

**'Oh people, thou shalt reign supreme!'**

## **Rare books and pamphlets of 1848 – Year of Revolution**

---

The library collections at Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek [the Labour Movement Archives and Library] (ARAB) consist mainly of two kinds of literature: scholarly literature focusing on the labour movement; and material published by organisations or individuals within the labour movement. The latter is first-hand material that may serve to shed light on historical events. The Paris Commune of 1871 and the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939 are some such events from which the library has documents of this kind. Here I shall be illustrating another important event in the history of the labour and democratic movement – 1848 – year of revolution in Europe – concentrating on material produced by the protagonists themselves. The presentation is mainly chronological and covers about ten percent of the 1848 French library collection at ARAB. The collection holds unique documents and rare books.

### ***1848 - Year of Revolution***

One of the causes of the revolutions in 1848 was the potato blight that had afflicted Europe in 1845; two years later, virtually the entire potato crop was lost. In many places, the rye crops as well were ruined leading to rising prices on corn and flour with wages simultaneously declining. Famine beset country after country along with a financial crisis with bank failures, falling share prices, factories closing down and increased unemployment as a result of company speculation. In January 1848 revolts broke out in Sicily and Naples; in February the revolution began in Paris and the rest of France. 'The age of the people began on the 24th of February in 1848' were the final words in poet and politician Alphonse de Lamartine's proclamation in the evening that same day, stating that a provisional government had been elected, and that it and the population of Paris had acknowledged the republic. A few hours later that government was united with another provisional government under the leadership of Louis Blanc. King Louis Philippe had abdicated and fled to England with his family.

Over the next few days the newly formed government made a good number of reforms and legislative changes. An electoral reform meant that all men over 21 acquired

the right to vote so that the electorate grew to over nine million. The prohibition on freedom of speech and of opinion were abolished and every man was entitled to enter the National Guard. Slavery and capital punishment for political crimes were abolished. The right to work – the duty of the government to provide work for all – was proclaimed. A normal working day of ten hours in Paris, eleven in the rest of the country was introduced and public employment agencies were commissioned. The continuing demonstrations demanded the establishment of a ministry of employment. However, this demand was not met with; instead, the labour question was to be investigated by a commission under Louis Blanc and Albert. Louis Blanc was a socialist politician and writer. In 1839-1840 he published *L'organisation du travail* [The Organisation of Work], a socialist programme with emphasis on the establishment of co-operative workshops. Albert was a worker, the only one in the provisional government, and worked as a mechanic in a button factory. He was editor-in-chief for the paper *L'Atelier* [The Workshop] and member of the conciliation board for employment matters. He signed all government papers 'Albert, worker'; his real name was Alexandre Martin.

The greater part of ARAB's French books and pamphlets published in 1848 was acquired during the then head of the institution, Tage Lindbom's antiquarian shopping trips to Paris from the beginning of the 1950s until the beginning of the 1960s. The mere year of publication, 1848 and the immediately subsequent years, was the principle for acquisition. This principle has given voice also to opponents of the revolution: religious and anti-socialist writings are part of the collection. The archives section at ARAB also has a collection 'The French Revolution of 1848' consisting of four volumes 'Agitationsskrifter, flygblad, manifest [Propaganda, fly-sheets, manifestos]', one of which contains only ballot papers, and three volumes of 'Affischer [Posters]'. The collection is supposedly acquired during the same period as that of the library but the material has no accession numbering (year and number).

'It is gratifying that the stock of older literature now is so good that future purchases of antiquarian literature can be reckoned to be more modest than has been the case over the last fifteen years', observes ARAB's annual report for 1963. The library collection on the revolution

in France in 1848 is kept together in one section in the classified catalogue. It contains approximately 400 works, both scholarly accounts, memoirs and the like, and material published in 1848 and the immediately subsequent years. A good half of the collection falls into the latter category. However, due to the fact that the library collections are arranged in sequential number order, the material is spread across the various book and pamphlet series.

### *1847 – Demand for an extended Franchise*

Some works record the events that preceded the revolution. In 1847 the radical liberals in the French Chamber of Deputies had demanded that the franchise be extended. It was so restricted that it encompassed only 200,000 out of a population of almost 30 million. The electoral reform had been rejected by a large majority of the Chamber. The opposition then began 'reform banquets', political demonstration dinners at which every participant had the opportunity to speak. Police permission was required to hold a political meeting. Since the often very outspoken speeches were reported in the press, the banquet became an extremely potent propaganda medium. Seventy-odd banquets had been held across France since the summer of 1847. A great banquet that was to be held in Paris became the prelude to the February Revolution of February, 22-24, when it was banned, firstly by the police and then by the government.

*Banquets démocratiques recueillis et publiés par Jules Gouache* [Democratic Banquets, collected and published by Jean Gouache] was published in Paris: Aux Bureaux de la Réforme, 1848. The book reports exhaustively, almost in minute form, on three banquets in Lille, Dijon and Châlon-sur-Saône during November and December 1847. A strong feeling of immediacy is generated by the publisher relating the entire course of events in the present tense and all acclamations and emotions being reported in brackets. At the banquets toasts were proposed, in particular to the right to vote. The following toast was proposed at the banquet in Lille on November, 7th:

*Vient ensuite le toast qui doit être porté par M.*

*Ledru-Rollin, député.*

*A l'amélioration des classes laborieuses! Aux travailleurs! (Bravos frénétiques.)*

*M. Ledru-Rollin monte à la tribune.*

...

*Citoyens,*

*Oui, aux travailleurs! A leurs droits imprescriptibles, à leurs intérêts sacrés, jusqu'ici méconnus!*<sup>1</sup>

Ledru-Rollin was a lawyer and deputy, appointed on February, 24th in 1848 as a member of the provisional government, in which he became Minister of the Interior.

