmen’s Voice on the Normal Working Day.”²⁶ At the start of the Franco-Prussian War, it printed the full text of the September 8, 1870 address of the IWA, which was drafted by Marx,²⁷ and from July 15 to September 2, 1871, it serialized Marx’s defense of the Paris Commune, entitled *The Civil War in France*. The newspaper defended the IWA, arguing that “the International don’t mean murder, arson or treason,” but only that “our Tom Scotts, with their \$400,000,000 and their subsidized legislatures, shall lose their power—peaceably if they will; FORCIBLY IF THEY MUST!”²⁸

As Samuel Bernstein points out, the *Workingman's Advocate* was “an unreliable advocate of the cause of the International,”²⁹ often editing its statements and carrying articles by members that were repudiated by its officials. Yet it merited Wilhelm Liebknecht’s tribute in the first of his letters from Leipzig which Cameron published. “Since the German Workingmen’s Union (*Arbeiter-Union*), in New York, had, unfortunately, to be given up,” he wrote, “your paper, as far as I know, is the only one in the whole United States that can truly be called an organ of the working classes.”³⁰

None of this is meant to imply that Andrew C. Cameron was a Marxist. On the contrary, his newspaper was also the leading mouthpiece for the middle-class currency reform rhetoric of Edward Kellogg, a New York merchant, and Alexander Campbell, a Midwestern promoter of coal mining and iron manufacture, whose panacea for solving the problems of the working class through the establishment of a “people’s currency” was sharply criticized by the Marxists.³¹ But Cameron also came under the influence, for a while, of both Joseph Weydemeyer, the pioneer American Marxist, and Eduard Schlaeger, a former disciple of Lassalle who had been converted to Marxism by Weydemeyer.³² He was also a close friend and coworker of William H. Sylvis. The latter, although he was not a Marxist and believed in currency reform as a means through which a new social system could be achieved,³³ nevertheless had great respect for the contributions of the Marxists in the IWA, and he was the leading spokesman for international labor cooperation in the American labor movement, especially through the establishment of links between the National Labor Union and the

First International. In speeches in 1866 and 1867, he hailed the pioneering efforts of the IWA in Europe to frustrate the capitalists' attempts to break strikes by importing strikebreakers from other countries, and he urged the creation of an intercontinental agency to counteract the "intrigues of capitalists always ready, in the case of strikes and lockouts, to misuse the workman of one country against the workman of another." Sylvis hoped that through the unity of the IWA and the NLU, a worldwide labor alliance would be realized that would create fraternalism in labor and ultimately bring about an international equalization of wages and economic opportunity. He was convinced that such an alliance, representing eight-tenths of the workers in the industrialized or emerging industrialized nations, would enable labor to "laugh at the assumption of avarice and successfully resist oppression."³⁴ The *Workingman's Advocate* did not go as far as Sylvis in calling for organizational links between the NLU and the IWA, but it did endorse his vision of international labor solidarity, especially as a means of counteracting the strikebreaking tactics by employers on an international scale.³⁵ Thus, although Cameron did not support affiliation of the NLU to the First International, his paper did help to create a sentiment for such a step in American trade union circles, and he himself was the only delegate ever sent by the NLU to a European Congress of the IWA.

From 1866 on, the International Workingmen's Association issued annual invitations to the National Labor Union to send delegates to its conventions. The request to the NLU's founding Congress in 1866 to send a delegate to the Geneva Congress was turned down because there was not enough time, but the Congress did wish the International's gathering "Godspeed in their glorious work." A year later, at the 1867 Congress, a motion to affiliate with the International was rejected, even though Sylvis supported it. However, the NLU did decide to send Richard F. Trelvellick to the next Congress of the International, and it adopted a resolution pledging cooperation with the organized workingmen of Europe in their struggle against political and social injustice. Unfortunately, Trelvellick was unable to collect enough money to make the trip to attend the 1868 Congress of the International at Brussels.³⁶

The events in the years immediately following served to strengthen the possibilities of an alliance. In April 1869, the General Council of the International received a communication from the New York Compositors Union requesting its help in checking the importation of European strikebreakers. The Council voted to aid the union, and this action aroused considerable respect for the International in American trade union circles.³⁷ There was another display of international solidarity that same year when the dispute over the "Alabama Claims"³⁸ threatened war between the United States and Great Britain. The address of the General Council, written by Marx and sent to Sylvis as president of the National Labor Union, said in part:

Yours is the glorious task of seeing to it that at last the working class shall enter upon the scene of history, no longer as a servile following, but as an independent power, as a power imbued with a sense of its responsibility and capable of commanding peace where their would-be masters cry war.

In his response, Sylvis said that labor's struggle was a common one the world over. In behalf of the working people of the United States he extended "the right hand of fellowship" to the International and "to all the downtrodden and oppressed sons and daughters of toiling Europe."³⁹

Sylvis's death in 1869 was a great blow to international labor solidarity.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the National Labor Union voted at its 1869 convention to send a delegate to attend the Basel Congress of the International. In the fall of that year, Andrew C. Cameron, the delegate selected, made the trip to Europe with funds advanced by Horace Day, a rubber manufacturer. Day, an avowed spiritualist and currency reformer who had the means to back up his ideas, was assuming a leading role in the National Labor Union.⁴¹

Cameron addressed the Basel Congress and received a standing ovation when he stepped up to President Hermann Jung and saluted him "as the representative of the workingmen and women of the Old World, in the name of 800,000 sons and daughters of toil of the New."⁴² The correspondent for the *Washington Star*, who was present, wrote to his paper: "It was an imposing sight to see the representatives of labor of the two worlds holding each other firmly by the hand for some time, and looking at each other as if they were hardly able to believe that it was really so."⁴³

On this occasion, Cameron's speech was brief and general. He paid tribute to the late William Sylvis, whom he described as "of all leaders the one qualified to organize and consolidate the labor element of the New World." He made it clear that he subscribed to the fundamental aim of the International, and that he saw in the growing unity of labor the promise of its ultimate triumph. With reference to the emigration problem, he said that the National Labor Union welcomed those who came to America, provided that they did not hinder American trade unionists from reaching their objectives. He expressed the belief that an agreement could be worked out between the International and the NLU through the establishment of an Emigration Bureau under the joint control of both organizations. In conclusion, he invited the International to send a delegate to the 1870 convention of the National Labor Union, to which President Jung responded by "expressing a hope that a European delegate may return the compliment next year in Cincinnati."⁴⁴

Cameron later addressed a meeting of the General Council in London, where he was unanimously elected to the chair. There, in a more extensive speech, he pointed out the identity of interests of American and European workers. There were, he declared, but two classes in society everywhere:

. . . the robbers and the robbed. Those who labor longest frequently get a pauper's grave; those who do nothing get everything. . . . We have an aristocracy of wealth, you have one of birth; ours is the worse of the two.

Turning to the problem of emigration, Cameron urged the International to devise some plan whereby "trade unionists leaving here would make common cause with us when they arrive in America." He noted that the capitalists had agencies all over Europe through which they aimed "to keep American labor down and degrade it." Thus, in every case where a dispute had arisen between labor and capital, "the threat of fetching men from the Old World has been held out." In fact, the very first sight that had greeted him when he landed in Liverpool was the distribution of handbills headed: "Great inducement to miners' wages from 8 to 20 dollars a week." When he examined them, he found that they were signed by "the very same vagabonds who were at the bottom of all the oppression in Pennsylvania."

Cameron emphasized the importance to American labor of joint action with the International to halt an "inundation" of strikebreakers from Europe. Once such a plan was worked out, he went on, whenever a dispute arose, "we could send a telegram, and you could make it known here to prevent people going into the grip of the capitalists, [and] they would be compelled to give in."¹⁵

The General Council appointed a committee to draw up a plan on emigration, subject to further data that Cameron had promised to send.¹⁶ It recommended:

1. That an emigration bureau, in conjunction with the National Labor Union of the United States, 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 in America.¹⁷

Cameron presented a report of his European activities to the NLU convention in 1870. (The General Council could not afford to send a delegate.) After complimenting Cameron on the faithful execution of his mission, the convention designated "a permanent committee of five who shall constitute for the ensuing year the International Bureau of Labor and Emigration." Its duties were to correspond with labor societies in Europe, to provide them with information on trade, labor, wages, and strikes, and to publish data that might further "the high purpose," that is, "the complete unity and enfranchisement of labor everywhere."

At this same convention, the delegates also adopted a motion put forward by F. A. Sorge, delegate of Local No. 5 of New York (Section No. 1 of the First International in the United States), in which the NLU declared its adherence to the principles of the International Workingmen's Association and the expecta-

tion "at no distant day to affiliate with it."¹⁸ However, neither of the two resolutions were destined to ever be put into effect. The Emigration Bureau, to whose standing committee Sorge belonged, established no contacts with the General Council. In addition, the expectation that the NLU would affiliate with the International was never realized.¹⁹

While little was accomplished by Cameron's visit to Basel as far as permanent relations between the IWA and the NLU were concerned, it was at the Basel Congress that Cameron met Wilhelm Liebknecht, himself a delegate, and it was undoubtedly there that he initiated the discussions that led to the publication of the articles in the *Workingman's Advocate* by one of the recognized leaders of the European socialist movement.⁵⁰ Knowing that the German socialists in America had an abiding interest in what went on in their homeland, Cameron felt that a series of articles by the European socialist would attract new readers to his weekly. Moreover, while he himself was no socialist, he admired the tone of Liebknecht's speeches to the Basel Congress. In his report to the National Labor Union, Cameron praised Liebknecht and his German colleagues for being restrained and moderate, and observed that they "seemed to our entire satisfaction to steer clear of ultra views, and allowed their reason, rather than their passion, to control their judgment."⁵¹ Of course, the fact that Liebknecht could write his articles in English and thereby save the cost of translation was also attractive.

Liebknecht, for his part, welcomed the opportunity to write for the American labor weekly. He had always depended on his journalism to support his family, and his financial position at this time was a precarious one.⁵² Then again, he had always admired the United States.⁵² As a fiery young bourgeois devoted to the democratic cause, and later as a socialist, Liebknecht viewed America as the land where he might achieve the objective of true freedom. Following his expulsion from Austria in 1847, he had planned to emigrate to Wisconsin and hoped to put his socialist ideas into practice in a farm commune. Instead, after the defeat of the German Revolution in 1849, he had departed for London to join Marx and Engels.⁵³ The idea of migrating to the United States was still strong in him in 1860, but once again he had to put it aside. When William I came to the throne in 1861, a liberal political amnesty was proclaimed, and Liebknecht returned to Germany to fulfill his duties to the young labor movement.

From September 1862 until his deportation from Berlin in the summer of 1865, Liebknecht enjoyed an intimate friendship with Norman Buel Judd, the American minister to Prussia, who kept him informed of developments in the Civil War. In a series of articles for the *Osnabrücker Zeitung*, Liebknecht supported the Union cause and praised Abraham Lincoln as a model national leader. When the Confederacy was finally defeated, he wrote jubilantly:

After four years of fighting . . . the free sons of labor have beaten the upholders of slavery, the bourgeois of the North has defeated the Knights of the South.⁵⁴

Pressured to leave Berlin in the spring of 1865, Liebknecht wrote to Marx: "Well, perhaps they'll succeed. I tell you in that case I would go to America." Yet when he was expelled from Prussia in August 1865, he went instead, at Marx's suggestion, to Saxony, one of the industrial centers of Germany, where, together with August Bebel, the self-educated son of the working class, he built the foundations of a new socialist movement in Germany.

Durable socialist parties began emerging in Western Europe during the 1860s and 1870s, reflecting the accelerated industrialization of these countries and the consequent rapid growth of their working class. These factors were also present in Germany, but, in addition, the role of Marx and Engels as inspirers and advisers was especially influential. However, this did not develop immediately. The first German socialist organization of any importance, the *Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein* (General Association of German Workers), was founded by Ferdinand Lassalle in 1863 in Leipzig. In his *Open Letter to the Workers' Committee of the Leipzig Workers' Association*, which he wrote in February 1863, Lassalle laid down the two main demands of the *Arbeiterverein*: universal suffrage and state credits for producers' cooperatives. His absorption in political action and his theory of the "iron law of wages"—namely, that the worker receives, on the average, only the *minimum* wage, because there are always too many workers—led him to ignore economic struggles and the trade union organization of wage earners. Political action alone, he believed, would solve the problems of the working class, for through it the workers could compel their government to help them by granting them capital or credit with which they might organize producers' cooperatives.

Lassalle's historic service, wrote Marx, was that he "reawakened the workers' movement in Germany after its fifteen years of slumber." But Marx criticized Lassalle as an opportunist who made serious concessions to Prussian reaction, seriously weakened the trade union organization of the working class, became a secret ally of Bismarck, and introduced petty bourgeois ideology in the ranks of the German workers.⁵⁵

Lassalle's premature death in 1864 in a duel did not end the influence of his ideas in German working class circles. His followers continued to spread his ideas, and supported both Bismarck and German nationalism.

Having spent years in Marx's company in London, Liebknecht understood the weakness of Lassalle's ideology and, along with Bebel, he developed an anti-Lassallean and anti-Bismarckian program. At the Eisenach Congress, where the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party was formed (and which gave the name "Eisenachers" to its founders), Liebknecht revealed for the first time

that he no longer desired to emigrate to the United States. He called for the creation of a New World in the Old, and he closed a speech in March, 1870 with the phrase that was to become famous in the German labor movement: "No more immigration. In Germany lies our America."⁵⁶

And indeed, there was much to be done in Germany. Liebknecht hated the new order that was being established by Bismarck after the Austro-Prussian War, and he developed an implacable hostility to the North German Confederation that was created after the Seven Weeks' War. Together with Bebel, he helped organize the Saxon People's Party on a platform designed to rally the progressive forces against the Prussians' swallowing up Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Hesse-Kassel, Nassau, and Frankfurt. It condemned "the war . . . which has been waged solely in the interests of dynastic and selfish endeavors," and demanded the convocation of a national parliament "representing all German states including of course German Austria." A free and united Germany was to be built on "general, direct, and equal suffrage with secret voting in all areas of civic life." There should be "no hereditary central authority, no smaller Germany under Prussian leadership, no Prussia enlarged through annexation, no greater Germany under Austrian leadership." A federal democracy for Germany would abolish all privileges based on class, birth, and religion. It would separate church and state, promote popular education, introduce freedom of movement and enterprise, establish local self-government, improve the administration of justice, and recognize the rights of assembly, association, and free speech.⁵⁷

It was hardly a socialist platform; in fact, the only plank dealing with the social question was a call for "improvement in the position of the working class," and the recommendation of "furtherance and support for the system of cooperatives, especially of producer cooperatives, so that the opposition of capital and labor can be eliminated." Rather, it was designed to unite middle-class democrats, reformers, federalists, and skilled workers, and while its appeal was hardly strong enough to reverse the outcome of the Seven Weeks' War, it did help elect Bebel and Liebknecht to the parliament of the North German Confederation.

There, the two continued to denounce the new order, insisting as Bebel put it that "this confederation is only a greater Prussia surrounded by a number of vassal states whose governments are nothing more than governors general of the Prussian crown," while Liebknecht predicted that "world history . . . will transcend this north confederation which signifies nothing other than the dismemberment, enthrallment, and enfeeblement of Germany. It will transcend this North German Reichstag which is nothing but the fig leaf of absolutism."⁵⁸

To Marx and Engels, Liebknecht's hatred of the North German confederation was another reflection of what they had long ago concluded was a tendency

toward romantic, idealistic, and sweeping judgments, as opposed to a critical, precise analysis.⁵⁹ Engels reminded Liebknecht that national unification was a necessary condition for the victory of socialism and advised him:

1. to take a position which is critical rather than simply negative, that is to say, reactionary, toward the events and results of 1866 . . . and 2. to attack the enemies of Bismarck as much as him, for they are not worth anything.

Marx was more tolerant and understanding of his disciple:

To act altogether correctly would require much more critical disposition and dialectical skill than our Wilhelm possesses. . . . Besides, Prussiaphobia is the feeling to which he exclusively owes his verve and singleness of purpose.⁶⁰

Liebknecht had a ready explanation for his stand. "I have won a position here," he wrote to Engels. "My objective is primarily to maintain and fortify it." This, he explained to Marx, meant not going too far ahead of what his followers would accept. "I do not deal here solely with trained communists but rather with commun[ist] recruits who still have certain prejudices which must be treated with consideration." For the time being, Marx was willing to accept that explanation, confident that, despite his weaknesses, Liebknecht would follow the correct road.⁶¹

His confidence was soon vindicated. In September 1868, the Assembly of German Workingmen's Societies, meeting in Nürnberg, voted under the influence of Bebel and Liebknecht to affiliate with the International Workingmen's Association.⁶² In contrast to the platform of the Saxon People's Party, the resolution adopted in Nürnberg affirmed that "the emancipation of the laboring classes must be won by the laboring classes themselves," that "the economic dependence of the man of labor on the monopolists of the tools of labor constitute the basis of servitude in every form of social misery, of spiritual degradation and political dependence," and that "the political movement is the indispensable tool for the economic liberation of the working classes." The following year, at Eisenach, the platform of the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party completed the affirmation with the statement that "the Social Democratic Party seeks to abolish the present mode of production [wage system] and to secure for every worker the full product of his work through cooperative labor."⁶³ In the fall of 1869, *Der Volksstaat*, the official organ of the new party, was founded under Liebknecht's editorship, with the editor openly proclaiming himself "a communist" and a disciple of Karl Marx.⁶⁴ It will be recalled that it was in his capacity as editor of *Der Volksstaat* that Liebknecht represented the German section at the Basel convention of the First International.

Der Volksstaat's circulation rose from 2,000 at the time of its founding to approximately 3,000 by the following summer.⁶⁵ That summer of 1870 was the summer of the Franco-German War,⁶⁶ a most difficult period for the young

German socialist party. The executive committee of the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party, which viewed the war as one of aggression unleashed by Louis Bonaparte (Napoleon III) against Germany and a war of defense on Germany's part, issued a proclamation announcing that "we will help with our determination to defend the inviolability of German soil against Napoleonic and every other despotism." But Liebknecht and Bebel refused to sign the proclamation. As they saw it, the war was a "dynastic war" in which both sides were guilty. It was begun "in the interest of the dynasty of Bonaparte," but the way had been prepared for it by the actions of the Prussians in 1866, and Bismarck—the spokesman for the Prussian militarists, Junkers, and big bourgeoisie—was using the "dynastic war" that had been started by Bonaparte to create a unified, reactionary Germany to which he planned to annex valuable parts of France.⁶⁷

On July 12, 1870, the members of the First International in Paris published a proclamation (reprinted in the General Council's first address on the 23rd), which appealed to the "workers of France, Germany and Spain" to "unite their voices in horror against war." Five days later, Liebknecht and Bebel responded by organizing a mass meeting in Chemnitz, where resolutions were adopted "declaring the present war purely dynastic," "grasping with joy the hand extended by the workers of France," and promising that "true to the motto of the International Workingmen's Association, 'Workers of the world, unite,' we will never forget that the workers of all countries are our friends, and the despots of all countries our enemies."⁶⁸ Nevertheless, while they refused to support the war in the North German parliament, Liebknecht and Bebel would not vote against war credits, for to do so "could be interpreted that we stand for the criminal policies of Bonaparte." They therefore abstained from voting, and were the only ones to do so. The government received the votes of the Lassalleans, but, despite tremendous pressure, Liebknecht and Bebel stood firm. They explained:

As opponents on principle of every dynastic war, as social republicans and members of the International Workingmen's Association, which opposes all oppressors without regard for nationality, and aims to unite all the oppressed into one great league of brotherhood, we cannot declare ourselves either directly or indirectly in favor of the present war and therefore abstain from voting, expressing the confident hope that the people of Europe, having learned from the present tragic events, will make every effort to achieve their right of self-determination and will overthrow the present domination of sabre and of class, the source of all public and social evil.⁶⁹

Not only was the German socialist movement split into two camps on the war issue, but both Marx and Engels emphatically rejected the position taken by Liebknecht and Bebel. At this point in the Franco-German War, they viewed

the war as one of defense on the part of Germany. Moreover, both hoped for a Prussian victory. Marx, for one, viewed the war historically as a defense against Bonaparte's effort to keep the German states disunited, and thus socially and politically backward, thereby delaying the bourgeois revolution in Germany. "If the Prussians win, then the centralization of state power [will be] conducive to the centralization of the German working class," he wrote to Engels. Engels was even more emphatic. He reasoned that:

If Germany is victorious, then French Bonapartism will in any case be finished, the eternal wrangling about the establishment of German unity will finally be over, the German workers will be able to organize on a national scale quite differently than hitherto, and the French workers will surely have a freer field than under Bonapartism, whatever government may follow there. The entire mass of the German people of all classes has perceived that what is at stake above all is the national existence.

Besides, he continued, "B[ismarck] is now still doing some of our work, as in 1866, in his way and without wanting to, but he is doing it just the same. He is creating for us a cleaner board than before."⁷⁰ In short, both Marx and Engels welcomed German unification because they believed that the German labor movement would gain much greater strength on a national plane than in a loosely federated Germany.

Shortly after the war began, the General Council of the International issued an address written by Marx that likened it to a "fratricidal feud" brought about by Napoleon and Bismarck, but still insisted that on the German side "the war is a war of defense. . . ." However, it warned:

If the German working class allows 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.

On September 2, 1870, came the stunning defeat of the French at Sedan and the surrender of its army and with it, Emperor Napoleon. Two days later, deputies of the assembly, pressured by the people of Paris, proclaimed a republic. The new circumstances brought about by the overthrow of the Second Empire led to the publication of a second manifesto of the General Council, also written by Marx. The establishment of a republic, it said, had stripped the war of its dynastic character. Since the events had removed any valid basis for the expansionism of Germany, its workers should oppose the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. That would be the seed of another war. For their part, the French workers should neither overthrow the republic nor be swayed by the example of 1792.⁷¹

The turn of events had united the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party in Germany. With the executive committee and Liebknecht and Bebel all seeing eye-to-eye with respect to the character of the war after Sedan, the Party's

primary objective became the achievement of a peace treaty renouncing territorial expansions and establishing friendly relations with the new regime in Paris.⁷²

Bismarck, on the other hand, sought to crown the work of national unification with the spoils of victory, and he waged war against the French Republic. As the war continued for five additional months after the debacle of the Second French Empire, a conflict between the government and the socialists became inevitable. Bebel and Liebknecht, speaking for a united Social Democratic Workingmen's Party, led the fight in the parliament against additional war credits, disapproved the treaties by which the southern states joined the North German Confederation, opposed the assumption of the imperial title by the king of Prussia, and condemned the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine as "a crime against international law" and "a blot on German history." In explaining their vote against additional war credits in the North German Reichstag, Bebel and Liebknecht pointed out that in his speech from the throne on July 19, the king of Prussia had defined the war on the part of Germany as "only a war of defense and not against the people of France," but that since Sedan, "in contradiction to the king's promise," the war had turned into "a war against the French people," and thus clearly a "war of aggression, not a war for the independence of Germany, but a war for the suppression of the noble French nation." They therefore urged the Reichstag to reject the war credits and to order the chancellor "to make peace at once with the French Republic and under no circumstances annex any French soil."⁷³

Little wonder, then, that Marx pointed to Bebel and Liebknecht as models for socialist parliamentary activity. At the London conference of the International in September 1871, he cited the positions they took in the North German Reichstag as the way in which socialists should act once they were elected to parliament.⁷⁴

But the socialists were to pay a high price for their principled stand. On September 9, all five members of the executive committee of the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party were arrested by the orders of the military governor of North Germany, and were transported in chains to the East Prussian fortress of Lotzen. On September 18, Bismarck, who was with the victorious German armies near Paris, sent orders to Berlin that similar steps should be taken "wherever treasonable manifestations of the same kind" came to light. Within a few days, the military governor had forbidden "all meetings of the socialists, whether they call themselves by the name of 'Social Democrats' or 'People's Party,'" and had banned the Party's paper, *Der Volksstaat*, throughout North Germany. A. Geib, the leader of the Party's supervisory board in Hamburg, which had taken over the functions of the arrested executive committee, soon joined his comrades in prison.⁷⁵

In October 1870, several newspapers demanded the arrest of the two

“traitors,” Liebknecht and Bebel, for having dared to raise their voices against the overwhelming majority of the Reichstag in protest against the continuation of the war and annexation. A few days after the Reichstag session ended, they were arrested and charged with “undertaking a forcible attack on . . . the state constitution . . . and preparing an enterprise of High Treason.” As far as Liebknecht’s “High Treason” was concerned, it consisted of his attack on what he called the “Bismarckian gifts” during a speech in Berlin in May 1869. On that occasion, he had pointed out that the “gift” of universal suffrage was a trick designed not to serve democracy in Germany “but to serve absolutism,” since it was “under the most complete control of the government,” which would not tolerate any free use of the suffrage. In short: “In the absolutistic state universal suffrage can only be the plaything or tool of absolutism.”⁷⁶ For this utterance, Liebknecht spent three months in prison, and it was not until March 28, 1871, after the peace treaty had been signed with France, that the prisoners were released. The news, Marx informed Liebknecht, was greeted “with great joy” by the General Council of the International.⁷⁷

Liebknecht and Bebel still awaited trial, which did not take place until March 1872. They were found guilty of “High Treason” and sentenced to two years’ imprisonment each.⁷⁸

The peace treaty with France was followed by such a wave of jingoism that every socialist candidate, except Bebel, went down to defeat in the Reichstag elections. No sooner did he assume his place in the Reichstag than Bebel began to voice the solidarity of the German working class with its French brothers. When the Commune was proclaimed on March 18, Bebel was still in prison, but when he took his seat in the Reichstag, he immediately spoke out in its defense. His most famous speech was made on May 25, after the Commune had been defeated and was being denounced throughout Europe as a regime that was subversive of religion, property, order, and morality, while news that the Communards were being massacred by the troops of Thiers was being hailed with relief and satisfaction. Confronting a savagely hostile Reichstag, Bebel proclaimed defiantly:

The whole European proletariat, and all who still have any feeling for freedom and independence, have their eyes fixed on Paris . . . and even if Paris is overthrown today, I warn you that the battle in Paris is only a skirmish, that the main battle in Europe is still to come, and that before many decades pass the battle-cry of the proletariat of Paris . . . will become that of the whole proletariat of Europe!⁷⁹

Liebknecht, like Bebel, was also in prison when the Commune was proclaimed. At first, he felt that “the outbreak of the civil war” was “a great misfortune for France,” because:

to attempt to establish a Socialist Republic must be hopeless under existing circumstances, with the Prussians at the gates of Paris, and after the country has, in the last elections, with such overwhelming majority, declared against all radical tendencies and experiments.

This observation was sent off to the Chicago *Workingman's Advocate* from Leipzig on April 5.⁸⁰ The following day, perhaps anticipating Liebknecht's concern, Marx wrote from London insisting that the mistake was not "the outbreak of civil war." Rather, he wrote to Liebknecht, the revolutionary forces in Paris had waited too long because of their "too great *honnêteté* [decency]," and had given "that mischievous abortion, Thiers, time to concentrate hostile forces." The unfortunate delay took place:

because they did not want to start the *civil war*—as if Thiers had not already started it by his attempt at the forcible disarming of Paris, as if the National Assembly, summoned only to decide the question of war or peace with the Parisians, had not immediately declared war on the Republic!⁸¹

Whatever his doubts about the wisdom of the uprising, Liebknecht felt that this was no time for criticism. Once the red flag of the proletarian revolution had been planted on the town hall of Paris, it remained only to rally behind the Commune. In his speech on the Commune in April, at a time when it was firmly in control of Paris, Bebel conceded to the Reichstag that he disagreed with some of its policies, and merely praised it for "acting with the greatest moderation."⁸² Liebknecht, however, shared none of these doubts and continued to praise the Commune from the beginning to the end. Moreover, as the story of the Parisian workers developed, he felt, like Marx, that "history has no similar example of similar greatness!" He poured this feeling into the pages of *Der Volksstaat* from the moment he was released from prison. While Bebel, too, came to defend the Commune without qualification, no voice in Germany supported the Commune as consistently and uncompromisingly as that of Liebknecht, and as the editor of his writings, George Eckert, points out, none explained its proletarian character more clearly than Liebknecht in *Der Volksstaat*.⁸³

Defending Bebel's speech in the Reichstag in support of the Commune, Liebknecht noted that Bebel had only performed his duty, which in this case was a "double one," for he had a mandate from both his electorate and from the German Social Democracy to voice solidarity with the Commune. Had he acted otherwise, Liebknecht maintained, he would have betrayed both his constituents and his party. He concluded:

Read our party organs, Mr. Bourgeois, and you will find your answer to your demand that we should formally disavow our association with the Paris Commune.

*We are and we declare ourselves to be jointly and severally for the Commune and we are ready to defend its actions at any time and against any man.*⁸⁴

The Paris workers were "the vanguard of the European proletariat," *Der Volksstaat* insisted, and their enemies in France represented "the last sparks of barbarism and injustice."⁸⁵

After the defeat of the Commune and the massacre of the last Communards, Liebknecht wept, but his tears were mingled with a note of defiance and even of jubilation, as he told the celebrating bourgeoisie:

We, too, are jubilant in the midst of tears over our fallen brothers, because the battle showed us how, since 1848, we have increased our strength, *and we can reckon the time when you will not be victorious over us.*⁸⁶

* * *

Liebknecht's articles appeared in the Chicago *Workingman's Advocate* during the months following Sedan. It was a period that encompassed the republic in France and Bismarck's successes against it; the establishment of the German Empire at Versailles; the imprisonment of Bebel and Liebknecht; and the seventy-two days of the Commune. Deeply involved though he was with—and at times overwhelmed by—the struggle against reaction inside Germany, he nevertheless seized the opportunity to provide the articles, for he was greatly disturbed by distortions of the events in Europe that appeared in the American press, including even the German-American press. He attributed much of this to a well-organized and well-financed campaign initiated by the Berlin press office and subsidized by Bismarck's secret funds.⁸⁷ In his very first letter, datelined Leipzig, November 5, 1870, Liebknecht pointed out that he was "doubly glad" to be "addressing the workingmen of the New World," first because of his firm belief in international labor solidarity, and secondly, because "an infamous dynastic policy" had "been systematically misrepresented by many organs of public opinion in your United States. . . ."⁸⁸ By the "dynastic policy" Liebknecht meant, of course, the policy of a despotic and militaristic Prussian Junkerdom and German bourgeoisie under its chief spokesman and exponent, Prince Otto von Bismarck.

Liebknecht had become more and more convinced of the need to expose this policy to Americans when he learned (partly through Sorge's correspondence) how many people in the United States, including the vast majority of German-Americans, enthusiastically hailed the rapid and overwhelming victories of Prussia in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, and jubilantly believed that Bismarck would soon create a consolidated Germany under Prussian leadership which would take its place among the leading nations of the world. He

knew that many American newspapers and magazines wrote admiringly of Prussia's administrative and military efficiency and hailed it as the leading German state around which all patriots should naturally gather as a nucleus for a great German union. He also knew that to many Americans, Bismarck was a man of unique qualities and strength. "Such a man may be the high priest of tyranny and illiberalism, but he is a statesman such as Germany has not seen for a generation," rhapsodized the *New York Times* after the shattering defeat of Austria on July 3, 1866 in the Battle of Sadowa, only ten days after the opening of hostilities.⁸⁹

This was enough to turn Liebknecht's stomach, but it was as nothing compared to the reaction to the defeat of France in the French-German War. Then the American press was almost universal in its admiration of German might, while German-Americans, including many socialists, were ecstatic in their enthusiasm for the new order. Carl Schurz, a refugee from Germany after the defeat of the German Revolution of 1848-1849, and a leader of the German-American community, wrote to Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State in President Ulysses S. Grant's cabinet: "One thing is settled now. Germany is destined to be *the* great power of Europe, and it will be a very substantial one. There are no humbugs and shams about it."⁹⁰ Grant himself went even further. Early in February 1871 he sent a special message to congress in which he urged that the minister to the German Empire be given a salary equal to that appropriated for the American ministers to France and England. In addition to requesting an increase in salary for Minister George Bancroft, Grant used the occasion to voice his admiration for the new German union. In language that infuriated Liebknecht, he declared:

The union of the States of Germany into a form of government similar in many respects to that of the American Union is an event that cannot fail to touch deeply the sympathies of the people of the United States. . . . In it, the American people see an attempt to reproduce in Europe some of the best features of our own Constitution. . . . Germany now contains a population . . . united like our own, under one Government for its relations with other powers, but retaining in its several members the right and power of control of their local interests, habits, and institutions. . . . The adoption in Europe of the American system of union under the control and direction of a free people, educated to self-restraint, cannot fail to extend popular institutions and to enlarge the peaceful influence of American ideas.⁹¹

In Liebknecht's eyes, President Grant betrayed "American ideas" by equating the new Bismarckian order of despotic militarism with the American form of government,⁹² and he felt compelled to make this clear to the American people. And as he also saw the way in which the Paris Commune was "disfigured beyond recognition" in the American press,⁹³ he welcomed the

opportunity to use the pages of the *Workingman's Advocate* to get the truth across.

This he accomplished. While he could not possibly cover the subjects as fully in his letters as he did in *Der Volksstaat*, he was able to effectively expose Bismarck's aggressive policies abroad and his reactionary policies at home, and to supply facts instead of fantasy about the Commune and the First International. He even furnished an antidote to the poisonous articles about the Commune and the International that had begun to appear in the *Workingman's Advocate* as Cameron turned from supporting the Commune (he had published Marx's *Address on the Civil War in France*, issued by the IWA General Council) to joining the rest of the American press in spreading infamies about it. It is quite possible that the gaps in the appearance of Liebknecht's articles stemmed from Cameron's growing hostility to the Commune and the International.⁹¹ It may even be that the last straw, as far as Cameron was concerned, was the concluding paragraph in Liebknecht's letter published in the issue of December 2, 1871, the final one of his articles to appear in the labor paper. It read:

Letters I have received from Geneva and London speak of great distress among the *Communist refugees* crowding there. We are already overburdened, yet shall do what we can. But *could not our American brethren do something?* If the *Workingman's Advocate* takes the matter in hand, I doubt not but you will soon be able to transmit a substantial token of international fraternity to the General Council of the IWA, 286 High Holbourn London.

* * *

Liebknecht's articles in the *Workingman's Advocate* constitute some of his finest writings, but they also reflect some weaknesses. He himself acknowledged that the Atlantic Cable (or "the submarine telegraph," as he phrased it) furnished his readers with information about events in Europe that made several of his interpretations obsolete. Other weaknesses flow from his shortcomings as a political thinker. His discussion of French and American society reveals that even though, under the influence of Marx, he had abandoned the petty bourgeois belief that political conditions determined social conditions, rather than vice versa, the earlier strains of his idealism as opposed to materialism were still present in him.⁹⁵ Certainly as far as the United States was concerned, he shows little understanding of the class forces in American society.

But overshadowing these weaknesses are the qualities that made Wilhelm Liebknecht such a towering figure in the history of socialism—devotion to the working class, support for its organizations and struggles, contempt for the bourgeoisie and the militarists, and an unshakable faith in the ultimate triumph of socialism. Present, too, is still another quality that a student of Liebknecht

has recently pointed out: "In spite of mistakes and weaknesses, Wilhelm Liebknecht always drew a clear line between himself and opportunism."⁹⁶

Together with the insight he provided on the world-shaking events he discussed, these qualities make Wilhelm Liebknecht's articles in the *Workingman's Advocate* significant contributions to an understanding of an important period in history.⁹⁷

Notes to Introduction

1. Some of the letters after the first appear unsigned, and two are initialed "L." In the main, however, they bear the initials, "W.L."
2. I first came across these letters while doing research for the first volume of my *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, and I was convinced even then that they were written by Liebknecht. Hence I wrote, in discussing the *Workingman's Advocate*: "For an entire year beginning with the November 26, 1870 issue, this paper published a long series of articles by Wilhelm Liebknecht, German Socialist deputy and member of the First International." (Vol. 1, New York, 1947, p. 409.) At that time, however, I did nothing but refer to the letters.
3. At one time, a German labor leader gibed that "the Marxian clique . . . consists of three persons, namely, the master Marx, his secretary Engels, and his agent Liebknecht." (Roger Morgan, *The German Social Democrats and the First International, 1864-1872*, Cambridge, 1965, p. 59.)
4. The letters are not mentioned in the first biography of Liebknecht published after his death in 1900 (Kurt Eisner, *Wilhelm Liebknecht, Sein Leben und Wirken*, Berlin, 1906), nor in his most recent biography (Wadim Tschubinski, *Wilhelm Liebknecht: Eine Biographie*, Berlin, 1973, a German translation of a work originally published in Moscow in Russian.) Nor are they mentioned in any of the collections of Liebknecht's letters edited by Georg Eckert and published by the International Institute of Social History (International Institut vor Sociale Geschiedenis) in Amsterdam.
5. For a discussion of the arrest and imprisonment of both Bebel and Liebknecht during the war between France and Germany in 1870-1871, see below, pp. 1-2, 9, 11, 16, 21, 40-41, 115-116, 130, 131, 132. Liebknecht had also been forced to spend time in jail in 1867 when a Prussian court sentenced him to three months' imprisonment for defying his expulsion order of 1865.
6. See, for example, the editorials from *Der Volksstaat* reprinted in Rolf Dlubek et al., eds., *Die Internationale in Deutschland (1864-1872), Documents und Materialien* (Berlin, 1964), pp. 513-516, 573-574, 580-582, 597-599.
7. For a biographical essay on Sorge, see my introduction to Philip S. Foner and Brewster Chamberlin, eds., *The Labor Movement in the United States by Friedrich A. Sorge*, trans. Brewster and Angela Chamberlin (Westport, Conn., 1977).
8. *Neue Zeit*, vol. 9, (1890-1891), p. 440n.
9. Georg Eckert, ed., *Wilhelm Liebknecht Briefwechsel mit deutschen Sozial Demokraten*, vol. 1, 1862-1878 (Assen, 1973), pp. 103-56, 398, 407, 411, 414, 415, 416, 442, 527, 560, 586, 587, 588, 593, 594, 720.
10. *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Workingmen's Association, Held at Basel, in Switzerland from the 6th to the 11th September, 1869, IWA General Council, London.*
11. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, vol. 1, pp. 306-310.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 340-349; John R. Commons et al., *History of Labor in the United States* (New York, 1918), vol. 2, pp. 21-26, 58-60.

13. Lloyd Ulman, *The Rise of the National Trade Union* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), p. 306.
14. By December, 1865, the paper claimed 11,000 subscribers in nearly every state and territory of the United States, as well as in England and continental Europe.
15. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, vol. 1, p. 349.
16. For a brief biographical sketch of Cameron, see Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1937), vol. 3, pp. 433–434.
- The *Workingman's Advocate* was not the only labor paper formed by the printers, especially during either lockouts or strikes. Among the others were the *Daily Press* of St. Louis, the *Union* of Detroit, and the *Daily Evening Voice* of Boston. Frank Luther Mott, historian of American journalism, makes the point that most early American journalists were printers. (*American Journalism*, New York, 1941, p. 313.) Perhaps because of the greater education they needed to pursue their trade, and certainly because they possessed the tools and particular skills, printers took the lead as labor journalists.
17. Hermann Schlüter, *Die Internationale in Amerika: Ein Betrag zur Geschichte der Arbeiter-Bewegung in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Chicago, 1918) pp. 404–407; Jonathan Grossman, *William Sylvis, Pioneer of American Labor* (New York, 1945), pp. 259, 262. Sylvis was also editor of the *Iron Molders Journal*.
18. Fincher's Trades' Review, November 25, 1865.
19. Charlotte Todes, *William H. Sylvis and the National Labor Union* (New York 1942), p. 51.
20. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, vol. 1, pp. 312–317.
21. *Fincher's Trades' Review*, March 18, 1865.
22. The *Voice* also listed other demands of the Congress held at Stuttgart, such as universal suffrage, the right to organize, and the establishment of associations of production.
23. *National Workman*, November 10, 1866; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement* vol. 1, p. 410.
24. *Arbeiter-Union*, March 27, 1869.
25. Samuel Bernstein, *The First International in America* (New York, 1962), pp. 85–86.
26. *Workingman's Advocate*, October 28, 1871.
27. *Workingman's Advocate*, October 8, 1870.
28. *Ibid.*, July 8, 1871. Thomas A. Scott was a leading industrialist and railroad tycoon of the period.
29. Bernstein, *First International*, p. 87.
30. *Workingman's Advocate*, December 3, 1870.
31. For a discussion of the theories of Kellogg and Campbell—which viewed the money system to be the root of the evils confronting the social system, and demanded that money brokers and gold gamblers be purged and a “people’s currency” (greenbacks) established, and once established that producers’ cooperatives be set up—see Chester McArthur Destler, “Edward Kellogg and American Radicalism,” *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 40, 1932, pp. 338–365, reprinted in his *American Radicalism, 1865–1901* (New London, Conn.), 1946, pp. 50–77; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, vol. 1, pp. 417–423; and David Montgomery, *Beyond Equality; Labor and the Radical Republicans, 1862–1872* (New York, 1967), pp. 425–448.
- While most American Marxists, especially Sorge, viewed greenbackism as a middle-class nostrum, preaching class harmony and diverting the workers from the basic class struggle, some, like Adolph Douai, fell temporarily under its spell.
32. Karl Oberman, *Joseph Weydemeyer, Pioneer of American Socialism* (New York, 1947), pp. 138–139; Frederick A. Sorge, “Die Arbeiterbewegung in den Vereinigten Staaten,” *Neue Zeit*, vol. 9, no. 39 (1890–91), pp. 439–440.

33. Grossman, *William Sylvis*, pp. 247–254.
34. John R. Commons et al., eds., *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society* (Cleveland, 1910–1911), vol. 9, pp. 333–336; Grossman, *William Sylvis*, p. 258.
35. *Workingman's Advocate*, June 3 and August 5, 1871.
36. *Ibid.*, August 24, 1867; Commons et al., eds., *American Industrial Society*, vol. 9, pp. 333–336. Trevellick was president of the International Union of Ship Carpenters and of the Detroit Trades' Assembly. He was president of the National Labor Union in 1869, 1870, and 1871.
37. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, vol. 1, p. 411.
38. The "Alabama Claims" involved American grievances against Great Britain during and just after the Civil War, especially the losses caused by the Confederate vessel the *Alabama*, fitted out in Liverpool. The controversy was settled by the Treaty of Washington signed May 8, 1871.
39. Commons et al., eds., *American Industrial Society*, vol. 9, pp. 338–339; Todes, *William H. Sylvis*, pp. 91–92.
40. Among the letters of mourning that poured into the National Labor Union upon the news of Sylvis' death was one from the General Council of the IWA dated August 18, 1869, and signed by Marx and other leaders of the International. In the message, Sylvis was described as "a loyal, persevering and indefatigable worker in the good cause among you" whose death could ill be afforded by the "great brotherhood and sisterhood of toil." (*Workingman's Advocate*, September 18, 1869.)
41. Schlüter, *Die Internationale in Amerika*, pp. 63–64, 128; Commons et al., eds., *American Industrial Society*, vol. 9, p. 338.
42. *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the IWA*, p. 23.
43. *Workingman's Advocate*, October 9, 1869.
44. *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the IWA*, pp. 24–25.
45. *Documents of the First International: The General Council of the First International, Minutes: 1868–1870* (Moscow, n.d.), pp. 156–161.
46. Cameron had promised to furnish "reliable information respecting hours of labor, rate of wages, state of trade, access to land, etc., in various localities in the United States," and it was decided that "no active steps" would be taken until such information was received.
47. *Documents of the First International*, pp. 163–164.
48. *Workingman's Advocate*, August 27, 1870.
49. There were several reasons for this failure. One was the growing timidity of the NLU leadership—especially Cameron himself, who published a series of articles after he returned from the Basel Congress in which he emphasized that while the International and the NLU had the identical purpose of establishing "a true democracy," there were considerable differences between the European and American interpretations of a "true democracy," as well as between American and European labor. In Europe, a revolutionary change was necessary, while in America all that was required was "a just administration of the fundamental principles upon which the government is founded." Hence the methods employed by the International, while necessary in Europe, "could not and did not apply to the state of affairs in our country." (*Workingman's Advocate*, October 23 and November 23, 1869, and September 28, 1872.)
- Apart from this, the decline of the NLU itself insured that the resolutions adopted at the 1870 convention would never be carried out. As the NLU continued to cling to currency reform and other middle class panaceas, one after another of the important national affiliates withdrew. At the final National Labor Congress in September 1872 only seven delegates were present. Only one of these represented a national trade union (the Morocco Dressers), whereas in 1867 ten national unions had sent delegates. (Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, vol. 1, pp. 420–432.)

