

RESOLVES... For The Tribune.
We will not faint nor weary in well-doing.
We will not cease to look the good we crave pursuing.

GERMANY.

REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

The political movement of the middle class, or Bourgeoisie, in Germany, may be dated from 1840. It had been preceded by symptoms showing that the moneyed and industrial class of that country was ripening into a state which no longer allowed it to continue apathetic and passive under the pressure of a half-feudal, half-bureaucratic monarchy.

German literature, too, labored under the influence of the political excitement into which all Europe had been thrown by the events of 1830. A crude constitutionalism, or a still cruder republicanism, were preached by almost all writers of the time. It became more and more the habit, particularly of the inferior sorts of literature, to make up for the want of cleverness in their productions by political allusions which were sure to attract attention.

An absolute monarchy, to gain some political information, and to form anything like an independent political opinion, united into one mighty phalanx of opposition against the existing system. And in passing judgment upon the slowest of political development in Germany, no one ought to omit taking into account the difficulty of obtaining correct information upon any subject in a country, where all sources of information were under control of the Government.

It needs no further explanation why, under such a system, political information was an almost exclusive monopoly of such classes of society as could afford to pay for its being smuggled into the country, and more particularly of those whose interests were most seriously attacked by the existing state of things—namely, the manufacturing and commercial classes.

But if Louis XVI., "Louis-le-Desire," was a plain, unpretending simpleton, half-conscious of his own nullity, without any fixed opinions, ruled principally by the habits contracted during his education, "Frederick William-le-Desire" was something quite different. While he certainly surpassed his French original in weakness of character, he was neither without pretensions nor without opinions. He had made himself acquainted, in an amateur sort of way, with the rudiments of most sciences, and thought himself, therefore, learned enough to consider his judgment upon every subject.

It took some time before the Prussian Bourgeoisie, not very well versed in theoretical questions, found out the real purport of their King's tendency. But what they very soon found out was the fact that he was bent upon things quite the reverse of what they wanted. Hardly did the new King find his "gift of the gab" unfeared by his father's death, than he set about proclaiming his intentions in speeches without number, and every speech, every act of his went far to estrange from him the sympathies of the Middle Class.

Indeed the middle classes, who had partly expected that the new King would at once grant a Constitution, proclaim the Liberty of the Press, Trial by Jury, &c., in short, himself take the lead of that peaceful revolution which they wanted in order to obtain political supremacy—the middle classes had found out their error and had turned furiously against the king.

The poor King, whose commercial difficulties were the keener satire upon his mediocrity, continued to reign without making some slight concession to the popular outcry for that "Representation of the People," which, as the last remnant of the long-forgotten promises of 1813 and 1815, had been embodied in the law of 1820. He found the least objectionable mode of satisfying this untoward law in calling together the Standing Committees of the Provincial Diets.

The Provincial Diets had been instituted in 1823. They consisted, for every one of the eight provinces of the kingdom, of: 1. The higher nobility, the formerly sovereign families of the German Empire, the heads of which were members of the Diet by birthright. 2. Of the representatives of the knights or lower nobility. 3. Of representatives of towns; and 4. Of deputies of the peasantry or small farming class.

The sitting of the united Committees proved that the spirit of opposition was no longer confined to the Bourgeoisie. A part of the Peasantry had joined them, and many nobles, being themselves large farmers on their own property, and dealers in corn, wool, spirits and flax, requiring the same guarantees against absolutism, bureaucracy and feudal restoration, had equally pronounced against the Government and for a Representative Constitution.

This every hope of obtaining money had vanished, and there was no possibility of escaping the fatal "Representation of the People." Rothschild's refusal was known in Autumn, 1846, and in February of the next year the King called together all the eight Provincial Diets to Berlin, forming them into one "United Diet." This Diet was to do the work required, in case of need, by the law of 1820: it was to vote loans and increased taxes, but beyond that it was to have no rights. Its voice upon general legislation was to be merely consultative; it was to assemble, not at fixed periods, but whenever it pleased the King; it was to discuss nothing but what the Government pleads to lay before it.