### *Historical accounts*

There are several examples of historical accounts of those February days in Paris that report events minutely and chronologically. *Histoire des trois journées de février 1848* [History of Three Days in February 1848] (Paris: Louis Colas) by Eugène Pelletan recounts the history of the February revolution in 38 sections in 184 pages. The revolution and republic take on religious significance. The last section begins thus:

*Nous venons de raconter le plus grand événement qui ait ébranlé les âmes depuis le jour où le Christ, en penchant la tête sur la croix, brisa le vieux monde.*<sup>2</sup>

And of the republic:

*La République n'est plus à proclamer, ni à discuter, ni à reconnaître. Elle est. Elle est du même droit que le peuple dont elle est l'expression.*<sup>3</sup>

Another revolution history is *Histoire de mémorables journées de février 1848, écrite d'après les documents officiels fournis par le Gouvernement provisoire par le citoyen Leynadier*, [The story of the Memorable Days of February 1848, written by Citizen Leynadier based on official documents provided by the provisional government]. It bears the surtitle *République française!!!* [French Republic!!!]. Citizen Leynadier had been editor of the paper *La Révolution* in 1830 and was the author of *Des peuples et des révolutions de l'Europe* [On the Peoples and Revolutions of Europe]. He relates a tale that recurs in many of the histories involving the upholsterer Théodore Six, who courageously intervened when, on the evening of February, 24th, the rioters began to chop and shoot furniture and paintings to pieces:

*Respect aux monuments! Respect aux propriétés! Pourquoi tirer des coups de fusils sur ces tableaux? Nous avons montré qu'il ne faut pas mal mener le peuple; montrons maintenant que le peuple sait respecter les monuments et honorer sa victoire!*<sup>4</sup>

These words were followed by applause and, according to Leynadier, in this respect the following months were calm.

*Journées de la révolution de 1848 par un garde national* [Revolutionary Days 1848 by a National Guard] deals with the days February, 21st-29th, in Paris. The book recounts incidents and anecdotes, funny stories, some with Parisian street urchins as their principal characters, a mosaic of letters and short articles together with poems and songs. The name of the author was Charles Eugène Honoré Richomme.

*Le 24, au moment où le peuple travaillait activement à la construction des barricades, un orage violent éclata sur Paris. Un gamin, qui gardait l'une d'elles, rue Richelieu, éleva alors son sabre en l'air, en criant: 'Mes amis, Dieu est pour nous, il nous envoie des rafraîchissements'.<sup>5</sup>*

Lamartine became Foreign Minister in the provisional government and his well-known *Manifeste à l'Europe* [Manifesto to Europe] was a circular to French envoys abroad on March, 7th. The manifesto was translated into Swedish and published under the title *Cirkulär till franska republikens diplomatiska agenter* [Circular to the Diplomatic Representatives of the French Republic] (Norrköping: Östlund & Berling, 1848. ARAB does not have this Swedish edition).

*La proclamation de la République française n'est un acte d'agression contre aucune forme de gouvernement dans le monde. Les formes de gouvernement ont des diversités aussi légitimes que les diversités de caractère, de situation géographique et de développement intellectuel, moral et matériel chez les peuples. Les nations ont, comme les individus, des âges différents. Les principes qui les régissent ont les phases successives.<sup>6</sup>*

The library's copy of Lamartine's circular was published by Pagnerre and is bound together with five other works under the somewhat inappropriate title of *Mémoires sur la révolution de 1848* [Memories of the Revolution of 1848]. The volume includes Louis Blanc's *Le catéchisme des*

*'Democratic Banquets, collected and published by Jules Gouache (1848) contains reports on three Reform Banquets in November and December 1847. Booklet from ARAB's collection.*

---

*socialistes* [The Socialists' Catechism] published 1849 *Aux Bureaux du Nouveau Monde and Manuel républicain de l'homme et du citoyen* [Republican Manual for Man and Citizen] by Charles Renouvier, published by the same publishing house as Lamartine's manifesto.

*La république ou le plus parfait des gouvernements* par Matton-Gaillard [The Republic, or, The Most Perfect of Governments by Matton-Gaillard] is a history of the republic with the motto 'Le peuple seul est souverain' ['The people alone is sovereign']. According to Matton-Gaillard, who was a lawyer, the duties of man in a republic are obeying the law, fraternity and love of country. *Pétition à l'Assemblée nationale sur un projet d'impôt qui grèverait par la voie d'un enregistrement annuel les valeurs mobilières de toute nature, telles que créances hypothécaires et privées, rentes sur l'Etat, actions de la banque de France, actions industrielles et de chemins de fer, etc., etc.* [Petition to the National Assembly concerning a tax project which, by means of annual registration, would bear upon securities of all kinds, such as mortgages and private loans, state bonds, shares in the Bank of France, shares in industry and railways, etc, etc.] by M. Duchesne, Grenoble 1848 is a tax proposal in thirteen articles.

*Discours du citoyen Cabet, sur la Garde nationale, la liberté de la presse, le droit d'association, de réunion et de discussion, les élections et le travail* [Speech by Citizen Cabet on the National Guard, the freedom of the press, the rights of association, assembly and discussion, and on the elections and labour] Paris : Au Bureau du Populaire, 1848, is a pamph-

let of 15 pages that reproduces not only Etienne Cabet's speech but also contributions from other citizens at a meeting arranged by the Société fraternelle centrale on March, 6th. Etienne Cabet was a communist, influenced by the English Utopians Thomas More and Robert Owen. In his novel *Voyage en Icarie, 1840*, [Voyage in Icaria], he describes his utopian ideal society. The meeting was originally planned to discuss matters concerning the first French inhabitants in the colony in the United States of America, which was the first Icarian society. This Utopian experiment had started off just shortly before the February Revolution broke out and the first shipload of Icarians had only just arrived in the United States of America. The paper *Le Populaire* was edited by Cabet and published twice a week.