50. In his article published in the *Workingman's Advocate* of September 7, 1871, Liebknecht refers to Cameron's presence at the Basel Congress.

51. Commons et al., *American Industrial Society*, vol. 9, p. 248.

52. Liebknecht appears often to have been practically penniless. Bebel recalls that at one time he had had "to take many a good books to the second hand dealer." (August Bebel, *Aus Meinem Leben*, Berlin, 1978, p. 105.) As early as 1867 Siegfried Meyer, a German-American Socialist, attempted to open up a number of newspapers in the United States for which Liebknecht might write and earn some extra money. (Heinrich Gemkow, ed., *Wilhelm Liebknecht: Erinnerungen eines Soldaten der Revolution*, Berlin, 1976, p. 320.)

53. Ernst Nobs, *Aus Wilhelm Liebknecht Jugendjahren* (Zurich, n.d.), pp. 8–20.

54. Georg Eckert, "Wilhelm Liebknecht über Abraham Lincoln," in Immanuel Geiss and Bernd Jürgen, eds., *Deutschland in der Weltpolitik des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Dusseldorf, 1973), pp. 122–132.

It is interesting as a sort of parallel to Liebknecht's articles in the *Workingman's Advocate* that his articles in the *Osnabrücker Zeitung* were unknown until Georg Eckert (p. 124) identified them as being by Liebknecht. Signed with an L., they had been previously attributed to the paper's publisher and editor, Alexander Liesecke.

55. For Marx's criticism of Lassalle, see Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence, 1846–1895* (New York, 1942,) pp. 82–83, 146–152, 193–197, 250–251, 332–339.)

56. R. Laurence Moore, *European Socialist and the American Promised Land*, New York, 1970, pp. 27–29, 79–80.

57. Roger Morgan, *The German Social Democrats*, pp. 18–19, 30, 63, 110–127; Theodore S. Hamerow, *The Social Foundations of German Unification 1858–1871: Ideas and Institutions* (Princeton, N. J., 1969), pp. 255–256.

58. Hamerow, *German Unification*, pp. 256–257.

59. Engels once described Liebknecht as "an optimist by nature who sees everything through rose-colored glasses. This keeps him cheerful and is one of the main reasons for his popularity, but it also had its drawbacks." (Quoted in Yvonne Karp, *Eleanor Marx*, London, 1972, vol. 1, p. 53n.) See also Heinrich Gemkow et al., *Frederick Engels: A Biography* (Dresden, 1972), pp. 304, 314, 321–325; and Guenther Roth, *The Social Democrats in Imperial Germany* (Totowa, N.J., 1963), p. 33.

When Liebknecht was about to visit America in 1886, at the invitation of the Socialist Labor Party, Engels urged August Bebel to accompany him on the trip for, if the older socialist went alone, "who knows what might happen." Later, when Engels learned that Eleanor Marx Aveling and Dr. Edward Aveling, who were also invited by the SLP, planned to travel with Liebknecht, he expressed relief. "Tussy (Eleanor) Aveling," he wrote to Bebel, "will give him a tug from time to time to keep him on the right path." (Werner Blumenberg, ed., *August Bebel Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels*, The Hague, 1965, pp. 312, 334.)

60. Georg Eckert, ed., *Wilhelm Liebknecht Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (The Hague, 1963,) p. 87; and *Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels, Briefwechsel* (Berlin, 1949–1950), vol. 3, pp. 539, 552–553.

61. Eckert, ed., *Liebknecht Briefwechsel mit Marx und Engels*, pp. 87–89; Franz Mehring, *Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (Stuttgart, 1897–1898, vol. 2, pp. 225–227.)

62. Mehring, *Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie*, vol. 2, p. 243, 274, 280.

Mehring calls Liebknecht "the German apostle of the International," and he and several others have given him credit both for the mobilization, at Marx's request, of the forces behind the International in Germany and for the affiliation at Nürnberg. (See Franz Mehring, *Die Deutsche*

Sozialdemokrat: Ihre Geschichte und Ihre Lehre (Bremen, 1879), pp. 78, 82, 92, 106.) For a contrary view, see Morgan, *The German Social Democrats*, pp. 98–99, 127.

63. Mehring, *Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie*, vol. 2, pp. 288–289.

64. Wilhelm Liebknecht to Wilhelm Brocke, November 19, 1869, in *Der Hoch-Verraths-Prozess wider Liebknecht, Bebel, Hepnerven den Swarzerich zu Leipzig von 11. bis 26. Marz 1872* (n.p., 1894), pp. 196–198.

65. Eckert, ed., *Liebknecht Briefwechsel mit Marx und Engels*, p. 89.

66. I use the term Franco-German War rather than Franco-Prussian War—which is commonly used in the United States—because unlike the Austrian-Prussian War, a number of German states in addition to Prussia were involved.

67. Rolf Dlubek and Ursula Hermann, eds., *August Bebel: Ausgewählte Reden und Schriften* vol. 1, 1863–1878, (Berlin 1970), pp. 24–26; “Erklärung der Volksstaat” in Rolf Dlubek et al., eds., *Die Internationale in Deutschland*, pp. 513–518.

68. Morgan, *The German Social Democrats*, pp. 205–206.

69. *Der Volksstaat*, July 30, 1870, reprinted in Dlubek et al., eds., *Die Internationale in Deutschland*, pp. 515–516.

Morgan (*The German Social Democrats*, p. 209) also publishes the text of this excerpt in English, but distorts its meaning in part by translating the first words to read: “As opponents on principle of all wars. . . .” The word “all” does not appear in the German.

70. Eckert, ed., *Marx und Engels Briefwechsel*, vol. 4 pp. 407, 438–449.

Based on evidence revealed later, Engels came to the conclusion that Bismarck had provoked the war. (See *The Role of Force in History*, written 1887–1888, in *Marx and Engels, Selected Works* (Moscow, 1969–1970), vol. 3, pp. 406–408.)

71. Both addresses have usually been reprinted with Marx’s *The Civil War in France*. A German translation of the first address was published in the August 7, 1870 number of *Der Volksstaat* and was translated by Liebknecht. This version was then heavily revised and rewritten by Marx; the new translation was published in the Swiss International organ, *Der Vorbote* (no. 8, August 1870). The German translation of the second address was made by Marx and first published in *Der Volksstaat* of September 21, 1870.

72. August Bebel, *Aus Meinem Leben*, vol. 2, pp. 178–179.

73. Dlubek et al., eds., *Die Internationale in Deutschland*, pp. 554–555; Dlubek and Hermann, eds., *August Bebel: Ausgewählte Reden und Schriften*, p. 29.

74. Sinclair W. Armstrong, “The Social Democrats and the Unification of Germany, 1863–71,” *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 12 (1940), pp. 504–509.

75. Morgan, *The German Social Democrats*, p. 213.

76. For the full text of Liebknecht’s attack on “Bismarckian gifts,” see *Workingman’s Advocate*, June 24, 1871.

77. Marx to Liebknecht, April 6, 1871, in Dlubek et al., eds., *Die Internationale in Deutschland*, pp. 567–569.

78. Bebel, *Aus Meinem Leben*, vol. 2, pp. 191, 216–223.

79. “Die Pariser Kommune—Vorpostengefect des Europäischen Proletariats,” in *August Bebel: Ausgewählte Reden und Schriften*, pp. 147–183.

80. Published in *Workingman’s Advocate*, June 17, 1871.

81. Marx to Liebknecht, April 6, 1871, in Dlubek et al., eds., *Die Internationale in Deutschland*, pp. 543–545.

82. Morgan, *The German Social Democrats*, pp. 215–216. As Morgan points out (p. 216), despite its moderate tone, Bebel's speech was subject to "loud and continuing interruptions."
83. Marx to Dr. Kugelman, April 12, 1871, in Hal Draper, ed., *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: Writings on the Paris Commune* (New York, 1971), p. 221; Eckert in *Liebknecht Briefwechsel mit deutschen Sozial Demokraten*, pp. 14–27.
- For a critical letter to Liebknecht indicating that Marx and he were annoyed with the way *Der Volksstaat* had published a statement on the Commune drawn up by Marx, see Engels to Liebknecht, September 11, 1871, in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Werke* (Berlin, 1966), vol. 43, p. 2.
84. *Der Volksstaat*, June 3, 7, and 10, 1871. See also Liebknecht's introduction to *Revanche: Episode aus den Tagen der Commune von Leon Cladel* (Zurich, 1872).
85. *Der Volksstaat*, June 10, 1871; Dlubek et al., eds., *Die Internationale in Deutschland*, p. 596.
86. *Der Volksstaat*, June 3, 1871; Dlubek et al., eds., *Die Internationale in Deutschland*, p. 597.
87. *Workingman's Advocate*, April 1 and 8, 1871.
88. *Workingman's Advocate*, November 26, 1870.
89. *New York Times*, July 6, 1870. See also issues of May 3, April 28, and June 28, 1886. For attitudes in the United States during and after the Austro-Prussian War, see John Gerow Gazley, *American Opinion of German Unification, 1848–1871* (New York, 1926), pp. 175–213. See also Eckert, *Liebknecht Briefwechsel mit deutschen Sozialdemokraten*, pp. 398–407, 414–18.
90. Frederick Bancroft, *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, (New York, 1913), vol. 1, p. 510.
91. James D. Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, (Washington, 1897), vol. 9, p. 4074.
92. *Workingman's Advocate*, April 29, 1871.
93. Bernstein, *First International*, p. 74.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
95. In *Ein Blick in die neue Welt*, published in Stuttgart in 1887 and consisting mainly of letters and daily sketches written during his three-month visit to the United States, Liebknecht continually expressed his adulation of American society. For a brief summary in English, see R. Laurence Moore, *European Socialists and the American Promised Land* (New York, 1970), pp. 26–30. For some of Liebknecht's comments while he was in the United States, see *Labor Leaf* (Detroit), November 10 and 24, 1886; *Workmen's Advocate*, (New York and New Haven) December 5, 12, and 26, 1886; *Knights of Labor* (Chicago) December 4, 1886; and *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, December 19 and 26, 1886.
96. Margs Beyer, "Wilhelm Liebknechts Kampf gegen den Opportunismus im letzten Jahrzehnt eines Lebens," *Beitrag zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung*, vol. 18, 1976, p. 92.
97. Liebknecht was invited in 1874 to write a biweekly letter on German affairs for the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in New York, organ of the First International. But a dispute made this impossible. Bickering over whether the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* should be controlled by the General Council or by Section One flared into a real battle when Sorge, feeling that the paper lacked color, got its board to invite Liebknecht to submit the biweekly letter. The *Arbeiter-Zeitung's* editor, Conrad Carl, took Sorge's action as unacceptable meddling. The paper's directors did not agree, and so Carl, with a force of ten men from Section One, occupied the paper's office. The General Council suspended Section One, expelled Carl from the International, and brought suit against him for unlawful seizure of the International's property. The General Council won, but the paper survived only two months, its last issue appearing in March 1875 before any of Liebknecht's letters could appear. (See John R. Commons et al., *History of Labor in the United States*, New York, 1918, vol. 2, pp. 218–222.)

WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

**Letters to the Chicago
*Workingman's Advocate***

***Workingman's Advocate*, Chicago, November 26, 1870**

Our European Correspondent

In this week's issue we present the first of a series of letters from one of the ripest scholars and profoundest thinkers in Europe—a gentleman who is also one of the most prominent members of the German Parliament, and who is eminently qualified to judge of the social and political changes now going on in that country. We bespeak for his communications a careful perusal.

(We do not hold ourselves responsible for any opinions expressed by our Correspondents.)

Leipzig, November 5, 1870

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

In introducing myself to the readers of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE, I have to tell them that I am a German and a member of the Socialist-Democratic Party. The former I say not from any national feeling, to which I am quite a stranger, but simply to explain and excuse beforehand the Teutonism that will inevitably enter my letters to this paper. By mentioning the party to which I belong I have at once stated from which standing point I shall judge of and view men and things.

At any time I should have been happy to get an opportunity of addressing the workingmen of the New World and informing them of the struggles and sufferings and hopes of their brethren in the Old World, and especially in this central part of Europe, where, one day, in unity with free, republican France, the chains of the eastern hemisphere will be broken. But at the present moment I am doubly glad, because I know that the fearful crisis, into which an infamous dynastic policy has thrown the two leading peoples of our continent,¹ has been systematically misrepresented by many organs of public opinion in your United States; and because it is now of the utmost importance to remove the terrible misunderstandings created by this war—misunderstandings which threaten our common work of universal international brotherhood.

You have, doubtless, heard that the German workingmen, like those of France, opposed the war in the beginning; that in Germany, as well as in France, many demonstrations took place in favor of peace; that the two representatives of the Socialist-Democratic Party² in the North German Diet (*Reichstag*) refused to vote the supplies for a war which they branded as a purely dynastic one, and that, though after the declaration of war by the French Emperor³ the German workingmen were obliged to give up their opposition for a time, yet immediately after the catastrophe of Sedan and the proclamation of the Republic in France,¹ they revived their call for peace, energetically protesting against the continuation of a war, the chief author of which had met with a well-deserved doom. Their call for peace was not to the taste of Count Bismarck and his companions in power; all leading members of our party on whom the Prussian government could lay their hands were arrested, and *transported in chains* to Lötzen, a little fortress near the Prussian frontier, where, with one single exception,⁵ they are still kept close prisoners. Of this act of scandalous oppression (carried out by Gen. Vogel von Falckenstein,⁶ one of those monarchical, model soldiers, whose brutality to those below him is only surpassed by their servility to those above them)—of this act of oppression the newspaper press, being almost exclusively the property of the privileged classes, has taken hardly any notice, and would have taken still less, had not the brave Democrat, Jacoby,⁷ who belongs to the middle class, been arrested, too, on the same grounds—a measure which created great excitement among our middle classes and could not be passed over in silence by the middle-class papers.

As things stand at present, I may say without fear of being contradicted, there is not one workingman, who is able to think, in all Germany, that does not condemn the present war as a war carried on not *for* the country, but *against* it—as a war carried on by the enemies of liberty *against democratic Germany* just as well as *against republican France*. About this more by and by. Today I shall venture only upon the following short remarks:

There are two different phases to be distinguished in this unfortunate war, the one beginning on the 16th of August,⁸ the day of the French declaration of war, and ending on the 4th of September, the day of the proclamation of the Republic in France; the second phase beginning on the 4th of September and still continuing up to the day France cleared herself of the treacherous infamy of the Empire. The war was for Germany one of defense, and even we Democrats and Socialists could not deny this, though we knew very well that Count Bismarck⁹ was as guilty as Bonaparte, and that the war was only the necessary result of the grasping policy of Prussia, which had led Bismarck to seek Bonaparte's alliance in *Biarritz*, 1865,¹⁰ and then in the following year with the moral assistance of the same Bonaparte, to destroy the German Confederation, and to sever thirteen millions of Germans (inhabitants of *Austria*) from the rest of Germany; in short the *war of 1870 was only the unavoidable consequence of the*

war of 1866. However, somehow or other, Bonaparte was forced to be the aggressor, and Germany had to defend herself.

But from the day Bonaparte's government was overthrown by the French people, the war has changed its character; from a war of defense on the part of Germany, it has become a war of aggression and conquest, with the avowed aim of wrenching from France a part of her territory and the unavowed aim of destroying the newly founded Republic.¹¹ Count Bismarck is an aristocrat, his power is founded on the immense standing army which Prussia has to uphold. If the French Republic survives the war and succeeds in founding democratic institutions, then the fall of absolutism in Prussia is only a matter of time. Bismarck in Prussia requires a despotic France; and despotism in France means the Empire. Therefore, we have now the strange spectacle that the Prussians who, at the outbreak of the war, declared by the mouth of the King, that the war was directed solely against the government, and not against the people of France, are now making war for the restoration of this very same government and against the French people.

The capitulation of Metz,¹² with the circumstances that accompanied it, have dissipated every doubt which could still exist in that respect. Restoration of Bonaparte¹³ and the destruction of the Republic is the political program of Count Bismarck.

Will he win the game? It is a question of power. It all depends upon the determination of the Frenchmen and the condition of the German armies. The latter is, according to all reports, a very unsatisfactory one. The "little war" is most destructive to our forces and diseases of all kinds are rapidly thinning their ranks. Daily 2,000—I write *two thousand*—sick and wounded German soldiers are being carried from France into Germany. How many are dying daily in France, and how many are not in a state to allow of their being transported—we do not know exactly, but we know that the number is fearful. In fact the sacrifice of human life is so great that the war cannot be continued much longer, and if the Frenchmen hold out long enough, the Republic is saved and Count Bismarck and his system defeated.

One word about the French irregular troops, the *francs-tireurs*,¹⁴ who are denied the right of soldiers by any troops, and shot when taken—a proceeding approved of by most of our "respectable" papers. My "patriotic" countrymen, who consider it their "national" duty to "eat Frenchmen" at breakfast, at dinner, at supper, and in the "Kneipe" (tavern), cannot understand that the Frenchmen have now the same right and duty to fight against the German invaders, which our German grandfathers had in the years 1813, 1814, 1815 to fight against the French invaders and oppressors. Schill, Lützow and his "black Jägers," who then combatted the Frenchmen, even in the midst of official peace, are described as heroes in our school books, and are considered such not only by every German, but by every impartial man that knows of their deeds; but the

French *francs-tireurs*, who now do exactly the same, and do it while their country is at war with Prussia, do it in a struggle upon the result of which the future—the welfare of their country depends, these French *francs-tireurs* are represented and treated as mere robbers. This shows how difficult it is to be just. The plea that the *francs-tireurs* are not properly uniformed, and therefore not easily to be distinguished from unarmed citizens, is totally ridiculous, and amounts to placing outside of the law any soldier not belonging to a standing army; in fact, as great standing armies are the “peculiar institutions” of monarchies, it would amount to making warfare the *privilege of kings and emperors, while forbidding the people to defend themselves*.

Unfortunately Prussia was once in a similar position as France is now, and then the King of Prussia, Frederick William III,¹⁵ issued an “ordinance” for the organization of the *Landsturm* (all armed men not embodied in the regular army) which imposed as a holy duty on the Prussians *to do all the francs-tireurs are doing now*.

The royal ordinance in question bears the date of April 21, 1813, and contains, amongst others, the following articles:

ART. 1. Every citizen is under obligation of repelling the enemy with whatever arms he can dispose of, to brave their means of defense, and so do harm by every means to their projects.

ART. 2. In case of invasion, the *Landsturm* is to fight the enemy, in battle, or to disturb them in the war, and to cut off their communications.

ART. 4. The *Landsturm* is raised whenever the enemy may attempt to invade the Prussian territory.

ART. 7. As soon as the necessity of calling out the *Landsturm* has arisen, the struggle for which the *Landsturm* is destined is a combat of legitimate defense, which justifies every means. The sharpest and most radical means are to be preferred, for they bring most successfully and rapidly the sacred cause to a victorious issue.

ART. 8. It is therefore the duty of the *Landsturm* to prevent the enemy from entering into or retreating from the national territory, to keep them constantly on the alert, to give them no breathing time, to cut off their supplies, ammunition, couriers and recruits; to seize upon their hospitals, to carry out night surprises; in short, to disturb them, to torment them, not to allow them any sleep, to annihilate them singly and in troops wherever it may be possible; even were the enemy to penetrate into the heart of the country, and to advance as far as fifty miles (German miles, each of which is like five English miles): this will be but a slight advantage to them, if the line they occupy has no breadth, if they cannot venture upon sending out small detachments as foraging and reconnoitering expeditions without the certainty of their being exterminated, and if they can only advance in masses on the main roads. This has been proved by the experience of Spain and Prussia.

ART. 9. THE MEN OF THE *LANDSTURM* ARE NOT ALLOWED TO WEAR UNIFORM OR DRESSES ESPECIALLY MADE FOR THEM, because that would

render them recognizable and would expose them to be pursued by the enemy better than otherwise will be the case.

These excerpts are sufficient. They show that the Prussians, at the order of King William,¹⁶ are now shooting the French *francs-tireurs* for doing what fifty-seven years ago the Germans were ordered to do by King William's father, Frederick William III.

In my next letter I shall write about the state of *parties* in Germany.

Workingman's Advocate, Chicago, **December 3, 1870**

Leipzig, November 12, 1870

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

When the present war broke out, the Socialist-Democrats were the only party in Germany that denounced it as a dynastic one and laid the whole fault at the door of the Prussian government and especially of Count Bismarck. The shopkeeper-democracy ("volkspartei"—party of the people) who until then, in the German questions, had, to some extent, at least, been our allies, were at once seized by the patriotic furor, and gave up every opposition to the Prussian policy, so that we were left quite alone in the struggle. The Prussian government did everything in its power to crush us. Our Executive Council was put in prison, and many other members of the party met the same fate. The *Volksstaat*, the organ of our party, was forbidden in all North German provinces where the state of siege is proclaimed—that is to say, in two-thirds of Prussia.¹ In Saxony a *ukase* was published, forbidding our party to hold any meetings about the war. Besides, the Prussian military authorities outlawed everybody that dared to utter "unpatriotic" ideas and feelings, and they had the impudence to cause a number of our friends to be arrested in parts of Germany not belonging to Prussia—for instance, in Gotha. However, the German workingmen were not to be cowed. They used all means left to them to prove the nefariousness of this war and to protest against the proposed annexation of Alsace and Lorraine as being contrary to the principles of true democracy,² which do not allow us to dispose of our fellow men as of a herd of sheep, and as creating a source of hatred between the Germans and Frenchmen, and so, on the one hand, giving our Junkers a pretext for increasing still more the burden of standing armies, and on the other hand, putting it in the power of Russia to arrange wars in Western Europe at the shortest notice and, while the two champion peoples of European democracy are throttling one another, to achieve herself the triumph of despotism and barbarity.³ And our protests were not in vain. They showed our brethren in France that we had not deserted the standard of international brotherhood, and, which is of still higher importance, they helped to change the current of public opinion in Germany.

How completely this latter has been done appears conclusively from the simple fact that the German Social-Democrats, although by brutal military force prevented from holding mass meetings and organizing other demonstrations against the intended annexation and the continuation of the war, have yet gained the great negative success of rendering it impossible for our middle classes to arrange their intended great "patriotic" movement in favor of annexation and war. As we are only forbidden to hold meetings of our own, but not visit the meetings called together by other parties, we should have everywhere turned the tables against the "patriotic" fools, and passed resolutions in our own sense. This they knew, and not daring to face us in public, they had to recur to the modest makeshift of private nook-and-corner meetings, where they fabricated servile addresses and petitions. In all Germany not one mass meeting has taken place in favor of annexation and the war. The only place where the bourgeois tried it was in München, and there our party had the majority. Since then no attempt has been made anywhere. And this negative victory is the more significant since the whole press of Germany is hostile to us. With the exception of Jacoby's *Zukunft* (Future), in Berlin, and the *Frankfurt Gazette*, in Frankfort-on-the-Main, there is not one paper, political or unpolitical, throughout Germany that does not, with more or less zeal, ride the "national" hobby-horse. This contrast between real and artificial public opinion—between the mind of the people and the spirit of the newspaper press—is one of the characteristic features of our age and the necessary result of class government. We have the same phenomenon in England, where the working classes—I mean the industrial working classes—form the majority of the population, and have only one paper (*Reynolds' Newspaper*) that promotes their political and social interests, and this paper even being only the private speculation of an enterprising bourgeois. And how is it in your United States? Since the German *Workingman's Union* (*Arbeiter Union*), in New York, had, unfortunately, to be given up,⁴ your paper, as far as I know, is the only one in the whole United States that can truly be called an organ of the working classes.

The press in Germany as everywhere else, is the monopoly of the ruling classes, their principal engine of power. And the classes are the Aristocracy (Junkers) and the Bourgeoisie. That the former uphold a policy of conquest, that they are in favor of a war *à outrance* against the French Republic, is natural enough. Like the American slaveholders of old they cannot exist without annexation, and for the same reasons; thus they want a large standing army to oppress the people and to get the means of living for themselves, and since the army must have some occupation, they are for war on principle; and as for this particular war—it is to them a matter of life and death to destroy the French Republic, whose moral influence would in ten years' time *render impossible the Hohenzollern monarchy, together with the Junkers*. So it is not to be wondered

that all the papers, directly or indirectly connected with the aristocracy, are writing now in a most warlike spirit.

But the mass of the newspapers are the property of the Bourgeoisie, and the Bourgeoisie is at the bottom of a peaceful disposition. Why is our Bourgeois press unanimously in favor of the war? The reason is: our middle classes (I shall always use this word in the same meaning as the French word *bourgeoisie*, which has also been adopted in the German language) *our middle classes are afraid of the working classes*, and like the French Bourgeoisie, that in 1851 threw itself in Bonaparte's arms, and would like to do so again—they have come to the conclusion that "order" can only be kept by the sword, and that "Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery" are the veritable Trinity of capitalistic religion. Prussia is stronger, has more soldiers than Austria, therefore our middle classes preferred the former to the latter, and their instinct telling them that if Prussia is defeated now this great pillar of Bourgeois rule will get shaky, they do their best to assist Prussia, whether they call themselves "national liberals" or "progressists."⁵ Between these two "factions" of the middle class "party" there is in fact no real difference—the "progressists" talk a little more of "liberty" than the others, otherwise they are one heart and one soul, two names for the same thing.

By the by—though our Bourgeoisie exhibit "tremendous patriotism" in their newspapers, yet they are quite "international" when a profitable piece of business is to be transacted with the "hereditary enemy." You know the French Republic lately contracted a loan of 250,000,000 francs in London; well, the flower of our ultra-patriotic capitalists in Berlin, Frankfurt, etc., have taken up a considerable amount of the obligations emitted by the Republican government; and these fellows who give the Frenchmen the money wherewith to buy the guns to be pointed at our soldiers, have the brazenness to reproach us with our "want of patriotism!" Not as if the reproach was unfounded. Only it is no reproach. What is patriotism? What is "fatherland?" Principles have no geographical boundaries. Right and truth are no nation's privilege, they belong equally to all mankind.

If my countrymen are wrong, and foreigners are right, I cannot take the part of my countrymen. "*Amicus Plato, magis amica veritas.*"⁶ The "nationality" is a great lie, "invented by rogues to misguide fools," to use the famous expression applied by Robespierre⁷ to the "red spectre" of communism, which had to serve the Reactionists during the first French Revolution. "A man is a man for a' that," whether born on this side of a "frontier" stone, or on that; the sole fact that the two only real Republics existing (before the establishment of the new French Republic), that of Switzerland and the United States, are living proofs against this danger-fraught "principle," should be sufficient to bring every sincere Democrat⁸ to his senses. What do the French Swiss, the Italian Swiss, the German Swiss care for their respective nationalities? They are free, and want to remain free. And your United States—do they not owe their origin

just to the want of "patriotism" or feeling of the nationality principle on the part of their founders? Does not the merit of the Pilgrim Fathers consist in their having sacrificed the love of their native country to the love of religious and political liberty? And the millions that emigrated to your land of the free since the last half century—was it not the sacred love of liberty that drove them to your shores? If they had followed the principle of nationality they would have stopped at home and remained slaves. The United States are the most glorious *reductio ad absurdum* of the nationality principle. Composed of free citizens belonging to every nationality and race, you are no nation, but the greatest people of the world.

Now in this horrible war Germany is wrong and France is right. Instead of Germany I will rather say Prussia; for the leading statesmen and soldiers of Prussia bear the whole responsibility of the war, which they carry on solely in the interest of the Hohenzollern family and the Junkers.⁹ Who are those leading statesmen and soldiers? Those *Moltkes*,¹⁰ *Bismarcks*, *Stiebers*,¹¹ with their hangers-on? Why, the very same men that in 1848 and 1849 made war upon the *German* people, and stifled the revolutionary movement (at Dresden, in Baden) in torrents of blood.¹² Those self-same men that now talk of German unity, and even liberty, then sentenced to death by court martial the champions of the Constitution, framed by the German Parliament, which would have given us "a free and united Germany"; and those self-same men, who, twenty-one years ago tried the "Zündnadel" on the German Republicans, just as Bonaparte three years ago tried his "Chassepot" on the Italian Republicans, will, if they succeed in conquering the French, *try the "Zündnadel" again on us* at the first opportunity. The principal organ of the Junkers, the "*Kreuzzeitung*" (Gazette of the Cross) has already announced it: "The war against the Frenchmen in France would not be complete if it was not carried on against the Frenchmen in Germany as well." And who are the Frenchmen in Germany? The Democrats—and above all, we Social Democrats. Is that clear? And here one word more.

Don't allow yourselves to be humbugged by the silly phrase of the Prussian army being "the people in arms." If the Prussian people were armed—that is to say if every citizen was a soldier, and consequently every soldier a citizen, Prussia would be a democratic republic, instead of an absolutistic monarchy, with all the faults of the other absolutistic monarchies, and a greater amount of hypocrisy than any. The Prussian army is in proportion to the number of inhabitants the *largest army in the world*, and the *Landwehr*, about which so much nonsense is talked and written abroad, is at present, after its having been systematically deprived of its originally half democratic character, nothing but an *integral part of the standing army* (the "Line") ready at the order of its commanders to cut to pieces and shoot down their own countrymen with the same docility that they are now disposing of French soliders and *francs-tireurs*.

About the state of the war only a few remarks today. The position of Prussia

is not favorable at all, and Count Bismarck was much disappointed by the French refusal of his proposed armistice. The position is the following: Prussia has lost by bullets, the sword and diseases of all kind, upon the lowest estimation 300,000 men, the sick of course included; she has at least 500,000 men in France, locked up in deadly embrace with a furious enemy; the wear and tear of this war is so enormous that she has to strain every nerve only to maintain the invading army in its present strength—in short *the military resources of Prussia are totally absorbed by the war with France*. Add to this, that the soldiers are getting more and more tired of a war, in which no more laurels are to be gained, but those gained may be lost; that the people at home are grumbling louder and louder; that the small South German States are not quite safe anymore; that Bavaria, for instance, has until now refused to enter the Prusso-German confederation; that Austria is making suspicious moves—and many other ugly symptoms, and you will understand Count Bismarck is rather in a fix. The annexation scheme is half given up already—instead of Alsace and Lorraine, *Luxemburg* is to be taken—and there are many people who think that the Oriental row, which the cabinet of St. Petersburg is just causing, has been arranged principally with a view of covering Bismarck's retreat from the French war. However, of that I am not too sure. It is very probable, the Russian bear intends a serious spring at the sick man's throat and then—we have the long foresaid, long dreaded universal war.

So be it!

Universal war is universal revolution.

Workingman's Advocate, Chicago, **January 28, 1871**

Leipzig, January 1, 1871 (1)

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

Never in modern times—perhaps never in her whole history—has Germany passed a Christmas which was so little merry as the Christmas of 1870, and never has she entered a new year in such gloomy spirits as she is now entering the year 1871. And this is not to be wondered. Since the 15th of July—that is, in the space of five months and a half—at least one million of men in the prime of life, one-fourth of them heads and nourishers of families, have been sent to the seat of war. Of these there have been killed and wounded, according to the last official returns, which, however, reach only to the end of November and which are far from complete, fully one hundred thousand—a number to which the sanguinary battles of the last month must have added half as much again. But bullet and sword are not the soldier's deadliest enemies. We know from the statistics of the wars in Italy (1859), in the Crimea, in the United States, and of the war of 1866, which was ended in three months, that under the most favorable circumstances far more soldiers are carried away in war by disease than by arms. And in the present war the circumstances have been and continue to be as unfavorable as can be imagined. Damp and cold summer was followed by an autumn so wet that it would have reminded one of the rain seas in the Tropics if it had not been so chilly; and this autumn—very similar to that famous autumn which seventy-eight years ago saved the first French Republic from the invading armies under the Duke of Brunswick—has been followed by a winter of almost unexampled severity—a winter the like of which Europe has had but once in this century, in that portentous year (1812) which saw the hosts of the mightiest emperor annihilated by a still mightier monarch, "King Frost."

How many of our soldiers have succumbed to the inclemency of the weather and to those hardships inseparable from a campaign on so large a scale and against such powerful and warlike enemies; how many have become the victims of bad administration and neglect, we do not know and shall probably never know; for it is not the interest of our rulers to let the people see the whole extent of the wear and tear in human material. Yet so much is sure—the losses

through sickness and fatigues are enormous, so enormous, in fact, that there are very few families in Germany which have not lost either one of their members—maybe the head—or some near relation and no end is yet to be perceived. And those that have been spared till now must be in constant dread of being afflicted in their turn.

Compared with this misery the disastrous influence of the war on trade and commerce—the blockade¹ alone is estimated to cause a loss of one million thalers a day—are hardly remarked. And what is to be the reward of the nation? What is to be put in the scale to counterbalance the weight of so many lives lost, or so much happiness destroyed? An Imperial crown! We are to have an Emperor. William I of Prussia, who twenty-two years ago sent to military executions the defenders of the constitution framed by the German parliament and settling the Emperor's crown on the Kings of Prussia—this self-same William has, out of the hands of small German princes, accepted that Imperial Crown which he and his kin spurned when it was offered by the people, and he is to be called in future “Emperor of Germany *and* King of Prussia,” an increase in title which of course must be accompanied by a corresponding increase of salary, 4—to avoid mistakes I write it in letters—four millions of thalers a year being, perhaps, tolerably good payment for a *king*, but far too little for an *emperor*, who must not be outdone in splendor by his two older colleagues in rank, the Emperors of Russia and Austria.

Excepting this titular advancement of King William, no concession is made to the fools who were clamoring for a German Empire, for the so-called new Empire is nothing but the old North German Confederation, to which, by three different treaties, the four South German States—Hessen, Baden, Württemberg and Bavaria—are to be added for form's sake. I say for form's sake, because a *real* union is not established—not even in military things. The King of Bavaria, for instance, retains the absolute command over his army, which, by the by, is 150,000 men strong. Prussia would never have condescended to this solution of the German question, which not only does not increase the power of Prussia, but actually diminishes it by breaking the unity of the North German Confederation, if she had not been taught by the bitter logic of facts. The Southwestern princes who had helped her in conquering Bonaparte, and without whom she could not have conquered him, were not to be reduced to vassalage (“mediatized”) like the King of Saxony, who in 1866 was fighting on the side of Austria and had to submit to the conditions of the victors.²

The *Reichstag* was not at all satisfied with the treaties. However, not being allowed to annul them, it gave its assent amongst deafening peals of laughter, which horrified the serious politicians, and are a fresh proof that we Germans are bad actors. Bonaparte's *Corps Législatif* would have played their comedy far better, at all events with more solemnity. A week after the *Reichstag* closed, *Bebel*³ and *Liebknecht* were arrested under the accusation of having committed

preparatory acts of high treason. This fact speaks for itself, and beyond the fact, I cannot communicate anything today. You know we were prepared for it, and we are not shaking. We shall do our duty to the last. Nothing can be more silly than to talk of France being tyrannized by Gambetta and the Republicans.¹ Where is their power to tyrannize with? When they took the direction of public affairs, there was really no government machinery in existence, and the army had ceased to exist. How could they have done violence to the nation? The fact is, in themselves they had, and they have still, no power at all but that of private individuals; and if the national defense under their guidance is being carried on with an energy drawing forth the admiration even of the enemy. This only proves that the Republican government has been founded in full accord with the wishes of the whole French nation. A people of nearly 40 millions rising against its own will at the Command of half a dozen men, who had neither a policeman nor a soldier at their disposal—the idea is so absurd that newspaper writers propagating their nonsense must have a very low opinion of the intellectual capacities of their readers, or at least consider them docile pupils of that Catholic church-father who invented the famous: *Credo quia absurdum*. I believe *because* it is absurd. (Of course believing what is not absurd, is too simple, though unfortunately, not too common to be meritorious in the eyes of such a saint.) Gambetta and his colleagues are, in the truest sense of the work, the *organ* of the French people; all *through* the people, all *with* the people, and—nothing *against* the people. While the French continue the war we must conclude that they are resolved upon the war. If they were not resolved upon the war, they would not continue it.

(To Be Continued)

Workingman's Advocate, Chicago, **February 4, 1871**

Leipzig, January 1, 1871 (2)

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

How fully the Republican Government feels itself in harmony with the immense majority of the people is best shown by the unlimited liberty which it allows to those few wretched newspapers (*France, Constitutionnel, Liberté*, etc.) which are in the pay of the Bourbon, Orleanistic and Bonapartistic usurpers, and by the moderation shown in the squabbles with the socialistic "hotspurs" of Paris and Lyons. Only the consciousness of strength can act thus; and I think the example now set by the French Republic has no parallel in history. The first French Republic, which had to fight under circumstances nearly as disadvantageous; made exertions nearly as gigantic, but it had recourse to terroristic measures, and oppressed liberty in order to save it. Your great commonwealth in its titanic struggle with the southern Bourbons had no recourse to terroristic measures, but it was never in such extreme danger as the present French Republic has been from the moment of its birth up to the present hour. And I do not recollect another case of national rising to be compared in the point of grandeur with the two just mentioned.

What a different spectacle does Germany, victorious Germany, offer us at present. Papers suppressed and forbidden, and those citizens that oppose the policy of the Prussian Government thrown into prison. Indeed, if the French Government, situated as it is, resorted to such measures, we would not be astonished; but that the Prussian Government—and of this alone we have to speak here, though it is clever enough to have the work partly done by some of the minor governments—but that Prussia, whose armies have met with fabulous success and are standing in the heart of the "hereditary" enemy, considers it necessary to proceed in this manner must be incomprehensible to every one who trusts in appearances and regards this war as a national one on the part of Germany, as a war approved of by our whole people, a small minority excepted. The truth is, the war is not a national one; the enthusiasm, which existed up to Sedan, has totally evaporated, in spite of the inflammatory articles of the Government and bourgeois press, the mass of the people are sick of a war, which, as

the dullest begin to perceive now, is chiefly urged against democracy; and those in power. Well aware of the impossibility to destroy the French Republic, and fully sensible of the fact that the Republic in France meant the downfall of Junkerdom in Germany, they see their only chance in prolonging the war and in stifling all resistance to this horrible shedding of blood.

And it is getting more horrible from day to day. War "unfettered the beast in man;" the so-called "law of nations" has indeed contrived a few slender threads by which the "beast" is to be directed and to some extent controlled; but they do not stand the test of practice, and are, in the heat of the carnage, broken like so many silk ribbons by a maddened bull. And never, not even in the times of the wars with the first French Republic and the first French Empire have the passions on both sides been lashed into such demoniac fury as at the present. "It is indeed but too true," a celebrated writer says, "that the taste for blood is a taste which even men not naturally cruel may, by habit, speedily acquire." And when has there been more "habit" of carnage than in this war, which during the last two months has brought a dozen great battles, and at least a hundred bloody skirmishes and minor fights, not to count the innumerable collisions with *francs-tireurs*. I am far from making the common soldiers responsible for the cruelties perpetrated by them—the responsibility lies at the door of those who are responsible for this war—and I am just as far from putting the whole blame on the Prussian civil and military leaders, but it cannot be doubted that substantially the Memorial of Chandordy¹ is founded on truth. It has been officially announced that the Prussian Government would publish a refutation, but, although there has been ample time, this refutation has not yet appeared, and the fact that the organ of the Prussian Government, in order to weaken the impression of Chandordy's Memorial, has been obliged to take up the infamies committed by the generals of Louis XVI,² and Napoleon I,³ is an ample proof that they are at loss to bring similar outrages on humanity home to the new French Republic. That Louis XVI and Napoleon I were heartless despots, and execrable criminals, nobody will deny, but as the Frenchmen themselves have knocked to pieces the throne of Louis XVI, and finally disposed of the Napoleonic "Legend," it is the most flagrant injustice to charge them with deeds for which they have made a signal atonement. Well it would be for humanity, had *all* nations in a like manner expiated the crimes of their governments.

There are people even amongst those who sympathize with the French Republic, that augur ill from the way in which Gambetta treats the generals.⁴ Certainly it is rather a delicate thing to interfere with the military action at a moment when all depends upon it. Macaulay,⁵ while speaking of Argyle's ill-fated expedition,⁶ says:

Representative assemblies, public discussions, and all other checks by which in civil affairs, rulers are restrained from abusing their power, are out of place in a

camp. Macchiavelli⁷ justly imputed many of the disasters of Venice and Florence to the jealousy which led those republics to interfere with every act of their generals. The Dutch practice of sending to an army deputies, without whose consent no great blow could be struck, was almost equally pernicious. It is undoubtedly by no means certain that a captain, who has been entrusted with dictatorial power in the hour of peril, will quietly surrender that power in the hour of triumph, and this is one of the many considerations which ought to make men hesitate long before they resolve to vindicate public liberty by the sword. But if they determine to try the chance of war, they will, if they are wise, entrust to their chief that plenary authority without which war cannot be well conducted. It is possible that if they give him this authority he may turn out a Cromwell⁸ or a Napoleon, but it is almost certain that if they withhold from him that authority, their enterprise will end like the enterprise of Argyle.

Nobody will deny that there is much truth in these remarks. However it would be very wrong to conclude that in war the commanders of the armed forces are to be left at liberty to do what they like. The army is only an executive instrument of the civil power, and the generals are part of this instrument. They have to follow the direction of the civil power. If they raise themselves above it, then, with the civil power, public liberty is overthrown and the commonwealth is delivered by that worst form of government, military despotism, which is equally ruinous and degrading to a nation, whether exercised by a Napoleon I, or by a Napoleon III. To render such a catastrophe impossible must in time of war be the uppermost care of a free government. You will recollect how during the later rebellion of the Southern slaveholders many "black seers" prophesied you a military dictator, who at the head of devoted soldiers, would treat the Congress to an improved edition of the eighteenth Brumaire.⁹ Those were unfounded apprehensions, since you had no soldiers that did not feel as citizens; on the continent of Europe things are different; except in Switzerland, everywhere the military element is domineering. France has only now emerged from military despotism; the fate of the new Republic rests on the armies it has stamped out of the soil; there has been no time for a thorough change in the administration, which Bonaparte's military despotism left to the Republic. Who looks at these facts must perceive that the leaders of the French Republic have *two* equally vital tasks: the need to deliver France from the foreign invasion, and the second, to guard France against the danger of becoming the prey of the victorious army. In order to accomplish the double task the civil authorities have to develop and organize the whole strength of the nation for the defense of the country, and to keep under their close direction the military forces, so developing and spurring the action of the generals without crippling it. And that is exactly what the French Government, Gambetta foremost, are doing in worthy imitation of the glorious example set by the "convention" of 1791 and 1793.