This vote very soon brought their sitting to a close. The King, more and more exasperated, dismissed them with a reprimand, but still remained without money. And, indeed, he had every reason to be alarmed at his position, seeing that the Liberal league, headed by the middle classes, comprising a large part of the lower nobility and all the manifold discontents that had been accumulated in the different sections of the lower orders—that this Liberal league was determined to have what it wanted. In vain the King had declared, in the opening speech, that he would never, never grant a Constitution in the modern sense of the word; the Liberal league insisted upon such a modern, anti-feudal, representative Constitution, with all its sequels, liberty of the press, trial by jury, &c., and before they got it, not a farthing of money would they grant. There was one thing evident: that things could not go on long in this manner, and that either one of the parties must give way, or that a rupture, a bloody struggle must ensue.

land, had more or less imbibed the crude Socialist and Communist notions then current among the French workmen. The increasing attention paid to similar ideas in France, ever since 1840, made Socialism and Communist fashion in Germany also, and as far back as 1843, all newspapers teemed with discussions of social questions. A school of Socialists very soon formed itself in Germany, distinguished more for the obscurity than for the novelty of its ideas: its principal efforts consisted in the translation of French, Fourierist, Saint-Simonian and other doctrines into the abstruse language of German philosophy.

In 1845 there occurred the Silesian weavers' riots, followed by the insurrection of the Calico Printers in Prague. These riots, cruelly suppressed, riots of working men, not against the Government but against their employers, created a deep sensation, and gave a new stimulus to Socialist and Communist propaganda amongst the working people. So did the Bread riots during the year of famine, 1847. In short, in the same manner as Constitutional opposition rallied around its banner the great bulk of the propertyed classes, (with the exception of the large Feudal land-holders,) so the working classes of the larger towns looked for their emancipation to the Socialist and Communist doctrines, although, under the then existing press-laws, they could be made to know only very little about them.

There was then no separate republican party in Germany. There were either constitutional monarchists, or more or less clearly defined Socialists or Communists. With such elements, the slightest collision must have brought about a great revolution. While the higher nobility, and the older civil and military officers, were the only safe supports of the existing system; while the lower nobility, the trading middle classes, the universities, the school-masters of every degree, and even part of the lower ranks of the bureaucracy and military officers, were all leagued against the government; while, behind these, stood the dissatisfied masses of the peasantry, and of the proletarians of the large towns, supporting, for the time being, the liberal opposition, but already uttering strange words about taking things into their own hands; while the Bourgeoisie was ready to hurl down the government, and the Proletarians were preparing to hurl down the Bourgeoisie in its turn—this government went on obstinately in a course which must bring about a collision.

Germany was, in the beginning of 1848, on the eve of a revolution, and this revolution was sure to come, even had the French revolution of February not hastened it. What the effects of this Parisian Revolution were upon Germany, we shall see in our next.

London, September, 1851. KARL MARX.

LETTERS UPON HUNGARY. No. XI.

BY MR. BEAUC.

I spoke, in my last, of the tobacco law, as one instance of the Austrian misgovernment in Hungary. As I said then, I believe the revenue which Austria will gain from this will be very small, compared with the ultimate loss to her own interests.

In one place through which I passed, in Heves Comitat, where there had once been five hundred tobacco planters, there are not now five. In every village they gave the same account of the diminution of the tobacco crop. I visited very many gentlemen who had not only given up raising tobacco, but had also resolved to leave off the habit of smoking, when the new law came into operation on the first of July. Numbers had pledged themselves never to smoke the "imperial tobacco," as it is called, after it has passed into the Commissioners' hands; and it was said that even then the officers were obliged to label their cigars "Hungarian tobacco," or tobacco not delivered into the hands of the excise officers—in order to make it salable. Very many of them meant to hold out against the tax, as we did against the tax on tea, in our Revolution. "It was had enough paying Austria's debts," they said, "but such an annoying, oppressive tax as this was intolerable."