*Quelles sont les questions essentielles, urgentes, capitales aujourd'hui? ... la plus urgente c'est l'organisation de la Garde nationale, c'est l'organisation du peuple entier sous les armes, du peuple enrégimenté, nommant ses chefs, habillé démocratiquement et armé.*<sup>7</sup>

### ***Bulletins, pamphlets and reports***

French novelist George Sand was the best known female intellectual of the period. She was the author of many of

the Ministry of the Interior propaganda bulletins. Her *Lettres au peuple* [Letters to the People] consists of two letters, the first *Hier et aujourd'hui* [Yesterday and Today] dated March, 7th, the second entitled *Aujourd'hui et demain* [Today and Tomorrow] dated March, 19th, in which she extols the republic and the French people to the skies in lofty terms.

*Tu vas régner, ô Peuple! Règne fraternellement avec tes égaux de toutes les classes; car la République, cette arche sainte de l'alliance, sous les ruines de laquelle désormais nous devons tous périr plutôt que de l'abandonner, la République, cette forme par excellence des sociétés durables, proclame et consacre devant l'univers qu'elle prend à témoin de son serment l'égalité des droits de tous les hommes.*<sup>8</sup>

Due to a misunderstanding and the author being away, the first edition of *Lettres au peuple* was a luxury publication. By contrast, the issue that ARAB has was sold for the bene-

fit of unemployed workers. Each letter is eight pages and cost only ten centimes. In our collection they are bound together in one volume.

Xavier de Montepin and Alphonse de Calonne were authors of *Les trois journées de février* [The Three Days in February], a pamphlet that had earned them great renown: they had done their duty as good citizens. During 1848 they also published *Le gouvernement provisoire. Histoire anecdotique et politique de ses membres* [The Provisional Government. An anecdotal and political history of its members]. Biographies of members of the provisional government is a popular genre. Five different collections of biographies of this type, with similar titles, and by five different authors, have been bound together in one volume. Most are illustrated with portraits of the members of the provisional government. The reason why it was so important to introduce them was mainly that most of them were completely unknown to the public at large, Montepin and Calonne say in the preface to their pamphlet.

*Révélation sur l'organisation du Comité révolutionnaire. Pièces curieuses trouvées chez Blanqui* [Revelations on the Organisation of the Revolutionary Committee. Remarkable documents found at Blanqui's house] has no publication date but 'Paris [1848]' is written on it by hand. This four page pamphlet contains instructions for members of the Revolutionary Committee and working men's clubs on how to secure candidates in the election to the National Assembly:

*... le délégué doit parcourir avec tenue, avec circonspection, avec la portée républicaine, les degrés de l'échelle sociale, depuis le premier jusqu'au dernier. Suivant les habitudes, les mœurs, il faut qu'il modifie son langage, sa conduite, afin d'arriver au but proposé: le choix des candidats.*<sup>9</sup>

The appointed member's duties also include to write and dispatch each day a detailed report of the state of opinion in the place: 'no phrases, many facts'. The object of publishing the pamphlet was to cast suspicion on the Revolutionary Committee and its leader Auguste Blanqui and damage it by these revelations. Blanqui was one of those who led the great workers' delegation to the provisional government on March, 17th, to prevail upon it to postpone the election to the National Assembly for two months so as to give the candidates time for their election campaigns. The government deferred the election by only two weeks, till April, 23rd. Blanqui was an author and politician who wished to realise the revolution through the dictatorship of the proletariat. He spent half his life in prison for revolutionary activities and armed rebellion.

*Different collections of biographies are illustrated with portraits of the members of the provisional government. The portraits were necessary, it was said, since the members themselves were completely unknown to the general public.*

In May 1848, Victor had privately published *Attentats de la police républicaine contre la souveraineté du peuple*. Accusations contre Caussidière [Attacks by the republican police on the sovereignty of the people. Accusations against Caussidière]. Caussidière was the prefect of police and the accusation against him was that he on March, 17th, had fortified the Hôtel-de-Ville, Paris' town hall, which was the seat of the provisional government, and had had the hundred thousand man strong delegation wait for three hours before the government put in an appearance. The pamphlet bears the exhortation:

*Ne confondez pas la police politique avec la police des rues, la police judiciaire avec la police de sûreté, la police secrète avec la police municipale.*<sup>10</sup>

## Revolutionary catechisms and manifestos

One popular genre when something new shall be explained simply and effectively is the catechism, with its questions and answers. *Nouveau catéchisme républicain à l'usage de tout citoyen honnête qui désire le règne de la raison et de la justice à la place de celui de la cupidité et de l'orgueil* [New republican catechism for the use of all honest citizens wishing for the rule of reason and justice in place of that of greed and pride] by Taxil, 35 pages, (Paris: Chez l'auteur) begins comprehensibly enough but the answers soon become ever longer and more complicated. Taxil was an architect and his catechism had been adopted by La société philanthropique démocratique des artilleurs de la Seine [Seine Artillerymen's Democratic Philanthropic Society].

Jean Macé's *Petit catéchisme républicain* [Little republican catechism] is a catechism where the questions and answers are divided under headings such as De la république, Du gouvernement, De la garde nationale, [On the republic, On the government, On the National Guard], so it is far more easily accessible than Taxil's. Jean Macé was also the author of a profession of faith: *Profession de foi d'un communiste* [A communist's profession of faith] of which ARAB has the first part: *De la forme actuelle de la société* [On the present form of society] dedicated to his friends and dated April, 17th, 1848.