***Workingman's Advocate*, Chicago, February 11, 1871**

Leipzig, January 15, 1871

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

Reserving it for another time, to sketch for my American brethren a succinct history of the Socialist-Democratic movement in Germany, I will today lay before them the *Eisenach Program*, on which our party has taken its stand, and from which it is generally named "the party of the Eisenachers." Eisenach, a little town situated in the heart of *Thuringia*, is one of the prettiest spots in this province, so rich in picturesque scenery; down on it looks the proud *Wartburg*, where in the twelfth century the half mythical "war of the Minnesänger" (Troubadours), known as the *Sängerkrieg*, took place, and where four centuries later Luther sheltered himself from the persecution of Emperor Charles the Fifth, and finished that grand monument of the German language, his translation of the Bible. Here, amidst soul-stirring and mind-elevating reminiscences of that past, there assembled in the first week of August, 1869, more than two hundred delegates, chosen by the workingmen in all parts of Germany.¹ Prussia, Austria, Württemberg, Saxony, Bavaria, Hessen and the other divisions of our still much divided Fatherland, had sent their contingents and delegates, some from the banks of the Rhine, the Danube, the Maine, the Elbe and the Oder, from the Baltic Sea and the German ocean, from the foot of the Alps and the Lowlands of the North, represented "German unity" far better than the "North German Reichstag" did, of which half of Germany was excluded, and better too than the new "German Reichstag" will do, of which one third of Germany—German Austria—is excluded. An attempt made by a body of people in the pay of the Prussian Government, to frustrate the deliberations, was speedily put down; the Congress went to work with a right good will, and agreed, after long and conscientious debates, about the following program, the principal authors of which, by the by, are now, hardly without an exception, in prison—a fact illustrative of the political condition of my native country, and warmly to be recommended to the attention of those strange republicans who are in love with our "New (Bismarckian) Era."

PROGRAM OF THE PARTY OF SOCIALIST-DEMOCRATIC WORKINGMEN

(*Programm der Social-Democratische Arbeiter Partei*)

I. The Party of Socialist-Democratic Workingmen aims at the establishment of a free commonwealth, organized by the people for the people (literally "the free state of the people," *des freien Volksstaats*.)

II. Each member of the Party of Socialist-Democratic Workingmen pledges himself to act with all his energy in accordance with the following principles:

1. The present state of political and social affairs is unjust in the highest degree, and must therefore be combated with the utmost vigor.

2. The struggle for the emancipation of the working classes is not a struggle for class privileges and exceptional advantages, but for equal rights and equal duties, and for the abolition of all class government.

3. The economical dependence of the workingmen upon the capitalists constituting the base of serfdom in every shape, the Party of Socialist-Democratic Workingmen aims at the abolition of the present system of production (the wages system) and will by the introduction of cooperative labor secure to every workingman the full fruit of his labor.

4. Political liberty being indispensable for the economical emancipation of the working classes, the social question cannot be separated from the political question; it cannot be solved without this, and it can only be solved in a democratic commonwealth.

5. Considering that the political and economical emancipation of the working classes is not to be achieved unless by their combined and concentrated efforts, the party of Socialist-Democratic Workingmen creates for itself a centralistic organization, which however leaves every single member free to exercise his influence in favor of the whole.

6. Considering that the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social task common to all countries in which modern society exists, the Party of Socialist-Democratic Workingmen considers itself, as far as the laws concerning the right of meeting allows it, as a "Branch of the International Workingmen's Association," and adheres to its program.

III. The points to which at present the agitation of the Party of the Socialistic-Democratic Workingmen is chiefly to be directed, are the following:

1. Universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage (ballot) to all males from the 20th year for the elections of the German Parliament, for the Diets of the single States, for the provincial, communal and all other representative bodies. The elected deputies are to receive sufficient payment.

2. Introduction of direct legislation through the people. The people are to have the right of proposing and of rejecting laws.

3. Abolition of all privileges of rank, property, birth and religion.

4. Establishment of a Militia (after the Swiss system) in place of the Standing Army.

5. Separation of the Church from the State, and of the School from the Church.

6. Obligatory instruction in the public schools (schools for the people,

Volkschulen) and gratuitous instruction in all public establishments for education (universities, colleges, academies, etc.)

7. Independence of judges and tribunals: introduction of trial by juries, and of courts of arbitration in matters of trade and commerce; introduction of public and oral pleading before the courts of justice; gratuitous justice.

8. Abolition of all laws concerning the press, the right of meeting and the right of combination; introduction of the "normal work day" (a law fixing the hours of daily work); restriction and regulation of the work of women, prohibition of the work of children; removal of the competition created by the work in prisons to the labor of free workingmen.

9. Abolition of all indirect taxation, and introduction of one direct progressive income tax and inheritance duty.

10. Public measures to promote the system of association, and opening of a public credit for cooperative societies, established on democratic principles.²

Before proceeding I have to make a few explanatory remarks about this program, which contains much that must appear hardly intelligible to the citizens of a free commonwealth, but which, if closely looked at, gives a better insight into the political state of Germany than a whole volume filled with descriptions and reflections would. That we are obliged to enumerate amongst the reforms to be striven for such demands as abolition of the privileges of rank and birth, separation of State and Church, independence of tribunals and introduction of trial by jury, abolition of laws gagging the press and the right of meeting and combination, etc.; will show you how backward we, like most nations of our continent, are in matters appertaining to the A-B-C of politics; and it will teach those a lesson who, on account of the social inharmonies existing in the United States not less than in the monarchies of Europe, are inclined to underrate the importance and the blessings of the political liberty you enjoy. How much bloodshed, what an amount of misery would have been, and would still be spared to us, if we had free institutions like yours. Liberty does indeed not work miracles, and cannot, of itself, change abject poverty into honest independence, but like the air we breathe, it is necessary for our existence; if it is denied us, our growth and development must become sickly, and only when we are able to draw it in with the full force of our lungs, the body politic can feel quite healthy, and the single member of the State acquires *strength and power to help himself*. If he does not use this power, *it is his own fault*; certain it is, that the citizens of a free commonwealth are the masters of their destiny, or, as we Germans say, the smiths of their fortune, while the inhabitants of an unfree country are trammled in all their movements, and prevented from helping themselves. Therefore have we, what would be senseless in the United States, put the demand for a free commonwealth at the head of our program, well convinced that the struggles for a radical improvement of modern society, in other words, for the emancipation of labor must remain

hopeless as long as the victims of social inequality and injustice are deprived of political liberty.

About the points under article 2 I need not speak, they being in strict, almost in literal accordance with the program of the International Workingmen's Association, which is surely known to all my readers.

Of the points under article 3, only the two first and the eighth require a short commentary. It may seem strange that we, who are in possession of "universal suffrage," still call for that fundamental right. The fact is, we have universal suffrage for the election of no other representative body but the North German (now called German) *Reichstag*—the *Landtage* (Diets Chamber) of the different single States, which have even more important duties than the powerless *Reichstag*, are elected after laws directly or indirectly excluding the great majority of the people. Besides the "universal suffrage" for the *Reichstag* is, as I think I told you before, restricted materially by the exclusion of all male citizens between the 20th and 25th year, and furthermore crippled by a *clause forbidding the payment of the deputies*—a clause framed avowedly for the purpose of rendering it impossible for workingmen to send a representative not belonging to the moneyed classes, or themselves to accept a mandate. If this object has been partly thwarted the merit is due to the truly spirit of the German workingmen, who shrink back from no sacrifice.

"Direct legislation, through the people" is a theme which before the present war occupied large political circles; it was discussed in almost every democratic paper, and in Switzerland (in the Canton of Zürich, for instance) the attempt has, with best success, been made to carry the theory into practice. The demand for direct legislation is grounded on the undoubtedly right supposition that the *sovereignty of the people* amounts to more than merely the right of electing representatives; that it is a right not to be transferred, and that if for practical reasons, the representative system must be resorted to, the sovereign power yet continues to rest in the people and interruptedly has to be exercised by it, independently of the functions of the representatives elected in the shape of a regular and direct participation in the legislation. And not only must it be the duty of the chosen legislators (respecting the executive body) to submit all important laws framed by them to the sanction of the people, but the people must also have the right to propose laws on their own initiative, of course in reasonable limits, guarding against frivolous abuse. Unless the people exercise their sovereign power in this manner, there is always—even in a democratically constituted commonwealth, as the example of Switzerland has shown—some danger that the representative bodies, instead of being the *servants* of the people, become its masters, and establish a kind of despotism, perhaps not so galling as the despotism of brutal force, but still fraught with great evils, and not worthy of free people.

Concerning the notice about prison labor in the eighth article of our pro-

gram, I have only to mention that in most German prisons the custom prevails to let the prisoners work for contractors, and to pay to them wages far lower than those upon which free laborers, who have no other source of subsistence, can live. The consequence is the ruin of large bodies of workingmen. I need hardly say that we have no wish to deprive the prisoners of useful labor, which is indispensable for their moral purification; what we want is, *that the produce of their labor shall not be sold below the market price*. The fairness of this demand is so obvious, that a few of our smaller governments have already complied with it, while the larger ones—always less inclined to listen to reason from below—yet stick to the old practice.

After having finished the program which was unanimously accepted, the congress took into consideration the question of *practical organization*, a very difficult matter, if we think of the German laws restricting the right of meeting—laws cunningly concocted with a view of preventing the formation of societies and clubs not agreeable to the governments. However the difficulties were overcome and a plan was devised, which in every respect has fulfilled the expectations of its originators, although it had to be carried out under the most unfavorable circumstances, and to which it is essentially due, that our party in spite of persecutions unprecedented in the German history of the last twenty years, remain unbroken, yea unshaken. In my next letter I shall give a brief exposition, setting forth the essential details.

Count Bismarck is said to be seriously ill,³ and to be bent upon withdrawing from public life as soon as the war has been brought to a happy conclusion. If he is to wait for a happy conclusion in his sense, he may have to wait long. He finds himself in a very awkward dilemma; either he must conclude a peace with the French Republic, and then the Prussian Junkerdom, of which he is the chief, is doomed, or he must carry on the war at any cost, and this cannot be done without imposing on Germany such fearful burdens, and bringing upon her such misery, that the patience of the most patient people will at last be exhausted and a state of feeling created which must cause the speedy downfall of caste, which alone is responsible for the continuation of the war after the surrender of Sedan—that is, of the Prussian Junkerdom with Bismarck at its head.

I see Thomas Carlyle¹ is at his trick again; he has pronounced emphatically and energetically in favor of Count Bismarck, and is reviling everyone that sympathizes with the French Republic. The “hero worship” of Carlyle is only another name for what in common language is called *servile admiration of success*. You will recollect that in the beginning of the late Rebellion, while the slaveholders were victorious, he declared for the slaveholders. The man whose “hero” Jefferson Davis⁵ was a few years ago, will have found it easy to transfer his “worship” to “hero” Bismarck.

Workingman's Advocate, Chicago, **February 18, 1871**

Leipzig, January 21, 1871

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

As I promised in my last letter, I shall give you today a short sketch of our organizations. If we were as free to found societies and to meet, as you are, the question of organization would not have occupied the Eisenach Congress for more than half an hour. We should simply have declared ourselves the German Branch of the International Workingmen's Association, and should, without losing many words, have adopted the system of sections, councils, etc., prevailing in Belgium and Switzerland, where the right of meeting is unfettered. But this way was barred to us by our laws, which *forbid the union and connection of political societies*. Political societies may exist (of course under the restrictions thought necessary by the powers that be), but if they try to acquire practical influence by combining their activity, if they enter into correspondence with one another, they are at once dissolved and the luckless members found may be sent to prison.

To evade this fundamental difficulty several societies, for instance, Lassalle's Universal German Workingmen's Society,¹ were formed, which, instead of being purely local, that is, confined to a certain town or village, were dispersed all over Germany, and could have their members everywhere without having separate branch societies anywhere. Everywhere the members belonged to the same society, which, for form's sake, to satisfy the requirements of the law, had its seat and was chartered in some town of the minor States, where the law is either not so severe or not so severely handled as in Prussia.

Lassalle's society had its seat in Leipzig. However, the Prussian government ordered the police to proceed against one of the societies so organized, and the highest tribunal of the country decided that such an organization was only an evasion of the law, and that societies organized on this principle were illegal. This decision, against which there was no appeal, had been published a few months before the Eisenach Congress, and forced us to devise another scheme. The problem to be solved was now no longer how to avoid constituting unconnected local societies, and thereby dividing our party into many scattered

pieces (real, disjointed members), having no common life. The problem was how can single local societies be constituted, without on the one hand dismembering the party, and on the other infringing the law? It was solved in the following manner: The members of the Social Democratic party, which, as such, forms no tangible body in the eyes of the law, either constitute in their respective places of abode, distinct societies which, as such, have a separate and independent existence, and no relation whatever with similar societies in other places; or, they meet privately, in such a way as not to be entangled in the meshes of the law. In every place, the members of the party, whether they have chosen the former or the latter method, appoint privately one of their number, who in his turn has privately to keep up the necessary correspondence with the Central Executive Committee, and to transmit to it the money contributions collected from the members to defray the expenses of the party.

The Executive Committee (*Ausschuss*) is elected every year by the Annual Congress (indirectly, by fixing the town, the members residing in which choose from among them the Executive, an arrangement that saves much time and completely answers the purpose). It consists of five members, and has the direction and administration of the party; to control it, to audit the accounts, to mediate in cases of misunderstanding or disagreement between the Executive and members of the party, a Commission of Control is annually elected in the same manner as the Executive.

No member of either of these bodies is allowed to be editor of the newspaper founded by the party, and its property. This organ has to defend and develop the Social Democratic principles, has to publish the reports and correspondence sent by members of the party, and, being the focus into which the whole activity and thinking of the party radiate, it is in truth the center, the real Executive of the party, and its principal instrument of social and political propaganda. The editor, in whose hands great power is given, has to act in full harmony with the Executive and the Controlling Commission, and is, like all other functionaries of the party, responsible to the Congress. You see, at all events, our organization has a thoroughly Democratic character, and effective safeguards against abuse and mismanagement are not wanting. It has worked well in every respect. Since it has been in force, our party has gained in strength, extension and unity. No serious quarrel has arisen, and as to our position with regard to the law, I have only to state that, though the Governments are doing their best to crush us, yet they have not been able to break our organization. Here and there one of our societies was dissolved, but then the other day it was reconstructed in accordance with the letter of the law.

At present, all the members of the Executive, which had its seat in Brunswick and Wolfenbittel (these two towns are only a few English miles distant from one another), and the editor of the organ of our party (*The Volks-Staat Commonwealth*, at Leipzig), with his assistant, are in prison.² The first Commit-

tee of Control, which was to have had its seat in Vienna, is in prison. The President of the second Committee of Control, which had its seat in Hamburg, was in prison for three months, and would be in prison still, if the civil authorities of Hamburg had not energetically interfered in his favor, thus proving that even the worst of republics is better than the model monarchy of Prussia. Many other members of our party, and amongst them the most influential, are in prison, *eppur si muove*, yet we are constantly progressing. Now men step in the place of those struck down; the number of the warriors is fast increasing, and the army marches on full of confidence, conscious of its right, sure of victory!

Now to politics, in the narrower sense of the word. Of inner German affairs, I have to say little. To the unspeakable dismay and rage of the Bismarckians, the second Bavarian Chamber has not yet ratified the treaty with Prussia for the formation of the new Empire, and most likely it will not ratify it. This is all the more awkward, as the treaty ought to have been in force already on New Year's day, when the coronation of the edifice was to have taken place. A dissolution of the Chamber will not help much, for the Bavarians have not the slightest inclination to enter voluntarily the "National Penitentiary," as Heine,³ the greatest of German poets since Goethe's⁴ death, prophetically called the Prussian edition of the German Empire.

When this letter reaches you, the fate of Paris is probably decided.⁵ There is very little doubt that the stores of provisions are nearly exhausted, and if the combined operations for the relief of the town, which have just begun, are again unsuccessful, the capitulation will most likely follow without much delay. Whatever the end may be it is impossible to deny that the inhabitants of Paris have during the last four months shown such noble heroism, and such stubborn perseverance as remind us of the proudest deeds of antiquity. They have done what everybody said could not be done. They flew to arms, completed the unfinished fortifications, raised immense earthworks; in a few days the town of pleasure was changed into a vast camp and arsenal, and the baffled enemy who had not bethought himself of any serious resistance, saw his victorious career stopped, and had to resort to a tedious siege, the cost of which in human life can only be measured by the unparalleled magnitude of the undertaking. How bravely the Parisians have fought, how valiantly they have borne hunger and want, how sublimely they have sacrificed the passions and the rancor of party spirit to the paramount duty of patriotism, is known to the world, and will be one of history's brightest pages as long as man is capable of feeling for the truly great.⁶ Facts can only be judged by comparison. To do full justice to the people of Paris we must compare their course of action with the doings of other towns similarly situated. We have not to look far for an example. A few weeks after the battle of Königgrätz (or Sadowa), which overthrew the Austrian army, the Prussians appeared before Vienna (end of July, 1866). The capital of Austria is not regularly fortified, but its site on the banks of the Danube is naturally very

strong, as 180 years ago the Turks found to their misfortune. Formidable earthworks had been erected on the surrounding heights, a river of half an English mile's width lay between the town and the enemy, a strong garrison held the town, the shattered army was fast collecting again, a second army, flushed with its recent victory over the Italians was hurrying to the relief from the South, fresh levies were gathering everywhere under the standards. The ranks of the Prussians, on the contrary, already decimated by battle and weakened by the detachment of numerous bodies to secure the *étappes*, and to observe the fortresses on the road, were being fearfully thinned by cholera and other diseases. It was a matter of mathematic certainty that if Vienna held out for a fortnight only, the tide of fortune would turn and the hostile army be forced to retreat. How did the inhabitants of Vienna act in the emergency? The municipal council sent a petition to the emperor, imploring him not to expose the capital to the dangers of a bombardment, for unspeakable damage might be done, citizens killed, houses destroyed, and property ruined.

Nobody opposed the petition; the workingmen, as they told me afterwards, would indeed have liked to fight against the Prussians, but still more would have liked to fight against their own miserable government, which had brought such shame over the country. The chivalrous Emperor fulfilled the wish of the craven council and hastily concluded an ignominious peace, while victory was in his reach. So much for Vienna. Nor is there any reason to believe that the rival town of Berlin would have acted differently. When in the winter of 1806, after the battle of Jena, the Frenchmen entered the Prussian capital, they were received with such abject servility that the conquerors could not hide their contempt. It is true that was more than sixty years ago and the Berlin of today, containing a large industrial and commercial population, is not the Berlin of 1806, which was essentially a court town. However, if the present war had taken a different turn and if the Frenchmen had appeared before Berlin, instead of the Prussians appearing before Paris, it is quite sure not only that no resistance would have been made, but also that just the celebrities of the national-liberal (bourgeois) parties resident there would, shaking off their patriotic fury, have been foremost in rushing to the French camp and offering the keys of the town. I spoke about this contingency with several members of the *Reichstags* belonging to that party, and they were obliged to own that I was right in my supposition; but, they said, a resistance in such a case would have been madness, the Berliners could not be blamed for doing what was reasonable.

Well, courage and madness were often different names for the same thing; happily for the French Republic and for democracy all over the world, Paris has not been reasonable: by its madness it has procured for the provinces the time necessary for the organization of the military resources, and has, in every respect, provided the worthy capital of martyred France which is condemned to wash off the dirt of the Empire in an awful sea of blood.

But another question arises here. Provided Paris is to fall shortly, what will be the consequences? It would be foolish to affirm that an event like this would not produce a mighty moral impression. Yet this must not be over estimated. The fall of Metz was, with regard to practical results, of far greater importance than the fall of Paris would be; it left France without a regular army and set 200,000 soldiers of the enemy free. With Paris the case is totally different. The besieging army is, perhaps, a quarter of a million strong. Trochu has about 150,000 men fit for fighting in the open field;⁷ with these, if the last hope for relief must be given up, he can, and as sure as he is no traitor, will, break through the Prussian lines, while the National Guard, together with the other less effective parts of the garrison, will rally out under the cover of all the Forts, to second the operation. That this is possible, nay, that it cannot be prevented by the besiegers, has been conceded by German officers of the highest eminence. After the capitulation a force of at least a hundred thousand men would have to remain in Paris and the surrounding works, to keep down the population. That number nobody will consider too high who recollects that Bonaparte even wanted more. If some of the larger Forts were retained by the Frenchmen—which is possible too—the Prussians would require a still greater force in and near Paris. Besides no power in the world could prevent thousands and tens of thousands of the younger inhabitants from leaving the town and entering the army of the Republic. Weighing all this, we come to the conclusion that the military advantages of the fall of Paris would be very small indeed for the Prussians, and would not, by far, be equal to those they derived from the surrender of Metz, even if Trochu should turn out a second Bazaine.⁸ And if the French Republic, then hardly seven weeks old, had strength enough to survive the fall of Metz and to neutralize its disastrous effects by redoubled exertions, it is evident that the Republic will not be upset by a blow, which is not, by far, so hard and which finds France ten times stronger.

Altogether the position of France is improving day by day. With the continuation of the war her chances increase in the same ratio as those of Prussia diminish. The well trained army, which the latter brought into the field and to which France, after the loss of her whole regular army, could only oppose fresh levies, has melted away like snow in the sun of May; and the troops that have now to fight Bismarck's battles, consist in their great majority of young soldiers, who have been drilled but a few months and are, in a military point of view, about on the same level as the French Republican soldiers. It is true, they have the advantage of being embodied in the old regimental cadets, while the French cadets were mostly broken up by the double treason of Sedan and Metz; but this advantage, though considerable no doubt, is balanced by the patriotic enthusiasm which the consciousness of fighting for liberty and for their own country has kindled in the Frenchmen. In a very short time the superiority which the Prussian army still has with regard to the quality of the soldiers, will

have wholly disappeared, and then the advantage will be on the side of the Frenchmen, because fighting in their own country, and being engaged in a *people's war*, they can bring on the battlefields far greater numbers than the Prussians, who have to fight far from their country and cannot arm the whole people.

***Workingman's Advocate*, Chicago, February 25, 1871**

Leipzig, January 22, 1871 (1)

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

Paris bombarded! Not the forts around Paris, but the town itself! Bombs and shells thrown, but on the women sitting in their rooms, on the babies sleeping in their cradles. "We make war only on the soldiers, not on the people," proclaimed King William, when he entered France. I dare say you think he has a strange way of keeping his word. Maybe; but *keep* his word he does. A Hohenzoller always does, it is in their nature, they cannot break their word, not with the best will. It is true that often it has looked uncommonly like it, but it only looked so. And whoever presumes to doubt the inviolability of a royal word is guilty of *crimen laesae majestatis* (crimes against majesty)—off to prison with him! Now, too, the ease is not as it appears to the profane eye. Appearances are proverbially deceptive. Words must not be taken literally, but according to their meaning. If King William pledged himself not to make war on the French people, he did so as must be evident to all well regulated minds, on the supposition that the French people would not make war upon him. This supposition has proved erroneous, the French people have notoriously rushed headlong into the outrageous, suicidal folly of making war upon the invader of France. The soldiers on whom King William made war when he gave his word, are not in arms any more; the people on whom he would not make war, are in arms against him—the people have taken the place of the soldiers—ergo, he must make war upon the people in place of the soldiers. There is no flaw in the argument, and since the French people are composed of thirty-eight millions of men, women and children, the King of Prussia, even if he was to bombard one million out of life, would still generously spare thirty-seven millions, and display a humanity almost superhuman.

Apropos, I have always been speaking of a *King* of Prussia. The title is so familiar that custom becomes second nature. *Emperor*, I ought to have written. I must teach my pen, in future, to follow better the rapid course of events. Emperor, Emperor, Emperor! So, I hope, I shall keep it in memory. How did it happen? Well the finest model bombardment becomes tedious at last; they

wanted a little change at Versailles, a new crown was ordered and a new purple robe; the King put it on, looked very stately, the courtiers saluted him as Emperor, he acknowledged the salute, and to commemorate the intervening performance a manifesto apprized the public of what had happened. In this manifesto the German people are not mentioned, which does honor to the chief actor's sincerity, and we are informed that the Hohenzollern Empire will be peaceful throughout. As the whole Empire is a translation from the French, we can expect to see a new version of Bonapart's celebrated *l'Empire c'est la Paix*. The German Empire, too, is peace. The German Emperor has said so, and to give an augury of happy fulfillment while he spoke, his mortars and cannons hurled their iron messengers of death on the devoted city, and preached with their thundering mouths the *civilization of the nineteenth century*.

Hail to the Emperor of Germany! And now I must tell you the date. Let me quickly look in a newspaper; there it is: *the 17th of January, 1871*. Mark the day! But I hear you ask, why did he not wait till the war is over? Why does he present this bill before it is due? Well, when the war is over, perhaps no stuff for an Empire is left and who would discount the bill, then? I am afraid it will soon be forgotten, and a time may come when it will interest you to verify the only unmixedly comic episode of this tragic war.

To serious matters again. Although the opinion still predominates in my country that Prussia will succeed in bringing France on her knees and wresting the Alsace and part of Lorraine from her, yet it is a noteworthy fact that in circles which rather incline on the Prussian side, the conviction begins to spread that Count Bismarck had committed a great blunder in not concluding peace after the catastrophe (or tragic-comedy) of Sedan.

Well, Bismarck did conclude a peace at Sedan. What the two men of Biarritz talked together on that day of the dupes, we do not know,¹ and shall never know exactly, for both have the most powerful reasons to cover it with an eternal veil; but during the last four months things have come to light partly through accident, partly through the indiscretion—more or less calculated—of the Bonapartistic agents, which enables us to discern clearly the outlines of the intrigue spun there. Before proceeding to point them out, we must recall to mind, that the war, which began in the middle of last year, was an untoward event for Bonaparte as well as for Bismarck. That it was so to the former is irrefutably proved by the absolute want of military preparation on the part of the French Empire. That it was so to Bismarck is irrefutably proved by the difficulties into which he has been thrown by the downfall of the Empire; difficulties which he could not but foresee, and which he foresaw, and which are the necessary offspring of the Prussian victories. The miserable sycophants, who tell us Bismarck, in his wonderful statesmanship, had entrapped Bonaparte in this war, pay a very poor compliment to the genius of their hero; for they accuse him of having with full deliberation entered upon an undertaking,

which, if unsuccessful, must ruin him at once, and if successful must ruin him after some time, unless he contrived to undo his own success, to neutralize the natural effects of his own victory. And what else is the war since Sedan, but a desperate attempt of undoing the results of the war up to Sedan; that is, of restoring the Empire? Certainly before the last crisis arose in July Bismarck had made himself familiar with the idea of a war between France and Prussia, but he thought of it as a terrible misfortune to be avoided by all means, and not as a desirable event to be brought about by crafty artifices. When the war had already broken out in consequence of a strange fatality, Count Bismarck could not help uttering his fears, and when the superiority of the Prussian army had been established, and officious people congratulated him, he replied: "The real difficulties begin only after our victories." These words, at the time reported in many newspapers, passed unnoticed in the deafening noise of the battlefields. They were wrung from him by his embarrassing position. There are cogent reasons to believe that during the war Bismarck and Bonaparte were in constant correspondence. I will only remind my readers of the mysterious letter which Marshall Bazaine wrote to Paris after his first defeat, and before the affair of Sedan took place. In this letter he hints at dishonorable proposals made to him by the Emperor. It is now established beyond doubt that Bonaparte harbored the intention of flying into the Prussian camp even as far back as the middle, if not the first half of August, and that the dishonorable proposals made to Bazaine consisted of nothing more or less than the plan, since circumstantially disclosed in Bazaine's memorial for this defence, viz: to use the army under his command, not against the Prussians, but against the Frenchmen, for the pacification of the country, as the shooting down of unarmed citizens is diplomatically called.² Bazaine, who had already begun to play that double game in which he caught himself at last so cleverly, declared his consent and hastened to betray the plan to those just in power in Prussia, in order to be safe in any case. Sedan came. Bonaparte delivered the last French army to the Prussians and sat down with grateful Bismarck to arrange matters and to put a term to the disastrous misunderstanding of the preceding weeks. A treaty was concluded. Prussia could not go home empty handed after her wonderful victories. What was France to Bonaparte, except a domain to be plundered? The domain was large, a part of it might be sold, and yet there would remain enough for him and his kindred and his creatures (male and female) to continue the old life of Sardanapolian orgies. He did not hesitate long. A piece of Alsace and of Lorraine—how large we do not know accurately—was bartered away. And the price? Restoration of his throne, if need be, with the help of the Prussian bayonets. Dear brother William had of course no objections. To carry out the treaty did not seem difficult. France was disarmed—how could she think of resisting? Thanks to the well organized system of imperial lying, by telegrams and bulletins, she was wholly in the dark about her position. If the news of the final *coup d'état* and *coup de*

grace was properly communicated, she would be dumbfounded, stunned, and allow anything to be rammed down her throat. Only those marplots, the Republicans, might try to spoil the games, but it was easy to dispose of them. In all towns the police has lists of the obnoxious citizens, and against the most dangerous of them mandates of arrest had been carefully filled out beforehand, and the telegraph flashed everywhere the order at once to execute these mandates.

***Workingman's Advocate*, Chicago, March 4, 1871**

Leipzig, January 22, 1871 (2)

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

The two confederates separated in the comforting consciousness of having got out of a very low scrape; Bonaparte travelled to his gorgeous *villégiature* on Wilhelmshöhe, with inward chuckles waiting for the denouement, and Bismarck caused King William to give the Prussian army a week's repose, and was for the next two nights cured of his habitual sleeplessness. Not for more. The "strange fatality" which had created one untoward event, created a second one, and worse than the first, the fulfillment of the darkest fears. Whether the telegrams containing the ominous orders were intercepted or delayed on the road, or whether the police-authorities were struck with indecision by the awful news from the seat of the war—enough, the orders were not executed,¹ an electric shock went through France, simultaneously the people rose, the Republic was proclaimed, and with unanimous enthusiasm accepted. The evil tidings fell on Bismarck like a thunderbolt; it was some time before he could recover his sangfroid.²

He stood before two roads, leading in opposite directions—the one to an honorable peace, the other to a war of extermination. Which was he to choose? If he chose as a statesman, there could not be a moment's hesitation. Prussia had been fighting in what must appear to everybody a righteous cause; she had in four weeks' time annihilated the army till then considered the first in the world; the criminal author of the war a prisoner in her hands, the sympathies of Europe, of all of civilized mankind, were with her; the German people, dazzled by the brilliancy of the military achievement, had forgotten their past sins, and were ready to fly into her arms; one word, and the rocks of the Kyffhauser opened, and old Barbarossa stepped forth to put his crown on the head of King William, who would then be the mightiest monarch of this planet. One word—Peace.

But Bismarck is a Junker. What the statesman imposed, the Junker forbade. Peace with the Republic, peace with Revolution—impossible. The interests of Germany, the commands of humanity—fiddlesticks. There stood before

him that one fact: France is a Republic. This fact must be suppressed, got rid of, somehow, anyhow, by all means, at any price! At the side of a French Republic, Bismarckian Prussia cannot exist; either the one must perish or the other. Do not talk of the risk! Peace with the Republic is certain ruin; war offers at least a chance of safety; the French people is still the same which fought the whole of Europe for a quarter of a century, all the gain of the past victories may be lost in a turn of fortune, a butchery on a scale never known before will be initiated. A cataract of blood will pour over France. Never mind—the Republic must be destroyed—WAR.

And war there was. The tired army, that had just begun to enjoy the promised repose, received counter orders and had at once to march on Paris.³

Nobody will deny that Bismarck, the Junker, acted logically; but for Bismarck, the Statesman, it would have been better if Junker Bismarck had been a little less logical. The sorry farce played at Versailles last week would not have been necessary, and Count Bismarck would not be obliged to crawl before his mortal enemy Beust,⁴ in Vienna, because he is well aware that 100,000 Austrians could march unopposed from one end of Prussia to the other, and by delivering the 300,000 French prisoners of war, furnish France with an army sufficient in four weeks time to reduce the new German Emperor to an even humbler state than that of a Marquis de Brandebourg.

By the by, the plan of restoring Bonaparte, or his son Lulu (which is the newest idea) has never been given up at Berlin and Versailles, and it is now more in favor than ever. An infamous paper, edited by the infamous Granier (nicknaming himself, "de Cassagnac"⁵) *Le Drapeau*—the Standard—is most zealously propagated among the French prisoners of war, while the *Independence Belge*, which does not write in the Bismarckian or Napoleonic sense, has been forbidden to them. In some places, for instance, at Darmstadt, the captive soldiers were admonished from the pulpit to remain faithful to their monarch, chosen by the people and during 20 years government visibly blessed by God; and in the darkest colors was painted to them the fearful sin of rebellion. However, all this is "love's labor lost." The captive French soldiers are perverse enough to consider the traitor of Sedan as a coward and criminal deserving a halter instead of a crown; and they are sinful enough to think that the French nation in ridding itself of such a pest, has only done what honor and interest commanded. On New Year's Day, which in France is a more popular feast than Christmas, the Emperor—for so, and not ex-Emperor, he is officially styled in Germany—sent large money presents to his soldiers in their different places of confinement. If ever men have been in a position inducing them to accept charity, these poor French prisoners have been. Badly lodged, badly nourished, scantily dressed, exposed—they the children of a sunnier climate—to the horrors of a winter of phenomenal fierceness even for our more northern latitudes—what could have been more tempting to them than the offer of money sufficient

to buy woolen blankets and clothes, and to have for once after such long parting a good, plentiful dinner? But the man who held out these treasures to them was the man who had brought them into this ignominious captivity, it was the man to whom they owed their physical sufferings, it was the man to whom they owed the infinitely more tormenting moral anguish to see their fellow citizens, men not accustomed to wear arms, engaged in a deadly struggle against an immense invading army, while they, the drilled and disciplined soldiers, chosen and trained to defend their country, had to stand aside idle, and had in the enemy's land to eat the enemy's bread. No, what this man offered they could not accept. It would be adding infamy to misfortune. A small minority did not think so, but the immense majority did; they preferred starvation to the gifts of the Imperial Tempter, and commissioned his messengers to tell him he should not insult them further. Honor to these brave men! Recently I hear the Prussian Government has given orders to treat the French prisoners better; but after what has passed we must regard this attempt at indirect bribery as completely hopeless too. The French soldiers will not help Prussia to subdue their own country.

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Leipzig, January 29, 1871 (1)

There is a story of an Italian surgeon, Villino by name, who, being short of customers, used to sally forth in the night under disguise, and to attack the solitary wanderers he met, stabbing the one with a dagger, knocking a second one down by a well planted blow which broke the bridge of his nose, fracturing with a bludgeon the arm of a third, and so on; after which performances he returned home, went to bed, and waited for the affrighted servants or relations, who would call him to cure the wounds and sores he had himself so providently created. The trade prospered, he soon became a renowned physician and a rich man, and as he sometimes cured the patients of his own workmanship for nothing, (when he had unfortunately hit upon a luckless individual that could not afford to pay) and as he went to mass regularly and made some donations to the church, he acquired the reputation of a saint. When I read the enthusiastic paenic commentaries and rhapsodies occasioned by King—pardon, Emperor William's Imperial Manifesto,¹ I am always vividly reminded of this Italian surgeon. A new era of power and glory opened to Germany through Hohenzollern Prussia. Germany delivered from the weight of French influence, through Hohenzollern Prussia. Divided Germany united through Hohenzollern Prussia. The pieces of Germany, which the greedy Welshmen² once snatched from us, gloriously recovered through Hohenzollern Prussia. Well whether, or how far Hohenzollern Prussia has performed all these fine things, I will not discuss at present. In any case it is doubtful, since we are not at the end yet. But not doubtful is that Hohenzollern Prussia has done more than all the other German states and dynasties put together, to inflict upon poor Germany those very evils, from which we are told Hohenzollern Prussia has saved us now. From a long list, long as Don Giovanni's,³ I will today only select two patriotic achievements of Hohenzollern Prussia. In the year 1689, when King Louis the Fourteenth sent his troop to capture Strassburg, the fairest jewel of Southwestern Germany, the Emperor of Germany, then hard pressed by the Turks, begged Frederiek William, the Great Elector, and the real founder of the Hohenzollern Dynasty, to hurry to the relief of the menaced stronghold. What did Frederiek William reply? "Strassburg does not belong to me—it is not my business to save it." And so Strassburg became a French town for a century. French only by brute force, but since France was regenerated through the great Revolution, French in heart,⁴ like all Alsace and Lorraine. So much for fact No. 1. And now to fact No. 2. One hundred and six years have elapsed. Hohenzollern Prussia has thrived well at the expense of the German Empire. In France monarchy is

overthrown, the King beheaded for the sins of his ancestors. The monarchs of Europe, panic-stricken, have united against sansculotism—the Hohenzollern foremost. However the volcano was not to be extinguished, the coalition caught a cold in the mud of the Champagne (1792) and could not recover from it.⁵ The French Republic increased in strength, while the affairs of combined royalty looked rather hopeless. Might not the situation be turned to advantage? They had always a sharp eye on business, those Hohenzollerns—or what amounts to the same people, with sharp eyes at their side. To betray one's comrades is not nice. To enter into a treaty with the king-murdering Sansculottes⁶ is not handsome in a King proud of his right divine. But if something substantial is to be got from the king-murderers—*non olet pecunia*—money has no smell, said that Roman Emperor when pocketing the golden produce of a new levied tax on cloaks. The Hohenzollern scruples, if there existed any, were soon conquered, and secret negotiations opened with the French Republic. The offspring was the Treaty of Basel, by which Prussia delivered all of Germany across the Rhine to France, completely lamed Austria, and virtually destroyed the German Empire—of course to the private profit of Hohenzollern Prussia.

And 75 years after she has knocked the German Empire to pieces, Hohenzollern Prussia sets it on its legs again—or to be more exact, on one of its legs, for the other leg, German Austria, is still cut off, and will not be fastened to the trunk by Hohenzollern Prussian surgery.

Is she not clever, this Hohenzollern Prussia. As clever as our Italian doctor was. Apropos, I did not finish the latter's life story. He continued to prosper, was for his merits in the art of healing nominated honorary member of several scientific societies and universities, and would infallibly in the course of nature have advanced to a regular saintship, if he—or the saints, just as you will take it—had not been saved from Italy by an unexpected accident. The time had long passed when his professional practice required an artificial stimulus, sick people flocked to him from all parts of the world; but he had taken a liking to his nocturnal expeditions, and now and then he did for pleasure's sake what he had not to do anymore for the sake of business. That proved his ruin. One night he caught a Tartar, in the person of a young, nimble apprentice; the intended patient turned the tables, knocked him down; the watchmen hurried to the place of the affray, by the light of their lamps our doctor was recognized, his dagger and his disguise were terrible witnesses against him, he was brought to prison, overwhelmed by the evidence, tried and sent to his last account, protesting to the end that as he had conscientiously repaired the injuries done by him, he was guilty of no crime, and that on the contrary, as those injuries had been the means of his improving medical science, he had served humanity well and ought to be rewarded instead of punished. Public opinion, I hardly need say, condemned him with the same fervor and unanimity it had before extolled him with, and almost raised a rebellion because he was only hanged, and not

disemboweled, broken on the wheel inch by inch and finally quartered, in the patriarchial fashion of the good old times.

Public opinion, that flightly, light-headed shameless courtesan (volcanic Danton⁷ used a stronger, an unmentionably strong word), abjectly flattering those in luck, pitilessly cruel to the unfortunate, irresistible to the weak minded, despised by every man of character and brains, tyrant of the fools, and fool of the tyrants. Fool and worse. I think I wrote you already about the Guelph fund (*Welfenfonds*) property,⁸ from 700,000 to 800,000 (Prussian) thalers a year, which the Prussian government has confiscated. This sum is, according to Count Bismarck's official declaration, made in the *Reichstag* or Diet (I don't recollect now which), exclusively used for corrupting and bribing the press (in Germany and abroad) and for watching the enemies of the established order of things, that is, in plain language, for spies, *mouchards*, informers, agents, *provocateurs* and under whatever other names these worthies are known. Besides the Guelph fund we have the so-called Secret Fund for the same purposes, and under no public control, so that it is quite impossible to fix the amount spent. All in all, we shall not be far from the truth, if we estimate the sums thus expended for fabricating public opinion at a million thalers. Nor is this all. At Berlin there exists a Bureau of the Press, founded some thirty years ago, and in late years, grown to enormous dimensions, which Bureau consists of an irregular staff of a few dozen literary gentlemen, who have to treat the question of the day in the sense of the government. They are methodically instructed from above, receive the pieces of news which the government thinks fit to communicate to the public, and in such shape as they consider will produce the best effect, have to prepare feelers, have to praise the policy and the measures of the government, and the persons serving it, have to cry down its enemies, and other work like that.

(To Be Continued)

***Workingman's Advocate*, Chicago, March 11, 1871**

Leipzig, January 29, 1871 (2)

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

The notices and articles written by them are used in different ways. Some are published in two separate sheets, one lithographed and the other printed, the former (Zeidler's correspondence) independent—that is, not acknowledged by the government, and therefore able to move unrestrictedly; the other—provincial correspondence—official: that is, avowedly influenced or inspired by the government, but without being official. These two correspondences are sent at a small charge—only nominal, or, if desired, gratis—to every newspaper in Berlin, in the Prussian provinces, and in the rest of Germany. Being of a specifically German and rather local character, they are not sent to foreign markets. Of far greater importance are the direct relations of the Press Bureau with the newspapers and newspaper writers not actually in the pay of the government. These relations are of two kinds. Firstly, the members of the staff provide the editors with articles, long and short, more or less liberal or conservative, conforming to the political shade of the respective papers, but always with the same tendency. The operation is performed very discreetly, and it is quite possible that an editor may not be aware of the true nature of his well informed Berlin correspondent,¹ though such *naïveté* (ingeniousness) can in no case last long, since the cuckoo's egg, so cunningly dropped in the nest, must in due time burst and disclose a young bird of a shape not to be mistaken. In this manner at least a hundred German newspapers and reviews, amongst them the larger ones almost without exception, are served; and if we add the numberless little papers that live upon plundering the big ones, I can say without exaggeration that the majority of German newspapers print what is written by members of the Berlin Press Bureau.

Secondly—and this is perhaps the department of their activity most fruitful to the Prussian government—the members of the Press Bureau are, either as a body or as private individuals, in regular communication with the reporters and newspaper correspondents (special and non-special) crowded together at Berlin,

furnish them with necessary materials, and make them the channels of Neo-Prussian Bismarckdom.