*Propriété et communisme* [Property and communism] par Louis Morin (Paris : Chez Amyot) gives the following recipe for communism:

*Prenez tous les discours prononcés au club des jacobines; joignez-y les élucubrations de Babeuf; melez-y les idées de Saint-Simon et les théories*

*de Fourier; à tout cela ajoutez une forte dose d'exagération et de puérité; amalgamez le tout, et vous aurez le communisme.*<sup>11</sup>

*Aux membres du Gouvernement provisoire* [To the members of the provisional government] is a four page letter from Etienne Cabet on April, 17th, 1848 in which he relates how, after a meeting, he and his Icarian Communists were threatened and attacked by a mob shouting:

*A bas les Communistes! Ce sont eux qui sont cause de la misère! Ils veulent la destruction de la propriété et de la famille! A bas Cabet! à bas Blanqui! à bas Raspail! On criait même: A bas Louis Blanc! à bas Ledru-Rollin!*<sup>12</sup>

Louis Blanc and Ledru-Rollin were members of the provisional government.

*Manifeste des représentan[t]s de la Montagne* [The Montagnard Manifesto], printed in Dijon, is signed by scarcely sixty members in the in April elected National Assembly. The Montagnards was a party formed during the February Revolution; its name was taken from the National Assembly of 1791 after the French revolution of 1789. On work and the right to work, the manifesto states:

*Le travail, c'est la puissance de l'homme; c'est la force intelligente, active, qui s'empare de la nature extérieure et la soumet. ... c'est un besoin, c'est-à-dire un droit, le plus inviolable de tous. Le droit au travail, c'est le droit à la vie.*<sup>13</sup>

*Les Montagnardes, satires politiques* [Political satires on the Montagnards] is an eight page pamphlet publishing two poems by A. Eude Dugaillon: *La haute cour de justice* [The High Court of Justice] and *Le sabre* [The Sabre]. It has no place or date of publication but is probably from 1849.

*Voici Blanqui: ses jours ne sont qu'une agonie  
Et Baroche se plaint de son acrimonie!  
Vous l'avez irrité, nos seigneurs les bourreaux  
En lardant le captif à travers les barreaux ...  
Puis Albert l'ouvrier, ministre prolétaire,  
Qui n'est plus, aujourd'hui, qu'un infâme sectaire,  
(From *La haute cour de justice*)<sup>14</sup>*

## The June Uprising

*Insurrection du 23 juin* [The 23 June Uprising] is a more extensive work by Etienne Cabet, signed October, 25th, 1848. The document consists of 59 pages and deals with the June Uprising when soldiers were called out against the workers. The immediate cause of the June Uprising was the government closing the national workshops, a type of relief work that consisted of repairing main roads, streets and town walls, and which had provided work with good pay to 100,000 unemployed craftsmen and workers in Paris – 2 francs a day to those who could actually be provided with work, 1 franc to the others. Now instead, the unemployed between 18 and 25 were to be conscripted into the army, and the rest forced into agricultural work. Cabet pleaded for an amnesty, reconciliation and fraternity: the three days of strife in the June Uprising had resulted in 10,000 dead and injured, and 14,000 revolutionaries taken captive, 3,000 of whom were executed and thousands deported to the French colonies, mostly to Algeria.

Another pamphlet dealing with the June Uprising is the 16 page *Evénements de Paris journées des 23, 24, 25 et 26 juin 1848* [Events in Paris on June 23rd, 24th, 25th, and 26th, 1848] which reports the uprising in great detail, virtually hour by hour. It concludes with an index of the named dead and injured, mainly among the soldiers. The June Uprising is also the subject of a book with the title *Journées de juin. Récit complet des événements des 23, 24, 25, 26 et des jours suivants. Accompagné d'un plan de Paris* [Days in June. A Complete Account of the Events of 23, 24, 25, 26 and the following Days. Accompanied by a map of Paris] by M. A. Pagès-Duport (Paris and Lyon: Pitrat). ARAB has the second edition, also published in 1848. 126 pages + map included. Each day's events are followed by an appendix containing decrees and proclamations issued by the National Assembly.

*Emploi des travailleurs* [Employment of workers] is the sur-title of *Projet de colonies agricoles* [Project on agricultural colonies] published by *Comité central d'agriculture* [Central Agriculture Committee] in 1848. The committee's proposal was that half of the uncultivated land in France, 5.6 million hectares, should be cultivated by collectives each consisting of 500 people, 350 men and 150 women, thus providing work and welfare for 2.2 million citizens. Then there follows a detailed cost statement per man and woman per year down to the smallest article of clothing and pocket money... and, as from the fourth year, every colony already has an annual income of 500,000 francs. A utopia as good as any in 16 pages ... One G.O. proposed another colonisation project to solve the unemployment problem in *Un avis de plus sur l'organisation du travail adressé au citoyen Louis Blanc* [A further suggestion on the organisation of work addressed to Citizen Louis Blanc] 1848. The unemployed were to colonise Algeria and all surplus goods were to be exported.

*Question agricole et financière* [The Agriculture and Finance Question] by J.-J. Reverchon states that the goal is to protect agriculture, which is to be achieved by progressive taxation. This would eventually lead to a reduction of taxes, and henceforth to general prosperity and social revolution.

*A la révolution par le citoyen Proudhon* [On the Revolution by Citizen Proudhon] is a letter dated October, 17th, 1848 (Marseille: Au Bureau de la Propagande Democratique Sociale). For the government and National Assembly, the revolution no longer exists; they are merely maintaining the republican form.

*Le peuple seul, opérant sur lui-même, sans intermédiaire, peut achever la Révolution économique fondée en février. Le peuple seul peut sauver la civilisation et faire avancer l'humanité!*<sup>15</sup>

...concludes Pierre-Joseph Proudhon in his letter to the citizens. Proudhon was author and theoretician with great impact on the development of French anarcho-syndicalism. In his book *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* [What is property?] of 1840, he formulated the famous thesis 'Property is theft!'

## The March Revolution in Vienna

News of the February revolution spread across Europe via newspapers. As early as February, 29th, people in Vienna were jostling in front of a placard that laconically announced: 'In einem Monat wird Fürst Metternich gestürzt sein. Es lebe das constitutionelle Österreich!' [Within a month, Prince Metternich will have been overthrown. Long live the constitutional Austria!] On March, 13th, open revolt broke out; workers and students combined to build barricades as defence against government troops. Metternich was compelled to resign, censorship of the press was abolished, the formation of a national guard was permitted and promises made of a liberal constitution. In Vienna the soldiers were replaced by a force of students and citizens.

The library does not hold many works that record the Year of Revolutions in Austria. Neither is there any special section in the classified catalogue for Austrian history in 1848. In *Aufruf an die Slaven von einem russischen Patrioten Michael Bakunin, in Koethen auf Selbstverlag des Verfassers ausgegeben, 1848*, [An appeal to the Slavs by a Russian patriot Mikhail Bakunin, privately published in Koethen] Bakunin signs himself Mitglied des Slavencongresses in Prag [member of the Slav Congress in Prague]. This is the founding congress of the Panslavic movement.

*Und die Partei der Staatspolitiker, aus dem Reichstage zu Wien, in der Stunde der Gefahr und der Entscheidung, wo einzig und allein das Interesse des Volkes gelten durfte und Alle Eins machen musste, feig entwichen, suchte sodann in Prag Euch vorzuspiegeln, dass der letzte Wiener Aufstand keine Volksbewegung gewesen sei, sondern mit magyarischem Gelde gemacht.*<sup>16</sup>

Mikhail Bakunin was a Russian anarchist revolutionary and agitator. From the beginning of the 1840s, he travelled around Europe taking part in every revolutionary movement and forming secret groups.

Hugo Jacques Petri said farewell to Metternich in *Ein Abschieds-Wort an einen Minister* [A Word of Farewell to a Minister], 1848:

*Er war jener grosse Kanal in dem des Staates  
Millionen flossen; er war die lebende Cassa der*

*Verzehrungssteuer, denn nur sein starker  
Körper wie er, konnte so viel Metall verdauen.  
Er war als eine undurchdringliche Scheidewand  
zwischen das Volk und dessen geliebten Mon-  
archen gefallen.*<sup>17</sup>

The author takes care never to refer to Metternich by name. One example of a history by a participant is *Das Studenten-Comité in Wien, im Jahre 1848* [The Student Committee in Vienna, in 1848] by Albert Rosenfeld, 'ehemalig. Mitglied des Studenten-Comités und des Sicherheitsausschusses in Wien' [one-time member of the Vienna Student Committee and Committee of Public Safety]. This was published in 1849 by Fischer in Bern. Many of the revolutionaries fled to Switzerland after the Vienna Uprising in October 1848. Interestingly enough, Rosenfeld says in his foreword to the book that he has managed to bring with him in exile, documents belonging to the probably best-known of all the German revolutionary democrats – Robert Blum, who did not survive the revolution.

### ***Proclamations and leaflets***

On the archive side there is a very interesting collection 'Österrrike. Revolutionen 1848 [Austria. The revolution of 1848]' which consists of 'Kungörelser, flygblad, etc., etc. [Proclamations, fly-sheets, etc., etc.]'. The collection was handed over by an Austrian refugee, possibly the doctor and social democrat, Wilhelm Ellenbogen, who donated his large library to ARAB on the German occupation of Austria in 1938. It arrived in Sweden in 1940 in 39 packing cases. The year of accession of the archive collection is 1943 and it comprises 114 works dated between March, 13th, 1848 and October, 29th, 1849; around ten are undated. The works are indexed chronologically on seven sheets in the old sheet catalogue and are similarly arranged in the collection. The catalogue entries describe them only by quoting the first two or three words in the text: 'Dem Verwaltungsrathe [To the administrative council]', 'Nach der Besitznahme [Having taken possession]', 'Da der unterzeichnete [Since the undersigned]'.

The collection includes official proclamations, many of poster size, which were displayed in the streets. The collection also includes some isolated, very tattered and imperfect numbers of the comic paper *Wiener Katzen-Musik* (Charivari). *Politisches Tagsblatt für Spott und Ernst mit Karrikaturen* [Viennese Caterwauling (Charivari). Political daily for fun and seriousness with caricatures] and some numbers of *Politischer Horizont*, [Political Horizon] including those from September, 27th and 28th, and October, 28th, 1848. The collection contains miscellaneous mani-

*Proclamation singed by the magistrate of Vienna and the provisional citizen's committee on march 19 1848. It informs the citizens that the Duke of Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha has agreed that part of his palace in Vienna will be used as a temporary jail for 'certain individuals' brought in from the surrounding areas. The city jails soon ran out of room during the revolution.*



festos and programmes of constitutional and democratic associations, orders of the day from commanding officers, appeals by individuals, programmes for festivities, speeches in honour of particular occasions and army bulletins.

This document proclaims that the emperor Ferdinand has abolished censorship:

*Seine K. K. apostolische Majestät haben die Aufhebung der Censur und die alsbaldige Veröffentlichung eines Pressgesetzes allergnädigst zu beschliessen geruht.*

*Wien am 14. März 1848.*

*Johann Talatzko Freiherr von Gestieticz,  
K. K. Nieder-Oester. Regierungs-Präsident.<sup>18</sup>*

A Doctor Wildner-Maithstein celebrated 'im Augenblicke nach der Verkündigung der Censurfreiheit [In the moments after the proclamation of freedom from censorship]' on March, 14th, 1848 in Vienna with the call *Wackere Mitbürger des grossen herrlichen Oesterreichs!* [Valiant fellow citizens of the great and glorious Austria!]