There are a few hundred newspaper correspondents, in Berlin, of all political opinions, writing in all languages and to all parts of the world, and of these few hundred not a dozen keep themselves free from contact with the Press Bureau. Even for a man of principle, who loathes the system, it is not easy to escape all contact; and as for foreigners, who are but imperfectly acquainted with our political affairs, and often with our language, too, they are hopelessly in the power of the Press Bureau.

To make it handier and cheaper for the foreign press, and especially for that in the English and French tongues, to which particular attention is paid, and to accommodate the less ambitious and wealthy papers that cannot well afford an "own correspondent," one or two years ago English and French branch bureaus were fitted up; and it is no rare occurrence that exported public opinion is re-imported from Brussels, London, Paris (now Tours or Bordeaux), New York, etc., as genuine English, Belgian, French, American public opinion, and palmed off upon astonished Michel,² who, and for good reasons, has no over-great respect for the home article, and feels highly flattered if he sees in what admiration his rulers are held by other nations.

These outlines will be sufficient to give an idea of the Prussian Press Bureau. Now think: this mighty engine, wielded by one will, producing public opinion in wholesale, and distributing it with the accuracy of clockwork over all quarters of the globe, not omitting the smallest provincial town in Germany; represent further to your mind the moral force which with some skill may be developed out of a million thalers a year;³ and you will not be surprised anymore by the tremendous outburst of world public opinion in favor of Bismarckdom, nor wonder at the otherwise miraculous precision of the international press monster concert which this public opinion has been performing for these last six months.

A *bon mot*, coined and circulated by the Prussian Press Bureau after the successes of 1866, is revived and applied to the present war: "The Prussian schoolmaster has gained the Prussian battles." That is false modesty on the part of the coiners of *bon mots* and manufacturers of public opinion. The Prussian schoolmaster is a poor fellow, not fit physically to strike, because he is starving, and not fit intellectually to strike, because the famous school regulations, introduced and carried out by fanatic pietists of the Knak¹ type, have deprived him of the faculty of thinking. Ah! if he had not been brought so low, if he was still what he was thirty and forty years ago, he might have found battles then, and gained them, too; but to be sure, not battles for the starvers of his body and the enslavers of his soul—battles which would have prevented Biarritz and the two fearful rivers of blood (1866 and 1870–1871), having their source there.

No, it is not the Prussian schoolmaster—it is the Prussian Press Bureau that has gained Bismarck's battles.

Its newest victory is no bloody one. The Bavarian Chamber has been subjected to such an overwhelming pressure of public opinion that the majority were frightened out of their wits and into acceptance of the Prussian treaty. So the "Empire" is complete—if we do not count the thirteen millions of Austrians for whom there is no room in this deteriorated and diminished edition of the old Confederacy which certainly was no model of perfection either. Well, be that as it may, this new victory is a fresh proof of the truth of what I said, I think, my first letter to you, that there is only one party in Germany which has not bent its neck under the yoke of Prussian despotism—SOCIAL DEMOCRACY. Undazzled by the glittering successes of the hour, the Social Democrats of Germany steadfastly follow the guiding star of Eternal Right, their numbers increasing as the dangers increase. Persecution, which destroys falsehood, strengthens truth; the hammer blows that shatter weak sandstone to pieces, redouble the tenacity of noble iron.

On the third of March the elections for the next *Reichstag* are to take place. Our party is already in the field; and though the loss of most of our spokesmen will be much felt, we enter the campaign with fair prospects. The two members which we had in the defunct *Reichstag*, Bebel and Liebknecht, are proposed as candidates in several districts each, and will doubtless be re-elected; but we hope to gain several seats.

P.S.—Today the news has arrived of the capitulation of Paris and of the conclusion of an armistice for three weeks. Particulars are still wanting, but so much is certain—that the capitulation as well as the armistice are the result of neutral mediation,⁵ which will most likely lead to peace. From the organs of the Prussian government, which have suddenly left off blustering and bragging, it may be perceived that Count Bismarck has convinced himself of the impossibility of overthrowing the French Republic. Whatever the conditions of the future peace will be, every point is of small moment compared with the one fact—the French Republic lives and will live. And its life is our victory.

Workingman's Advocate, Chicago, **March 18, 1871**

Leipzig, February 12, 1871

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

The shock with which the news of the capitulation of Paris and the armistice has reached the European, and most likely the American public as well, proves clearly that these events do in reality possess that character which the purveyors of the news should like them to have and think fit to stamp upon them. An armistice and a capitulation are two things which have nothing whatever to do with one another, and even exclude an armistice, and a garrison that concludes an armistice cannot capitulate. If Paris had capitulated in the proper sense of the word, we could not have heard of an armistice in conjunction with this fact. It is true, in Paris is the government of France; but in consequence of the government having been enclosed in Paris together with the garrison, the government could not conclude an armistice for France, after this garrison had capitulated.¹ The fact is, the capitulation of Paris and the armistice are not the result of the military actions of the Prussians, but of regular peace negotiations, into which Count Bismarck has been forced to enter with the French Republic, fostered by the conviction that to destroy the Republic was a hopeless task, and forced by Austrian and English mediation, which had at last become so pressing as almost to be menacing, and which was driven to a final and decisive effort by Count Bismarck's dispatch refusing Jules Favre² a Prussian pass to the Porius Conference.³ This dispatch, insulting to the French government and its representative at the Conference, was not less insulting to the neutral powers, especially England and Austria, who had, to the disgust of Prussia, insisted upon the formal invitation of France to the conference, and carried their point in spite of all Prusso-Russian opposition. The Austrian and the English governments combined for a common and very energetical protest against Count Bismarck's dispatch, and further, for a still more energetical protest against the continuation of the war and Count Bismarck's plan to restore Bonaparte. Count Bismarck would, perhaps, have given a blustering reply; but the King-Emperor, Crown Prince and other influential members of the Imperial headquarters, being thoroughly sick of the war, were inclined to listen to reason, and so the offer of

mediation was accepted. At the same time the neutrals were active in Paris, and here also the mediation was accepted. The first interview between Jules Favre and Bismarck⁴ had nothing at all to do with the capitulation of Paris, except in an indirect manner. Its object was solely to find a basis for negotiations of peace, and under the pressure of the neutral powers the following agreement was arrived at:

1. Paris, which was unable to hold out much longer, had simply to lay down its arms; the besiegers were not to be allowed to enter the town; and the soldiers of the garrison were not to be treated as prisoners of war, in acknowledgement of the fact that in case the interview of Favre and Bismarck came to nothing, the effective divisions of the garrison would have been able to break through the Prussian lines.

2. Armistice of three weeks.

3. Election of a *Constituante*.

The territorial question, it appears, was not touched upon.

The Constituent Assembly, which is to meet at Bordeaux within a fortnight after the beginning of the armistice, shall decide whether the war is to be continued or a definitive peace concluded on the conditions which in the meantime are to be fixed by military and diplomatic representatives of France and Prussia, with the moral aid of the neutral powers.

There is very little doubt that the armistice will lead to a treaty of peace.⁵ By consenting to leave the territorial question an open question, Prussia has made a concession of decisive moment, and removed the great stumbling block of all previous negotiations and mediations. Of course I do not suppose that Prussia has given up her plans of annexation, but I think Luxemburg will, with the assent of the neutral powers, be substituted for Metz (Lorraine); and with regard to Alsace, some arrangement must be discovered acceptable to both parties. A narrow strip of land on the left bank of the Rhine will, perhaps, have to be sacrificed by France, and the rest neutralized, or what other device cunning diplomacy may hit upon.

Even if the conditions should not meet with the approval of the majority of the *Constituante*, yet a continuation of the war is nearly out of the question, for it cannot be denied that Jules Favre and his Parisian colleagues by their one-sided proceedings, without first consulting Gambetta and the Bordeaux delegation,⁶ have broken the unity existing till then between all factions of Democracy, and thrown France upon the mercy of the neutral powers. That it has long been understood so in Paris is shown by the late popular demonstrations, which were so cruelly suppressed, and in the government proclamations, so unjustly branded as the work of Prussian agents. However, about these unfortunate conflicts there is still so little known that I will not venture upon any reflections today. The mutual relations of the different parties, especially of the *Honnêtes*

(Honest) Republicans, the Bourgeois Democrats of Jules Favre's color, the Radical Republicans (Delescluze,⁷ Felix Pyat⁸) and the Socialist Republicans, (Blanqui⁹ and the men of the *Internationale*), will be one of the most interesting themes for the near future; now, we know nothing about it—nay, less than nothing: the silly reports and impudent lies, propagated by an unprincipled press, which considers it a sacred duty to misguide the public and to circulate the most infamous calumnies whenever the workingmen step on the political stage.

It is to be expected that the radical and socialistic Republicans will try to effect the resumption of the war, and will for that purpose use their whole influence in support of Gambetta, who has already pronounced in this sense;¹⁰ but I believe these efforts will prove fruitless. Not as if I doubted the capability of France for further resistance. Notwithstanding the loss of the Paris garrison, in consequence of J. Favre's diplomatic *coup d'état*—for that it is— notwithstanding the loss of the eastern army, through Bourbaki's incapacity or treason¹¹—it is remarkable what talent these Bonapartist generals have to ruin armies—notwithstanding the ill-success of Chanzy's and Faidherbe's operations,¹² I am still firmly convinced that the war, if the French people persist, must end in the retreat or utter ruin of the invading armies. Yet after what Jules Favre has done, it is improbable in the highest degree that the French people will persist, unless it be driven to extremities by the demands of Prussia—a turn not very likely, since Bismarck has ceased to be the master of the situation. His counter-revolutionary plan for destroying the French Republic and restoring the French Empire has signally failed; and should he even succeed in his annexation schemes, this would not be a sufficient set-off for his defeat in the principal question. What strength would Alsace—and maybe Lorraine—bring to the Prussian "Empire?" None at all. On the contrary, the French *Venetia* would draw strength from Prussia, requiring, like the Italian *Venetia*, an army of 100,000 men to keep the inhabitants in obedience during time of peace—twice as many in time of war, and if the war was to be with France, more soldiers than were needed to conquer it. Bismarck is fully aware of that, and he is fully aware of the fact, besides, that the annexation will render France the natural ally of every enemy who will in future rise against Prussia, and that the fortresses of Strassburg and Metz will prevent the Frenchmen, if prepared for war, as little from penetrating into the heart of Germany as they prevented the Germans from penetrating into the heart of France. On this point he has no illusions and would, when France rose after the disaster of Sedan, most willingly have resigned the scheme could he, by resigning it, have got rid of the Republic. The annexation was always only of secondary importance to him, subordinate in every respect to his chief aim—destruction of the French Republic. More than four months ago the *Volksstaat*, the organ of our party, wrote:

If Count Bismarck destroys the French Republic and leaves to France her whole territory, he is victor in this war; and if Count Bismarck does not succeed in destroying the Republic and wrests half her territory from France, he is vanquished in this war.

And vanquished he is, in spite of a hundred victories. The French Republic has, in the Titanic struggle of the last five months, amply proven her vitality. She has wiped off the infamy of the Empire and reconquered for France the esteem of the world. She has grown into one with the French people, and her future is the future of France.

Members of our own party—for instance, the brave veteran of Social Democracy, J. Ph. Becker,¹³ in his *Vorbote* (Pioneer) of Geneva—have blamed the French government for not yielding Alsace and Lorraine without a blow. From the international point of view, they argued, it is quite the same whether the provinces belong to France or to Germany. All we have to care for is that Germany and France may be soon won for Social Democracy. This reasoning would have been correct if Germany was a Republic, like France, and not a military despotism. The Alsacians and Lorrainers do not object to our nationality, which is in fact theirs, too, but to our *political misery*, which has been increased by this war, though gilded with “glory.” And then what practical effect would such submission on the part of the Republic have had? Nobody who is acquainted with the character and temper of the French people can have the least doubt that in this case the people would either have overturned the Republic at once or left it to an ignominious death at the hands of the enemy. At present the situation is completely changed, and should the Republic be forced to make territorial concessions, its existence will not be endangered by it anymore; and if the government sets to work wisely and is honestly supported by the people, the wounds of this war will soon be healed and France will have her revenge, and annex not only Alsace and Lorraine, but all of Germany—not by sword and cannon, but, morally, by institutions guaranteeing the liberty and welfare of the people.

It is significant that the fall of Paris has made comparatively very little of an impression in Germany; nowhere has there been a genuine outburst of public joy, nothing except the official and business puffing illuminations. Our Nationals, who are furious at this want of patriotic enthusiasm, pretend to think it was caused by the piccmeal way in which the news became known, so that the patriotic enthusiasm exploded bit by bit in little fizzes instead of one great thundering roar; of course that is all nonsense. The long and the short of it is, the Germans are tired of the war, and save their enthusiasm for the eagerly and anxiously expected peace. Still cooler than with the general public, was the reception of the news of the German exchanges; they celebrated this unparalleled success of our arms by a—*baisse!* The meaning of which is, that the

experienced speculators, who, while peace was yet in infinite distance, had discounted the high-flown hopes of patriotic greenhorns, must now treat it as a near reality, and are under the necessity of divulging the secret, that no treaty of peace, be it ever so advantageous, will fulfill these high-flown hopes; that no sum of money, which France is made to pay, and be it as large as the most sanguine patriot hopes for, will be sufficient to cover but half of the losses, which the war has caused to our industry and commerce—not to speak of the hundreds of thousands of men killed, or crippled in the prime of life, to whom no peace can render life or health.

Before passing to some other matter, I must not forget to mention that Count Bismarck has made an attempt to refute Chandordy's protest against the barbarous way in which the Prussians have been carrying on the war. The refutation is in every respect worthy of its origin; the principal charges are left unanswered, and counter charges brought forward which either mean nothing or answer themselves. Great cruelties have been committed by French soldiers—people wounded, killed, noses cut off, not to mention other brutalities, surgeons shot at, etc. Well, whether the particular cases of cruelty enumerated here are true, I do not know, but I do know that ten and perhaps a hundred times as many cases as are enumerated here must have really occurred on the French side, and on the Prussian. These horrors are the inseparable concomitants of war. But battering down open towns, burning villages because a shot has been fired out of a cottage, bombarding the towns of Strassburg,¹¹ Verdun, Belfort, Paris—these deeds are not inseparable concomitants of war; they might all have been avoided without the slightest detriment to the military operations—and just these deeds the French memorial had reproached the Prussians with. Not a word about them says Count Bismarck. To make up for this characteristic omission, he accuses the Republican government of having terrorized France into war after Sedan, and of preventing her, by its terrorism, to pronounce for peace. And this accusation from the mouth of a man who has, at home in Germany, by the most violent measures stifled the voice of opposition to his war policy! The ink of this refutation was not yet dry, when one of the victims of Bismarck's liberalism breathed his last at Hanover. Dr. Eichholz, an honest Democrat of the old school, who could not believe that wrong, by being successful, was changed into right, and had, therefore, at the beginning of the war been sent to the fortress of Lötzen, which he was graciously allowed to leave in November last—to die in his own bed.

The elections will take place on the third of next month, and the new *Reichstag* is to meet six days later. There are four parties in the field, representing the different tendencies of political life in Germany.

1. The Conservatives—Prussian, Junkers, *Landräte*,—Prefects—and all kind of government officials—who go through thick and thin with Count Bismarck and want to force time back behind the French Revolution, a century or

so. A subdivision of this party, the Free Conservatives, think it prudent to flatter the spirit of our age by a liberal word now and then. Otherwise chips off the same block.

2. The National Liberals—members of the Bourgeoisie, lawyers, etc.—who, from fear of Democracy, and above all Social Democracy, are for “a strong government,” which only Prussia can give them. They have liberal inclinations, which, however, they are always ready to suppress in the “national”—that is their own and Bismarck’s—interest. A curious appendage to these forms the Party of Progress, so called because it does not progress. The progressionists are the thin remnant of the Democrats of 1848 and 1849—not exactly apostates, for they never had any principles—nor weather-cocks either, for they never know whence the wind comes; but rather a mixture of the two. The sole difference between these “*invalides*” and the national liberals is that the former suppress their liberal inclinations with a murmur, while the latter do it without one.

3. The Particularists—the Conservatives of the annexed provinces of Prussia and of the smaller German states. They are opposed to the centralizing power of Prussia, and wish to weaken it by gaining more independence for the smaller states. In South Germany this party is chiefly composed of Catholics, and called there the Patriotic Party. In Saxony, Hanover, etc. they go by the name of Federal Constitutionalists.

4. Social Democracy.

From this short classification you will perceive that we have nothing whatever in common with any of the other parties, and that we have to fight by ourselves against them all. “Many enemies, much honor,” says a German proverb.

***Workingman's Advocate* Chicago, April 1, 1871**

Leipzig, February 19, 1871 (1)

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

Next Friday week the ballot battle will be fought in not-Austrian Germany. All parties do their utmost to stir the people up, and in the newspapers there is plenty of noise and puffing and mutual recrimination, but on the whole it cannot be denied that the great bulk of the population persists in a state of indifference such as I have never before witnessed on the eve of a general election. What life and commotion was there for instance, when in February, 1867, the first North German *Reichstag* had to be elected. By the catastrophe of the preceding summer¹ the old German confederation had been shivered into atoms, universal suffrage, though stunted, yet a bewitching gift, had been granted for the first time since the wild year (1848), wonderful hopes arose in the popular mind, not least in those parts, where the new work of Count Bismarck was thoroughly loathed, and the throng to the ballot boxes was really astonishing—every vote thrown in being considered as a seed-corn of some undefinable, mysterious better thing coming. Well, none of these naive hopes were fulfilled; the *Reichstag* proved one great disappointment;² instead of minding the interests of the people, it simply did Bismarck's bidding,³ accepted the constitution framed by him to serve the ends of Junkerdom and Militarism,⁴ consented to nearly a redoublement of taxation, and condemned itself to an ignominious want of power. This was the euphemistically so called constituent *Reichstag*, and it separated after six or seven weeks having finished its work with the speed and docility of a properly managed steam engine.⁵ The elections that followed in the summer of 1867 showed a great falling off in public expectations and excitement. In all districts the number of voters was much smaller than in the preceding February, in many but half as large and smaller still. The new *Reichstag*, worked in the spirit of its predecessor, did what it was ordered and manifested a servility, which, by contrast, makes Bonaparte's *Corps Législatif*—of lackeys—appear like a body of stern, catatonic republicans. Once once it made some show of resistance to the commands of its master, but as a dim tallow rushlight in a big room renders darkness darker, more visible, so this faint

attempt at manliness merely set the ordinary and general servility in relief.⁶ Alternately kicked and patted on the back by the government, this *Reichstag* expired in December last, the shouts of laughter still reverberating with which, in a moment of self-recognition and self-judgment, it had saluted its own activity in the matter of Emperor making. And now another *Reichstag* is to be elected for the same business, for the same purpose: to do nothing for the people, and to do all for Mr. Bismarck, to fetch and carry for him, when he bids and what he bids. To be elected, too, under conditions made more unfavorable to democracy and in fact to every independent party than at the elections in the summer of 1867; the public brain absorbed and confused by the war, militarism dominant as never before in German history, nearly half of Prussia under martial law, the opponents of Bismarck's policy either in prison or in imminent danger of prison—what is to be expected of elections performed under such auspices? And how can anybody speak of free elections. Add to this widespread misery, intensified by a winter of unheard-of fierceness—since November it has been almost uninterruptedly cold, and last week the thermometer fell for the third time below 20 degrees, last night to -22 degrees—and you will readily understand why there is little enthusiasm and effervescence with regard to the impending *Reichstag* elections.

Never mind the parliamentary comedy, for which we are to send the actor to Berlin. Shall we have peace? That is the question uppermost in people's minds; the question of all questions. Not what peace shall we have? Not shall we get Alsace, Lorraine and untold millions, or shall we not? No—purely and simply: Shall we have peace? Peace is the thing wanted. Alsace and Lorraine shrink into nothingness at the side of this immense boon, so long withheld and so long underrated, yes scoffed at.

As is always the case when the nerves have been overstrained for any length of time, by some exciting influence, a sudden and violent reaction of feeling has been caused in Germany by the late decisive turn of things in France. The great mass of the unthinking, who, while the din of battle rung in their ears, were mad with patriotic enthusiasm, and dreamed of a golden future of national greatness and prosperity springing from the blood-manured fields of perfidious Welshland, have got amazingly sobered down, and comparing their wild dreams with stern reality, they are fast verging into that uncomfortable state of mind which we Germans call "Katzenjammer" (misery of the cats⁷) and for which the English language has no word. Where is the practical substantial matter of fact gain? Glory, victory is all very well, but a hundred victories, be they ever so glorious, will not butter a single piece of bread; and annexations, do they bring us the slightest material advantage? Will they diminish taxation? Promote trade and commerce? Be productive of more liberty? Not a bit of it. Just the reverse. More soldiers will be wasted, and to keep them, more taxes, and to prevent the people from grumbling too loud, more policemen, and to keep

these, again more taxes. And so we are a great, g-r-e-a-t nation abroad, and a herd of sheep at home, good to be shorn and eaten; as a nation, somewhat like that big Irishman, who in the beer-house played the bully, and in his lodging was beaten by his wife. Only to be beaten by one's wife is not dishonorable, and may be excess of gallantry. Those of my countrymen in the United States who have with their German logic contrived to transfer their sympathies for American Lincoln upon the German Jefferson Davis,⁸ should come over to our renovated fatherland and personally and pocketally taste the Bismarckian blessings; I am sure half a year would be sufficient to bring them all to their senses, if they have any. It is cheap patriotism indeed, which will cosily enjoying American liberty, rant about German glory, and leave it to us to pay the costs for it. Why, to talk seriously, do these patriots from the distance stop in their distant adopted country, and not return to their glorious, real country? And a second question: Why is their adopted country still sought as a refuge by glory covered citizens of their real country? Why?

Of all mortals perhaps in the most perplexing position is now Count Bismarck. For several years before the present war, even before the famous interviews of Biarritz, he had been in secret relations with Louis Bonaparte, and part of what was planned between the two came to light when they fell out in July last. Count Bismarck, you will recollect, represented himself as an innocent lamb, tempted by that bad wolf, but the lamb had the cunning of a fox, and made a fool of the wolf, feigned to enter into his schemes, lured all his secrets from him, kept him from suspicion by dilatory negotiations⁹ till the bubble burst and the wolf could be shown in his true shape and character. Many people shook their heads at such dilatory negotiations between lamb and wolf, and did not exactly know what to think of it. Others, who knew what to think of it, were sent to Lötzen, the fortress, or had to hold their tongues to avoid being sent there. The friends of Count Bismarck shrugged their shoulders and muttered something about the inexpediency, nay stupidity of applying the rules of private morality to public morality. And the gentlemen of the Press Bureau received orders to treat the delicate matter rather shortly, but of course as a glorious feat of statesmanship on the part of Count Bismarck: for had he not Benedetti's handwriting?¹⁰ That he could never have got it except by playing at the same game, was a reflection which did not occur to the gentlemen of the Press Bureau; and the victories intervening at the right time, all was soon forgotten in the patriotic ebullitions of the German heart.

(To Be Continued)

Workingman's Advocate, Chicago, **April 8, 1871**

Leipzig, February 19, 1871 (2)

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

Bonaparte, whose interests demanded a speedy reconciliation with his old guest and friend, did not choose to indulge the whole truth, and allowed his friend-enemy the pleasure of the last word. At Sedan wolf and lamb met again; how they laughed together at the incredible credulity and gullibility of the unfeathered biped, called "Man," is not reported by the day's chronicler, but may easily be guessed by any individual not deprived of brains, who recollects the history of the wolf and lamb, and the different judgments which public opinions have passed upon them, always unanimous, always infallible; yesterday, raising that one to the skies, and condemning this one to the pit; today, reversing the thing, and condemning that one to the pit, and raising this one to the skies, and, tomorrow, throwing both into limbo, perhaps! No, certainly, only we must in patience *wait* for that tomorrow. Enough, there were agreements made at Sedan; and there were agreements renewed after Sedan; and the wolf was to be restored to his old power and the generous lamb was to do it, and tried hard to do it. When the news came that Paris would not hold out any longer and peace was nigh, the trunks were packed on *Wilhelmshöhe*.¹ But, lo! Instead of the longed-for signal to depart, there arrived bad tidings, and the trunks had to be unpacked again. No idea of a restoration. The French people are so perverse. The stupidest peasant, that six months ago was ready to roast anyone alive (and did it) who opposed the good Emperor and government, would now do the same to anyone who seriously proposed to reimpose their good Emperor. Against stupidity the German proverb says, "Even God's fight is vain." "The promise was given, we did our best to keep it, and only a rogue does more than he can," says another German proverb. So the affair stands now. Rather critical. Will Bonaparte speak now? Or will some means be found to shut his mouth? The unexpected change of ministry in Austria is not apt to sweeten Mr. Bismarck's humor.² The new ministers are new men; the political principles of most of them are unknown, but one thing is known of them all: they are no friends of Bismarckian Prussia. And they may mean much at the present conjuncture; of

more interest for my readers will be, that Mr. Schäffle,³ the new Minister of Commerce, a political economist of note, has in his last work, though with some restrictions, acknowledged the correctness of Socialist views, and that his first work as a Minister was to induce the Emperor to grant an unconditional and complete political amnesty, by which our imprisoned friends, Oberwinder, Scheu, etc., have recovered their freedom, after a year's confinement. This is a good beginning.

In a previous letter you will recollect what I wrote concerning the Press Bureau. To put you on your guard against certain newspaper correspondents from the seat of war, I will mention here that in Versailles a branch office of the Press Bureau has been established by Mr. Stieber, and that correspondents, who prove refractory, are either kept without any news, or, if they are "only Germans," summarily sent home, as was Mr. Vogt, the excellent correspondent of the *Frankfort Gazette*.¹ The spirit which directed this branch office is the spirit of Mr. Stieber. And who is Mr. Stieber? Mr. Stieber is identified with the history of Prussia since 1845. Mr. Stieber, chief of the secret police, and of the field police, is the most influential man in Prussia, Mr. Bismarck not excepted. It may be said, in truth: Mr. Stieber is Prussia. I shall tell you more about him; for to say only this: you know Bonaparte's two principal agents—Hausmann,⁵ Prefect of the Seine, and Pietri, Prefect of Police—you know what they have done, and what they are accused of. Put these two men together and you have Mr. Stieber.

The news from France is all of a peaceful character. Gambetta's demission, proving the brave Republican's unselfishness, proved also that the extreme Radicals, the real men of action, have become convinced of the fruitlessness of further resistance, after Jules Favre's *coup d'état*.⁶ By this step the danger of civil war has been removed, which united to war with the foreign invaders, might have destroyed the Republic. As things stand, the intrigues of the different pretenders hovering about, must not be taken *au sérieux* (serious)—in spite of Bismarck's lurking in the background; the indecent haste in which their hungry vultures are flying to where they fancy carrion to gratify their appetite, would be ludicrous, if it was not so disgusting. France is no carrion, and will send the obscene birds of prey to the right about, or dispose of them on the spot. That Bonaparte or his boy with a regency are impossibilities, has been understood even by the King-Emperor of Prussia; and, as for the Bourbons and Orleans, they were impossibilities long before Bonaparte, who, in fact, never could have played the farce of the Second Empire, if they had not been impossibilities already twenty years ago. The sorry remnant of nobility that escaped the great revolution and a part of the clergy, do no doubt sigh for the restoration of the "legitimate monarchy," but these two dust-covered, incurable and incorrigible factions of French society, have, (unless backed by a government) about as much moral, intellectual and physical influence in France, as the Mormons

have in your United States.⁷ The Orleans, on the other hand, have no adherents, except amongst the higher middle class, which does not exist in the villages containing three-fourths of the population, and is in the towns far outnumbered by the workingmen, who are Social Democrats to a man, and by the *épiciers* (shopkeepers), who are nearly as unanimously Republicans. Under such circumstances I think there is no reason for apprehension from these quarters.

Most likely the armistice will be prolonged, and when the *constituante* has fairly met the treaty of peace at which diplomacy has been working hard since the end of last month, will probably be communicated to it at once. It would be foolish were I to conjecture here about secret negotiations, the issue and upshot of which will, thanks to the submarine telegraph, be known to you before this letter reaches your hands. Only this much: On the nature of the conditions will depend whether the treaty will be concluded as a treaty of peace or an armistice. If France is humbled, then there is no doubt that moral *révanche* will not satisfy her, and the 600,000 prisoners of war, set free by the treaty, put it in her power to begin the war anew at the first opportunity and with the best chances. And this reflection, it may be guessed, will in the impending deliberations of the *constituante*, guide the vote of many a deputy, who otherwise would call for *guerre à outrance*, war to the knife. We are not at the end of the tragedy, which stage managers Bismarck and Bonaparte put on the European boards in July last—the fifth act is to come yet, and poetic justice will be done—full and inflexible justice, let us hope.

The same papers that six and seven months ago were declaiming so much about the cruelty with which all Germans were expelled from Paris, are now compelled to own that thousands of my own countrymen have remained unharmed in the French capital during the whole time of the siege.⁸ Altogether the matter of these expulsions has been totally misrepresented. The infamous edict of the Bonaparte government against German residents in France only commenced to be carried out, when that government was itself expelled, and under the Republican government none had to go, but such as either could not lay in a sufficient stock of food for the threatening siege, or had become suspect of aiding the approaching enemy. And this cannot be blamed in fairness. At all events the German authorities of the German fortress of Mainz have taken much harsher measures against their own countrymen. Most of the Germans who left Paris before the siege, did it of their free will, because they foresaw a time of scarcity and misery. Amongst those that stopped, was Moritz Hess, one of the founders of German social democracy. Born at Cologne, he went to Paris, I think in the year 1846, and from that period he has unremittedly by spoken word and by written word labored for the cause of social justice; being a member of the International Workingmen's Association, he attended the Basel Congress, where the editor of this paper had the opportunity of meeting him. The last letter

we had of Hess—by the by he is the Paris correspondent of the *Volksstaat*—was written at the end of August, and then he told us of his resolution to stay in Paris and to share the fate of the young Republic. Since then we had no news, and we were not without misgivings, until a few days ago happily all fears were dispersed by a paragraph in a Brussels paper, from which it appears that he is safe, in best health and of unshaken confidence in the final victory of right over might.

Workingman's Advocate, Chicago, **April 15, 1871**

Leipzig, February 26, 1871

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

It is common for our German middle class, if you talk to them about the misery of our working classes, and the necessity of helping them, to answer you: "What you say, may be very well for England or France, but it does not apply to Germany; the German workmen as a body are neither in a bad condition nor dissatisfied with their lot; exceptional cases, if the chronic famine and starvation of the Silesian weavers are not to be counted—exceptions proverbially proving the rule, and the rule is: prosperity and happiness. Nobody would talk of socialism and a social question in Germany, if such unsound ideas had not been imported from England and France by a parcel of discontented fellows, whom no government and no state of society will please, and whose mainsprings of action are selfishness and ambition." If you reply, that the grievances of the German working classes are admitted to be real even by conservative politicians and by clergymen, then the retort is: "These conservative politicians and clergymen are not in earnest, they only wish to use the social question as a lever against the middle class." And this is true enough. However, the motives of these gentlemen (of whom more by-and-by) do not affect the truth of their statements with regard to the condition of the German working classes.

By some lucky accident I happened to discover some time ago a little Treatise or rather memorial, printed in few copies only and not destined for publicity, written neither by a demagogue nor by a conservative hater of the bourgeoisie, but by a man who stands aloof from party strife, who has, as far as I can make out, no political principles whatever, certainly none, which could bias his judgment, who is untainted by the slightest vestige of socialistic poison, and who has been driven to speak solely by the awful amount of misery he got acquainted with in the course of his professional experience in one of the chief centers of German industry. The Treatise (on the influence of some branches of industry on the sanitary condition) has been published five years ago, in the spring of 1866, and is dedicated to the Saxonian Ministry of the Interior. The author, Dr. Michaelis, a physician, was living then¹ and had been living for a

long time at *Oelsnitz*, a small town in the heart of the *Erzgebirges* (ore mountains—in Saxony, and stretching into Bohemia and Bavaria), amidst a teeming population of weavers, miners, stocking weavers and lace and fringemakers. Here, in the most thickly populated part of Germany, to which in point of industrial importance only Rhenish Prussia can be compared, a large portion of those wares is produced, that enable German industry successfully to compete with English industry in many markets of the world. Immense wealth is created there, and the national riches “augmented” with dazzling velocity—and the creators of this wealth, the augmentors of our national riches? Starving—their life slow, hunger-death—slow dying of hunger! Thus tells us honest, impartial Dr. Michaelis. The men stunted, weak, the women sickly, the children growing up into men still more stunted and weak, into women still more sickly, unless they die before they are grown up. And that the majority do. “The average length of life, children from the day of their birth included, is amongst weavers twelve years and three months.” *Twelve years and three months!* To understand the terrible meaning the crushing weight of these numbers, it must be borne in mind that the average number for the whole of northern Germany, with Saxony is (25) twenty-five years. So that a Saxonian weaver’s child enters life with but half a lease of the common average life! Or in other words, enters life with the certainty that its life thread will be out before the middle is reached! Killed half way on the road to natural death! Natural, of course, in a relative sense, corresponding to our present state of civilization. For the other branches of industry the average length of life is larger by about one year—between thirteen and fourteen—so that here the killing process is not finished but just beyond half-way!

This will be sufficient for today. I shall have occasion to recur to Dr. Michaelis’ Treatise and shall then translate some of the most striking passages, which will show the American workingmen how their German brethren live—and die!

And in Silesia things are much worse still! And Saxony is the best governed part of Germany. Let us turn to some different subject. A very funny spectacle is now given us by the hirelings of the Prussian press bureau. The fact of foreign interference in the peace negotiations contrasts so cruelly with their big talks during the last five or six months, that, as a matter of course, the ugly truth cannot be admitted. On the other hand the fact has been proclaimed, as plain as is possible in official language, by the English government, and so the poor press bureau scribes are squeezed in between this official intimation and their own bragging as between two millstones, and they wriggle about in despair blurting out the most discrepant and incoherent communiqués. All rumours concerning neutral meditation are totally unfounded. It is true England has attempted some sort of meditation, of course in vain. It is said that rumors concerning etc., are not wholly without foundation. And so on. It is a good thing

for these press hirelings that the new Austrian ministry offers such an excellent opportunity of diverting public attention, and of raising a thick cloud of dust behind which they can hide their discomfiture. Unfortunately for them, or rather their paymasters, this new ministry stands in close relationship to the question of foreign interference, and I even think it has been called into life by the Austrian Chancellor. Count Beust has, during his whole life been hostile to Prussia, and since Count Bismarck is at the head of Prussia, the man of iron and blood² has amongst the statesmen opposing him had but one antagonist who proved a match for him, and that one Count Beust. Before the war of 1866 Beust was the only official person in Germany who understood Bismarck's game and did all in his power to spoil it. But as Saxonian minister which he was then, with the resources of a tiny fifth-rate state (Saxony has less than two and half millions of inhabitants) at his disposal—what could he do? The other German ministers laughed at his suspicions, and the Emperor of Austria, whom he in vain tried to shake out of his dreamed security, who was so completely blinded and spell-bound that he said to a member of his cabinet at the end of April: There is no real danger; I know Bismarck would like to make war upon us; he wanted to turn us out of Germany, but the King of Prussia is an honest man, and will never consent to an attack upon his German Allies. And of the folly of this confidence he was not to be convinced. A few weeks later the darkest warnings were fulfilled, and Austria, taken by surprise, attacked in the south by Italy—at the instigation of Prussia; menaced in the east by a revolution in Romania—the joint work of Prussia and Russia; Hungary and Bohemia, that is more than half the Empire deeply furrowed by Prussian emissaries and the people on the brink of insurrection. So Austria was helpless at the mercy of her scheming, crafty antagonist, and had to submit. The Emperor in his remark, quoted above, had forgotten that it would be possible for Bismarck to persuade King William that he was the party attacked, instead of the party attacking. But at Vienna they bethought themselves how the little Saxonian diplomatist, who had foreseen and foretold the catastrophe, and, the King of Saxony having been forced by Bismarck to dismiss his too sharp-sighted minister, Herr Von Beust, (not yet a count) was invited to Austria and offered the chancellorship with *carte blanche*, an offer which he accepted. His program was, and I doubt not is still: Revenge for Sadowa—moral or physical, never mind, but revenge. For the last four years he has labored hard, successful in many things, unsuccessful in more. He has done clever things, and he has committed great blunders, the two greatest blunders being his silly attempt at gaining the friendship of Russia in 1867 and his acquiescence in the shameful persecutions of the Austrian social democrats. Bitter experience must have shown him, what Russian friendship means; insurrection in Dalmatia, uninterrupted subterranean miningwork in all Slavonian provinces, fomentation of discord and discontent everywhere. And as for that crusade against the working-class movement he must, in his isolation and

weakness during the Prusso-French War, have found out that it was one of those blunders for which Talleyrand's³ celebrated word was intended: *a blunder is worse than a crime*—though a crime too, in the sharpest sense of the expression. Had he opposed the brutal measures of Mr. Giskra,¹ the narrowminded bourgeois, the Austrian government would not have lost the sympathies of the people and would not have become a reed driven hither and thither by the wind of contending factions and intrigues.

Well—he has now tried to redress this blunder-crime somewhat, by restoring the prisoners to liberty. I say, he has; for in spite of what the newspapers assert to the contrary, it can hardly be doubted that the new ministry has been formed with his consent, even by his instrumentality. If the line of policy, indicated by this act of atonement, is consistently pursued, if Count Beust shuns the crooked ways of diplomacy of which he is so fond, and walks the straight, open way, pointed out by self-preservation, if he learns the wisdom of honesty and courage, and the folly of scheming and time-serving—he has a splendid chance against his old enemy. And this old enemy has his misgivings, serious ones, as we can guess from the ill-tempered, perplexed articles of the Berlin Press Bureau. I wish they were founded—but I have my misgivings too, and they run in quite another direction. Count Beust is approaching his sixtieth year, and I have never yet heard of a man who at that age could change his character and exhibit qualities not manifested before. And openness and courage are perhaps the two qualities least likely to be hidden and dormant in a man for three score of years. But come what may, our Austrian friends are free, and the Austrian people will one day play a role on the European stage, whether its government be good or bad.

Our elections are to take place in twelve days, and the public indifference is not diminishing. But I only wanted to tell you a little anecdote. You will recollect that nearly half of Prussia is under martial law, which does not harmonize exactly with the constitutional liberty of elections. This was also the opinion of a member of the Prussian chamber, who made an “interpellation to government, and got the answer.” *Martial law could not be raised, but government would grant full liberty during the elections.* The Prussian deputies were satisfied, and those that hold meetings and speak freely will not be put in prison—until the elections are over. *Martial law and liberty:* how do Bismarck's transatlantic admirers like this pretty formula, so expressive of the spirit of this new-fangled “German empire?”

The result of the French elections has filled the reactionists with hopes and many democrats with fears, that the Republic will be soon changed into a monarchy of some kind or other. These hopes and fears appear to me utterly unfounded, taking their origin in an incorrect view of the state of things. In the first place we must bear in mind, that the question which the National Assembly is destined to solve, has nothing whatever to do with the future government of

France, and is simply: Can we accept the conditions of peace to be offered by Prussia, or have we to continue the war? The settlement of the internal affairs is to be left to a new assembly, which will be elected after the restoration of peace. Till then a provisional government either the existing or another one, will hold the power. Under such circumstances it is not fair to classify the representatives elected as Monarchists or Republicans, the question Monarchy or Republic? not having been at issue, when they were elected; but they are to be classified as advocates of peace, or as advocates of war.⁵ If the former are in the majority this only proves that the majority of the French people do not think it advisable to continue the war now; and if this majority of the elected mostly consists of men who still adhere to one of the three dynasties driven from France, this only proves that the Republicans, who were the soul of the war since Sedan, have got identified with the idea of war, and are not considered by the majority of the people to be in favor of peace. Regarded in this light—and in my opinion it ought not to be regarded in any other—the vote of the French people was a vote for peace, and for nothing else. Had the question at issue really been: Monarchy or Republic, the result of the election would, no doubt, have been a different one, and many a Monarchist, who was simply chosen for his peaceful tendencies, would have been rejected because of his monarchical principles.

However, the existence of a monarchical majority in the first representative assembly of the new French Republic is an event, the importance of which to under-rate would be foolish indeed. We must take things as they are, not as we wish them to be. Wish is a very bad father of thought. Fathers of illusions—the proverb should run. And a dangerous illusion it would be, to believe that this majority was essentially a fictitious one, the effect of causes which misled the current of public feeling! To some extent this is true—there was not time for France to collect herself, one-third of the country had to vote in the shade of foreign bayonets, and, as I explained just now, the question of the future government had nothing at all to do with these elections—yet this monarchistic majority is not an accident, not a mere whim of the people—it is the natural, and on the whole, the necessary produce of the political circumstances and the political development and education of France. Let us look back at the *Plebiscite* of May last: above seven millions (7,100,000) gave a vote of *confidence to the empire*; one and one-half million (1,522,000) voted against the empire, and three millions abstained. If we add one million of the abstainers to the enemies of the empire, we have still an immense majority in favor of the empire, and if we make the amplest allowance for cheating, trickery, corrupt influences and practices, etc., we do still not get rid of that majority. Facts are stubborn things, and the fact is: the immense majority of French peasants, who form three-fourths of the total population, were up to the war for Louis Bonaparte, the nephew (at least according to respectable history, and according to the Code Napoleon, which discretely “forbids researches into the paternity of children

born in wedlock"), the fancied nephew of their fancied benefactor, the great emperor.⁶ The peasants, as a class, are conservative everywhere; nowhere more so than in France. The gradual deterioration of their social condition, the economical ruin, which in the shape of mortgages and usurious loan advances has overtaken one half of them already⁷ and is threatening the other half—lies heavy on the mind of the French peasants, and having been promised help by every government since 1830, and having been deceived shamefully by every government since 1830 they have become extremely suspicious and averse to political change which to them means but fresh disappointments. Certainly in this, their hopeless economical position, there is also contained the germ of an irresistible socialistic movement, but the germ is not yet developed, and the peasants still cling like drowning men, to the straw of momentary relief from day to day, from hand to mouth. That these peasants, who six months ago firmly believed in the empire, which they had raised and upheld, should in such short time have been converted into Republicans, nobody could reasonably expect. The utmost that could be expected was, that grown wise by the experiences of the war, they would withdraw their support from the empire; and this expectation has been fulfilled. Only a handful of Bonapartists are elected, and half of them in towns so that Bonapartism in France may be declared dead. And Bonapartism or Caesarism, that is, monarchy hiding the sword of despotism behind some democratic shams, was the last form under which monarchy could exist in France. Neither the Orleanists nor the Legitimists have strength enough to overthrow the Republic. Though for the present, united with the Bonapartists they may have the majority in this and the next assembly, yet each of these parties is separately far less numerous than the Republicans, and these three atomistic and hating one another as much as they all hate the Republicans. Monarchist monarchies are altogether no match for one close Republican minority, which is more numerous than each of them singly⁸ and being supported by the most active and energetic class, stronger than the three together.