*Freiheit! Ordnung! Gerechtigkeit! Liebe zu Fürst und Vaterland! seien die Losungsworte der Bürgergarde, wie jedes Mitbürgers, und es werden gewiss die Geschwirre, die des entflohenen Mannes verkehrtes System zur Reise brachte, baldigst zu heilen beginnen, was wir alle brüderlich uns wünschen.<sup>19</sup>*

Government President Talatzko had a busy day on March, 14th, and issued another two proclamations. One concerned, among other things, the right of students to arm themselves. There were around eight thousand students in Vienna at this time. Calm, order and security had to be preserved:

*... dass alle Bürger durch Einreihung in die Bürger-Corps diese möglichst verstärken, und zur Erhaltung der Ruhe kräftig mitwirken werden<sup>20</sup>*

A third proclamation signed by Talatzko concerned the setting up of a national guard:

*... zur Aufrechthaltung der gesetzmässigen Ruhe und Ordnung der Residenz und zum Schutze der Personen und des Eigenthumes...<sup>21</sup>*

Barely a month later, on April, 10th, 1848, a ten paragraph proposal for the fundamental rules of the national guard was published.

An 'Kundmachung von dem Magistrate und prov. Bürgerausschusse der Stadt Wien am 17. März 1848 [Proclamation by the magistrate and provisional citizens' committee of the city of Vienna on March, 17th, 1848] announced:

*In Folge der von den nied. Österr. Herren Ständen erlassenen Kundmachung vom 15. d. M. wurde bey dem Magistrate und dem provisorischen Bürgerausschusse die Wahl jener 12 Mitglieder aus dem Bürgerstande vorgenom-*

*Galley proof written by T. M. Jettel: 'The Parliament in Kremsier [the Parliament moved from Vienna to the bishop's palace of this small town, in November 1848] An abbreviated Account of the Proceedings of the Austrian Constituent Assembly since its Re-opening in Kremsier'.*

men, welche an den in gegenwärtigen wichtigen Momenten erforderlichen Verhandlungen der nö. Herren Stände provisorisch Theil zu nehmen haben.

Bei dieser Wahl wurde vor Allem auf die Bedeutenheit der Geschäftsbesorgung und auf den Umstand Rücksicht genommen, dass nach Möglichkeit verschiedenen Klassen des Bürgerstandes die gehörige Vertretung zu Theil werde.<sup>22</sup>

## A New Constitution

The collection holds complimentary poems and leaflets with requests directed to the Austrian Emperor together with proclamations by him, 'Wir Ferdinand der Erste [We, Ferdinand the First]':

*haben nunmehr solche Verfügungen getroffen, die Wir als zur Erfüllung der Wünsche Unserer treuen Völker erforderlich erkannten.*

*Die Pressfreiheit ist durch Meine Erklärung der Aufhebung der Censur in derselben Weise gewährt, wie in allen Staaten, wo sie besteht. (Gegeben den fünfzehnten März.)<sup>23</sup>*

*Offene und ehrliche Bitte der getreuen Oestreicher an ihren geliebten Kaiser* [A public and honest plea to their beloved Emperor by loyal Austrians] is the title of a pamphlet written on March, 30th, 'ausgegeben durch Tendler et Comp. [published by Tendler & Co.], in which 'the loyal Austrians' request that the Emperor dismiss the men of "the old system":

*Aber Eines ist noch nothwendig, dringend nothwendig, damit das Uebrige zur Wahrheit werde, und ungefährdet gedeihen könne; diess ist: Entlassung jener Rathgeber Eurer Majestät, die noch dem alten Systeme angehören, dem Systeme, welches das Land an den Rand des Abgrunds gebracht hat.<sup>24</sup>*

On April, 25th, 1848 an imperial ordinance 'Wir Ferdinand der Erste [We, Ferdinand the First]' proclaimed a free constitution for Austria: Verfassungsurkunde des österreichischen Kaiserstaates [Constitutional Charter of the Austrian Imperial State], which introduced a bicameral parliament.

*Guter Rath eines Oesterreichers an seine Mitbürger! Zur Würdigung und näheren Verständniss des neuen Nationalanlebens*

[Good advice from an Austrian to his fellow countrymen! On the Estimation and closer Understanding of the new Standing of the Nation] is a seven page pamphlet signed by B. T. v. G.

*Der Reichstag in Kremsier. Gedrängte Darstellung der Verhandlungen der constituirenden österreichischen Reichs-Versammlung seit ihrer Wiedereröffnung in Kremsier* [The Parliament in Kremsier. An abbreviated Account of the Proceedings of the Austrian Imperial Constituent Assembly since its Re-opening in Kremsier] is a four page Probe-Blatt [Galley proof] written by T. M. Jettel.

An example of an appeal from an individual, 'Ein Bürger Wien 's [A Citizen of Vienna]', although he writes 'im Namen aller Gutgesinnten [in the name of all right-thinking people]', *is Mit unserer Freiheit steht 's wirklich miserabel! Ein ernstes Wort an die gutgesinnten Wiener* [The State of our Freedom is Truly Miserable! A Serious Word to the Right-thinking Citizens of Vienna] dated September, 12th, 1848.