Workingman's Advocate, Chicago, **April 29, 1871**

Leipzig, March 12, 1871

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

So we have peace then—on paper.¹ Cannons were fired, when the glorious news came, bells set in motion, illuminations arranged and no popular enthusiasm produced. The peace, like the taking of Paris, had been discounted in advance, and when the slow fact reached the goal where swift wish had arrived long before, the illusions were either gone already, or not in their first bloom any more. And one thought was uppermost in every mind: this peace cannot last! *In every mind*. This is no exaggeration, it is the simple, plain truth, which you may see reflected in our newspapers. You know the part these latter have been playing in the present war: how they lashed the people on, and tried to stifle the voice of humanity and of common sense. Well, there is not one political paper in Germany—never mind of what color—which did not, with more or less frankness, express its conviction, that the peace imposed upon France is fraught with the seeds of a fresh war; and that we must prepare in time for the coming war, which will probably be harder still than the one just past. Our press is exclusively the property of the privileged and national (or patriotic) classes; and if, nevertheless it makes this admission, in the teeth of official jubilation, you may conclude in what frame of mind the unsophisticated masses must be.

And it really seems that Mr. Bismarck had had the intention, to manage matters so, that a reconciliation between France and Germany is not to be thought of. The "triumphal entry" of the Prussian soldiers in Paris is a wanton insult.² Paris not having been overcome by the Prussians, there was even no reason for etiquette's sake for a measure which is deeply humbling for France, without being of the slightest advantage for Prussia, and can indeed not be explained, unless we look upon it in the light of an international insult. By the by, Bismarck is an old enemy of Paris—he hates it, like all Germans, especially Prussian Junkers because it is the center of revolutionary ideas; and he hates it besides on his own account, because it is the largest town of the European continent, and Mr. Bismarck is of the opinion that the largest towns are breeding "corruption" and a "false civilization" not in accordance with a Junker's

political notions, and must therefore be destroyed—the larger the town the sooner. When he gave utterance to this sentiment (which my countryman and your fellow-citizen, Senator Schurz, will not fail to admire duly as coming from such a “great and truly liberal statesman,”³) he had been provoked by the progressionist inhabitants of Berlin, who then—it was about six years ago—showed a great dislike to Junkerdom. They have grown more practical since, and are now kissing the rod they are beaten with as well. Such is human nature! And this is the political maturity of our middle classes—for of these alone I am speaking. The workingmen of Berlin, though they have much to learn, still have never forgotten the principles of democracy.

I see, your President has in his last message mentioned the successes of Bismarck's policy in a manner which must produce painful astonishment in the heart of every friend of liberty. The full text of the document is not yet known to me, but from the short abstract published in our newspapers the tenor and purport may be guessed pretty exactly. That Mr. Grant recognizes the Prusso-German Empire, is an act of international courtesy, perhaps of duty, for which no man in his senses will blame him. But to use this opportunity to fawn upon the men who, after enslaving Germany, have waged a barbarous war for the sole purpose of overthrowing the French Republic—that is no behavior worthy of the first magistrate of a free people. To excuse his undignified proceeding, Mr. Grant takes an old dull joke of Mr. Bancroft's *au pied de la lettre*, literal, and wants you to believe in right earnest, that the constitution of Bismarck and Germany is in the essential points similar to the constitution of the United States!⁴ Either Mr. Grant has not the faintest idea of the Prusso-German constitution, or he has not the faintest idea of the United States constitution. In the latter case he is a bad citizen, in the former certainly not a fit President. Does Mr. Grant not know, that he, as an American President, is but a simple citizen, forced to obey the law, and powerless against the people? And does he not know that the King of Prussia commands one of the largest standing armies in the world? Does Mr. Grant not know, that the States forming the American union have united by their own free will, while the States of Germany have been subjected to Prussia by the sword? Does Mr. Grant not know that in the American union the people are all, and that in the German mock-confederacy they are nothing? That there, law and liberty rule, while here the sword is domineering with its “might is right!”

Mr. Bismarck's “blood and iron” constitution, similar in essence and spirit to the glorious work of the founders of your commonwealth! Aye, both constitutions would be alike, if Count Bismarck's famous prototype, Mr. Jefferson Davis, had been “successful” ten years ago! If he had established a monarchy in the South and had been crowned as Emperor Jefferson the first and chivalrous; if he had annexed to this empire and, having formed a confederation with the remaining third, had placed himself at the head of it as hereditary chief—then

you would be about in the same predicament as we are, and “your constitution would be similar” to ours!

When Mr. Grant was proposed for the Presidentship, many warning voices were raised against the election of a soldier who had been drinking out of glory’s intoxicating cup, and who might through it have forgotten the pride and the views of a citizen. It seems the suspicion was not unfounded; and the people of the United States will have to be on their guard—the honor of your republic has been compromised by its first magistrate.

It is the nature of Caesarism, which has just been destroyed in France, and which is flourishing in Prussian Germany, to develop to the utmost all kinds of organized Bourgeois robbery, whether it presents itself in the shape of stock-jobbing, or still more shameless swindling. This is the result of a silent compact between the Bourgeoisie and militarism—a compact which forms the basis of Caesarism, and the essence of which is, that the Bourgeoisie abdicates politically in favor of militarism, acknowledging the sword to be the only possible government in our civilized age, and that in return the Bourgeoisie is protected by the sword in its endeavors to fleece the people—part of the spoils of course falling to the lot of the sword. How infamously and enormously France has been plundered in this manner during the empire of society-saving Bonaparte is pretty generally known, though to what extent can merely be guessed. Certain it is: the *Milliarden* France will have to pay for the last criminal folly of Bonaparte are but a trifle compared with the colossal sums, stolen, downright stolen—I do not use a milder expression on purpose—by the *Crédit Mobilier*,⁵ *Perior*,⁶ *Mires*,⁷ *Haussmann* and other worthies of the December gang, their chief included.

Not so generally known is it that the same system is spreading fast in modernized Germany, and that—like causes producing like effects—we are in a fair way of equaling our model, the French Empire, in this as well as other respects. It is a public secret that the exchange of Berlin is habitually used and manipulated by persons notoriously connected with men in the highest official positions—but of this delicate theme I shall refrain from saying more today.

What I have to speak of is a scandal unparalleled in the *chronique scandaleuse* of swindling—both by the magnitude of the operations and the quantity and station of the persons implicated. I mean the bursting of the Strousberg bubble.⁸ No doubt, you have heard of Mr. Strousberg, a German (or Polish) Jew who, in his youth, went over to London, where he led a precarious adventurer’s life, having his ups and downs, not always reputable (being once, for instance, implicated in a very ugly lawsuit concerning his wife and his treatment of her); some ten years ago he returned to Germany, not much richer than when he had gone, but happening to fall in with a rich Englishman, whose confidence he succeeded in gaining, and who entrusted him with means sufficient to undertake the construction of a provincial railway. The rising man managed this affair so

cleverly, and extracted such a large difference between what he paid himself and what he was paid, that he could henceforth work on a larger scale. For the double purpose of getting patronage and a solid supply of capital, he entered into secret partnership with several of the Prussian noblemen (some of them high in the peerage, for instance the Duke of Ujest-Hohenlohe⁹), and then aided by his admiring aristocratic friends, he began to display his genius buying and selling landed estates, erecting mills and constructing railways, until, to crown the edifices, he effected his master stroke, the Romanian Railway scheme, to which all the rest had only been as a preparatory introduction. He was now the great Railway King, and being puffed up by dozen of hungry literati he kept for that purpose, and by a big newspaper¹⁰ he set up for that purpose, his fame increased rapidly and he soon became a sort of mythical being for the public, that could not read a newspaper without finding a paragraph stating that Mr. Strousberg had acted as Providence by feeding the poor and distributing wood, etc., or discovered a fresh gold mine, or spent untold sums on land, or a new invention, etc. The thinking—always a tiny minority—shook their heads and foretold the end usual for Railway Kings, and such like, and the first-class bankers of Berlin could never be prevailed upon to discount Strousberg bills. However that did not matter. Let those old fashioned bankers think what they like—there *was* money, there *was* cash, he did make immense purchases, and he *did* pay with the profuseness and liberality of Aladdin, the possessor of the wonderful lamp. Millions upon millions were spent, one speculation piled upon Ossa—only no *real* mountains, but paper mountains! Mountains of nice printed paper, large pieces of paper, small pieces of paper commonly called shares, obligations. The commotion created by the outbreak of the war, gave the paper mountains a good shaking already, and opened many crevices, through which a glimpse into the interior could be gained by anyone that had eyes to look with—which you know most people have not. But the noble friends, afraid of the exposure, rushed to the rescue, the crevices were patched and painted over and an ingenious plan devised, whereby the paper mountain was to be slyly slipped from Strousberg's (an inverse Atlas) shoulders on those of a joint stock company, with Strousberg for its manager. A good manager he would no doubt have been—would have managed well for himself and his high confederates—unfortunately suspicion had been raised and had grown strong—the company proved a failure, ugly reports came from Romania, the debates of the Bucharest Chamber on the Strousbergian Railway scheme disclosed details of a very questionable, or rather a very unquestionable, almost penal character. The catastrophe was not to be avoided.

By desperate efforts on the part of the aristocratic patrons, the fall has been deadened; but *fall is fall*, and the paper mountain is blown down and may soon be used by cheese-mongers to wrap candles and soap. There have been great swindles in England and the United States—the Salier swindle in England, and

divers huge English and American bank swindles, but none of these can be compared with the Strousberg affair. Its only parallel cases are to be found in France—in Imperial France—where the same political system was at work and swindling, in fact, had become a political institution. This political character of the Strousberg frauds constitutes their real importance, distinguishing them from common commercial or financial swindles. And that is also the reason why such exertions are made in high and highest quarters to hush the matter. Will they succeed? Will the criminal court be evaded, and even the bankruptcy court? King-Emperor William is a powerful monarch, and perhaps it will be proved that manufacturing railway shares wholesale, without any corresponding security, and without control, is a lawful operation, and that those who pocketed dozens of millions in exchange for worthless scraps of paper are benefactors of mankind, instead of infamous thieves. “The small thieves are hanged and the big ones allowed to go free,” says the German proverb. To go free: yes, and to be honored, too, and decorated, in this blest world of ours!

About the result of the elections, which took place last Friday, not much is known yet. In a postscript I hope to be able to give a short summary. All that I can say today is that with few exceptions, the indifference has been very great, and that at the beginning of the election week there were still districts without any candidates at all, so that the first comer who found it worth his while to present himself, was sure to enter unopposed Mr. Bismarck’s First German Parliament. Which shows that the German people are not such enthusiastic Bismarckians as your President, Ulysses Grant.

P.S.—The election returns are still very incomplete. In Saxony, which has to send 23 deputies, we had candidates in 10 districts. Two, amongst them Mr. Bebel, are elected with great majorities. From Mr. Liebknecht’s district, which has very bad communications and consists of more than thirty places scattered about, no definite news has yet arrived. In a fourth district our candidate (one of the Braunschweig prisoners, Mr. Spier) not having had the absolute majority of the votes given (as required by law) will come to a second poll, in which we shall doubtless win. The number of votes for our candidates is even now, when the result is not yet known, at *least twice as great as at the last election*. A sign how we advance!

***Workingman's Advocate*, Chicago, May 13, 1871**

Leipzig, March 19, 1871 (1)

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

Today I shall give the following extracts from Dr. Michaelis' pamphlet on the sanitary condition of the industrial population of Saxony:

"The food of our Saxonian workingmen's families consists of potatoes, bread, butter, so-called coffee, and sometimes a little sausage and cheese; in (Prussian) Silesia they drink less coffee, and have water boiled with bread, flour or potatoes, instead of seasoned only with salt—otherwise the food is the same. Meat is served only on feast days, and then not regularly. These kinds of nourishment which in themselves are not unwholesome, produce a pernicious effect by their exclusive use. With the exception of the sausage, cheese and butter, the common food of the working classes is of vegetable origin; but on vegetable produce alone man cannot live, and the sausage, cheese and butter, which are eaten in very small quantities, are not by far sufficient to make up for the want of a nitrogenous meat diet. It is very difficult to discover the average quantity of meat consumed by the different classes and groups of the population. However there exists no doubt that in our industrial districts the quantity is much smaller than in the towns¹ and agricultural districts. According to my observations and researches the annual consumption of food in the industrial district (of the *Erzgebirge*—the Ore Mountains) is for each grown person as follows: Potatoes 500–600 pounds; bread 250–300 pounds; meat from 8–9 pounds. In Silesia the quantity of potatoes consumed annually is still larger (about 700 pounds) while that of meat is less by two pounds (6–7), the consumption of bread being pretty equal. With regard to the so-called coffee it must be mentioned that it is a compound of adulterated ingredients, containing very little real coffee, and having a tendency to weaken the digestive faculties. It is obvious that with such a scanty diet the state of health cannot be a favorable one." The mortality amongst the children of the industrial poor is something frightful; general statistical numbers the author is unable to give, but from the fact that the average length of life of these classes is but half of the average length for the whole of Germany, it must be concluded that the majority of the

children die shortly after their birth. The lodgings are unwholesome, the families are crowded together, and there is no proper ventilation, especially in winter when, to save the warmth, no window is opened and the contrast between the hot air of the rooms and the cold air of the atmosphere is apt to lay the seed of all kinds of diseases, of the respiratory organs, rheumatism, etc.

The wages are very low; the lace makers are happy if they get 1 thaler 10 groschen (\$1 or 4 shillings English) a week; often they have less, and every year has its bad times when they have nothing at all. The weavers have when times are good from 1 thaler 10 groschen to 2 thalers (\$1.00–1.50 or 4–6 shillings); in bad times, which are becoming the rule more and more, they starve downright like the lace makers. The miners are somewhat better situated; their wages are not much higher than those of the weavers, from 1 thaler, 20 groschen to 2 thalers 10 (\$1.25 to 1.75 or 5 shillings to 7 shillings) but then their work is more regular. The poorer a man is the better an object of prey is he. Our Saxonian weavers are chiefly beset by the parasitical race of middlemen (Factors in their local denomination) who advance the working men the yarn to weave with, and take the finished cloth from them to the merchants. Not satisfied with pocketing a part of the wretched wages paid by the merchants as a remuneration for the trouble and risk they have in advancing the raw material and in delivering the manufactured article, these middlemen contrive to extort large sums over and above, by imposing exorbitant fines for real or imaginary faults in the work done, which fines must be paid unless the poor victims choose to lose their work altogether and be starved to death. Lately some associations of weavers have been founded in the *Erzgebirge*, which are in direct communication with the merchants and so avoid the middlemen. But the merchants as a body look unfavorably on these associations and prefer employing the middlemen, and from that reason the benefit derived is out of proportion with the magnitude of the evil, the associated workmen being a trifling minority compared to those who are forced to keep and enrich the middlemen. Besides it must not be forgotten that even if the associations become general, a radical improvement would not be effected; the wages would soon fall to the level of the rate actually paid the workmen now, and the sole change would be that the difference, instead of going into the pockets of the middlemen, would find its way into the pockets of the merchants. The whole trade is doomed; the handloom cannot stand against the powerloom. In England it has been driven out of the field already, in Germany it is now undergoing the same fate. The process is a slow one; of all creatures, man has the greatest powers of endurance. It is impossible to say exactly where the starving point is. For one man it is a little higher, and for the other a little lower; and with our surplus population there are always plenty of tough people, difficult to be starved to death. In England the process lasted for fully three generations and still some solitary handloom weavers are struggling there. In Germany the war was begun more than thirty years ago, and it is the

second generation that is now involved in the crisis. Is the car of Juggernaut to be driven on over these helpless hundred thousands? Or is it to be stopped? Emigrate the weavers neither can nor will. What could they do in the United States or in Canada with their weak limbs, unfit for any field work? To enter other trades may do for a few, but not for the immense majority. There are only two issues lying before us: Either these hundred thousands of handloom weavers are left to their fate or they will be gradually improved out of the world; or the government must interfere in their behalf. There is no third solution. Private charity, and the action of municipal bodies are like a drop on a heated stone. Unless the government, backed by the resources of the country, comes to the rescue, there is no hope. Up to this day nothing worth speaking of has been done on the part of the government either in Saxony or in any other German State. Done to help the weavers, I mean. For one government, that of Prussia, to wit, has certainly done something, nay a great deal in the case of the weavers, and the blue beans (musket balls) which the kind Prussian Government fed the starving Silesian weavers with in 1845 will always be remembered as a proof that the Hohenzollern dynasty had even so far back a prophetic consciousness of its being destined to the championship of the German Bourgeoisie. Except for this unsuccessful lead and powder cure (unsuccessful because the old musket—the needleguns not being in practice yet—was not of such miraculous effectiveness as to blow all the weavers into eternity), the Prussian Government has not done anything. It is true, six or seven years ago, when Mr. Bismarck was very popular with the middle classes, he once started the Red Spectre in Silesia, just to frighten the rebellious burghers into submission, and had a deputation of weavers fitted out and presented to the king, but beyond a few socialistic articles in the government papers, and some thousand thalers invested in a cooperative society for the benefit of a needy government agent, and as a bribe to a dozen or so of honest workmen, nothing substantial has come from the terrified Bourgeoisie quickly resigning every thought of independent Liberalism, and the bugbear could be dismissed again.

(To Be Continued)

***Workingman's Advocate, Chicago,* May 20, 1871**

Leipzig, March 19, 1871 (2)

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

In Saxony the Government has made inquiries into the state of the weavers, has provided a little pecuniary help in some extreme cases, has promoted straw plaiting, to procure employment for starving weavers—and that is all as good as nothing, straw plaiting has proved a complete failure and is even more hopeless than weaving. Small palliatives are of no use here; what we want is government action on the largest scale. One million of human lives are to be saved. When the class of nobility was supplanted in France, Disraeli,¹ the English Tory, 'says in his remarkable novel *Sybil*, "they did not amount in number to one-third of the English handloom-weavers, yet all Europe went to war to avenge their wrongs, every State subscribed to maintain them in their adversity, and when they were restored to their own country, their own land supplied them with an immense indemnity. Who cares for the handloom-weavers? Yet they have lost their estates. Who raises a voice for them? Yet they are at least as innocent as the nobility of France. They sink amongst no sight except their own. And if they meet with sympathy—what then? Sympathy is the solace of the poor—but for the rich there is compensation." This was written in 1845. The English handloom weavers have been happily disposed of since, without compensation or indemnity. Shall the same wholesale murder be committed or rather completed upon our German handloom weavers?

A very characteristic change has, since about a fortnight, taken place in the language of our official and officious organs, concerning the French Republic. After having covered it with obloquy for more than five months, and having proved for the thousandth time, that it cannot exist and deserves not to exist, they have suddenly made the discovery, that not only the Republic is the fittest form of government for France, but that it is also the one best in accordance with the interests of Prussia.² Yes, Mr. Bismarck's own paper, the *North German Gazette*,³ talks in quite an enthusiastic strain of the blessings which republican institutions bring to those nations, whose character and disposition they suit (of course not the Germans "who owe their national greatness to their princes,")

and calls it an exploded idea, to think the establishment of a Republic in France would endanger the Monarchies of Europe. Well, if this is an exploded idea, it must have exploded but a very short time ago. When on the fifth of September last the news of the proclamation of the Republic reached the Prussian headquarters, the idea was not exploded yet, as the two hundred thousand Frenchmen and Germans killed and maimed between that day and the capitulation of Paris will attest. And when, as late as in the middle of January, Count Bismarck made a final effort to restore Bonaparte on the French throne by convocation of the old *Corps Législatif*, or by the Assembly of Notables, to be deputed by the Bonaparte general councils—the idea was not yet exploded either. Nor is it today. That which is exploded is the Sedan, the plan of Napoleon's restoration. And so the Prussian statesmen were obliged to make a virtue of necessity. Of Bonaparte there is hardly a word said anymore in our government papers—the subject is too delicate—but, and this is notable, they are writing much against the pretensions of the Orleans family. The Orleans, we are told, would be a real danger for Germany; to render themselves popular, they would madly pursue the policy of revenge, while the Republic, caring more for the welfare of the people, might be expected to be in favor of peace. Why the sudden rage against the Orleans, of whom nobody has been thinking, and whose name has not been pronounced in Germany since the capitulation of Paris? Just for that reason their name must be pronounced, rendered familiar to the public ear. Bonaparte having proved impossible, his predecessors on the throne of France present themselves to Mr. Bismarck as the best instruments of his policy; and under the existing circumstances the only way to bring the Orleans candidature on the *tapis* is to combat it. The stratagem is not a novel one, neither in political nor in business nor even in literary life. Has not, for instance, Mr. Winckelmann, the greatest of German antiquarians, established his fame by writing a fierce anonymous critique of his first work, which had not met with any success, and then by refuting this anonymous critique in a long essay, not anonymous?

Exactly the opposite course our press bureau scribes are commanded to pursue with regard to the new Austrian ministry; they must praise it—this being the surest means of rendering them suspect. The trick caused much merriment at Vienna, where they begin to understand the Prussian ways by and by. As for those ministers, they have not yet fulfilled any of the hopes raised by their nomination amongst the Austrian patriots; who wish for an energetic anti-Bismarckian policy. The new ministers are evidently at a loss, what parties or elements to lean upon. The middle class is against them, and will never be for them, because they have supplanted its own ministry. Of the working classes they are afraid, though they wish to keep good friendship with them. The clerical and feudal party is making the most tender advances, but if they were accepted the ministry would draw down a storm of indignation, by which it would soon be swept away. In this perplexing situation, it seems, the new

ministry will try the national dodge and create for their use a "national Austrian policy"—rather a difficult task that, Austria being altogether one of the strongest practical contradictions to the national principle, quite as strong a one as Switzerland and the United States, only with this difference, that in these two republics liberty has provided a cement for the various nationalities, which is not to be found in the Habsburgian Monarchy.

The telegram, in which King-Emperor William announced the peace to his cousin the Czar, and the latter's answer have shown, to the most skeptical, the truths of the rumors long rife of a Prusso-Russian alliance.⁴ How these two documents could be published is a riddle to me; it is either some indiscretion, or the "intoxication of success" must have rendered the King-Emperor careless of the consequences. So much is sure: the two telegrams have produced the very worst effect, and the Prussian press bureau has received orders to demonstrate that they were mere formalities. Formalities forsooth! Governments of England, Austria and France had ample opportunities, during the last peace negotiations, to convince themselves that the Prusso-Russian alliance is no mere formality, but a hard and ugly fact, to which the defeat of the Neutrals, in their attempts of preventing the humiliation of France, is mainly due—a chapter, yet shrouded in mystery, which, however, is to be hoped, will not last forever. At all events a chapter not conducive to the honor of diplomacy; proving it to be a miserable, cowardly sham, a thing that is either nothing or the servile lackey of the brutal master, the sword. Off with it into history's lumber room.

The result of the elections is: in Prussia the Bismarekian candidates have been chosen nearly everywhere; and in the dependent States too, I think, there will not be twenty real opposition members in the new *Reichstag*, fewer than in the old one. This is the first fruit of our victories. Our party has two seats, and will probably get a third one. Liebknecht has been overcome by a coalition of the Liberals (National and Progressionists) and the Particularists, combined with a strong pressure from the authorities. Their unlawful influence has been set in motion, as can be substantiated in many instances; we have protested against this election, as well as against another one in which we were beaten by the same means. The absence of our imprisoned friends has been felt much during the elections; if we had been able to use our whole strength we should doubtlessly have conquered eight seats at the lowest. However, we have no reason to be dissatisfied; though we have not gained any seats yet we have gained in the number of votes given for our candidates, which at this election was more than three times as high as at the last election.

Workingman's Advocate, Chicago, **May 27, 1871**

Leipzig, March 26, 1871

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

When the resolution of the social-democratic congress of Stuttgart concerning the elections to the *Reichstag*¹ was published, there were several middle-class democrats of undoubted honesty who blamed us for treating Mr. Bismarck's parliamentary performances as a hollow sham and a comedy to befool the multitude. Universal suffrage, these gentlemen told us, was something to be respected; it was a good weapon even in its present state and it would be foolish not to use the arms furnished to us, simply because they were furnished by an enemy. This reasoning would have been correct, if we were at liberty to use the weapon. I have explained to you already, that we are not. The most conclusive practical proof has been afforded by the last election. Not only have the different governments exercised the greatest pressure in favor of the official² or officious candidates, but, not satisfied with this, they have also crippled in every way the actions of the opposition. It would be a vain task for me, in this letter, to give American readers an idea of the numberless means which our governments have of influencing their subjects; I should have to set forth our whole political system, our administrative centralization, the absolute power of those that rule and the abject dependence of those that are ruled. Suffice it to say: the pressure exercised by the authorities was this time far greater than at any former election, and, as if that had not been enough yet, the King-Emperor himself was made an electioneering agent. The official news of the acceptance of the peace by the French Assembly, which was known at the Prussian headquarters early in the morning of the second of March, was kept back for 24 hours, and telegraphed to Germany, with the King-Emperor's signature, on the following day, which was election day, just in time to produce a most substantial effect. I am sure this clever piece of—statesmanship has caused a few hundred thousand peace-loving burghers to vote for Mr. Bismarck's men. But much more serious, although perhaps not productive of more immediate effect, was the unscrupulous interference with the liberties of those parties that oppose the existing state of things—chiefly of social democracy.

From all parts of Germany we hear that obstacles of every kind were thrown in the path of all the members of our party: meetings forbidden placards confiscated and the bearers arrested; and in one case the candidate himself sent to prison on the day before the election.³ Thus the first whole German Parliament, as our national liberals call it lyingly, was elected. And this is our newest era, which is so much to the taste of your president that, as a citizen loving his country, he ought to introduce the like practices in the United States, together with the other blessings of the same nature appertaining to this our newest era.

And yet, in spite of adverse circumstances and influence, in spite of the systematic persecutions directed against our party we polled here in Saxony alone 42,000 votes, in Berlin above 6,000, in the rest of Prussia about as many, and in the Southeastern States at least 10,000; a total of some sixty thousand, while at the election of 1867 our candidates had only 20,000 votes, and that for a program far less precise and advanced than our present one (the *Eisenach* program) is.⁴ Nor is this all. In the last *Reichstag* besides our own representatives were sitting four socialists that belonged to either of the two societies which claim to be the continuation of *Lassalle's*⁵ "Universal German Workingmen's Society," but which are in reality the tools of scheming intriguers, one of whom, Mr. Schweitzer, is without any doubt in the pay of Mr. Bismarck.⁶ This time the candidates put forward by those two societies have been defeated everywhere, and the only one who has a chance to be elected by a second poll, is also supported by our party. This signal victory of true democratic socialism will render the election of 1871 forever memorable in the history of the German working classes movement.

In the meantime the glory fever is slowly decreasing, and sober truth is steadily making its way. One of our most rabid national-liberal newspapers, the *German Universal Gazette*, of Leipzig, brought yesterday the following, in a Berlin correspondence:

The progress Germany has made in military things since 1866 is really immense. Prussia [here the writer forgets the customary cant, and calls Germany by the right name] had then 18 divisions; today the German Emperor commands more than twice as many, viz., 37 divisions.

If the writer continues in a fit of mental abstraction, if on other fields similar results had been achieved, the German nation would not only be the most powerful, but also the happiest and freest in this part of the globe. Unfortunately in the inner development of the German Empire there is much to be desired still. I should think so! That our immense progress in military things is the reason why we are not the happiest and freest people of the world, the poor fool of a correspondent seems unable to understand. Still it is a hopeful sign, that even in these quarters doubts begin to arise. Doubt is the father of knowledge. Another instance of returning sense and judgment deserves to be

recorded. You recollect the stupid myth of the "Prussian schoolmaster," that won the "Prussian battles." Well, the People's Friend (*Volksfreund*), at Berlin, organ of the left wing of the nationals liberals published in its last number a long letter from a Prussian *Landwehr* officer, who, the editor tells us, is a district judge and thoroughly acquainted with the Prussian school system. In this letter it is plainly said, that the French village schools, which the writer had an opportunity to inspect, were far superior to the Prussian village schools, the school buildings as well as the teaching. We must take care, the writer concludes, otherwise the French schoolmaster will beat the German schoolmaster. Very likely! And the more so, since the German schoolmaster is already beaten at home by victorious militarism. Those that have made this war are no friends of the schoolmaster; on the contrary, it is a matter of life and death for them, to oppress and lower him, while, on the other hand, it is a matter of life and death for France, to raise the schoolmaster upon whom her chief hopes rests.

The schoolmaster reminds me of the professor, species of the *genus homo*, peculiar to Germany.

***Workingman's Advocate*, Chicago, June 3, 1871**

Leipzig, March 31, 1871

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

The old King of Hanover (he, of whom the London *Times* at his demise sarcastically remarked: he was the worst of English Princes and made the best of German Kings) once said in his cynical way: Courtesans and singers and professors may always be had for money. The saying is not very polite, but it is true, especially with regard to the third category, against which it was aimed. I have no intention to speak of our German Universities now, they have certainly helped to spread knowledge and partly to them we owe the equal diffusion of mental culture, for which Germany is distinguished before all countries suffering under monarchical centralization; but this advantage is, to a great extent, neutralized by the slavishness systematically bred in the students, because the immense majority of the professors are serving government, instead of science, and considered it their first duty to furnish the princes with obedient subjects and well drilled officials, having no will nor thought of their own. Amongst the papers found in the *Tuileries* after the revolution of September 4th, there is a quantity of letters written by some of our most eminent professors to Bonaparte, letters which breathe a spirit of sycophancy so mean and fulsome as it is only in the power of a German professor to produce. Mr Reitschl celebrated Mr. Rietschl, Mr. Mommsen, celebrated Mr. Mommsen, two of the proudest scientific pillars of German national-liberalism, two warm friends of Mr. Bancroft, whom they helped inspire with that dull joke of Bismarck's confederacy being a facsimile of the United States—these two worthies appear to have been most enthusiastic in their admiration of the Emperor, the greatest and wisest monarch of our age, and a classical historian to boot, (by his history of Julius Caesar, which is as much his work as he himself is the nephew of old Napoleon!).¹ Of course, the object of their adulation having got into trouble, their admiration has been changed into contempt, and for the man upon whom they fawned cringingly a few years ago, they can now find no expressions of scorn, scornful enough. These are true types of the species "German professor." The German professor has always been the zealous supporter of despotism, its maid

of all work. Be the work ever so dirty, German professors will be found to do it. Is history to be falsified, treason to be converted into patriotism, German professors are ready to do it. Of all German governments it is the Prussian which has made, and is still making the most ample use of these handy instruments; thanks to the Sybels and Treitschkes all of modern history has become a panegyric of the Hohenzollern.² By-the-by in serving Prussia the German professors serve a good master, for he gets double reward: the Prussian government supplying him with money, and the Prussian press bureau with fame.

I could give you thousands of instances of professor-servility displayed during the war; it will be sufficient to mention that a German professor, Tueger is his name, has written a treatise, in which he pretends to prove that according to the Darwinian theory the Teutonic race must conquer (he does not exactly say destroy) the Latin races, and that war is the model state of society, as it brings out man's best qualities: valor and—obedience! A good flogging for that fellow! Having undergone it, he will kiss your hands and say thank you!

And now a word about our relations to the great Northern Bear.

That there is close friendship between Russia and Prussia cannot be denied anymore by the Bismarckians after the publication of the famous telegrams. But they persist in denying the alliance, as if that was not merely a play on words. And what harm can there be in this friendship, they say. In olden times, when Germany was feeble (they mean when it had not been subjected to Prussia yet) we had to fear Russia and the Prussian Kings were more or less vassals of the Muscovite Czar; however all that is changed now, and we are such an immensely gr-r-r-and and powerful nation, that, if there still exists a state of vassalage, it is on the side of Russia, not on ours. To talk of new Germany being dependent, having to fear anything or anybody! Ridiculous idea! And how sinful to call it illiberal that we are on good terms with Russia. Is not the most liberal, yea the most democratic country in the world—is not the United States in the closest friendship with Russia? And we dare say, what is right in the Americans cannot be wrong in us.

Stop! It is not right in the Americans, and the scandalous coquetting with Russia that many American politicians have been and are still indulging in, is a dark blot on the star banner which suffering no slave in its shade should never be lowered before a Despot. But it is the Americans affair to see to that. At all events, wrong done by others does not excuse our wrong; and, not to speak of the moral aspect of the thing, it is obvious from a practical point of view, that the position in which the United States stands to Russia is very different from ours. The United States has neither at land nor at sea interests conflicting with those of Russia, and it is totally out of the might of Russia, to do it the least harm. Germany, on the other hand, is the neighbor of the Russian Empire; she has, through the instrumentality of her princes, especially the Hohenzollerns, been kept under Russian influence for more than a century; Russia is, by means

of the Panslavistic propaganda in Bohemia, Moravia and amongst the southern Slavonians, trying to lay a rope round the neck of Germany; in fact the true national interests of Germany are *diametrically opposed to those* of Russia, and a collision would have taken place long ago, if our national interests had not been sacrificed to the Russians in the most cowardly manner. But now the moment is reached when further sacrifices are impossible. Bismarckian Prussia has fulfilled her mission in the service of the Czar.

Through the war of 1866 she has divided Germany, depriving the southwestern parts of all independent political life, and placing the southwestern parts, by their separation from the rest of Germany, in such a helpless situation, that they have to struggle for mere existence among the antagonistic nationalities forming with them the Austrian Empire, and that they are totally unable to keep their old watch on the Danube against the Russians. And through the war of 1870–71 Prussia has completely unsettled Europe, destroyed the last remnant of international law, and, by rendering France the deadly enemy of Germany, made Russia the arbiter of the European continent.³ The peace imposed upon France is in reality war declared permanent, for a few years latent, smouldering in the breasts of thirty-eight millions of Frenchmen, until it burst forth in open flames. Whether France will soon get in a condition to fight Prussia (Germany) single handed, may be doubted: not to be doubted is, that as long as the present state of Europe lasts France will be ready to enter into alliance with any power, that will assist her in wreaking vengeance upon Germany. In a month's time the French army, which, thanks to the treason of Bonaparte and his gang, was useless during the past war, will have returned home, almost intact; and though a radical reorganization and purification must take place, yet this army with the efficient bodies of troops, formed since the proclamation of the Republic, will before this year is half over, constitute a military force incomparably stronger than that France was disposing of at the beginning of this war; and as soon as Russia, either directly or indirectly, holds out the least prospect of a desire to attack Prussia (Germany), this force will without a moment's loss rush to the Rhine, lashed on by the maddening remembrance of wrongs suffered and shame, deserved and undeserved. And what chance would Prussia (Germany) have, attacked simultaneously in the East and in the West? It is true the officious braggadocios are rhodomontading of several wars at the same time, which we could easily wage; but no man in his right senses will be misled by such silly phrases, and the pitiless logic of facts will speedily have rendered it clear to the most obtuse intellect, that the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine was practically considered—as gross and fatal a blunder as ever was committed by statesman or diplomatist. The storm has been sown—the hurricane will be reaped—*en attendant* Russia treats the Prussian government with anything but respect. You have probably heard of the persecutions of the German nationality going on in the Baltic provinces. Urged by the news-

papers the Prussian government gave orders to its ambassadors at St. Petersburg, to beg the Russian government to be more lenient towards the Germans in those provinces. And what was the answer? The persecutions have been doubled since. And the Prussian government? Almighty Mr. Bismarck? He does not stir. He knows why.

Workingman's Advocate, Chicago, **June 17, 1871**

Leipzig, April 5, 1871 (1)

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

Sad news from France! I am not in a position to overlook the events clearly and to discern the causes which have produced the present crisis, and I am not able, therefore, to pronounce an opinion founded on the whole sway of the facts; but it cannot be doubted that the outbreak of civil war is a great misfortune for France, and that any attempt to establish a Socialist Republic must be hopeless under existing circumstances, with the Prussians at the gates of Paris, and after the country has, in the last elections, with such overwhelming majority, declared against all radical tendencies and experiments. But far be it from me to condemn the men who have planted the red flag on the Hôtel de Ville (town hall) of the French capital.¹ Some of the leaders are known to me, and their character and their principles are above suspicion; what they have done they have done from a conviction that it was indispensable for the commonweal. They may have erred, but their honesty is not to be questioned. And not their honesty alone; their understanding, too. Tolain, one of them, spoke at the Basel Congress on the state of affairs in France with a clearness and a common sense that really filled me with admiration. Such a man cannot have plunged into an enterprise of wanton folly.²

From all this I must conclude that the newspaper reports concerning the Parisian outbreak are without exception undeserving of belief, either giving only fragments of the truth, or misrepresenting and distorting it altogether. Each and every newspaper report from France—it is needful to recall—which now enters the German press, and at least ninety-nine out of every hundred which enter the foreign press, have either passed through the French branch office of the Prussian Press Bureau, or are written by men under its influence. And something else must be kept in mind; a people having undergone what the French have during the last eight months, and being, I will not say driven to the extremity of despair, but thrown into a whirlpool of maddening, conflicting passions; shame, rage, thirst for revenge, and the consciousness of momentary impotence—a people enduring the most intense mental and physical suffering pain, and half

delirious from over excitement, is not to be judged by the rules of common, normal life. We must appreciate the situation and the frame of mind in which the Frenchmen are, or we shall judge wrongly and unjustly. One word more: this shooting of two generals by the Insurgents has caused a yell of rage and a torrent of denunciations against the Paris workmen in particular, and the Socialists and International in general. With regard to this unfortunate affair it must not be forgotten, that the act was committed by a comparatively small number of National Guards, and that the leaders as well as the insurrectionary authorities had nothing whatever to do with it; besides it is established fact, that the two generals were caught, so to speak, *in flagrante*, when they were on the point of organizing a horrible butchery, and their doom was sealed by the discovery, that one of them was that infamous Thomas, who played such a knavish part in the history of the *Ateliers Nationaux* (National Workshops) of 1848, and was foremost in bringing on the fearful *June Massacres* (1848), in which 12,000 Paris workmen were killed and wounded—not to mention the thousands of prisoners shot after the fight, and the 15,000 transported to Algeria or to Cayenne, to die there on the “dry guillotines.”³ As you may imagine, this Thomas was most unpopular amongst French Proletarians, he was hated fiercely by thousands; that this hatred burst forth on his being recognized in the moment he endeavored to arrange another massacre, is but natural; that his unhappy colleague was involved in the catastrophe, nobody will wonder at who has ever seen an assemblage of infuriated men. On the contrary it is astonishing that more acts of the same kind were not committed.

But this will not prevent our Bismarckian press from rendering the whole body of Insurgents responsible for the shooting of the two generals, and from preaching a crusade against the International Workingmen's Association, which is represented as having manufactured this insurrection. It is of no use telling these scribes that insurrections have happened at Paris before the International Workingmen's Association was thought of; they *will* not listen to truth, nor will their employers; for the International Workingmen's Association is a terrible bugbear to them, because it embodies the spirit of modern Democracy all over the world; because it is the prophetic indication of the coming social and political world—the sketch of the future—the *Memento Mori* of ruling, abuse, oppression and privilege! The awe in which the governing classes, with their immense array of capital and literary power, stand of the International Workingmen's Association, whose funds are not large enough to pay a dozen of soldiers, is clearly the result of a bad conscience, and certainly the most glorious, though involuntary testimonial in favor of our principles. Since the beginning of the late war the attacks on the International Workingmen's Association, till then periodical, have become permanent. It was the Internationals that had forced the French Emperor to seek his safety in war; it was the Internationals that forced France to continue the war after Sedan; it was the Internationals that murdered

Prim¹ (literally true); it was the Internationals that destroyed John Bull's good opinion of Prussia—in short, anything and everything not to the taste of our privileged is the work of this miraculous Association, which, in the imagination of its frightened accusers must be provided with divine attributes of omnipotence and omnipresence.

***Workingman's Advocate*, Chicago, June 24, 1871**

Leipzig, April 5, 1871 (2)

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

Well, a handful of Germans living in Zürich, who have retained their old love for the rod they were beaten with at home, wanted to celebrate the successes of the said rod; they were warned; the sentiments of the town population were pointed out to them; they were told that the intended drinking feast was likely to be regarded as an insult and a provocation by the numerous French officers present at Zürich—the thirty patriots were deaf to the voices of reason, they *would* have their drinking match, and what was to be foreseen came to pass—blows instead of beer and beery speeches. Had the affair ended here it would only be a matter for laughter; but in consequence of the stupid behavior of the local authorities, a common brawl was magnified into a riot, that cost several lives, and may cost the cantonal government serious trouble yet. Now, would you believe that from the day the first telegram appeared up to this hour, our middle-class and Junker Press is laying the blame for the Zürich riots to the charge of the International Workingmen's Association, which of course (and the official investigation has *proved* it) is as innocent of them as a newborn babe? Some papers carried the infamy so far as to throw the moral responsibility on the imprisoned social democrats of Leipzig and Brunswick, whose trial cannot be delayed much longer, if it is to take place at all—and against whom the jurymen are to be stirred up in time.

The events at Paris have somewhat ruffled the temper of the Prussian government. It is true, they have given rise to a faint hope, that after all it might be possible to restore our dear friend Bonaparte, but in showing the possibility of a sudden revulsion in France, they have also brought home, in a manner not to be understood, the disagreeable fact that the glorious peace, for which we had to pay a few hundred thousand lives, rests on a foundation not more solid than quicksand and may be swallowed up in a twinkling to make room for fresh war. Material guarantees to enforce the treaty? Fiddlesticks! France is too large to be permanently occupied even if Prussia had four times as many soldiers as she

really has; and so things must run their fatal course. Let them talk at Berlin of Peace and prosperity, we are already under the cold shadow which the coming war casts before it. History has its stern immovable logic, and though kings and emperors may be above grammar and written law, they are not above reason and the eternal law that rules the development of mankind.

The total result of the elections is unknown. Here in Saxony we have not gained a new seat at the second poll (our candidate was beaten by a few hundred votes) but an expected victory has been won at Frankfort on the Main, where Mr. Sonnemann,¹ the candidate of the United Democrats, was elected against Mr. Rothschild,² the chief of the famous Gold Dynasty, and as servile as he is rich. So we have two Social Democrats in the *Reichstag*, and one Democrat (Mr. Sonnemann) who has accepted the Eisenach Program, with the exception of the paragraph demanding public credit for cooperative societies, though he does not object to "State help" on principle. Add to these three members twenty particularists from Bavaria and Hanover, and you have the whole opposition. The remaining three hundred will go through thick and thin with Mr. Bismarck. It is notable that Prussia proper does not send a single opposition member—a fact that must rather startle the admirers of Mr. Bismarck's universal suffrage. In a speech which Mr. Liebknecht delivered at a meeting in Berlin, in May, 1869, he thus characterized the Bismarckian gifts:

"In the absolutistic state universal suffrage can only be the plaything or the tool of absolutism.

"When Bonaparte had murdered the whole French Republic he proclaimed universal suffrage.

"When Count Bismarck had achieved the victory of Prussian Junkerdom, and when through his successes in 1866 he had finally conquered middle-class liberalism, and torn Germany to pieces, he did what his prototype had done fifteen years before—he proclaimed universal suffrage.

"In both cases the proclamation of universal suffrage sealed the triumph of despotism. This fact, alone, ought to open the eyes of those enthusiasts who consider universal suffrage the panacea for all political and social diseases.

"To enter into the motives of Bonaparte is not the place here. As for Count Bismarck his reasons are obvious.

"The three-class suffrage,³ undemocratic and even anti-democratic as it is, has at the same time an anti-feudal character, because it gives the majority of the representation to the middle classes, who, though always ready to make common cause with absolutism against the workmen, against democracy, are yet no friends of the absolutistic State, as they want to see certain liberal reforms introduced. The liberal chamber, the result of the three-class suffrage, was in the way of the Junker government; a counterpoise had to be created, and this was found in universal suffrage.

"How few are mentally and physically independent in this Prussian Police-State, in this state of systematic drilling of mind and body? Does not the rural

population alone, which blindly obeys, and *must* obey the authorities—does it not form fully two-thirds of the whole population? On this Count Bismarck's plan was built. And he had not miscalculated. By means of universal suffrage he swept away the opposition of the middle classes, and acquired a *Reichstag* majority so docile, as the three-class suffrage could never have furnished him with.

“Not to serve democracy, but to serve absolutism, universal suffrage has been given to us. It is under the most complete control of the government—here in Prussia still more than in France, where the people have undergone better political schooling, where they look back on three revolutions and stand at the threshold of the fourth. It may be said with absolute certainty, that in Prussia no candidate can be elected for the *Reichstag* whose election is seriously disagreeable to the government. I remind you of the last election in Hanover, how the program and placards of the obnoxious candidate were confiscated, thousand of obstacles thrown in his way. And this was only an inconvenient candidate, not a dangerous one. Had the government thought necessary to make use of its whole power—of course I mean lawful use, for intelligent absolutism mostly wears the cloak of law—it would easily have prevented the election of Ewald. Let us suppose a candidate appears whom the government wishes to keep out of the *Reichstag*; the newspapers recommending him are confiscated lawfully; his placards are confiscated lawfully; the meetings of the electors are forbidden lawfully; or, the meetings are allowed but dissolved afterwards lawfully; the persons advocating his election are arrested lawfully; the candidate is sent to prison lawfully.”⁴

Enough. So Prussia was three years ago. So Prussia is today, and so Prussia will be as long as she exists. And this Prussia is now trying to mold the other German States after her fashion.

To complete the picture and to give it the finishing touch, I must tell you that for this speech Mr. Liebknecht has been sentenced to three month's imprisonment in Prussia, and is still under accusation in Saxony for the same offense. Send your Bismarck worshippers over to Germany—they will soon be cured of their queer disease.

P.S.—March 28th. This afternoon Messrs. Bebel, Liebknecht and Hepner⁵ were set at liberty. They had to give their word of honor not to leave the district of Leipzig without permission while the cause is pending. As the judicial inquiry has been absolutely resultless, and has not brought home to the accused the slightest fact, which has not been read in the *Volksstaat* by many thousand people, the public accuser included, it is more than probable that the affair will be dropped. During their imprisonment our friends were treated most humanely⁶—this must be acknowledged—but strange times there are, in which three innocent men can be sent to jail for three months and a half without having any means to get redress for the wrong done them! It is to be hoped that our Brunswick friends will now get free too.

Workingman's Advocate, Chicago, **July 1, 1871**

Leipzig, June 8, 1871

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

Vae Victis. The *Commune* has been conquered—the *Commune* has been in the wrong. And not only in the wrong—but into the bargain loaded with all crimes, enormities and infamies which the frightened and depraved imagination of the victors can create. All infamies, with one exception—cowardice. That the Parisians fought like heroes, or like “devils,” as a shuddering correspondent expressed himself, is acknowledged even by the most embittered and unscrupulous enemies. And I can boldly affirm the tribute paid to the courage of the Communalists or Communists is the only true thing said about the *Commune*. It will be some time before we know the whole truth. Under the most favorable circumstance it is very difficult to find out the truth of complicated events. And now the circumstances are as unfavorable as possible. Everything is done by those in power to hide, to distort the truth, the voice of the victims is stifled, many of the most important witnesses are killed—killed, no doubt, in more than one case, with a view of getting a dangerous witness out of the way. Nevertheless rays of light are penetrating the thick cloud of lies and slanders, and though we are not yet able to establish the truth, still it is in our power already to tear the web of falsehood, which the frantic victors, aided by a hiring press have thrown over the dead body of the *Commune*.

Two facts are fully substantiated at this moment:

First, the burning of Paris has never taken place. It was a pious lie of the party of order. There have been several conflagrations, and a few public and perhaps a hundred private buildings were destroyed, but this happened in the regular course of military action, and to a smaller extent comparatively than in most sieges of the late war. Mr. *Seingurlet*, a well known blue Republican, a vehement antagonist of this socialistic movement, writes from Paris to the Frankfurt *Gazette*, under the 30th of May, two days after the last remnants of the Communalists were overcome: “Altogether the statements concerning the destruction of property in Paris must be greatly reduced, as I can assure from my own personal observations. The quarters that have suffered most are far from

offering such a desolate aspect of havoc and ruin as the *Faubourg National*, the *Faubourg des Pierres*, and the *Broglie* at Strassburg.”

So the bombardment of Strassburg, which our Teutonic patriots in Germany and in the United States considered a most glorious achievement, has caused comparatively more destruction to property—for which alone those people care—than the two months' siege and bombardment of, and eight days of street fighting in, Paris!² What do you say to that, you slanderers of the Commune?

The other fact, raised beyond every doubt, is:

The petroleum bombs that have caused such a tremendous shriek of indignation³ have not been used by the Communalists, but the Versaillese. A letter of one of the chiefs of the Commune, who wrote to me three days before the Prussians opened the gates of Paris to Mr. Thier's¹ bandits, *alias* the “army of order,” completely settles this point. It complains of the numberless barbarities of the Versaillese, of their murdering of the wounded and the prisoners, violating and killing the nurses of the ambulances and amongst other infamies, of the practice of throwing petroleum bombs into the town. This letter, the writer of which I am afraid has lost his life on the barricades, was published in the *Volksstaat* of May the 24th.⁵ You know now who were the incendiaries. The only crime committed by the Parisians was, that they did not allow themselves to be slaughtered like a herd of sheep. Of course, if they had had the kindness to offer their throats to be cut quietly, then the Versaillese would not have been obliged to throw petroleum bombs and other incendiary missiles, and the horrible street fights would have been avoided, which caused the destruction of so much property. The loss of life would have been the same, if not greater, but what does the life of *proletarians* signify? Victorious capital will find fresh hands without a farthing's loss, through the killing of the old hands—but the buildings burned or demolished by shot and shell represent so many millions of francs, which are lost to the proprietors of victorious capital! What does French capital care for *Français* (Frenchmen), its God is the Franc. Let the former be annihilated if only the latter rules supreme! To capital, man is nothing, money all.

Enough for today. I will only mention still, that I have reason to believe that several of the leaders of the Commune have escaped and are in security now—so far at least as the *Versaillese* are concerned. Amongst those saved I am told, is my brave and noble-minded friend—*Vallaint*.⁶

The most important event I have to report to you from Germany is the Congress of the Weavers, held during the Whitsuntide holy days at *Glauchau*, a thriving industrial town of Saxony. The Congress was visited by 151 delegates, representing 134 towns and manufacturing villages. It may fairly be asserted that the whole weaving population of Germany was represented in this Congress, the beneficial results of which cannot be too highly estimated. For the first time delegates of the different Trades Unions, that until now had embattled

one another fiercely, to the great joy of the common enemy, assembled under the same roof and for the same purpose: to take common steps for the amelioration of their common lot. The principal resolutions taken after mature deliberation, were the following:

1. The Congress recognized the necessity of international organization.
2. The united German Weavers chose a leading place (*Vorort*) where, by the weavers living there, an executive committee consisting of five persons is to be elected, who have to transact the necessary business, to collect materials for a statistic of wages, to regulate the wages movement, etc.
3. The committee has to convoke a Weavers' Congress every year. In addition, resolutions were carried in favor of the ten hours' movement (in Germany the work in most branches lasts from 12 to 14 and 16 hours) against the middlemen (factors) of whose pernicious doings I wrote to you a few months ago, against the "strike fever" raging now in Germany, and driving the workmen into strikes, not at all prepared beforehand, and therefore ending in defeats; against the work of children, in favor of a demand for the same rate of wages to be paid to women and men; in favor of courts of arbitration, composed in like number of workmen and masters, etc., etc. The next Congress will be in Berlin, and the executive committee that has to function till then, will be elected by the Social Democratic Weavers of the two sister towns—*Glauchau* and *Meerane*.

The big swindler Strousberg seems rather near the felon's jail. The attempts of his high-born friends to hush up the monster frauds have proved unsuccessful, and according to this morning's papers the Romanian government has began proceedings against him in the Berlin Criminal Court for embezzlement and malversation of funds. The Prussian courts of justice will not be overly severe in this matter, and I dare say Prince Bismarck's great friend will be left a chance to retrieve his fortune on your side of the water. You may prepare for the illustrious guest, and I hope you will treat him with all the honor due to such a classic representative of the empire of pious morality, founded by the Prussian Junkers on the blood-stained battlefields of France.

Workingman's Advocate, Chicago, **July 8, 1871**

Leipzig, June 16, 1871

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE

Today victorious militarism holds its grand festival at Berlin. The weather uncommonly bad until yesterday, has suddenly changed and the radiant summer's sun will smile down upon the triumphal entrance of the returning heroes into the capital of the new empire. So far all is merry as a marriage bell, and Providence in stopping the awful rains, has again proved gracious to her especial friend, the King-Emperor William. But not all that glitters is gold. The splendid Germania that will welcome our troops is *au fond* but a flimsy composition of plaster of Paris and wicker work, and the hundreds of thousands of people that will line the streets and rend the air with their enthusiastic *vivats!* bear in the hearts, most of them at least, the canker of discontent. Discontent more developed, more conscious and therefore deeper rooted than in the first time after the conclusion of Peace. Since then all the hopes, which the hopeful still harbored have been destroyed one by one, and the most unfavorable predictions of the Irreconcilables have been fulfilled one by one. The long session of the *Reichstag*, that ended but yesterday, has been one long string of disappointments for the patriots. Not the slightest concession has been made to liberalism by the government. The majority were of truly lamb like submissiveness and yet ruling Junkerdom found means of venting its brutality on the unresisting herd. Quite modestly they ventured once to hint at their right of having a word to say in money affairs (concerning the proposed loans for Alsace-Lorraine) and what was the result? Count or Prince Bismarck, their adored idol, rose up from his seat and in a voice trembling with rage he shouted to them threatening: *duos ego!* and in a remarkable speech such as has never been heard in Europe since Louis XIV of France pronounced the impudent *L'État c'est moi!* (the State am I!), in a speech which contained the words I, me, my and mine just 150 times—I write one hundred and fifty times—he gave notice to his affrighted hearers, who were cowering like a brood of fowls menaced by a hawk, that "I" Prince Bismarck is *all* and the *Reichstag* *nothing*, and that if the *Reichstag* dares to throw the slightest obstacles in the way of mighty "I" it will be bad for the

Reichstag. Of course the *Reichstag* pocketed the affront, accepted the lesson, and without wincing, resigns every further attempt at meddling in money affairs. However, ill luck would have it that the sorry wretches got into trouble again. A couple of post office officials had been removed from Hamburg to uncomfortable stations near the Russian frontier because they had got up a petition to the *Reichstag*. Now the right of petitioning the *Reichstag* is undoubtedly guaranteed by the Constitution, and the *Reichstag* having only a small quantity of that right, resolved to make a stand for its right of being petitioned. A solemn "interpellation" was let off, and Prince Bismarck's factotum, Delbrück,¹ answered coolly that the two officials in question had not been removed because they had got up a petition, but for disciplinary reasons, and in questions of discipline, civil as well as military, the representatives of the gr-r-r-reat German nation had to hold their tongues. To a further meek question Mr. Delbrück replied, the government had never thought and did not think to interfere with the right of petitioning. The members of the *Reichstag* looked astonished at one another and—held their tongues. And why had they looked so astonished? Well, several of them had in their pockets the copy of a circular sent by the Postmaster General to all post offices, *which said circular forbade petitioning categorically!* Can behavior more abject be imagined? These men allow themselves to be brow-beaten and bullied by a fellow whom they *know to be a liar*, and can *convict* as such on the spot. I doubt, whether the history of parliamentarism offers a *pendant* to this. However, the matter did not end here yet; a second interpellation was framed, vindicating the right of petitioning. The government papers had in the meantime mercilessly twitted and lectured the *Reichstag*; several members had been heard privately to express great anger; and last a serious battle seemed imminent. But no such thing. A flock of the most infuriated sheep will never attack a dog. The interpellation was put. Delbrück simply repeated his old answer: the government had not interfered with the right of petition, and as for the two removed officials, they had not been removed for petitioning. But for what other reason? You representatives of the people have no right to inquire into the mysteries of the administrative hierarchy. Fierce words were pronounced, and, in these fierce words, the anger evaporated. *Nobody had the courage to brand Delbrück as a liar*: and of the different resolutions moved *not one* was carried, so that literally the *Reichstag* did not come to any resolution at all. And now let us turn our back on this sorry spectacle.

The truth with regard to the Paris catastrophe is slowly penetrating through the mist. We know now that the doors of Paris were opened to the Versailles partly by treason, partly by the Prussians.² The latter fact is indubitable; it has been confirmed by Bismarck himself. When this worthy returned to Berlin after his Frankfort conference with Jules Favre, he stopped for some time at Weimar, and there he said to the well known African explorer, Mr. Rohlfs,³ in the presence of a knot of bystanders, among whom a trustworthy friend of mine: We

have opened their Paris, it is their business now to hold it. This was on the 22nd of May, the day after the Versaillese had succeeded in crossing the circumvallation. How the infamous bargain—for such it was, it having been agreed that 500 millions of francs were to be paid by Thiers to Bismarck after the fall of Paris—how this infamous bargain was executed we do not yet know exactly;¹ however, it has transpired already, that *Montmartre*, the strongest position of the National Guard, was attacked from behind, where no attack had been suspected by the Communists, because the Prussians were posted there. Now it is utterly impossible for the Versaillese to have got into this position without an understanding with, if not actual assistance from, the Prussians. Altogether the part played by the Prussians in this tragedy is one of the darkest blots on the honor of Germany. The world stands aghast at the fearful massacres executed by the troops of Mr. Thiers,⁵ yet there are at least attenuating circumstances for these soldiers, who were detained in Germany as prisoners of war up to the last moment, having there no opportunity of informing themselves about the state of things in France, and who, in the heat of passion, killed those that before had tried to kill them. But where are the attenuating circumstances for the Prussian soldiers, who had to draw a cordon for the Versaillese and had to drive into certain destruction thousands of unarmed men that had done them no harm. However, I will not be unjust. A soldier is no man, he is a machine; a machine, which has not to think; has not to feel, but simply to slash and shoot according to the whim and will of the master that directs it. It (for it is no *he*) has as little responsibility as the knife has with which murder has been committed. To be sure, human nature sometimes burst forth from the machine—after all, the best drilled sergeant is unable to rid the machine of all remnants of humanity—and many a one of the soldiers, that had to do the horrible work, is suffering now sharp pangs of conscience. “It was heart-rendering,” a Saxonian private writes, “to push back with the bayonet the unfortunate men that sought shelter in our lines. We knew that we drove them to certain death—but *iron discipline forced us.*” The same iron discipline will force the same soldiers one day, to *shoot us down.*

Another letter of a Saxonian soldier, which is lying before me, confirms that the conflagrations in Paris were caused by the Versaillese. In describing the *cannonade* he witnessed from a close distance, the writer observes that on the part of the National Guards no bombs were thrown, while the Versaillese sent, over the houses, a rain of bombs and shells, which, bursting, set fire everywhere.

When the Commune had been overthrown, the bourgeoisie shouted with voluptuous delight: This is the end of socialism! Oh ye fools. Socialism will not die as long as there are proletarians, and proletarians there will be as long as there are bourgeoisie—that is, capitalists fattening on the work of starving proletarians. Socialism is not a philanthropical dream, it is a logical necessity, it is the irrepressible consequence of our social state. And the bourgeoisie itself

is obliged to contribute to the growth of socialism. It cannot grow, without a corresponding increase of proletarians, and every proletarian is, if not yet a soldier, certainly a recruit of socialism.

Or do you think ideas, principles can be drowned in blood? Have not thousands, and hundred thousands of heretics died on the scaffolds, and at the stakes of holy inquisition, and—has the Reformation been prevented? Whenever has a cause suffered, by having been made the cause of martyrs? Ten thousand proletarians died for socialism in June 1848; fifty thousand proletarians died for socialism in April and May 1871; and hundred thousands of proletarians are ready to die for socialism, when another opportunity arrives.

Oh, ye fools! Not *we* have lost this battle between capital and labor, though we were beaten this time. A defeat like this is the mother of future victory. And your victory—it is like that of King Pyrrhus, who exclaimed: *One more such victory, and I am lost! You will not get stronger*, that we know, but we get stronger every day, and we can already calculate the time when *we shall* be able to beat you!

In conclusion I will only mention still that the German workmen are unanimous in their sympathy with the Parisians, and that Bebel, who, in the *Reichstag*, defended the Commune, has only expressed this universal feeling.⁶

Workingman's Advocate, Chicago, **July 15, 1871**

Leipzig, June 23, 1871(1)

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

Ludwig Pfau, a man of established character, and whose word can be implicitly trusted—by the by, he is one of our first writers on art—has just returned to Paris, where he had been living before the war. He writes to the *Frankfort Gazette*, under date of June 17, as follows:

“With regard to the state of things here, the public has been shamefully deceived and misinformed. Excepting a few monumental edifices, which cannot be restored so quickly, all traces of the late catastrophe will have disappeared in Paris before two months are over. Not so in the surrounding towns—Neuilly, St. Denis, Auteuil, etc., where a longer time will be required.¹ One single improvement of Haussmann, the old Prefect of the Seine, has demolished more houses than all the petroleum of the Commune has done; and the Versaillese have by their bombs battered down at least twenty times as many houses as the National Guards² have burned. No doubt a certain terror had seized the whole town; and that is not to be wondered at. Does not the conflagration of a large building redden the sky so that it can be seen for many miles? And if we consider that that here several colossal edifices were in flames, together with a number of six-storied houses in different parts of the town; if we further consider the incessant roaring of the cannons, the storming of the barricades, the rattling quick-fire of the *Chassepots*, and the rain of balls falling down everywhere; and all this going on for days—then we cannot wonder if the Parisian thought the day of their last judgment had come and their town was disappearing from the face of the earth. A panic-terror such as Paris has never felt shook the town and seized the minds, and the inhabitants quaked and trembled like forest trees under the scourage of the hurricane. I saw still many cellar holes that had been walled up or stuffed with sand-sacks, to guard against the pouring in of petroleum, and I spoke with people, otherwise quite reasonable, who were still convinced that the Communists had filled the subterranean drains with petroleum, in order to blow up all of Paris. And yet three seconds of reflection are

sufficient to show the utter impossibility of such a plan. The drains of Paris are so high that a man can walk upright in them, and correspondingly wide. They have "trottoirs" on both sides, and in the middle the stream of sewerage is running towards the Seine. Petroleum thrown into these drains would, of necessity, have run into the Seine, unless the outlets had been stopped; but in that case it would have collected in the lower parts, and in any case, it would have been so thinned by the water and the sewage that it could not have burned.

"The stories of battalions of drilled incendiaries; of 'Petroleurs' and 'Petroleuses' with oil cans, and of children with matches, are fantastic delusions and infamous lies, that would raise our laughter if they had not been the cause of so many innocent people losing their lives. I have wandered through Paris in all directions, and I have looked at everything with my own eyes; and the truth is, altogether not more than one hundred private buildings are burned [in the little town of Strassburg the Prussians destroyed five hundred houses], and those hundred houses have, by lying correspondents, been puffed up into a third of Paris.

"I should only wish the horrors told of the Versaillese might in the same manner prove exaggerations; but here, unhappily, the manufacturers of lies were in no need of exaggerations. The houses burned were, almost all of them, burned near the barricades, as a last means of defense, when the barricade had been taken or had become untenable, in order to stop the progress of the troops. Other buildings, near some public edifice, took fire accidentally, against the intentions of those who had fired it (that public edifice); others again were fired by individuals indulging their private or political vengeance—for instance, some great *Magasins de Nouveautés*, whose owners had made themselves obnoxious by their votes at the last fatal plebiscite. Of course, there was also a parcel of miscreants at work, who tried to profit by the opportunity, but this much is sure: A plan of burning Paris by organized petroleum bands has not existed. Whether such a plan will not be formed and executed in future, I will not forswear, after what has happened in the last four weeks."

I thought it my duty to translate for you the greater part of this letter, because, as far as I know, it is the most weighty evidence against the slanderers of the Commune yet produced. The writer is not a common newspaper correspondent, whose principal aim is to create a sensation and to please his employers; he is a man of tried probity, who is known throughout Germany, and beyond our frontiers even (some of his works on art are translated into foreign languages), and utterly unable to swerve from the strictest truth. This testimony is all the more weighty because he had to give it in the teeth of his own prejudices against Socialism, and more or less in opposition to his political friends, all prejudiced against Socialism in general, and the Commune in particular. He belongs to the so-called South German, or Swabian, party of the

people—*Volkspartei*—which, as a party, has happily disappeared, and only consists of a small knot of discontented people, regretting the past, and despairing of the future. And, besides, the paper in which his letter appeared is one most hostile to our movement.

(To Be Continued)

Workingman's Advocate, Chicago, **July 29, 1871**

Leipzig, June 23, 1871 (2)

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

And fearful deeds they have done in Paris, these missionaries of Mr. Bismarck! But to return to my subject—when the Guards, Turcos and Zouaves¹ were all sent back to France, for some time no further French prisoners of war were released, though meanwhile the peace had been concluded. They had to wait till the Commune was completely strangled, and the danger of arising in the South had disappeared. The reason of this delay will become clear to you by the following little fact: Last Monday about 1,500 soldiers, who had been stationed here in Leipzig, departed for their native country; they were soldiers of different regiments, regular and irregular; when they entered the wagons, they shook hands with the people, mostly workmen that had assembled to look at the scene, and as soon as the train had started, from all windows slips of paper were thrown out with the words in French written upon them, “Long live the Republic! Down with the Kings and Emperors that the world may have peace, and all people be brothers! *Vive la Commune! Vive humanité!*”

Now, you know why those soldiers were not sent to France sooner. And you must not think this to be a solitary example. From all places where French prisoners were garrisoned, we hear that democratic and socialistic opinions are widely spread amongst them, and that they pronounce an emphatic abhorrence of war. So, for instance, I find in today's paper a correspondence from Naumburg, stating that several hundred French officers have just returned home, and that while taking leave of the inhabitants, they tried, as if by common accord in the little broken German they have picked up here, to tell the people: we do not hate the Germans, and we are Republicans, and as such detest war on principle.

We see from this, that the French army, which already at the Plebiscite gave 40,000 votes for the Republic, is deeply imbued with republicanism and socialism; we must not allow ourselves to be misled by the events at Paris: the crimes committed there have been committed by the *corps d'élite*, selected expressly for that purpose. I am finally persuaded, that neither the regiment of

the line nor the *gardes mobiles* and all the military bodies formed after the proclamation of the Republic, would have done this infamous work; and I do not doubt, that the army will prove an insuperable obstacle to the reactionary machinations of the Versailles monarchists, instead of being their instruments.

The Berlin festival was very agreeable for those persons that had come to see something, and had managed to get good places, but it was very disagreeable for the actors in this spectacle: the poor soldiers. They had to stand or march in full accoutrement, with filled knapsack, uninterruptedly, from 5 in the morning till 4 in the afternoon, most of the time under a burning sun. When the torture was over whole companies dropped down to rest on the pavement—some soldiers never to rise again. Eight soldiers are already reported as dead, 48 as dangerously ill, and more than 200 as sick. The King, of course, enjoyed the festival, and said himself that he never felt happier.

* * *

Leipzig, June 30, 1871.

Twenty-three years ago, in the last days of June, 1848, Paris offered a spectacle very similar to what it does now. For four days, from the noon of the 23rd to the evening of the 26th of June, a terrible battle had been raging between 40,000 workingmen, representing the new society, and between 200,000 soldiers of the line, *gardes mobiles* and bourgeois national guards, representing the old society of capital, privilege and class-government. It was not hastily and thoughtlessly; the proletarians had taken the resolution to appeal to the *ultima ratio* of physical force. The right of labor had been vouchsafed to them after the revolution of February in the famous decree of February the 25th:

“The provisional government of the French Republic pledges itself to guarantee the existence of the workingmen, by means of work. It pledges itself to procure work for all citizens. It recognizes the right of the workingmen to form associations, in order to secure for themselves the legitimate produce of their work.” The decree was certainly not worded in such precise language as a document of like importance ought to have been, and the expression “legitimate produce of their work” shows that the writer, Louis Blanc,¹ did not dare officially to acknowledge that the workingmen are entitled to the whole produce of their work;² but one point in this decree is clear beyond any doubt; the government of the Republic was pledged to take the solution of the social question earnestly in hand and to provide for the welfare of the workingmen. The promise was given: how was it kept? We allow you three months for the payment of the bill; so long we shall suffer patiently the pangs of hunger; but we are determined not to be deceived again. We fought the battle of the bourgeoisie in 1830. And what did we get? We have founded the present Republic—this time we shall not be cheated—thus the workingmen of Paris spoke to the government of the Republic. They kept their promise—patiently they waited three months, and when the time agreed was over, they granted another month. Far different was the behavior of the government and other authorities. Instead of founding a ministry of labor, that was to devise practical measures, the talking assembly of the Luxembourg was opened, which had no power whatever. Instead of organizing the cooperative societies and assisting them with State credit—a miserable caricature of socialism, the “*Ateliers Nationaux*” (national workshops) were set up, in which the unemployed workingmen were occupied either in useless work or in work totally unfit for them and spoiling them for their proper vocation.

(To Be Continued)

Workingman's Advocate, Chicago, **August 5, 1871**

Leipzig, June 30, 1871

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

At the head of the *Ateliers Nationaux*, Mr. Clement Thomas was placed, an *honnête* Republican, one of the national school—an enemy of socialism and especially of Louis Blanc. His aim was to gain the workmen under his command over to the bourgeoisie, and to use them one day against their brethren, the socialistic workmen. However, this plan proved impractical; socialistic ideas found entrance into the national workshops, and the enemy of workmen destined to fight the battles of the bourgeoisie, was trained to fight the battle of the *proletarians*. As soon as the government discovered its mistake, the abolition of the national workshops was decided upon.

In the meantime, on the 4th of May, the newly elected National Assembly had met. It was composed in its immense majority of enemies of socialism. *Il faut en finir?* An end must be made—became the regular watchword, and those that were loudest and fiercest in denouncing the workmen were the *honnêtes* Republicans; the *Marrast*,¹ *Marie*, *Bastide*,² etc. On the 25th of May Clement Thomas was dismissed as a preliminary step to dissolving the *Ateliers Nationaux*, and a commission of inquiry was instituted. Mark the date! Just three months ago—February the 25th—the promissory bill had been drawn—the day for payment had come—and instead of paying, the bourgeoisie announced its intention to dishonor the bill. In vain the workingmen protested against this scandalous breach of trust. In vain they pointed out the fearful consequences that must ensue. The National Assembly continued its course of provocation.

The workingmen waited, and hoped against hope that somehow a catastrophe might yet be avoided. At last on the 21st of June, the gauntlet was openly thrown to them by their adversaries. On this day, by a characteristic accident on the same day the proposed new constitution was published, the second paragraph of which says: "the constitution guarantees work to all citizens," on this same day from the National Assembly there issued a decree dissolving the *Ateliers Nationaux*, and giving the inmates—108,000 men—the choice of either

enlisting in the army or going into the unwholesome swamps of the Bologne for draining works. No doubt anymore; the bill of February the 20th was dishonored.

Still the proletarians could not believe that the bourgeoisie irrevocably determined to strike them down by military power. A deputation went to Mr. Marie in the Luxembourg Palace, to protest against the shameful measure. Mr. Marie (*honnête* republican of the National!) received them frowningly, and when one of the delegates began to speak he interrupted him. "It's no use talking further; *the decree* will be executed—if need be by force." "Enough!" was the answer; "we know now what you want and what we have to do." The gauntlet was taken up. This was on the 22nd of June. In the evening a meeting was held near the Pantheon: *à demain!* (for tomorrow!). The morning of the following day saw a procession of several thousand workingmen marching four abreast from the Pantheon to the Bastille place, singing the hymn of the Marseillaise, and the *Mourir pour la Patrie!* (To die for our country!) They walked round the column of July, where they inspired themselves with the great traditions of the revolutionary past; then, a sudden halt! "You know your duty! To arms!" And the procession dispersed; every one went to his place, and in a few hours three-quarters of Paris was covered with barricades.

Still there was a chance of avoiding bloodshed. The workmen would not strike the first blow. One generous word spoken by the National Assembly, and all could be set right yet. The word was not spoken. On the contrary an infamous pamphlet called a proclamation was framed, denouncing the workmen as a set of plunderers and a horde of barbarians!

This shameful document was handed over the barricades to the workingmen. An outburst of unspeakable indignation followed. "No possibility of dealing with our slanderers! Fight to the last breath! Death or victory!" The *Tricolor*, that until now had crowned the barricades, suddenly disappeared, and instead there rose the Red Flag, the oriflamme, the battle standard of the Proletarians. Of the heroic struggle that ensued no word here. The workmen were at last overwhelmed by numbers, 3,000 were slain in battle, 8,000 prisoners were shot during and after the battle, 12,000 prisoners were transported to Cayenne and Lambessa. The victory of the Bourgeoisie was complete, and the victory was made good use of. The conquered were slandered systematically, in order to make their memory hateful to the growing up generation; a military *dictature* was erected, which soon developed itself into the empire; the streets of Paris were enlarged,³ the pavement in many streets and places was removed, and macadam introduced, being less liable to be turned into barricades; the press was methodically employed to stupify and corrupt the public mind, and to draw it from socialistic aspirations. For the same purpose wars and other spectacles were arranged—in short, all that possibly could be done to avoid a new outbreak was done. And the result?

Before twenty-three years had passed the Paris workmen gave the world a second and greatly enlarged edition of the battles of June.

They have been conquered again—the same cruelties, the same slanders, the same shortsightedness of the victorious bourgeoisie, which like the ancient Bourbons, has learned nothing, and forgotten nothing. And so we are to move on in the old *cercle vicieux* (vicious circle). Socialism is to be stamped out, is to be buried deep under the ground—militarism will have its orgies—strong government (whether royalistic, imperial or republican)—the name signifies nothing—will take again every possible precaution against a third outbreak, and in five years or in ten years, or maybe in twenty years, the grave will open and socialism will step forth anew, healed from the wounds, stronger than before. The battle will rage anew, and either socialism will conquer finally, or it will succumb once more, and be buried once more, for another resurrection. And so on, until the victory is won over the old society. Won it will be; it must be one day, for socialism, that is the new society, gets stronger every day, while the old society gets weaker in the same ratio. Have you no eyes to see, you adversaries of socialism? Must mankind wade through blood to its emancipation.

A telegram from Breslau (in Silesia) brings the unexpected news that in *Königshütte*—a royal Prussian iron work—in consequence of a strike having taken place, soldiers were sent for and a massacre began which cost six workmen their lives, besides many wounded. Most likely the butchery was much greater, since a state of siege has been proclaimed. We must wait for further information. However, so much is sure, that another great crime has been committed by the representatives of the old society.

Workingman's Advocate, Chicago, August 19, 1871

Leipzig, July 14, 1871

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

The success of the French National Loan has astounded our patriots. They should never have thought the beaten arch-enemy capable of such an effort and such an achievement. What did they, the conquerors, achieve, when three-quarters of a year ago glorious and victorious Bismarck required a National Loan? Hundred millions of thalers were wanted and—not more than ten millions offered! And now these Frenchmen, beaten in a hundred battles, are called upon to advance five hundred millions of thalers, and lo! they give twelve hundred! Rather humiliating that for our patriots!—besides the unmistakable political meaning, which is: “You thought France was dead or stunned. We will prove to you that she is alive and full of vigor! Your hand is at her throat yet—you want reason—here it is—off with your hand! A little breathing time and then we shall talk together again.”

No doubt, *revanche* is the *mot d'ordre* of all parties in France, one excepted. And this one, international socialism, has been driven from the political stage for the present. All other parties from Thiers, Trochu, down or up to Gambetta are national in their views and aspirations, and do not think of solving political and social problems, but only how to retrieve the defeat and how to restore France to her old place in the European concert. Bonapartists, Legitimists and Orleanists are on that point fully in accord with the *honnêtes* and radical republicans. Even Louis Blanc, the quondam socialist is over head and ears in the quagmire of national glory. Had the Commune not been overcome, all these parties would have been obliged to turn their attention and activity to home questions, and to repress their desire for *revanche*, while now, just by, and in consequence of, their victory over the Commune they have a double incentive to drive France into a foreign war. Certainly Mr. Bismarck will soon have cause to repent of his narrow-minded and short-sighted policy in helping the Versailles to destroy the Commune—thus removing with his own hands the sole guarantee of a lasting peace!

That what we have now is no peace, but only an armistice, is clear to

everybody in Germany, and openly acknowledged by those in power. General Reyer, when entering Königsburg at the head of his soldiers, told the burghers not to think of peaceful times, he had no doubt the war would soon break out again. Still more expressive is the utterance of King-Emperor William, who, on the day of the triumphal entry into Berlin, said to some civil deputation: I hope that the peace will not be broken as long as I live. Considering that the King Emperor is in his 75th year, and suffering from the gout, a disease which in a man of such age excludes the possibility of long further life, this expression contains a broad hint indeed that but a very short peace can be hoped for under existing circumstances. And a few days ago, when the Darmstadt Chamber of Deputies was debating the new military convention of Hesse with Prussia, the once (1848-49) all powerful Herr von Gagern,² one of the celebrities of the liberal party, (though he has been honest enough to turn his back on the miserable turncoats calling themselves national liberals) developed, in a short speech, that the convention robbed the unfortunate Grand Duchy of the little rest of its independence; yet he could not vote against the bill, because it was evident that the war with France would have to be resumed before long, and there was no fit time now for domestic greatness.

In the meantime militarism is holding its orgies in Germany. The day before yesterday there was a triumphal entrance in Dresden, which also cost the lives of several soldiers that fell the victims of the burning July sun. Altogether, it must be owned, our returning soldiers behave very well, they are happy to be at home again, and their highest wish is to get rid of the uniform and the drilling. However there are many who, during the horrors of war and in the rude life of the camp have forgotten the customs and feelings of civilization; and these brutalized fellows want to continue in peace the usages of war, and by their over-bearing, swaggering, insolent conduct they occasion frequent brawls, which, owing to the scandalous rule of letting the soldiers continually wear their swords, end often in murder and bloodshed. This too is one of the amenities of military glory, which our once glory-mad burghers sighingly must bear with. Well, they have what they deserve. *Tu l'a voulu*, Georges Dandin's. Thou didst will it so, my dear Michel!

Of course no diminution of taxes—on the contrary—the French *Milliardes*, if ever they are paid in full—which, by the by, not even old women believe—will hardly be sufficient to cover the direct expenses of, and losses through the war, and, it having been proved by experience that the Prussian military organization and armament is defective in many respects, improvements are to be introduced on the largest scale; the infantry is to have new guns, the cavalry is to have new cannons, the fortresses are to be rebuilt after a new system, accommodated to the present state of artillery science, etc. In short, we must be glad, if, in spite of the *Milliardes*, our taxes are not increased at once.

Now something about our inner affairs. In my last letter I told you already

of the persecutions going on against our party. A system of repression and violence once adopted, the reactionary impetus must continually increase until a point is reached, where the downward movement is stopped. (In politics, to a great extent, the same laws are at work as in the physical world.) Here in Saxony, which as I explained to you some months ago, is one of the industrial centers of Germany, and of all German States the only one in which the industrial town population nearly equals in number the rural population—here in Saxony the Social Democratic movement has made greater progress than anywhere else in Germany; how far our ideas have spread here may be seen from the single fact that besides the central organ of our party, the *Volksstaat*, appearing in Leipzig, we have since the autumn of last year succeeded in establishing three small daily papers—one in Crimmitschau, the other in Chemnitz (Saxonian Manchester) and the third in Dresden, our proud capital. All these papers have a circle of readers large enough to sustain them. We hope soon to found a few more local papers—and altogether I shall not be guilty of exaggeration if I say that in Saxony our party is the most numerous, and, as far as moral force goes, the most influential one, too, in the country. For a long time the government abstained from interfering with the movement; whether from indifference or from a particularist feeling of opposition to the Prussians, I cannot decide. The fact itself is undoubted, and it became most manifest during the two first elections for the North German *Reichstag*, when the government remained perfectly neutral. In the middle of 1869 a demand of the Prussian government to deliver up Liebknecht, who for a speech at a meeting in Berlin had been condemned to three months' imprisonment,³ was met with an energetic refusal by the Saxonian courts of justice, and the appeals to our ministry were not more successful. A few months later, in January, 1870, Mr. Hepner, then contributor to the second edition of the *Volksstaat*, was arrested by the Leipzig police on a telegraphic order from Berlin; but the district court of Leipzig at once forbade his extradition, and after five or six days, having inquired into the case, ordered his release. However, these classic days of judicial independence were not destined to last long. The pressure from Berlin grew stronger and stronger. King John, rather a timid man, was frightened with the red spectre; the highest juristical authority of Saxony, *Oberstaatsanwalt* (Attorney General) Schwarze, an excellent lawyer but an unprincipled, ambitious man, was lured by the bait of a Prussian *Portfeuille*—and soon a change to the worse was to be felt. In the spring a member of our party, Mr. Dittmar,¹ was arrested for a very harmless speech he made at a meeting, was for three months kept in preventive confinement—that most infamous invention of cowardly despotism, and then by a packed jury he got another three months' dose of prison, which was added to the three preventive months, so that a man was deprived of his freedom for half a year because with regard to a religious matter he had before a meeting of workingmen⁵ given utterance to an opinion which may be

read in an hundred scientific books and essays, and was probably shared by most of his judges.

But science is to be the privilege of the privileged! Knowledge is power, and must, therefore, remain the monopoly of those in power. No knowledge for the working classes, for it would teach them to break their chains. In the beginning of November Mr. Dittmar, having undergone the whole term of his punishment, left the jail. Just five weeks later Messrs. Bebel, Hepner and Liebknecht were arrested on a charge of high treason, and though not a tittle of evidence could be produced, were deprived of their liberty for three months and a half. The failure of the little *coup d'état* ought to have taught our government reason. But no. What has happened recently, up to the middle of last week, you know already. These doings were only the prelude. On Saturday Mr. Hirsch,⁶ editor of our Crimmitschau paper (and provincial editor of the *Volksstaat*), during Liebknecht's imprisonment, was suddenly arrested for an attack he had published, and which said article had appeared in Dresden, under the nose of the Attorney General, without anything treasonable being discovered in it. Mr. Hirsch has not yet been released, though nearly a week has elapsed, and bail has been offered! However, a worse case is in store still. Two days after Hirsch's arrest, Mr. Valteich,⁷ who for some time has been editor of the Crimmitschau paper, and who in that capacity had inserted a little noticed in which it was said that at the time of the St. Bartholemew massacre⁸ in France *Te Deum* was not sung yet for the praise of mass murder, was for this innocent remark sentenced to four months' imprisonment! And as there is no appeal, he will most likely have to undergo that insane punishment, which may show you the true nature of Bismarck's new empire.

Workingman's Advocate, Chicago, **September 2, 1871**

Leipzig, July 21, 1871

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

The annual Congress of the Social Democratic party, which was fixed for last Saturday and following days, has been postponed for four weeks, and will, if nothing intervenes, be opened August 12th. The reasons for this step were manifold, partly local, partly political. In consequence of the triumphal entry of our victorious army, which took place in the midst of last week, all the hotels in Dresden were filled, and no proper meeting room for the congress to be had; however, this alone would perhaps not have been considered sufficient to cause the alteration of the original plan—but the hostility suddenly shown by the Saxonian government, the scandalous measures of oppression indulged in by our provincial authorities, the resumption of the accusation against Bebel, Hepner and Liebknecht by the Leipzig tribunal—all this made a delay necessary, as it is utterly impossible to solve the practical questions of organization and administration that will form the principal occupation of the Congress, without being acquainted with the designs of the government—to use a German *façon de parler*—which way the hare runs.

Of course we are not able to foretell what will happen in the next weeks, but certain it is that a most critical time for our party, a time of trial in every sense of the word is approaching. Since the day the Commune rose in Paris, our privileged classes are living in permanent terror; instead of meditating over the causes of the social movement they have, in the blindness of their terror, embraced the stupid idea of eradicating socialism by brutal force. The circumstance that after the tragic fall of the Commune, the socialist movement in Germany, far from losing ground, has, on the contrary, taken a fresh impulse, is strengthening them in this silly notion. Mr. Stieber, in one person the Pietri and Haussmann of the German Empire, has, as I told you already, received orders to collect material for crushing us. And he will collect some, there are plenty of skillfull rogues who can frame a treasonable letter and imitate a man's handwriting. Mr. Stieber is an old hand at managing such things, and if the trick is found out—which it is sure to be when the victims come before the jury, after they

have been in preventive confinement for a year or eighteen months—well, then the guilt will be thrown on some subaltern agent, and Mr. Stieber, secret counsellor, to give him the official title, Mr. Stieber, the personal friend of King Emperor William, Mr. Stieber, the chief of the civil administration of the occupied French departments during the war, Mr. Stieber, head of the German police, great and all powerful. Mr. Stieber will not lose the confidence of his chivalrous master, and be rewarded in some signal manner, in order to console him for the little disappointment.

The¹ facilitate Mr. Stieber's game the machinery of the Berlin press bureau has been set in motion, and for the last quarter of a year nearly a thousand newspapers are daily vomiting forth articles denouncing socialism, and the International Workingmen's Association, and exhibiting a violence which proved that the engine is worked with the utmost steam power. If we add to this the significant fact that a decree of amnesty was already printed three months ago, and has been revoked since—we cannot entertain the slightest doubt concerning the intentions of our antagonists, and we must again prepare for rough weather. But, our American friends need not be afraid on our account, *we shall weather the storm.*

The Austrian Government is now beginning to reap the harvest it had sown by its prosecutions of socialism; the workmen have been driven into an alliance with the middle classes, the so-called German Party;² whose professed aim it is to promote the annexation of German Austria to the German Empire. Austrian friends know full well the nature and reactionary character of this said German Empire, but they are convinced, and rightly too, that if all of Germany is united, the south with Austria will have a decided preponderance over the Prussian element which now predominates, and that so, by the entrance of German Austria a great step will be done in advance, and the replacement of the Hohenzollern Empire by a free commonwealth materially accelerated; while on the other hand, the idiotic policy of the Austrian Government brought about a state of things excluding all hope for an improvement. Thus owing to the folly of Giskra, Hohenisart, and whatever names the worthies may bear, the workingmen who were ready to assist in forming a democratic Austria have been forced to forsake the ship which they alone could have saved. In vain the government papers are now appealing to their Austrian hearts and promising amends. The stern answer will be: *Too late!* You have been lying too often to be trusted any more. We have proved our Austrian hearts by striving honestly to render Austria happy and free. But you have made Austria a prison for us, and this prison must be broken. After the decision of the Austrian workmen to cooperate with the middle class, we may safely pronounce the fatal *Finis Austrias.*

Up to the present day, the Prussian government could not be prevailed upon to publish complete lists of our losses (in human life) during the late war. Lists of the killed and wounded were given, though not complete by any means,

but about the numbers of the sick and those carried away by diseases, no official information has been vouchsafed us. We could only guess that according to the rules of all former campaigns, the loss by diseases must have been much greater still than that of the battlefield. By the indiscretion of the half-official Board of Inquiry (which had undertaken to find out the whereabouts of soldiers in the field at the wish of their relatives at home) it has just come out that the worst apprehensions were well founded; through means of this said Board the addresses of *six hundred and thirty-three thousand soldiers* have been furnished. Out of these 633,000 not more than 78,000 belonged to the French army, the remaining 554,000 were German soldiers—46,000 South German, and 508,000 Northerners. And these numbers are far from being complete, as may be perceived from the disproportion of the two last figures, South Germany having sent into the field one third as many soldiers as North Germany, and the Southern contingents having suffered even more, their loss in sick and wounded cannot have amounted to only one-eleventh. If we deduct 100,000 wounded—the official statement—we have 454,900 sick accounted for by the Board of Inquiry, and to this number at least a hundred thousand more must be added. How many of this fearful array have succumbed to these diseases, how many have become invalids for life, we are unable to calculate yet, and perhaps never shall be able. Mr. Bismarck and his colleagues care little or naught about it; they have pocketed their *dotations*.³ Mr. Bismarck for himself (and by himself!), three millions of thalers; the other statesmen generals from 50,000 to 500,000 thalers each; the vile multitude of their starving, haggard victims must be satisfied with the miserable pittance of a few thalers, contemptuously flung to them!