Many appeals, addresses and proclamations are signed by Der Ausschuss der Bürger, Nationalgarden und Studenten für Ruhe, Ordnung, Sicherheit und Wahrung der Rechte des Volkes [The Committee of Citizens, Students and National Guard for Peace, Order, Public Safety and the Preservation of the Rights of the People]. The Committee appears under somewhat various names. The subjects of the texts include electoral procedures, the payment of taxes, the importance of watching out for reactionaries; they warn against taking part in illegal games and provide details of troop movements. In Adresse der gesammten Einwohner Wiens an das souveraine Parlament zu Frankfurt [Address by all the Inhabitants of Vienna to the Sovereign Parliament in Frankfurt] on June, 8th, the Committee writes to the national parliament in Frankfurt with representatives elected by all the 34 states belonging to the German Confederation 'Im Namen der ganzen Bevölkerung Wiens [In the name of the entire population of Vienna]':

*Soll die Einheit Deutschlands zur Wahrheit werden, so kann sein Parlament nicht minder freisinnig seyn, als wir es waren.<sup>25</sup>*

## The March Revolution in Berlin

At the end of February and during the first weeks of March, meetings of burghers and mass meetings were held in many towns in western Germany. In Mannheim in Baden a programme was adopted that demanded democracy, freedom of assembly, a citizen army, equality, freedom of the press and popular courts. In Berlin a demonstration on March, 18th, was fired upon by soldiers. The King of

Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm IV, withdrew the troops, adopted the colours of the German tricolour and promised a constituent assembly. The so-called Pre-parliament, 500 men from throughout Germany, met in Frankfurt on March, 31st, and proposed the old National Parliament that it convene a national assembly elected by universal suffrage that would independently resolve upon a constitution for Germany. The National Parliament acceded to this at once. On May, 18th, 1848 the national assembly met in St. Paul's Church in Frankfurt.

We do not have many works published in 1848 or the immediately succeeding years in the subject section on

German History 1848 in the classified catalogue, which comprises around a hundred works. We have a second expanded edition of *Ideen zu einer Teutschen Reichsverfassung* [Ideas on a German Imperial Constitution] (Erlangen 1848) by a Dr. Eisenmann which proposes that the German sovereign power should rotate at five year intervals between the monarchs of Prussia, Austria and Bavaria. Legislative power is to be exercised by the head of state, privy council and popular assembly. *Die deutsche Revolution im März 1848. Eine übersichtliche und getreue Darstellung der Bewegungen in allen Staaten Deutschlands von der Proclamierung der französischen Republik bis zur Wiener und Berliner Revolution* [The German

## NOTES

---

1. Then there follows a toast to be proposed by the deputy M. Ledru-Rollin.

To a better life for the working class! To the workers! (Wild cheers.)

M. Ledru-Rollin gets up to speak.

...

Citizens,

Yes, to the workers. To their inalienable rights, their vital interests unrecognised until now!

2. We have just recounted the greatest event to have shaken our souls since the day that Christ, hanging his head on the cross, shattered the old world.

3. It is no longer necessary to proclaim the Republic, nor to discuss it, nor to recognise it. It is here. It is here by the same right as the people of whom it is the expression.

4. Respect for the monuments! Respect for property! Why shoot at these pictures? We have shown that the people must not be badly led. Let us now show that the People is able to respect monuments and honour its victory!

5. On the 24th, at a moment when the people were working industriously on building barricades, a violent storm broke out over Paris. An urchin who was guarding one in Rue Richelieu raised his sabre in the air and shouted: 'God is on our side my friends, he is sending us refreshments!'

6. The proclamation of the French Republic is not an act of aggression against any form of government whatsoever. Forms

of government have a diversity as legitimate as the diversity of the characters, geographic situations and intellectual, moral and material developments of peoples. Like individuals, nations are of different ages. The principles that govern them go through a succession of phases.

7. What are the essential, urgent, vital questions of today?... the most urgent is to organise the National Guard, to organise the whole people under arms, formed up in regiments, appointing its own leaders, democratically uniformed and armed.

8. Oh people, thou shalt reign supreme! Shalt reign in brotherhood with thy equals of every class, for the Republic, the ark of our covenant under whose ruins we must henceforth perish ere we relinquish it, the Republic, form unequalled of an abiding society, proclaims and hallows before the Universe as witness to its vow all men's equality of rights.

9. ... the delegate must scale the rungs of the social ladder from the lowest to the highest with style, circumspection and a republican intelligence. Out of respect for customs and manners he must amend his language and conduct in order to achieve the set goal – the choice of delegates.

10. Do not confuse the political police with those on the beat, the criminal police with the security police, the secret police with the local police.

11. Take all the speeches given at the clubs of the Jacobins, add the wild imaginings of Babeuf, mix in the ideas of Saint-Simons and the theories of Fourier and add to all this a good dose of

Revolution of March 1848. A Clear and Faithful Account of Movements and Events in all the States of Germany from the Proclamation of the French Republic until the Revolutions in Vienna and Berlin], published in Berlin in 1848 by Verlag von Gustav Hempel is the most complete story of the revolution in Germany.

There is also *Der Nothstand der untern Volksklassen mit seinen augenfälligen, nahen und entfernten Ursachen und den ausführbaren sichern Mitteln zu seiner radikalen Bekämpfung. Den Fürsten und ihren Rathgebern, den privilegierten (sic!) Ständen, den Volksvertretern und den Volksfreunden gewidmet von einem Ostpreussen* [The Crisis of the Lower Classes, its Evident, Im-

mediate and Remote Causes and Practical Certain Means of Combating it Radically. Dedicated to the Princes and their Advisors, the Privileged Classes, the Representatives and the Friends of the People by an East Prussian] published anonymously by Verlag von Adolph Samter in Königsberg in 1848. A pencil inscription on ARAB's copy ascribes it to J. Jacoby.