This is glory!

***Workingman's Advocate*, Chicago, September 23, 1871**

Leipzig, August 19, 1871 (1)

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

Jules Favre's terror-inspired and fanciful circular against the International Workingmen's Association has found an echo in most parts of Europe. Though it is a fact patent to everyone acquainted with the socialist movement, and though it has been proved by the declaration of the General Council, in the *London Times*, that the French minister's dispatch contains nothing but distortions of the truth or downright untruths—yet Favre's denunciation has become the signal for an International crusade against Socialism in general and the International Workingmen's Association in particular.¹ The country which took the lead was Hapsburgian Austria. After having played such a sorry and pitiful part during the late conflict between Prussia and France, she seems to have resolved upon showing the world that there is still some strength left in her, and be it only strength for suppression and oppression. You recollect that the first act of the new ministry (*Hohenwart* Schäffle), when they entered office, was a general and unconditional amnesty for all political crimes and derelicts. This measure, which chiefly benefited our party, together with the political party of Schäffle, the new minister of commerce, who had been one of the hottest Democrats of South Germany, gave rise to the hope that the Austrian government had become conscious of its former folly, and had determined on a truly popular and liberal policy. However, this hope soon turned out to be unfounded. The ministry, after a few weeks shuffling, dropped the mask of liberalism and opened a regular campaign against parliamentarism and the constitution—quite in Bismarekian style, and up to the present moment with Bismarekian success.

It is so easy to manage a German burgher, and the Austrian representatives of the people are made of the same stuff as their Prussian composers, who allowed themselves to be killed and insulted for fully three years, and finally proved their superhuman Christian meekness by granting their tormentor indemnity. But there is one difference between Bismarek and Hohenwart²—the former understood from the beginning the importance of the socialist movement and did all in his power to get the direction of it; Mr. Hohenwart, on the

contrary, is firmly convinced that socialism is an artificial creation, the produce of a parcel of discontented fellows, whose principal aim is to cause difficulties to the Austrian Monarchy, and who, most of them at least, are in the pay of Mr. Bismarck, Austria's arch enemy! This stupid idea is firmly rooted, not only in Mr. Hohenwart's head, but also in that of many of his colleagues and predecessors in office, and the effect of it is that they promote just what they want to prevent, and by their silly persecutions drive Austria into Bismarck's nest. Well—the first victims of this hallucination are the champions of the working classes. Under a miserable pretext, Scheu, editor of the *Volkswille* (Will of the People), at Vienna, has again been arrested with several others, while these so-called outlanders, non-Austrians, were sent out of the country, amongst them our brave friend Most,³ who, like Scheu, had only three months before left the prison. Not satisfied with that the Austrian ministry has given orders to watch the socialists closely, for which honorable occupation an extra sum of 250,000 florins has been set out; no meeting is allowed to take place, the aim of which does not please the authorities; meetings allowed are dissolved when a word is spoken which is not to the taste of the police officials present, who, in fact, are the real presidents (chairman) of the meetings; workingmen's societies are permitted only under conditions which render all healthy development impossible; the party organ—*Volkswille*—is confiscated three times out of every four times it appears, or rather it is to appear, for it is often seized before any copy is issued from the printing establishment, consequently, before anything dangerous to state and society can have been discovered in it by the prying eye of the *Staatsanwalt*—the public accuser, so that it is quite clear the police want to ruin the paper, and thus to deprive our Austrian friends of their intellectual center. I must mention here that the Hungarian government acts in complete harmony with the government of Austria proper—Scheu, for instance, was arrested in Hungary (Pest), and from there handed over to the Cisleythanian authorities, and altogether the workingmen are in Hungary, treated with a brutality even greater than in the German Slavonism, half of the Empire. I hope this will cure some of my readers of the erroneous notion, which, I think, is still prevalent in England and the United States: that the Hungarian government was a liberal, even democratic government, and the Hungarian constitution a bulwark of liberty.

This belief, into which public opinion has, to a great extent, been humbugged by the marvelous tongue of the marvelous humbug Kossuth, stands in about the same contrast to stern reality as the phantasms of my American countrymen concerning the Bismarckian glories differ from the true state of that big structure, half prisoned caserne, called the New German Empire. Hungary is an almost purely agriculture country without any modern industry, and without any middle class; the government and administration correspond to this patriarchal and primitive condition of society, and in spite of a large store of

democratic phrases and outward trappings, Hungary much more resembles Turkey than any of the western civilized countries. This *en passant*.

This example, set by Austria-Hungary has speedily been followed by Italy, where the sections of the International Workingmen's Association existing there have been dissolved by a fierce ukase—by the by a rather harmless amusement of Re Galantuomo's (King Gentleman's) government, since the International Workingmen's Association is so organized, or rather not organized, that no government of the world, even if it had in its service ten thousand *Fouches'* *Pietris* and *Stiebers*, is able to dissolve it.

At the same time the Spanish government, under the impression of the same fears, forbade the meetings of all workingmen's societies connected with the International Workingmen's Associations. And to strike terror in the minds of the Spanish socialists, our brave friend, Dr. Sentiñón⁵, whom the editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE will recollect from the Basel Congress, has been arrested in company with some other members of the International Workingmen's Association.

Of course we had no right to expect that the rulers of our German fatherland would be backward in this anti-socialist crusade, and it might be confessed they have set to work in right earnest! The head spy of modern times, Mr. Stieber, father of numberless plots, conspiracies, false documents, etc., has received orders to collect material, incriminating the German socialist; and he is not the man to return empty handed from such an errand. If he does not find the material required, he will produce it, as he did in the trial of the Communists in 1851, when he fabricated the minutes of a secret society; or he will bring forward convenient witnesses, like Lieutenant Heintze, who, at the trial mentioned above and at several other ones, gave evidence based on which many men were convicted, and which is now known to have been undoubtedly false;⁶ or else he will cause compromising letters to be sent to persons he wishes to catch, letters (like the one lately addressed to Liebknecht and published by him in the *Volksstaat*) preaching high treason and put into thin envelopes, so that the contents may be read through—and such like tricks, indispensable to the model government of pious and chivalrous William.

But Stieber's work proceeds rather slowly, the natural result of its complicated nature, and the German government, which could not afford to wait, has in the meantime taken a few strong measures. Most, a bookbinder, who after his expulsion from Austria came to Leipzig, has been forbidden to speak in any public meetings, and then expelled first from Leipzig and then from Saxony, with injunctions that, if he is found on Saxonian soil, he will be put in prison! Most is a Bavarian, and as such a citizen of the New German Empire! You see from this what precious rights a German citizen (*civis Germans*) has in his own country, and what an impudent lie the *Freizügigkeit*—the right (!) to take one's abode where one likes—your language has no word for this right, which is

characteristic of a police-ridden country; what an impudent lie the *Freizügigkeit* is, of which the admirers of Mr. Bismarck cant so much.

The same decree has been launched against Mr. Dittmar, a bootmaker, and also a native of Bavaria, who last year, after three months' preventive prison, was sentenced to three months more for an innocent remark on a religious subject, and who, for nearly three-quarters of a year had been working quietly in Saxonian towns. He, too, had been sent out of Saxony! Mr. Ufert, a weaver, a native of Saxony, and who for that reason could not be driven out of Saxony, has been forbidden to live in Chemnitz, the industrial capital of middle Germany, and is to be removed forcibly to his birthplace, Wurzen, a small town, where he has no opportunity of earning a farthing. If I add to this that the general amnesty, which was already elaborated, has been retracted; that the right of meeting is daily being infringed upon by the local authorities; that letters from and to persons are frequently lost on the road, and more frequently still, are delivered with evident marks of having been opened; that all places of public resort are swarming with spies; that at Königshütte a riot of workmen, brought about by the clumsy and brutal behavior of the royal Prussian authorities, has been quelled by a body of Uhlans, who, without any previous warning, rode among the unarmed workmen, and speared them with their lances, killing twelve on the spot and wounding twenty more dangerously, not to mention fifty slightly wounded. If you combine these pretty traits, you have a faithful, though by no means complete, picture of Bismarck's creation. The work is worthy of its author.

***Workingman's Advocate* Chicago, September 30, 1871**

Leipzig, August 19, 1871 (2)

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

At Versailles the trial of the Communalist prisoners has begun at last. The Court Martial is to murder in the name of the law those that the brutalized *soldatiska* were unable to kill—*vae victis!*¹ Our civilized bourgeoisie stands on the same level as the most barbarous nations and tribes; it has no other way to deal with its enemies but to slaughter them. And a class, or a political system, which exists only by sheer brutal force, and which to sustain itself is obliged to shed human blood wholesale—is doomed to perdition. From the earliest times of history we see all empires based on brutal force going to pieces with the unfailing certainty of a scientific law. That which alone is eternal in history is Progress, is Development; intellectual, economical and founded on both, moral. Every attempt to trammel this progress, to cripple or resist this development proves futile, and the foolish criminals or criminal fools, who make the attempt are covered with infamy and ridicule. And the further humanity is advanced the sooner retribution overtakes them. How completely was the Commune conquered. Every spark of socialism seemed to be stamped out in France. And lo! the recent municipal elections at Paris—elections taking place under the state of siege, on ground still reeking with the blood of 40,000 socialists, and in the sight of prisons and dungeons in which 40,000 more are confined—have resulted in a signal triumph of socialism, five members or adherents of the Commune having got an absolute majority, and one of them even in three electoral districts!² Either Mr. Thiers and his accomplices must speedily organize a new massacre, or the victorious idea of the Commune will swallow them up.³ And a new massacre could not be more radical and successful than the last one. Thus our bourgeoisie society is moving in a *cercle vicieux* of stupid terror and civil repression, until the spell is broken by the final resurrection of the martyred proletariat.

In Germany the different governments are really at their wits' end with regard to the working class movement. The scribes of the Prussian press bureau contradict themselves and one another in the most ludicrous manner. One day

socialism is to be annihilated with fire and sword, the other day we are told violent measures are of no use and the government has no reason to interfere before they are attacked. The latter being the more sensible course, will just for that reason *not* be adopted; and, as I told you already, we must be prepared for a vehement police crusade against social democracy. The first step will probably be the introduction of an imperial law of meeting and associating still more reactionary than those now in power—though I must own it will be a rather difficult task to frame such a one.¹

In the meantime our principles are spreading fast. Here in Leipzig, for instance, a commercial town of about 80,000 inhabitants, with industrial suburbs containing some 100,000 inhabitants, our party may be said to predominate now. During the last months we have had three immense mass meetings—one concerning municipal abuses, the two others the Commune of Paris—and in neither of them have our adversaries dared to oppose us, so crushing was the weight of the facts and arguments produced on our part. A large portion of the smaller middle class are sympathizing with us, and I have not the slightest doubt that the next elections will be in favor. And Leipzig is perhaps in all of Germany the town which was most hostile to us yet a short time ago.

In the position of our great strikes some important changes have to be reported. The Cigar Makers have had the best at Waldheim and the worst at Offenbach, while at Halberstadt things are in the old state; but in consequence of the firmness of the Masters' Association, I am afraid the men will have to give in there also. Nothing better is to be said of the Berlin strike. The number out of work is so great, that the necessary funds for their sustenance cannot be procured, and the small savings on which most of the families are living at present, are well nigh, if not totally exhausted. The only chance left to the men is, that the term for the execution of many large building contracts is fast approaching, and that, in case the buildings are not finished at the stipulated time the Masters will have forfeited large sums. If the men can hold out a fortnight longer, then their conditions will have to be accepted by the Masters. But will they be able to hold out so long? I have my misgivings, and I know that people at the head of the strike have theirs, too.

The Barmen strike looks very promising so far: the brisk state of the business is greatly to the advantage of the men. Some of the Masters that formed the Lock-out Association have left the League and consented to the demands of their hands, and from the news we received this morning it appears that only the Metal Workers are on strike still, to the number of about a thousand. As they are assisted by the other workmen of Barmen, Eberfeld, with whom they had made common cause at the beginning, and who partly owe them their victory, and as collections are being made for them all over Germany, it is to be hoped that the Barmen iron manufacturers will not succeed in starving their men into submission.

It is now the season of the Anniversaries of the glorious events of the Prussian-French war, and the government journalists do their utmost to blow the cinders of national enthusiasm into flames again. All in vain. The people have come to their sense. Hard facts have driven out the soft illusions. Of what use are victories, by which nothing has been gained? What reason have we to rejoice over battles which must be fought again in a couple years, and, if won afresh, fought a third time, and so on without any prospect of lasting peace? There is no man now in Germany, who is not convinced of the inevitability of a new war with France, and the admiration of Count Bismarck's statesmanship has decreased remarkably since this conviction has become general. I spoke with a national liberal of the purest water a few days ago, and he confessed that the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine was a political blunder. And well he may say so. The discontent and exasperation of the inhabitants of these two provinces is so deeply rooted that two generations at least would have to die away before a more loyal feeling can arise. In Austrian Italy the opposition was not fiercer and not by far so dangerous. The Alsatians and Lorrainers by far surpass the Venetians and Lombardists in energy and they are excellent soldiers. If the war recommences, Prussia will require an army of 200,000 to keep them down—more than the Frenchmen will require to neutralize the fortresses of Metz and Strassburg. And this is not the only danger. Perhaps more dangerous still to Prussian Junkerdom is the republicanism of the Alsatians and Lorrainers, which will be communicated by them to the other parts of the empire they have been chained to; and so, instead of serving the ends of despotism, as Bismarck in his narrow mindedness had thought, the annexation will in reality promote the downfall of absolutism and the triumph of democracy.

However, at present the order of the day is: preparations for the coming war. Of the *milliard* paid by France not a groschen will be spent for the interest of the German people; it will go exclusively to defray the expenses of the enormous, but yet constantly swelling military budget. And it will not be sufficient unless soon a second *milliard* is paid by the French; a fresh loan must be contracted and fresh taxes imposed upon us. A standing army like ours is an insatiable monster, the more it gets the more it wants. It will devour, devour until nothing is left to devour, or the people lose patience and knock it on the head. The latter I am confident will be the case one fine morning, in spite of the proverbial meekness of Michel. I don't mean tomorrow. But this much is sure, the monster has become too exacting and too impudent even for meek Michel, and thanks to the mad proceedings of our success-drunk rulers, the day is not distant when the nation must either make an end of it, or emigrate to America.

A friend of mine who is in the regular army and knows the organization thoroughly has calculated our losses from July, 1870, up to the present day. The result is pretty well in accordance with what I wrote repeatedly. Of the soldiers that were employed in the war with France, fully one half have been killed (by

iron, lead and diseases) or rendered unfit for service. As we had more than 1,200,000 in the field, this signifies *six hundred thousand* men dead, crippled or otherwise invalided! And that on the conquering side! The Frenchmen have surely not lost less, and we shall not exaggerate if we estimate the total of the military losses in human life and health on both sides at one million and a quarter. A heavy price indeed for the blessing of being governed by Bonapartes and Bismarcks.

Workingman's Advocate, Chicago, **October 28, 1871**

Leipzig, September 10, 1871

To the Editor of the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

All those childlike persons who think that human history is but the history of a few big and great men, and that the development of mankind is not according to eternal laws, the work of mankind itself, but of a parcel of big people, privileged by the accident of birth "or genius," who tower over the common herd, and serve it, as leading bulls or wethers—all those childlike persons are of course struck with awe by the conference between such remarkable big people as *Messrs, Stieber, Bismarck, Hohenwart, Beust, King Emperor William, King Franz Joseph*.¹ And as those childlike persons form the immense majority of what we call the intelligent public and since ninety-nine hundredths of our newspapers are humoring their way of thinking, either sincerely or from policy, it is very natural that the *doings at Gastein*,² are now constituting the principal topic of the day, and creating a tremendous hubbub. You know my opinions with regard to the supposed almightiness of Kings, Emperors, and Statesmen, and I should not have mentioned the meeting of the two Emperors and their rulers anymore, had it not transpired that the *social questions*, and the steps to be taken for its "solution," and for the suppression of the socialist movement, have been one of the chief subjects of discussion and negotiation. I gave you at the beginning of the year some explanations about the Prussian Press Bureau, and told³ for anyone acquainted with its mechanism and composition, and was able to calculate [it is] rather an easy thing to find out what the scribes of the Press Bureau are trying to hide, and towards which aim they want to guide or misguide the "vile multitude." Well, from the attitude of the journals, under the direction of the Berlin Bureau, it can be guessed now with absolute certainty: 1. That it was Mr. Bismarck who sought and seeks the friendship of Austria, and in whose head originated the plan of the private interview, and 2. That the trump card he played at Gastein, in order to *frighten* the Austrians into an alliance with Prussia has been the International Workingmen's Association. Whether Bismarck was successful, we do not know, yet a paper which is said to receive official communications on the part of the Hohen-

wart Ministry, the Vienna *Tagespresse* (Daily Press) tells us, when Bismarck talked of the danger of the International, and of the necessity of taking common measures against this most dangerous society, Hohenwart had replied to him: We in Austria are not afraid of the International Workingmen's Association, and our laws are sufficient to save us from all dangers arising from socialism. If the Austrian Minister has really spoken that, he has, under existing circumstances, spoken rather terribly, but, at the same time spoken an *egregious untruth*. Of all European governments, the Austrian is the only one which has shown the greatest fear of socialism, though having less cause for it than any other government.

However, be that as it may, the social question is "on the *tapis*" and in connection with the "Gastien Conference," the whole press of Germany is without a single exception discussing the ways and means and how to get rid of it. If the social question cannot be got rid of without being *solved*, and as it cannot be solved without destroying the *old* society of selfishness, privileges and oppression, and without founding a *new* society based on *justice*, that is *equal rights for all*, it is evident that the organs of the old society cannot wish for a real *solution*, and are obliged to propose all kinds of *sham solutions* instead. So it is not to be wondered that the most ridiculous propositions emerge. An officious wiseacre tells us the government must oppress the socialist movement, and while forbidding the working classes to take their own affairs in their own hands, carry out reforms which will prevent discontent in the future. Unfortunately the good soul who gives this ingenious advice has forgotten to state what sort of reform he meant. Another one is less scrupulous and simply says, the whole social question is an illusion, let those in whom the illusion is most powerful be sent to prison, and we shall not hear any more of a "social question." A third one is rather of a meditative mind, contradicts the former, and is of the opinion that the question can only be solved after having been studied by the government. The honest man is apparently not aware that Bismarck, who gave rise to the present discussion, had been in his way studying the social question for the last eight or nine years, and that all of his studying has not brought him an inch nearer to the "solution." Simply because, being a Junker and one of the gainers by the old society, he *does not want* to solve the social question, but only to play with it, and to use it as a tool for his political ends.¹ And this is the case with all other governments. The most radical proposition emanates from the *Kreuzzeitung* (Gazette of the Cross), the organ of Prussian Junkerdom. It argues logically:

The workingmen's movement is the upshot of the unnatural position in which the modern working classes find themselves, all measures will prove futile which do not attack the evil at the root. As long as we have an industrial proletariat—and our

workingmen are proletarians—we shall have the social question with its concomitant terrors. There is but one cure: the modern *Proletariat must be abolished*.

So far the *Kreuzzeitung* is thoroughly logical, and the staunchest socialist can subscribe to every word. But now its logic is at an end, and madness begins, though there is *method* in it, doubtlessly. How are we to abolish the Proletariat? Well, by abolishing its source, *modern industry!* Modern industry must be given up; we must return to the dark Middle Ages (of which you, in the New World, have happily no idea) when there were no giant capitalists on one side and starving millions, on the other—when masters and men were members of the same guild, when the men were sure to become masters one day, where, in fact, “labour was organized”—and when (this the *Kreuzzeitung* did *think*, but not say) the immense majority of the people *were serfs, owned* as human chattel by the ancestors of the patrons of this very same *Kreuzzeitung*.

Enough—you see, our adversaries are completely at their wit's end, and I am afraid they will never recover it again. In the meantime the *persecutions* are going on merrily. At Crimmitschau (in Saxony), Mr. Hirsch, Mr. Valteich and Mr. Gautrich, the editor, the manager and the printer of the *Bürger-und Bauern-Freund* (the *Burgher's and Farmer's Friend*), one of our local papers, have been sentenced to four, three and two months of imprisonment, respectively—and what for? For having written, published and printed an electoral manifesto (at the last *Reichstag* Elections), in which the fundamental faults of the *New Empire* were exposed in the most measured terms. From this single fact you can gather a sufficient knowledge of our freedom of the press, and of the liberality of our elections.

The defeat of the Berlin masons is now acknowledged by all, except the leaders of the strike, who, not to lose their influence, hold back the truth. As if the men could be kept in the dark for any length of time! The high wages, which in the first days after the return to work served as a soothing medicine, have already disappeared, in consequence of the immigration of laborers into Berlin. As for the other Berlin strikes, the most important one, that of the joiners and carpenters, has altogether ceased, the compromise having been accepted by those masters and men too, that refused it in the beginning; the other minor strikes are approaching an arrangement. The same is not to be said of the *cigar makers'* and the *metal workers'* strikes, which still continue, without any prospect of settlement. The cigar makers exhibit a courage and a discipline really admirable. Those in work pay a regular contribution for those on strike, and in this manner more than 4,000 thalers have been sent to Hanau alone, a sum very high for Germany, where the wages are much lower than in England or the United States, and where until a short time ago, we had no organization at all. If we sum together the money contributed by the German workmen for strikes

during the last twelve months I am sure we shall come to a total of a quarter of a million of thalers. The cigar makers still standing out (at Hanau, Halberstadt and Magdberg) are certain of winning, and then the defeat of their less fortunate colleagues will soon be retrieved. The *Barmen metal workers* will have a hard stand. The masters' league shows great firmness, and its principal aim being to *starve* their men into submission, they have not only dismissed all workmen, even those that were ready to submit, but have also caused the manufacturers of other Rhenish towns to deny work to any of the Barmen "strikingists," as they are called in Germany. Thus the struggle between Labor and Capital is getting fiercer and fiercer, and, considering the merciless manner in which the capitalists carry on the war, we must be expectant of a time when no mercy will be shown to them. Who sows the wind, will reap the hurricane.

Workingman's Advocate, Chicago, November 25 and December 2, 1871

Leipzig, October 8, 1871

To The Editor of WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE:

The "sentence" passed upon the *Communist prisoners* by the privileged murderers of Versailles is a heavy blow upon the arrangers of this bloody judicial farce. In fact it amounts to their own condemnation.

The court martial was not instituted to try, but to *condemn*, to *kill*; and yet with the best will, after having used all means of unscrupulous infamy—forging, false witnesses, bullying of the accused—it could not bring home the common crimes of assassination, incendiarism and plundering to any of the doomed victims and could not pass sentence of death upon more than two of the accused, one of the two being notoriously an agent of Mr. Thiers, so that his condemnation at all events is only a comedy, to save appearances. Now, the men that stood before this court martial were the *most "guilty"* of the Communists, so far as we can talk here of guilt; and if out of these most "guilty" a court martial like this could in earnest find but one deserving the penalty of death, what must we think of the slaughtering, during the last St. Bartholomew, of 20,000 men, the "guiltiest" of whom were not as "guilty" as the least "guilty" of the men M. Thiers' packed court martial could not sentence to death. Why have they been *murdered*, downright *murdered*, *murdered* in the most literal sense of the word, these 20,000 men, women and children?

M. Thiers, the newly named "President of the Republic"—it was a good piece of fun that!—is, luckily for him, not burdened with that troublesome thing called conscience, he would have to share his Prussian friend Bismarck's ugly complaint: "sleepless nights." Though for the present Mr. Bismarck seems to have got a respite, all the reporters that have seen him lately mentioning with remarkable unanimity his looking uncommonly healthy and cheerful. Perhaps the unanimity is too great not to excite some little doubt. Perhaps the big statesman has his reasons to be considered in good health and spirits, the Austrians not being inclined to enter into an alliance with a sick man, and careworn too; and newspaper men are the most obliging people in the world. For my part, I do not quite believe in Mr. Bismarck's cheerful looks, unless he be a

virtuoso in hypocrisy, or a model of Christian meekness. Certainly things are not, for him, satisfactory at all. The "new empire," instead of acquiring strength, is daily losing ground in the heart of its police-ridden inmates; the Prussians themselves, who, like eels, are used to skinning, begin to grumble. They had been led to hope that after this war, which to be sure would be the last, the burdens of taxation would be diminished, and political liberty increased; and now they find that a new war is looming in the nearest future, and that in the last war, the people, instead of fighting for their own benefit, had only fought for despotism and militarism. Is the same to be done again? Are they always to move in the same *cercle vicieux*? And terrible indeed have been the sacrifices and sufferings the people had to bear, not to talk of the dead, the maimed and the invalided. One instance may exemplify this: Berlin, the capital of Prussia, is, perhaps with the exception of Cologne, the richest town of the Prussian monarchy. Well, according to a little paragraph published by the Berlin town authorities, *fully three-quarters of the reservists and landswehr who served in the late war have applied for relief*, they now being without any, or sufficient means of subsistence! Add to this the rising rents, the dearness of food in consequence of a defective harvest, and you will not wonder at even the Prussians beginning to grumble. Far deeper, however, is the discontent in other parts of Germany, where the inhabitants are not accustomed to the new Empire, which are the old ways of Prussia; the new Empire being, as you know, nothing but enlarged Prussia. Here in Saxony, the friends of the present order of things are much less numerous than half a year ago, and in another half year they will have to be looked for with the lantern of Diogenes; it is still worse in Bavaria, Württemberg, and Hesse, which were the last to be forced into Prussia's arms, and the inhabitants of which are hostile to the Bismarckian unity. Of Baden nothing can be said yet. This unhappy country, once in advance of the rest of Germany, has in 1849 been treated so terribly by the Prussians—2,000 killed in battle, 20 shot by sentence of court martial, 20,000 thrown into prison, and 30,000 families driven into exile—that political life is still extinct, and a little handful of reactionists, "national" or "popish," have the field to themselves. This will not continue much longer. A day will come when the people of Baden will awake; and that day will be a day of stern reckoning! So, wherever we look in Germany, there is no spot to be found where satisfaction with the new Empire dwells. And what is it that keeps Empires together; that enables them to withstand the attacks of enemies, to rise more powerful after defeat? Physical force it is *not*. Where was more physical force, where a stronger government, where larger armies, than in the old Roman Empire, or in the Empire of Napoleon I? And have both these Empires not been shattered like glass? But let us look at another picture. There was a free country once, attacked by a mighty host of its own unworthy sons. The government was unprepared, without an army, while the enemy could bring a large force into the field, and was backed

by some of the greatest powers. But the people had an interest to support the government, because they had an interest to preserve the commonwealth, which guaranteed their rights and promoted their welfare. Volunteers rushed under the standards by the thousands and hundreds of thousands. The first army was beaten by their better organized adversaries; a second army shared the same fate; a third army also. Still the people stood by the government; fresh warriors rose and learned victory from defeat, until the rebellion was crushed. You know the country of which I speak¹ and I know that my country could not, in the shape of the present Empire, survive one single decisive defeat. While a free country has its powers called forth by defeat, a despotic country is overthrown by defeat. Of that Mr. Bismarck is conscious. He is well aware of the growing unpopularity of his "creation;" he does not harbor the foolish idea that the German people would rise for the defense and maintenance of that large prison—the Prusso-German Empire. Its existence depends on the fate of its armies. One decisive battle lost, and it falls to pieces, just as the French Empire fell after a month's campaign; just as all former and future soldier empires did fall and will fall. Mr. Bismarck nurtures no illusions on this point, and since making Germany free would *for him* be suicide, all the thoughts must turn on *preventing defeat*. And for this there are two ways: augmenting the army, and securing allies. The former he is doing; the latter he is trying to do. Trying *in vain*—that may safely be foretold. The interviews at Gastein are a humbug, nothing else. Common fear of Socialism will cause a short *rapprochement* between the two Emperors; but as soon as other events throw the dangers of the "International" in the shade, Austria will use the opportunities offered by these events. It has now come to light that last year only the quick overthrow of the French Empire hindered Austria from declaring war on Prussia, the Austrian army not having been ready to take the field at the beginning of the contest. Since then the Austrian army has been greatly improved and increased; a *new war would not find it unprepared*. It is true the two Emperors have kissed each other tenderly—but once before they have done it, with perhaps more fervor, in the autumn of 1865. Nine months later Austria was throttled by a chivalrous Prussia and half dead, kicked out of Mother Germania's doors. Can that be forgotten, at Vienna? Scarcely. And if it were, at the next *chance* of revenge, the memory would revive. I really doubt whether Bismarck is as cheerful as newspaper reporters tell us.

What I said about the issue of the strike of the Berlin Masons, is in contradiction with the last proclamation of the Strike Committee. However, what I stated is strictly true. The fight was about the ten hours, *and the ten hours have not been gained*. That is undeniable, and that settles the point. That in some places higher wages are paid, now than before, has nothing whatever to do with the strike. The Berlin *Carpenters* have effected a compromise with the masters; they have an assurance of wages. The *Cigar Makers Strikes* still con-

tinue at Halberstadt, Hanau and Offenbach. At Hanau one of the largest masters has yielded, and it is to be expected, that the others will follow his example. At Barmen the metal workers are still on strike, while the workmen of other branches have come to a compromise. The Barmen strike is handsomely supported by the workmen all over Germany. From the English papers you will have seen that the German workmen enticed to *Newcastle* have made common cause with their English brethren.² This fact will show you how deep in Germany socialist ideas have penetrated into the masses, so that even those who do not properly belong to our party, as is the case with these workmen, are yet impregnated with our ideas.

Letters I received from Geneva and London³ speak of *great distress amongst the Communist refugees* crowding there. We are already overburdened, yet shall do what we can. But *could not our American brethren do something?*⁴ If the WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE takes the matter in hand, I doubt not but you will soon be able to transmit a substantial token of international fraternity to the General Council of the I.W.A., 286 High Holbourn, London.

Notes to Liebknecht's Letters

Wilhelm Liebknecht's letters were published in the *Workingman's Advocate*, Chicago, on the following dates:

November 26, 1870; December 3, 1870; January 28, 1871; February 4, 1871; February 11, 1871; February 18, 1871; February 25, 1871; March 4, 1871; March 11, 1871; March 18, 1871; April 1, 1871; April 8, 1871; April 15, 1871; April 29, 1871; May 13, 1871; May 20, 1871; May 27, 1871; June 3, 1871; June 17, 1871; June 24, 1871; July 1, 1871; July 8, 1871; July 15, 1871; July 29, 1871; August 5, 1871; August 19, 1871; September 2, 1871; September 23, 1871; September 30, 1871; October 28, 1871; and November 25/December 2, 1871.

Leipzig, November 5, 1870

1. The reference is to the Franco-German War, sometimes called the Franco-Prussian War (July 19, 1870–May 10, 1871), a war that marked the end of French hegemony in continental Europe and the foundation of the Prussian-dominated German empire. Napoleon III, the French emperor, entered the war because his advisers told him that the French army could defeat Prussia and that such a victory would restore his declining popularity in France. Otto von Bismarck saw in the war an opportunity to bring the south German states into unity with the Prussian-led North German Confederation, and to build a strong German empire. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were strained in July 1870 by an effort to secure the Spanish throne for Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (who was related to the Prussian royal house). This move appeared to threaten France with a possible combination of Prussia and Spain directed against her. On July 14, 1870, Bismarck published a provocative message—the Ems telegram—that accomplished its purpose of enraging the French government and stimulating the clamor for war in both countries. France declared war five days later. Contrary to Napoleon's hopes, he received no support, while the south German states sided with Prussia.

2. Messrs. Bebel and Liebknecht (note by Liebknecht). For a discussion of their refusal to vote war credits, see pp. 13, 15, 30.

3. The French declaration of war was not formally presented to the Prussian Government until July 19, 1870, but the French Government declaration of July 15 after the Chamber of Deputies had voted war credits, created a state of war.

On July 28, Napoleon III issued the Order of the Day when he arrived to take command of his armies announcing the probability of an offensive against the Germans.

4. On September 2, 1870 General Wimpffen signed the terms of surrender at Sedan that General Moltke presented to him. Under the terms the French army surrendered as prisoners-of-war with all its arms and material, and with the fortress of Sedan.

The following day Napoleon III drove into German captivity. On September 4, after recovering

from the stunning news of Sedan, deputies of the Assembly, pressured by the people of Paris, proclaimed a Republic.

5. Mr. von Bonhorst, Secretary to our Executive Committee, was set free ten days ago, because he had the honor of being a Prussian "subject," the King of Prussia having given the hypocritical order to open the prison doors to all those of his subjects that had been robbed of their liberty for political reasons and without any properly lawful reason, "in order that the impending elections for the Prussian Chamber of Deputies might not appear influenced by the Government," as if the Prussian government did not influence the elections enough already (note by Liebknecht).
6. Eduard Vogel von Falkenstein (1797–1895), General of the Prussian Army during the Austrian-Prussian War and French-German War.
7. John Jacoby (1805–1877), East Prussian leader of the left center in the Prussian National Assembly and advocate of democratic rights. A veteran radical, he condemned the war against Austria in the columns of *Zukunft* (Future) which he published in Berlin.
8. This must be a misprint. The declaration of war was July 15.
9. Prince Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898), known as the "Iron Chancellor," was the symbol of Prussian military tradition and German nationalistic ambitions. He devoted himself to the task of uniting Germany under Prussian leadership, and achieved his purpose through two wars, the war against Austria in 1866 and the Franco-German War of 1870–1871. Bitterly anti-socialist, he put through the draconian anti-socialist law of 1878, and then later, to keep the social democrats from achieving victories, introduced a program of social security, offering workers insurance against accidents, sickness, and old age.
10. Early in October 1865 Bismarck went to Biarritz, ostensibly on vacation, but actually to confer with Napoleon and his chief advisers. While exactly what was said in Biarritz is still in doubt, some authorities believe that Bismarck sought agreement on the cost of France's benevolent neutrality in the event of war. (See Richard Fester, "Biarritz, eine Bismarck-Studie," *Deutsche Rundschau*, vol. 113 (1902), pp. 212–236; and Friedrich Frahm, "Biarritz," *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, vol. 15 (1912), pp. 337–361. Others, however, reject this interpretation. (See Otto Pflanze, *Bismarck and the Development of Germany: The Period of Unification 1815–1871*, Princeton, N.J., 1963, pp. 258–259.)
11. The charge that Bismarck was out to destroy the French Republic is not accepted by most historians today. His aim was to unify Germany under an emperor, and first he had to defeat Austria, the biggest internal hurdle to unification, and then to destroy the existing balance of power in Europe, which would not allow a unified Germany with Prussia in the lead. France was the weakest link and once it was defeated, according to the current historical view, the internal form of government in France was not of much concern to Bismarck.
12. Metz was surrendered to the Germans on October 29, 1870. By failing to break out in August when his army was still intact and when reinforcements were on the way, Marshal Bazaine made the capitulation inevitable.
13. Napoleon III (most commonly known as Louis-Napoleon) (1808–1873), emperor of the French (1852–1870), who served the interests of the French bourgeoisie, gave the country prosperity for the middle classes under a stable, authoritarian government, and revived its prestige in Europe, but finally, as his reputation declined, led his country to defeat in the Franco-German War (1870–1871).
14. The *francs-tireurs* (raised by local or individual enterprise) served mainly as guerrilla fighters against the Germans, and soon numbered 57,600 members. One of the units was commanded by Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807–1882), the great leader of the Italian independence movement. Victor Hugo said at one point that he was the only French general remaining undefeated.
15. Frederick William III (1770–1840), King of Prussia from 1797. His policy of neutrality in the

Wars of the Second and Third Coalitions led to the decline of Prussia. His fear of Jacobinism led to his unwillingness to institute reforms needed for Prussia's development.

16. William I (1797–1888), King of Prussia from 1861 to 1871. On January 18, 1871, the one hundred and seventieth anniversary of the coronation of the first Prussian King, William I was proclaimed German Emperor in the hall of mirrors of the Versailles palace.

Leipzig, November 12, 1870

1. The *Volksstaat* lost some 300 readers in the last months of 1870. However, by the following summer its circulation was greater than before the war.

2. The second address of the General Council of the International, written by Marx, contains the following excerpt from the manifesto issued September 5 by the Central Committee of the German Socialist-Democratic Workingmen's Party: "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 civilization against Eastern barbarism, the German workmen will not patiently tolerate the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. . . ."

Bebel made the same point in his brilliant speech in the North German *Reichstag*, November 26, 1870, opposing the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. (See Rolf Dlubek and Ursula Hermann, eds., *August Bebel: Ausgewählte Reden und Schriften*, vol. 1 (Berlin 1970), pp. 118–128.)

3. Liebknecht here is basing his analysis on Marx's statement in the second address: "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 Continent."

4. The *Arbeiter Union*, started as a weekly, became a daily on May 20, 1869 when it called itself "Organ of the National Labor Union." On August 12, 1870 it published the first manifesto of the General Council on the war. When it disappeared in September 1870 it left the German Internationalists in New York without a paper for nearly two and a half years. Throughout its career, the *Arbeiter Union* was edited by Dr. Adolph Douai (1819–1888), who emigrated from Germany in 1852 and settled in Texas, where his anti-slavery writings made him so unpopular that he had to leave. After founding kindergarten schools in the North, he became active in the labor movement, and turned out to be one of the most prominent exponents of Marxism in the United States despite some associations with the currency reform movement.

5. The German Progressive party (Fortschrittspartei) was organized in June 1861, splitting off from the old liberals because of a controversy over political tactics rather than goals.

6. The celebrated answer of one of Plato's disciples, when approached with not believing blindly every word of the master: "I love Plato, but truth I love more" (note by Liebknecht).

7. Maximilien Isidore Robespierre (1758–1794), leader of the left Jacobins during the French Revolution and champion of extreme measures against all opponents of the Revolution. He was executed on the guillotine.

8. I need to briefly say that I use the word in the *European*, not in the American sense (note by Liebknecht).

9. Hohenzollern was a German royal family, including rulers of Brandenburg, Prussia, and Germany from 1415 to 1918. A Junker was a member of the Prussian landed aristocracy, especially of its ultra-reactionary section.

10. Helmuth von Moltke (1800–1891), chief of the Prussian General Staff who gained his first fame in decisively routing the Austrian army during the Austrian-Prussian War. Later, after defeating Denmark and Austria, he was the architect of the victories over France in the Franco-German War that paved the way for German unification.

11. Wilhelm Stieher (1818–1882), chief of the Prussian *Feldpolizei* (political police), one of the organizers and a major witness at the Cologne communist trial of 1852. Coauthor of *The Communist Conspiracy in the Nineteenth Century*.

12. For four days the revolutionaries fought with bitter determination in Dresden against Saxon troops and Prussian battalions sent on the request of the Saxon king. But the troops conquered. In Baden the revolutionary government won the support of the local army, so that it was the Prussian army that conquered all of Baden and crushed the revolution.

Liebknecht himself had eagerly participated in the fighting in Baden during the revolution of 1848–1849.

Leipzig, January 1, 1871 (1)

1. The reference is to the Siege of Paris which began on September 18, 1870.
2. Bavaria, Württemberg, Saxony, Hanover, Hesse-Darmstadt, Hesse-Kassel, Nassau, Frankfurt, and some petty states sided with Austria.
3. August Bebel (1840–1913), one of the outstanding political figures in the history of western European Socialism; co-founder with Wilhelm Liebknecht of the German Social Democratic Party, and its most influential and popular leader for over forty years. Author, among other works, of *Woman Under Socialism* (1883).
4. Leon Gambetta (1838–1882), Minister of the Interior, led the Republican resistance to any concessions to the Germans and headed the movement which continued the war for five more months after the debacle of the Second French Empire. In this Gambetta had the support of the whole French nation.

Leipzig, January 1, 1871 (2)

1. Against the Prussian way of carrying on the war (note by Liebknecht).
2. Louis XVI of France (1754–1793), last monarch (who reigned from 1774–1793) in the line of French kings preceding the Revolution of 1789, whose lavish court style (together with that of his young queen Marie Antoinette) helped intensify revolutionary sentiments. After failing to escape to the eastern frontier (June, 1791), he was kept as a prisoner by the Revolutionary government and eventually executed.
3. Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821), conqueror of Europe, self-proclaimed Emperor (1804) of France, and author of the Code Napoleon. One of the most celebrated personages in history, he temporarily extended French domination over large parts of Europe and left a lasting mark on the lands he ruled.
4. Within three days of becoming Minister of War, Gambetta superseded the generals and continued to conduct a running battle with the military element demanding decisive action to continue the war.
5. Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–1859), after first pursuing a political career in England, achieved fame through his *History of England* (5 vols., 1849–1861), which secured his place among English historians as one of the founders of what has been called the Whig interpretation of history.

6. Argyle tried to raise Scotland against James II (1686), failed in the attempt and died on the scaffold (note by Liebknecht).
7. Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), Italian historian and student of political science, whose *The Prince* (1513), based on the career of Caesar Borgia (1445–1507), has been taken to be a masterpiece of cynicism, a realistic view of political exigencies for the society involved.
8. Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658), leader of the Puritan Revolution in England against Charles I and head of the Commonwealth set up after the king was beheaded.
9. Napoleon's (I) coup d'état (note by Liebknecht).

Leipzig, January 15, 1871

1. The delegates were from the Federation of Workers' Associations, led by August Bebel, dissenting Lassalleans who broke with Ferdinand Lassalle, and some other socialists.
2. The demand was a reflection of the influence of Lassalleanism. Ferdinand Lassalle (1825–1864) was a firm advocate of producers' cooperatives with state aid. According to Lassalle's iron law of wages, the amount paid to the worker was equal to what was "necessary for his subsistence," and thus trade unions and strikes were useless to improve his condition. The instrument for lifting "the yoke of capital" from labor was the ballot, which would make possible the producers' cooperatives with state assistance.
3. This is a typical Bismarckian ploy.
4. Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881), Scottish-born controversial historian of humble background and aristocratic views. Though contemptuous of some capitalists, Carlyle was fearful of the organized power of the underprivileged. Holding the Negro to be inferior, he supported the slaveholders during the American Civil War.
5. Jefferson Davis (1803–1889), United States Senator from Mississippi who joined his state in seceding from the Union in 1860 following the election of Abraham Lincoln in the presidency. Was chosen President of the Confederate States of America in 1861, and in 1862 was elected for six years. After the defeat of the Confederacy in 1865 he fled from Richmond, was captured, and brought to trial but never prosecuted.

Leipzig, January 21, 1871

1. Lassalle's *Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein* (General Association of German Workers) was organized on May 23, 1863. In his *Open Letter to the Workers' Committee of the Leipzig Workers' Association*, which he had written in February, 1863, Lassalle laid down the two main demands of the Association: universal suffrage and state credits for producers' cooperatives.
2. The editor in prison was, of course, Liebknecht.
3. Heinrich Heine (1797–1856), German-Jewish poet, wit, and radical, who was an expatriate and lived most of his life in Paris, from which enter he conceived many criticisms of his fatherland. *Buch der Lieder* (The Book of Songs, 1827), including his most famous poems, have frequently been set to music. Heine's poem "The Weavers" inspired many revolutionaries.
4. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), one of the giants of world literature and the outstanding literary figure in German history. Author of *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774), the great drama *Faust* (Part I, 1808; Part II, 1832), and numerous other works of prose and poetry.
5. Paris finally capitulated on January 26. On January 28, at eight o'clock in the evening, the

armistice—called a Convention rather than a Capitulation in order to spare French sensitivities—was signed, and went into effect immediately. The Siege of Paris was over.

6. For a vivid picture of the siege, see Robert Baldick, *The Siege of Paris* (New York, 1964).
7. Evidently Liebknecht did not know that on January 21, 1870, charged with planning to send his troops to certain defeat and slaughter, General Louis-Jules Trochu was forced to resign his command.
8. Marshal Achille Bazaine had surrendered with his army at Metz. He was accused of betraying the Republic.

Leipzig, January 22, 1871 (1)

1. See above, pp. 30, 67, 152.
2. Liebknecht is probably referring to the fact that Napoleon urged Bazaine to withdraw at once from Metz on August 13, at which time he had made up his mind to leave. The evidence for Liebknecht's charge that Bazaine planned to use the army against Frenchmen is not as clear as he states here. He may be referring to the role of M. Edmond Reginier in negotiating with Bismarck, and who had written to the Empress in exile at Hastings, urging her to denounce the revolutionary government and rally the army around her against it. In *Bazaine, Coupable ou Victime?* by General Edmond Ruby and General Jean Regnault (Peyronnet, 1960), the authors, on the basis of material from the archives of the German Foreign Ministry, reveal that Napoleon at Wilhelmshöhe associated himself with Reginier's project. However, it absolves Bazaine of any connection.

Leipzig, January 22, 1871 (2)

1. At Lyons, where the Republic was proclaimed sooner than in Paris, the filled-out mandates of arrest were still found in the préfecture, scattered about and partly destroyed. The same discovery was made in other places (note by Liebknecht).

At Lyons the Republicans did not wait for the news from Paris before seizing power.

2. Communicated to me by a man in a position to be well informed (note by Liebknecht.)
3. The evidence on this point is not too clear. Some authorities argue that Bismarck had no intention of launching an attack on the Paris defenses, and cite his letter to his son in which he wrote: "There is a republic in Paris. Whether it will last or how it will develop we must wait and see. My desire is that we let the people stew in their own juice and that we make ourselves at home in the conquered departments until we can go forward. If we do this too soon we shall prevent them from quarreling among themselves. Internal peace cannot last long with this socialistic crowd at the head of affairs. . . ." It was Moltke who issued the orders for the attack on Paris on September 15 from Château Thierry, and on the 17th the encircling movement began. (See Prince Otto Eduard von Bismarck-Schoenhausen, *Bismarck's Letters to his Wife from the Seat of War, 1870-1871*. (London, 1915), pp. 120-21.
4. Baron Friedrich Ferdinand von Beust (1809-1886), leading Saxon and Austrian minister and statesman, noted for his struggle against Prussian hegemony among the German states and for negotiating the *Ausgleich* (Compromise) of 1867 with Hungary that helped to restore Hapsburg international prestige and established the Austro-Hungary monarchy. After Prussia's victory over Austria and Saxony, the Emperor Francis Joseph appointed Beust Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs (1866) and Imperial Chancellor (1867). Defeated in his effort to prevent the southern German states from uniting with Prussia, he was dismissed as chancellor in 1871.
5. Granier de Cassagnac was a Bonapartist bitterly opposed to the Republicans.

Leipzig, January 29, 1871 (1)

1. Apropos, I was not sufficiently accurate with regard to the date in my last letter. The Manifesto indeed bears the signature of the 17th, but it only *foreshadowed* the trying on of the Imperial crown and robe, which event took place on the following day. So mark January 18th (note by Liebknecht).
2. The Frenchmen are called "Welsch," which is pronounced nearly like the word "Welsh," and has the same origin: from Galli, Gaels. The name is applied to the Italians also, and Wallachis, Wallachian is of like root (note by Liebknecht).
3. The reference is to the list of Don Giovanni's love conquests, and is sung by Leporello, his manservant, in Mozart's opera.
4. In an address of the Strassburg students to the students in 1867, it is said: "We are French not since 1689, but since 1789." (note by Liebknecht).
5. The reference is to the coalition of monarchies to destroy the French Revolution.
6. *Sansculotte*, one wearing trousers instead of the more aristocratic knee-breeches, is identified with the most active partisans of the French Revolution.
7. Georges (-Jacques) Danton (1759-1794), French revolutionary leader, who started out as a radical but became increasingly moderate; was arrested in 1794 and guillotined.
8. The Welfenfonds were monies confiscated by the Prussian government from the state of Hannover after the Austro-Prussian war of 1866. Hannover had supported Austria in that war. Bismarck used the money (the "Guelph fund") in a secret fund to bribe the press and others into supporting his policies.

Leipzig, January 29, 1871 (2)

1. Woe to the paper which refuses, if it is under the thumb of the Prussian authorities. The licensing system has not been invented for nothing. I might mention staunch opposition papers that could save themselves from suppression only by accepting a contribution imposed by the Press Bureau (note by Liebknecht).
2. The nickname under which the German people has personified itself (note by Liebknecht).
3. Old Nick(olaus) of Russia used to say: "A million of rubles spent in bribes saves a hundred millions spent on soldiers" (note by Liebknecht).
4. A Berlin clergyman who considers it blasphemy to deny that the sun turns round the earth. He has written a treatise against the Copernican system, and is an intimate friend of the Minister of Public Culture, Von Muehler (note by Liebknecht).
5. Actually, the negotiations for the armistice were conducted by Jules Favre, Foreign Minister in the Government of National Defense, and came after government officials feared the prospect of famine on a horrifying scale if the siege of Paris continued. Even then the negotiations had to be conducted secretly because of bitter opposition to capitulation on the part of civilians and soldiers. Since Bismarck was determined that the peace settlement, when it came, should be between Germany and France alone, no foreign mediation was involved.

Leipzig, February 12, 1871

1. Jules Favre did agree that the armistice should apply to the whole of France and not just to Paris.
2. Jules (Gabriel-Claude-) Favre (1809-1880), negotiator of the Treaty of Frankfurt ending the Franco-German War; worked closely with Thiers against the Commune. Became a member of the ministry, but was discredited and forced to withdraw on August 2, 1871.

3. Favre could leave Paris only by consent of the Prussians, and Bismarck delayed in working out details of a safe conduct.

4. The first interview took place on January 24, 1871, and on the following day Favre was authorized to sign an armistice for three weeks to enable a National Assembly to meet at Bordeaux and finally resolve the question of war or peace.

5. The armistice was signed on January 28, 1871, was to take effect in Paris immediately, and was to last until February 19 during which time full facilities would be given for an assembly to be elected and meet at Bordeaux, where it would debate whether the war should continue and on what terms peace should be made. Meanwhile Paris was to pay a war indemnity of two hundred million francs; it was to yield up its perimeter forts and dismount the guns from its wall, but the ground between the forts and the city would be considered neutral, and no German troops would enter Paris. The 12,000 men of the Paris garrison would retain their arms, an essential minimum to preserve order—Favre had insisted—but the rest were to surrender their arms and remain in Paris until the end of the armistice when, if peace had not yet been made, they were to be taken over by the Germans as prisoners of war.

The terms for the rest of the country provided that a military demarcation line should be drawn from which both armies should withdraw ten kilometers, but the French would be entirely dependent on the Germans for information about the position of the existing front line, and in the end it would involve withdrawal of French troops from positions which they had securely held. Meanwhile, military operations were to continue in the departments of Jura, Côte d'Or, and Doubs.

6. The growing radicalism of Gambetta's republicanism made both German and French leaders anxious to eliminate Gambetta from the negotiations. Gambetta in Bordeaux first heard of the fact that Paris had capitulated and that the government had agreed to an armistice of twenty-one days on January 29 in a dispatch from Favre. Gambetta was furious that the Parisian element, utterly ignorant of conditions in the provinces, had arrogated to itself the right to act for the whole government and to speak in the name of the whole country.

7. (Louis-) Charles Delescluze (1809–1871), French revolutionary journalist who participated in the uprisings of 1830 and 1848, and who was important as a leader of the Paris Commune of 1871. He was killed on the barricades.

8. Félix Pyat, French journalist and dramatist, whom Karl Marx referred to as the very model of the Jacobin phrase-monger who specialized in bloodcurdling invocations. Marx also referred caustically to Pyat's manifesto "about the *Commune de Paris* existing on the moon," and to "the common bawlers of the Félix Pyat type."

9. (Louis-) Auguste Blanqui (1805–1881), socialist and communist practitioner of insurrection, who organized an unsuccessful insurrection in France in 1839 and was imprisoned. Over the next two decades Blanqui wrote books on guerrilla warfare as the means of achieving socialism. Engels called "Blanquism the phantasy of overturning an entire society through the action of a small conspiracy. . . ." (Engels to Zauslich, April 23, 1885, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence, 1846–1895*, New York, 1942, p. 437.)

10. Gambetta hoped to frustrate the Parisian element and Bismarck by imposing conditions of election which would ensure a Republican Assembly pledged to continue the war.

11. General Charles Bourbaki was removed from his military post after he had failed to organize a strong force in the north and was suspected of "treason." On January 26, 1871 he shot himself through the head, but the bullet only grazed his skull and he was out of danger in a week.

12. General Antonine Eugène Chanzy's forces were so demoralized that the troops began in the thousands to throw away their weapons and abandon their ranks. General Louis Léon Faidherbe lost more than a third of his army in the battle of St. Quentin, January 19, 1871.

13. Johann Phillip Becker (1809–1886), a brushmaker by trade who became a German Communist

and participated in the 1848 Revolution in Germany. While in exile in Switzerland, he was one of the organizers and active workers in the First International and helped establish it in Germany. Becker was a close friend of Marx and Engels. He edited *Vorbote* and *Precurseur* in Geneva.

14. After four nights of continuous bombardment by explosive and incendiary shells whole quarters of Strassburg were reduced to ashes; the principal public buildings destroyed or damaged; the art gallery, the famous city library with its treasures, the Palais de Justice, the great Huguenot Temple Neuf, the arsenal, were all burned to the ground, and fire destroyed much of the roof of the cathedral itself.

Leipzig, February 19, 1871 (1)

1. The previous summer the conservatives had rebelled against Bismarck's proposal for some liberal reforms, but enough of them were won over to enable Bismarck to proceed with his plans.
2. This was more or less what could be expected since almost half of the 297 deputies chosen were noblemen, and most of the rest were men of means, while several high officers were also elected and Bismarck himself was chosen in two constituencies.
3. Bismarck threatened to dissolve the Constituent *Reichstag* and proclaim his own constitution if it were not accepted.
4. From the standpoint of personal liberties the constitution was worse than the Prussian Constitution since it did not incorporate the Prussian Bill of Rights. (Bismarck's constitution is, in fact, the first in the history of constitutionalism that did not include such a bill.) Moreover, it excluded the military budget from any oversight or control by the *Reichstag*, thereby giving the military a free hand.
5. On April 16, 1867 the *Reichstag* accepted, by the vote of 230 to 53, the constitution.
6. I allude to the debates on capital punishment, which at the first and second reading of the penal codes was abolished, and finally at the third reading, by peremptory orders from the government, was restored again in the teeth of common decency and the public conscience of Germany and the civilized world (note by Liebknecht).
7. This expression, which is the technical term for the state of body and mind following excessive drinking, takes its origin no doubt in the supposition that the cats, when performing their horrible concerts, must themselves feel the excruciating pains they inflict upon human ears (note by Lieb-knecht).
8. Liebknecht is referring to the enthusiasm for the new Bismarckian order among German-Americans. Pictures of Bismarck were featured at meetings in cities where German-Americans congregated and the chancellor was described "in glowing terms" in editorials in the German-American press.
9. Count Bismarck's original expression. Very discreet (note by Liebknecht).
10. Liebknecht may be referring to the comment of Count Vincent Benedetti (1817-1900), French ambassador, who wrote in March 1866: "Every Prussian has something of Frederick the Great in him whatever his views on the issue of liberty."

Leipzig, February 19, 1871 (2)

1. It is not clear on what evidence Liebknecht bases this conclusion about what took place between Bonaparte and the Germans before he left for Wilhelmshöhe. So far as the records indicate, all that was discussed was Napoleon's desire to go into captivity, and this was granted. On September 3,

Napoleon with his suite, his postilions, and train of wagons, left for the palace of Wilhelmshöhe above Cassel.

2. France had fully expected Austrian assistance, but the Austrian cabinet finally decided to give only diplomatic support. With a new cabinet, however, there were reports that Austria was becoming “ominously hostile” to Bismarck’s plans.
3. Albert Schäffle (1831–1903), economist and sociologist who served briefly as Austrian minister of commerce and agriculture (1871) and was responsible for a major plan of imperial federalization for the Bohemian crownland.
4. Karl Vogt was the author of a book slandering Marx, to which Marx replied in *Herr Vogt*. Curiously the German edition of Marx’s *The Civil War in France* substitutes Karl Vogt for Joe Miller, the popular English comedian whom Marx cited in describing Ernest Picard, calling him “the Joe Miller of the government of National Defense, who appointed himself Finance Minister of the Republic. . . .”
5. Georges-Eugene Haussmann (1809–1891), French civil servant who was primarily responsible for the massive rebuilding and modernization of Paris during the Second Empire (1852–1870). He designed the system of “grands boulevards” which traverses the city.
6. Liebknecht is referring to Favre’s agreement to sign a capitulation for all of France. In *The Civil War in France*, Marx wrote: “The capitulation of Paris, by surrendering to Prussia not only Paris but all of France, closed the long-continued intrigues of treason with the enemy. . . .”
7. The reference is to the practice of polygamy by Mormons, a religious group whose prophet was Joseph Smith, and which after his murder in Illinois, migrated to Utah, under the leadership of Brigham Young.
8. Liebknecht might have added that French and Germans fraternized after the siege was lifted.

Leipzig, February 26, 1871

1. I am told he has gone to Dresden since (note by Liebknecht).
2. Bismarck, when he became minister, hinted once: the difficulties of the government were to be cured with blood and iron—a kind of physic, the lavish and successful (for him and his kind) employment of which had made him a great statesman since (note by Liebknecht).
3. Charles Maurice de Talleyrand (1754–1838), statesman and diplomat prominent under all the different regimes that ruled France in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
4. Karl Giskra (1820–1879), Austrian statesman who sympathized with the revolutionary government of March 1848, and organized the Academic Legion. He was Minister of the Interior (1868–1870).
5. Liebknecht is correct in judging the election as a victory for the peace forces and a complete rejection of Gambetta’s policy of continuing the war, and in fact on March 1 a large majority of the National Assembly ratified the preliminaries of peace. However, even though the majority of the new deputies were not Bonapartists they did have monarchist leanings, and there was a feeling among Republicans that this endangered the existence of the Republic.
6. The revolution of 1789 emancipated the French peasants and made them free proprietors of the soil they had till then tilled for the nobility and clergy. The laws of *Main morte* and *Primogéniture* were abolished at the same time, and it was ordained that the property in land, like other property had to be divided (parcelled—hence the name of parcelles, the parcelled pieces of land) in equal parts amongst the children. This law was afterwards maintained by Napoleon, and he had the impudence of representing himself as its originator—a lie which was believed by the peasants and on which lie the second empire was founded—in very truth the empire of lies! (Note by Liebknecht.)

Liebknecht's analysis is similar to that of Marx in *The Civil War in France*. Marx wrote: "The French peasant had elected Louis Bonaparte president of the Republic; but the Party of Order created the Empire. What the French peasant really wants he commenced to show in 1849 and 1850, by opposing his *maire* to the Government's prefect, his schoolmaster to the Government's priest, and himself to the Government's gendarme. All the laws made by the Party of Order in January and February, 1850, were avowed measures of repression against the peasant. The peasant was a Bonapartist, because the great Revolution, with all its benefits to him, was, in his eyes, personified in Napoleon. This delusion, [was] rapidly breaking down under the Second Empire. . . ."

7. According to the census of 1851 the sums lent to peasants on mortgages amounted to 10,000,000,000, ten thousand millions of francs! Since then the amount must have nearly doubled; increased so frightfully in fact, that the government did not dare to publish it! Ten years later 3,600,000 peasants out of 7,840,000, that is nearly one-half were unable to pay their personal taxes. And what may be the number now? (note by Liebknecht.)

8. The statement in some telegrams that 400 Orleanists were elected and that consequently the Orleanist party had an absolute majority is an obvious falsehood—a pious fraud, betraying the secret wishes of the manufacturers of the said telegrams—all telegraphic offices of Germany (Wolff's foremost) being influenced and guided by the Berlin Press bureau and its present branch-bureau at Versailles. I beg the reader to mark this fact. Not 200 Orleanists are elected—the other half enumerated as such are "either blue republicans" or "liberals" without any particular party-shade, men who swim with the tide and will never work against the republic, nor it is true, fight for it either. But that will be done by others, if wanted. There is no lack of such (note by Liebknecht).

Leipzig, March 12, 1871

1. On February 26, 1871, Thiers, Favre, Bismarck and the representatives of the South German States signed the preliminaries of Peace, and a definitive treaty was to be negotiated in Brussels once the preliminaries had been ratified by the German Emperor and the French National Assembly. The National Assembly ratified the preliminaries on March 1 by a vote of 546 to 107.

The peace terms were harsh. The indemnity was fixed at the astronomical figure of five billion francs, one billion to be paid during the course of 1871 and the rest within three years of the ratification of the preliminaries. Alsace-Lorraine was ceded to Germany.

2. German troops entered Paris in three relays, on successive days, beginning on March 1. On March 1, the first contingent paraded before the Kaiser on the racecourse of Longchamps and marched down the Champs-Élysées. However, the third day's contingent never entered Paris, since the ratification of the preliminaries of peace provided for the withdrawal of German troops.

3. For evidence that this was an accurate prediction, see above, p. 19.

4. For the text of Grant's remarks, see above, p. 19. The American Minister to Germany was George Bancroft (1800–1891), noted historian who served from 1867–1874.

5. Crédit Mobilier was a French bank founded as a stock company in 1852 for raising capital needed in industrial development. The model was followed in the United States where the Crédit Mobilier of America was organized as a construction company to build the Union Pacific Railroad in the years following the Civil War. In both France and the United States, the Crédit Mobilier became involved in scandal for bribing government officials. In the United States it led to one of the greatest postwar scandals of the Grant administrations. The company bribed congressmen by selling them its shares of stock at one-half their market value in return for favorable legislation regarding public land grants and right of way. The revelation of the scandal of 1873 showed that Congressman Oakes Ames had distributed such stock to the Speaker of the House, Schuyler Colfax (later Vice Presi-

dent), Senator Henry Wilson (later Vice President), and Congressman James A. Garfield (later President).

6. Casimir-Pierre Perier (1777–1832), French banker and statesman who exercised a decisive influence on the political orientation of the reign of King Louis-Philippe.

7. Jules Mires (1809–1871), French Jewish banker who founded the Railway Bank in 1853, and was thrown into jail in 1861 in connection with swindles connected with the bank. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment, but the sentence was later reduced.

8. The Strousberg bubble was named after Bethel Henry Strousberg (1823–1884), a German finance capitalist and speculator, conservative big landowner known as the "Railroad King." Strousberg manipulated stock in the middle of the building boom of 1870–1871 by attracting "the public with a display of dukes and counts as company-directors; in these countries the aristocrats performed the function of ornamental figureheads." (Ernest K. Brausted, *Aristocracy and the Middle Class in Germany*, Chicago, 1964, p. 231.)

9. Hugo, Duke of Ujest-Hohenlohe (1816–1897), big landowner in Silesia, Prussian general, and member of the *Reichstag*.

10. The *Post* at Berlin; the paper is one of the largest in Germany and still exists, having by the high patronage it enjoys, acquired a semi-official character (note by Liebknecht).

Leipzig, March 19, 1871 (1)

1. Dr. Michaelis speaks here only of the largest towns, none of which in Germany has yet a predominantly industrial character (note by Liebknecht).

Leipzig, March 19, 1871 (2)

1. Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield (1804–1881), British statesman, Tory leader and leader of the Conservative Party, born of Italian Jewish descent. Twice Prime Minister (1868; 1874–1880). A novelist, Disraeli was the author of several works of fiction including the social novel *Sybil*.

2. This argument, which I find in the *Gazette of the Cross* (the most fashionable and reactionary of Prussian newspapers), is an involuntary acknowledgement of the superiority of Republican institutions, which is all the more valuable for being involuntary. It ought to be recommended to the attention of your President Ulysses S. Grant (note by Liebknecht). In many ways the *Kreuzzeitung* was the voice of Bismarck.

3. Secretly Bismarck bought the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (*North German Gazette*) whose editor was August Brass, a revolutionary of 1848 and a former exile. Liebknecht himself was connected with the left-wing paper, and indignantly resigned when he learned where Brass was earning his new income.

4. Czar Alexander, nephew of Wilhelm of Prussia, assisted Prussia during the war by letting Vienna know he would help his uncle with 300,000 men if the Hapsburgs mobilized against Prussia. This tacit alliance was referred to in telegrams after the war, in one of which Wilhelm said: "Never will Prussia forget that it is due to you that the war has not assumed extreme dimensions." (Erich Eyck, *Bismarck and the German Empire*, New York, 1964, p. 188.)

Leipzig, March 26, 1871

1. The resolution of the Stuttgart Congress (Spring 1870) dealt with the Fall 1870 *Reichstag* and Customs Parliament elections. Based on a report by Liebknecht, the Congress resolved to participate in the elections "if only for agitation reasons." The elected delegates of the party were to hold a negative position, and at every opportunity to expose the actions of both institutions as a comedy, but "to act as far as is possible in the interests of the working class." (The latter phrase indicates the remaining strong influence of the Lassalle group.) The congress also resolved not to enter any alliances or compromises with other parties, but where the socialists could not put up a candidate the workers should vote for another party's candidate if he was a workers' candidate, and at least politically supported the socialist standpoint. The Lassalleans ignored this resolution. See Franz Mehring, *Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (Berlin, 1960), vol. 2, pp. 365-366.

2. No avowedly official candidates have been proposed by our governments, as was done in the French Empire; but the authorities in every district were informed for which candidate they had to interest themselves—which essentially amounts to the same, only that it is less sincere (note by Liebknecht).

3. At Munich Mr. Franz, who had a very good chance, of course, destroyed by his arrest (note by Liebknecht).

4. For the Eisenach program, see above, pp. 46-47.

5. Ferdinand Lassalle (1825-1864), German lawyer and labor leader who founded the Universal German Workers League in 1863, and influenced large groups of workers in German and German-Americans in the United States in following his position of opposing trade unionism and concentrating on labor's political action to achieve a new social order through producers' cooperatives with state financial aid.

6. This is almost an understatement. In January 1865 the Lassallean party journal, *Der Sozialdemokrat*, edited by J. B. von Schweitzer, began publication in Berlin. Immediately it contained so favorable an evaluation of Bismarck's foreign and domestic policy that Marx, Engels, and Liebknecht severed relations with the journal. Later Schweitzer was sentenced to prison for some critical editorials, but he was prematurely released after Bismarck lent 2,500 thalers without interest to keep Schweitzer's *Sozialdemokrat* from bankruptcy. Schweitzer maintained close connections with Bismarck, and in the election for the Constituent *Reichstag* in 1867, Bismarck was chosen in one constituency with the aid of Schweitzer's socialists.

Lassalle, Schweitzer's mentor, also worked secretly with Bismarck. This was confirmed in 1928 by the discovery of correspondence between Lassalle and Bismarck in which the former promised the latter the support of German workers.

Leipzig, March 31, 1871

1. After the failure of the Revolution of 1848, the historian Theodor Mommsen (1817-1903) wrote his famous *Roman History*. Not surprisingly, the historian who glorified the unification of Italy through Rome's military might, and Caesar as the towering Roman genius, became an active literary supporter of the Bismarckian policy of unification. In the *Prussische Jahrbucher* (Prussian Annals), Mommsen joined a group of other eminent German historians (including the young Heinrich von Treitschke) in reviewing the problems of past and contemporary history in the light of a Prussian solution of German unification.

2. Liebknecht is referring to the *kleindeutsch* or Prussian school of political historiography, among

whose most eminent representatives were Heinrich von Sybel (1817–1895) and Heinrich von Treitschke (1834–1896). These men wanted history to influence the politics of the present and especially in the direction that Bismarck was leading Germany.

3. In the second address issued by the General Council of the IWA, Marx had predicted this outcome: “As Louis Bonaparte flattered himself that the War of 1866, resulting in the common exhaustion 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 continent. . . . Do the Teuton patriots really believe that liberty and peace will be guaranteed to Germany by forcing France into the arms of Russia?”

Leipzig, April 5, 1871 (1)

1. “On the dawn of the 18th of March, Paris rose to the thunderburst of ‘Vive la Commune!’” So Marx wrote in *The Civil War in France*. Early in the evening, the Hôtel de Ville was surrounded and Ferry, the only member of the government remaining on duty, forced to relinquish his post. The *préfecture* of police was occupied and lines of barricades were erected all over Paris in defense against the possible return of the regulars or the rising of the conservative units of the National Guard.

2. Liebknecht is in error here. Henri Louis Tolain was expelled from the International as an enemy of the Commune. In testimony he blamed the International for the uprising of March 18, and declared: “The fall of the Commune has not, unhappily, destroyed its forces or its aims; the enemy is there before us; it has the same aspirations, the same covetousness; it recruits every day its army.”

3. The two generals executed were Claude Martin Lecomte and Clément Thomas. Thomas, as Liebknecht indicates, was particularly detested because of his part in the repression of June 1848, and because of his action during the siege against radical battalions. Marx called him “one of the most dastardly executioners” in *The Civil War in France*.

4. On December 27, 1870, General Prim, Prime Minister of Spain, was mortally wounded in Madrid by an assassin. He died three days later.

Leipzig, April 5, 1871 (2)

1. Leopold Sonnemann (1831–1900), German newspaper publisher and political leader, who as publisher of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and as a deputy in the *Reichstag* advocated rapprochement between Germany and France after the Franco-German War, opposed the bill for the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine to the empire without plebiscite, and later opposed Bismarck’s anti-socialist law of 1878. He made the *Frankfurter Zeitung* the most important German newspaper and the leading liberal organ.

2. The Rothschild family was the most famous of all European banking dynasties, and exerted great influence for some 200 years on the economic and political history of Europe. The dynasty was centered in Frankfurt am Main.

3. While other governments withhold the franchise from the working classes in a more or less direct form, the Prussia government left them the suffrage after the wreck of the democratic constitution of 1848; but with a Jesuitism worthy of our Protestant Paraguay, it invented a mechanism which dissolved the workingman’s vote into smoke! The process is as simple as can be; the whole body of the electors (and there are very few male persons over twenty-five years excluded), are divided into

three classes, according to the rate of the direct taxes paid. In the first class the wealthiest are put—so many as are paying one-third of all the direct taxes paid; the second class contains the well-to-do people, who pay the next third; and the last class is crammed with the small tradesmen, farmers and workmen, who between them pay the last third of the direct taxation. Each of those three classes have to choose a like number—not of deputies—for then the mass of the people would at least have one-third of the representation—but of deputy electors, who have to meet (those of the three classes together) and to elect the deputy by simple majority, so that the deputy electors chosen by three millions of poor are doubly out-voted by those chosen by five hundred and fifty thousand rich. This is the celebrated three-class suffrage, which for the middle class has the double advantage of giving them the majority of the representation, and of being a dike against democracy. Its being in the interest of the middle-class induced Mr. Bismarck to reject it for the *Reichstag*, and will perhaps induce him to abolish it for the Prussian chamber too (note by Liebknecht).

4. In Hanover, where Prussians are hated much more intensely than before the annexation, the enemies of the new order of things did not participate in the two elections of 1867, which in consequence of that were miserable minority elections (by two percent of the population.) But the particularists soon saw that abstention was rather a dangerous policy, and, when in the beginning of 1868 a seat became vacant, they put forward a candidate of their own: Professor Ewald, this most celebrated of Orientalists and a staunch adherent of the Guelphs; he was elected by a great majority. (By the by he has been reelected for this *Reichstag*.)

A German Emperor, Sigismund I think, on being made aware of a gross blunder he had been guilty of in delivering a Latin speech (not written by him), replied "The Emperor is above grammar" (note by Liebknecht).

5. Adolf Hepner (1846–1923), German socialist who was an Eisenacher and member of the editorial staff of *Volksstaat*, and was indicted with Liebknecht in the Leipzig treason trial of 1872. Afterwards he emigrated to the United States.

6. This is evidenced by the fact that Liebknecht was able to get his letters to the Chicago *Workingman's Advocate* out of the prison. The men were not yet tried and convicted.

Leipzig, June 8, 1871

1. On the morning of Sunday the 28th of May, the survivors of the Commune in the cemetery of Père Lachaise, to the number of 147, were lined up before the wall, the now famous Mur des Fédérés, and shot. They fell in a common ditch.

2. See above p. 73 for the description of the bombardment of Strassburg.

3. Liebknecht is referring to the Versailles press tales about a wild band of women (*Pétroleuses*) who were said to have gone about burning down houses with petroleum. There is no evidence to support these charges.

4. (Louis-) Adolphe Thiers (1797–1877), French journalist, historian, and politician who, with German help, crushed the Paris Commune with such ferocity that he became known as the "Butcher of the Paris Commune." Thiers was characterized by Marx in his *Civil War in France* as "the complete intellectual expression of the class corruption of the French bourgeoisie."

5. The last paragraph of the letter to the *Volksstaat* of May 24, 1871, appearing under the column "Politische Uebersicht," is described as part of a communication from the mother of one of the Commune leaders.

6. Eduard Vallaint (1840–1915), French engineer, doctor, *Blanquist*, member of the General Council of the First International, and a leading figure in the Paris Commune.

Leipzig, June 16, 1871

1. Rudolf von Delbrück (1817–1903), a young official in the Prussian ministry of commerce who negotiated the trade treaty with Austria in 1853, and became virtual dictator of Prussian economic policy and later director of Germany's economic policies.
2. The troops of the government at Versailles entered Paris through a breach in the walls, on the night of May 21–22, 1871, sixty-four days after the 18th of March.
3. Friedrich Gerhard Rohlfs (1831–1896), German explorer, famous for his dramatic journeys across the deserts of North Africa, and the first European known to have explored all of Africa from the Mediterranean Sea to the Gulf of Guinea (on the West Coast of Africa).
4. Bismarck, frightened by the Commune, threatened to put it down himself. But Thiers and Favre, heading the government at Versailles, convinced him to repatriate the French prisoners of war so that they might form an army against the Communards. On May 10, Bismarck and Favre signed the Treaty of Frankfurt, giving Bismarck all he wanted, and as Liebknecht indicates, providing for the payment of the first half-billion of the indemnity in coin, but "after order had been established." The French prisoners of war were repatriated to the Versailles government and the move to crush the Commune got under way.
5. It was not until May 28 that the last of the Commune guns ceased its fire in the working-class 11th *arrondissement*. During the seven days between the breach in the walls of Paris and May 28, incredible massacres were carried out by the Versailles troops with the utmost cruelty against men, women, and even children who fought courageously to save the Commune. As Marx put it in *The Civil War in France*: "Even the atrocities of the bourgeoisie in June 1848 vanish before the ineffable infamy of 1871. The self-sacrificing heroism with which the population of Paris—men, women and children—fought for eight days after the entrance of the Versaillese, reflects as much the grandeur of their cause, as the infernal deeds of the soldiery reflect the innate spirit of that civilization of which they are the mercenary vindicators."
6. August Bebel's speech in the *Reichstag* was entitled "Die Pariser Kommune—Vorpostengefecht des Europäischen Proletariats." It was delivered on May 25, 1871, and is published in Dlubek and Hermann, eds., *August Bebel: Ausgewählte Reden und Schriften* pp. 147–151.

Leipzig, June 23, 1871 (1)

1. There the Prussians were (note by Liebknecht).
2. The National Guard became identified with the Commune, so much so in fact that when the Commune was crushed, one of the first steps taken by the government was for the dissolution of the National Guard. Originally established to uphold conservative interests, the National Guard became indoctrinated with radical ideas and a number of the officers were members of the International and other radical groups.

Leipzig, June 23, 1871 (2)

1. Originally recruited from an Algerian tribe in 1830, the Zouaves, a corps of the French army, soon became French in composition, and trained as elite troops in a special Orientalized costume. Revived as an active army by Napoleon III, they became the model for the "Pontifical Zouaves" which were recruited from French and Belgian upper-class youth, and used by the Pope against Garibaldi. In 1870 they were pulled back to France, and later used to crush the Commune.

Leipzig, June 30, 1871

1. Jean-Joseph-Charles Louis Blanc (1811–1882), French utopian socialist, noted for his theory of worker-controlled “social workshops.” He became a member of the provisional government of the Second Republic following the Revolution of 1848. After the defeat of the workers’ revolt in June, Blanc was exiled to England from 1848 to 1870. He returned to France, but refused to support the Paris Commune.
2. Liebknecht here is pointing out that Louis Blanc turned against his own idea to provide employment during the February Revolution of 1848. He had aided in setting up the National Workshops (*Ateliers Nationaux*) which would obliterate unemployment. After he turned against them, they were abolished, and their abolition helped to bring on further revolutionary uprisings. The decree which created them declared that the citizens had a “right to work.”

Leipzig, June 30, 1871

1. Armand Marrast (1801–1852), French politician and journalist who was secretary and member of the provisional government and Mayor of Paris in 1848 after the fall of Louis Philippe, and President (1848–1849), of the Constituent Assembly.
2. Jules Bastide (1800–1879), French journalist and politician; leader in the unsuccessful insurrection of 1832; condemned to death but escaped to London; returned in 1834 and made Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Revolution of 1848.
3. Baron Georges Eugène Haussmann supervised the construction of new boulevards in Paris.

Leipzig, July 14, 1871

1. They try to excuse themselves by saying the French loan was promising a greater profit. They forgot that this excuse only makes the matter worse, for it implies the confession that the patriotism of the bourgeoisie is measured by the profit to be realized. This was also to be seen at our public illuminations (for victories and peace) when the lighting up of the shops, etc. has to serve as an attractive advertisement (note by Liebknecht).
2. (William) Heinrich (August) Freiherr von Gagern (1799–1880), second son of Hans Christoph von Gagern, liberal, anti-Austrian German politician, and president of the 1848–1849 Frankfurt National Assembly, who was one of the leading spokesmen for the *kleindeutsch* (little German) solution to German unification before and during the 1848 revolution. Later he came to favor the Austrian-oriented *grossdeutsch* (Greater German) solution.
3. See above pp. 40–41.
4. Heinrich D. Dittmar (1792–1866), German socialist.
5. It was stated expressly in the motives of the sentence that the culpability of the incriminating expression was in its having been made before workingmen (note by Liebknecht).
6. Karl Hirsch (1841–1900), one of the founders of the Eisenach Party (1871), and editor of various party newspapers. After 1871 he was the Paris correspondent of the social democratic press of Germany.
7. Karl Julius Valteich (1839–1915), one of the founders of the Universal German Workers League (the Lassallean organization), who went over to the Eisenachers in 1869 and became a member of the *Reichstag* in 1874–1876 and 1878–1881. After this he emigrated to the United States.
8. Many thousands of Huguenots were massacred in Paris beginning on St. Bartholomew's Day,

August 24, 1572. The massacre was instigated under Charles IX by Catherine de Medici and the Guises.

Leipzig, July 21, 1871

1. The next sentence is illegible in the microfilm copy.
2. The reference is to the group in the Hapsburg monarchy who did not like the tendency of the court and government toward diffusing political power in the empire among the Czechs and Hungarians at the expense of the Austrian Germans.
3. These are gifts to victorious generals.

Leipzig, August 19, 1871 (1)

1. Jules Favre sent a memorandum to the great powers in the capacity of Foreign Minister which called for a European crusade against the International Workingmen's Association. The General Council's report was to the Hague Congress in 1872, and the Council pointed out that the memorandum received a favorable response and the policy of exterminating the International was pursued with vigor. Even though the Gladstone Ministry refused its cooperation to the French government, it showed its true intentions, said the General Council, by its police action against sections in Ireland. (See *Report of the Fifth Annual Congress of the International Workingmen's Association, September 2-9, 1872.*) Documents in foreign archives confirm the council's charge that European cabinets were negotiating an alliance against the International. To the policy-makers of European governments, the Paris Commune was only the first venture on the part of the International to achieve a European revolution, and they determined to stamp it out ruthlessly. Prompted by the Russian Czar and promoted by Bismarck, the League of Three Emperors of 1872 concluded an agreement on the part of Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary calling for a crusade against the International.

In an interview with Marx published in the *New York World*, July 18, 1871, the interviewer accused the International of having caused the "last Paris insurrection," whereupon Marx replied: "I demand the proofs of the participation in it of the International Association." The interviewer replied: "The presence in the communal body of so many members of the association." To this Marx responded: "Then it was a plot of the Freemasons, too, for their share in the work as individuals was by no means a slight one. I should not be surprised, indeed, to find the Pope setting down the whole insurrection to their account. But try another explanation. The insurrection in Paris was made by the workmen of Paris. The ablest of the workmen must necessarily have been its leaders and administrators; but the ablest of the workmen happen also to be members of the International Association. Yet the association as such may in no way be responsible for their action." (Reprinted in Philip S. Foner, "Two Neglected Interviews with Karl Marx," *Science & Society*, vol. 36, spring 1972, p. 9.)

2. Karl Siegmund von Hohenwart (1824-1899), Austrian statesman who served briefly as prime minister of Austria-Hungary (1871). His programs for wider Slavonic autonomy within the Austrian part of the realm caused opposition on the part of the German liberal majority of the *Reichsrat*, and a plan for redefining the position of Bohemia within the empire—the so-called Fundamental Articles—brought about his government's downfall.

3. Johann Joseph Most (1846-1906), bookbinder by trade, a socialist who became an anarchist. After being expelled from the German Social-Democratic Party in 1880, Most went to England and then in 1883 to the United States where he became the leader of the anarchist movement.

4. Joseph Fouche, Duke of Orante (1758–1820), organizer of the French police and their espionage activities; as minister he set up the secret police.
5. Gaspar Sentiñón, leader of the First International in Spain. For biographical details, see Max Nettlau, *La Première Internationale en Espagne (1868–1888)*, revised by Renée Lambert (Dordrecht, Holland, 1969).
6. This Heintze was promoted to a fat sinecure at a public savings bank, and he managed it so well that a few weeks ago he died—probably by his own hand—leaving a deficit of 100,000 Thalers, which he had embezzled from the savings of the poor. Those are the “saviors” of modern society! (note by Liebknecht).

Leipzig, August 19, 1871 (2)

1. Court martials were established by the Versaillaise forces at the *Châtelet*, the *Luxembourg*, the *Parc Monceau*, *La Grande Roquette*, and at many of the *arrondissement* centers to execute the Communards. Prisoners who had been seized with weapons, or because they wore the uniform of the National Guard, or because they had been accused, were summarily disposed of. After a short interrogation they were sent to the firing squad or to Versailles. Ten, fifteen, and twenty were dispatched at a time, at the *Luxembourg* and at the *Châtelet*. The court-martials operated steadily for a week and finished their work after receipt of a special order from Versailles.

At Versailles trials continued, followed by more executions. The number of arrests which followed the crushing of the Commune is staggering. After the June days of 1848 about 11,000 were brought to court. But in 1871 it is estimated that prisoners taken were over 50,000. At least 35,000 were taken to Versailles, and after being herded into improvised prison yards, those not executed were distributed among the penitentiaries along the coast.

2. The results of the July elections showed that the extreme left had increased its representation in the National Assembly from 36 to 42, the left from 20 to 38, and the left center from 11 to 24 while the right declined from 10 to 3 and the right center from 5 to 9.

3. Martial Delpit, a conservative, wrote in his diary following the July elections: “The great danger is that an honest republic is one of the most difficult things to realize: it at once tends to become Jacobin or Socialist.” (Frank Herbert Brabant, *The Beginning of the Third Republic in France: A History of the National Assembly (February–September, 1871)*, New York, 1972, p. 389.)

4. Difficult but not impossible, as Bismarck's Exceptional Law directed against the socialists in 1878 showed.

Leipzig, September 10, 1871

1. Francis Joseph I (1830–1916), Austrian Emperor from 1848 and King of Hungary from 1867; enjoyed one of the longest reigns of any monarch in European history.

2. The Gastein Conference took place in the fall of 1871 between Bismarck and Count Beust, Austria-Hungary's Foreign Affairs Minister, to discuss stabilizing Europe in cooperation with Russia now that Germany was unified and a great power. Eventually it led to the creation of Three Emperors' League of 1873.

3. The name is blank in the original.

4. Subsequent events proved Liebknecht to be an accurate prophet.

Leipzig, October 8, 1871

1. The country, of course, is the United States and the discussion is about the Civil War.
2. Marx, Engels and others associated with the International in England helped inform the German workers of their strike-breaking role and induce them to quit and join ranks with the English strikers. This, incidentally, is one of the reasons for the formation of the International. As early as the spring of 1866, the General Council was active during the tailors' strikes in Edinburgh and London when it successfully defeated employers' attempts to break the strikes by bringing in recruits from Germany. "A Warning," written by Marx, was published in the *Oberrheinischer Courier* of May 15, 1886, urging German workers to stay away from England and Scotland so as "to prove to other countries that they, like their brothers in France, Belgium and Switzerland, know how to defend the common interests of their class and will not become *obedient mercenaries of capital* in its struggle against labor." (*Documents of the First International: The General Council of the First International, 1864-1866*, Moscow, n.d., pp. 367-368.)
3. The letters were from Marx, who was working to rally support for the Communards and raising funds to help those most desperately in need.
4. American sections of the International held meetings in support of the Communards and a number of the refugees from France were welcomed to the United States. (See Samuel Bernstein, *The First International in America*, New York, 1962, pp. 89-90, 141, 167.)

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