The revolutionary movements spread over virtually all of Europe but with the help of the armies, those in power soon regained lost ground. The reasons for this were many and differed from country to country. The revolutionaries were never a homogeneous group and their demands were often contradictory. The students wanted the abolition of

---

exaggeration and childishness; blend them all together and you have communism.

12. Down with the communists! They are the people who are the cause of our misery! They are for the destruction of property and the family! Down with Cabet! Down with Blanqui! Down with Raspail! People were even shouting: Down with Louis Blanc! Down with Ledru-Rollin!

13. Work is the power of man, the intelligent, active force that seizes upon external nature and forces it to submit... it is a need, that is, a right - the most inviolable of all. The right to work is the right to life.

14. Here comes our Blanqui, his days are an agony  
Baroche's agriping that he's malevolent!  
How you have riled him, worthy executioners,  
Hacking at the captive through the bars...

Albert the worker, proletarian minister,  
No more today than sectarian vile.  
(The High Court of Justice)

15. Only the people, acting on its own without intermediaries, can bring to fruition the economic revolution started in February. Only the people can save civilisation and cause humanity to advance!

16. In the hour of danger and decision, when only the interests of the people should have counted and everyone had to act together, the party of the establishment cravenly fled from the Reichstag in Vienna and then attempted to plead to you in

Prague that the last Viennese uprising was not a movement of the people but done on Magyar money.

17. He was that great canal into which the state's millions flowed; he was the living strongbox of sumptuary tax as only his stout body could digest so much metal. He stood as an impenetrable dividing wall between the people and its beloved monarch.

18. His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty has graciously resolved upon the abolition of censorship and the immediate publication of a law on the press.

Vienna, 14 March, 1848

Johann Talatzko, Duke of Gestieticz,  
President of the Imperial and Royal Government of Lower Austria.

19. Freedom! Order! Justice! Love of Prince and Fatherland! These are the watchwords of the Civil Guard as of every fellow citizen and the boils that the deranged system of him who has fled brought to a head will begin to heal as soon as possible as is the fraternal wish of us all.

20. ... that all citizens, by enlisting in the Civil Guard, reinforce the latter to the greatest possible extent and cooperate energetically in the preservation of the peace.

21. ... for the maintenance of lawful peace and order in the Residence and for the protection of people and property...

22. In consequence of the proclamation made by the noble estate of Lower Austria on 15 inst., twelve members of the

supervision and censorship; the peasants were demanding liberation from the duty of day labour; the bourgeoisie wished for liberal reforms, workers and craftsmen wanted the state to guarantee them the right to work. There were, however, some abiding results of the revolution – in Austria the abolition of soccage for peasants and in France universal suffrage for men.

Lastly: one of the most prominent refugees of the revolution was Karl Marx, who was expelled to France from Brussels in March 1848. In April he, together with Friedrich Engels, moved back from Paris to Germany to take part in the revolution there. Marx became editor-in-

chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne. He was expelled from Germany, returned to Paris, was deported again and finally fled to London where he remained for the rest of his life. His and Engels' *Communist Manifesto* was published in London in February 1848. It was published in Swedish in December the same year, bearing the title *Kommunismens röst* [The Voice of Communism] by Per Götrek, Swedish writer, publisher, bookseller and Utopian. This first Swedish edition also stated on the cover *Folkets röst är Guds röst* [The Voice of the People is the Voice of God]. The library has two copies of *Kommunismens röst* – as yet another document from 1848 - Year of Revolution.

---

bourgeois estate who are provisionally to participate in the negotiations required in the present momentous times were elected by the magistrate and provisional citizens' committee. In this election, account has been taken above all of the importance of dealing with the matter and the circumstance that, in so far as possible, various classes of the bourgeois estate should be accorded representation.

23. ... have now promulgated such arrangements as We consider necessary for the fulfilment of the wishes of our loyal people.

Freedom of the press is granted by Our declaration on the abolition of censorship in the same manner as in all states where it exists. (Promulgated 15 March)

24. But one thing is still necessary, urgently necessary that the remainder may become reality and prosper unimpaired – the dismissal of those advisers to Your Majesty who still adhere to the old system, to the system that has brought the country to the brink of disaster.

25. Should the unity of Germany become a reality, its Parliament cannot be any less liberal than were we.

## LITERATURE

For ARAB's golden jubilee in 1952, a commemorative booklet *Hävd och handling. Arbetarrörelsens arkiv 50 år* was published, in which Per Lind wrote about ARAB's 'Rare books and curiosities'.

This was also published in numbers 1-2 (2000) of our journal *Arbetarhistoria* under the title 'Utopister och klassiker. Rariteter i ARAB:s bibliotek'. In number 19 (no. 3, 1981) of the same journal, which was then called *Meddelande från Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek* [Bulletin from the Labour Movement Archives and Library], librarian Birgit Parding wrote 'Utopier och manifest. Rariteter i Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och biblioteks samlingar [Utopias and manifestos. Rare books in the collections of the Labour Movement Archives and Library]'. The article contains a register of Swedish language publications of *The Communist Manifesto*, which had been published in German in February 1848.

Duveau, Georges: 1848. Paris 1965

Koht, Halvdan: *Folkets tidsålder. Revolutionsåret 1848 i Europa*. New edition, Stockholm 1982

Perényi, János: *Revolutionsuppfattningens anatomi. 1848 års revolutioner i svensk debatt*. Uppsala/Stockholm 1979

Ragnerstam, Bunny: *Arbetare i rörelse. Historisk krönika. Bd 1*. Stockholm 1986

*Les révolutions de 1848*. Paris 1971

Stearns, Peter N.: *The Revolutions of 1848*. London 1974

**Marie Hedström is a librarian.**