I must confess I almost doubt the ability of the Hungarians to give up their old habit, even for such patriotic motives as these. Still, it all shows the feeling of the country toward their new Government.

The next step of the Austrian Ministry, in their course of taxation, was to lay a heavy duty on all wine made in the country. In Tokay, where the most valuable wines are produced, the duty was 2 golden per covek, (about 8 cents a gallon), when the price was only 4 golden, or a duty of about 50 per cent on a product of the soil. In another district, and farther south where I was, they estimated the tax at 75 per cent.

Besides this, the cultivator must pay a further tax of 5 per cent on the ground of his vineyard. All this, of course, comes exceedingly hard on an impoverished population; and the Bauer, especially, feel it, as they have always been in the habit of raising their own wine, and have, naturally, very little ready money.

The results of this, too, are beginning to be apparent. Peasants abandon the cultivation of the vine, rather than incur such expenses, and betake themselves to spirituous drink to the vile pleasure of Stigovitz, which is manufactured in the country.

The large vine-planters have reduced their vineyards to a considerable degree; and very many of the gentlemen have given them up, for the present, altogether.

But this is not, by any means, all the taxation. Every house pays a tax, moderate sum, and the garden has its tax also. The country, as a whole, pays a tax, and the nobles are nominally rated, many of the exports sent from Hungary into Austria must pay a heavy tribute, in the way of tax.

Numerous other articles bear up the amount of taxes, and as a climax, comes the poll-tax of a dollar and a half, through the whole mass population.

In considering these various measures of the Austrian administration, it would not be just to pass over some, in another direction, which are also of great importance, and which are claimed as highly beneficial to the country. These limit themselves to the improvement of the roads and the postal communication. As I have said in a previous letter, I consider these improvements to have been very much exaggerated. In by-roads, in roads running across the country, in improvements within the cities, there are no marks of Austrian labor. But in the two great military roads, one running from Pesth to Siestenberg, through Grosswarden, and the other from Pesth to Szegedin, in a southerly direction, something in the way of "improvement" has been done, through the aid of the peasants. It is true, too, that on these two roads it is not difficult to see what more speedily than it used to be, though whether this increased celerity is at all compensated for by the risk which every traveler incurs of passing through the hands of the Chief of Police, is another question. The truth is, in whatever can aid in the military occupation of the country—in connecting fortresses with highways, in building *levis de point* in the cities, and embankments around the citadels—the Austrians are active enough, but in any other more useful direction, I could not see that they were doing anything.

As I said in my last letter, I have no doubt that in an early period after the revolution the Austrian Government might have won over almost the whole nation. As it is—I had almost said it with a "God be thanked"—it is too late. Falseness, and duplicity, and oppression, have done their work. Years of good government, and of honorable dealing and kind treatment, would not efface the remembrance. The Ministry of Vienna have lost all which they might have gained.

It is a well-known great weakness of the Hungarian party lay in their contests and differences with the other tribes—especially the Wallachs and Croats. Of course, as prudent statesmen, it should have been a prominent object of the Austrian Ministry to preserve these "nationalities" friendly to them. They appear, however, to have become confident from the wonderful success of the war, and from the aid of their powerful ally, and they proceeded quickly to the exclusion of the Croats, and to exhort them from their every possible penny, just as they had done with the other Hungarians.

There is no proof that the Croats had ever been really oppressed under the other administration. The forcing of the Magyar language upon them as their diplomatic language, was their greatest grievance. Of this we shall have more to say hereafter. Still, they had always been allowed their peculiar provincial privileges, their Assembly of Representatives, and their laws, differing somewhat from those in the rest of Hungary. Their share, too, in the national property had been much smaller than that of the other tribes. The Austrians, however, totally forgot all this, and their own services toward them. The German language has been forced upon them, quite as much as the Magyar would have been. All their peculiar privileges have been buried under an indiscriminate military rule. The ancient Croatian Assembly of Deputies has passed away, not to be revived till that indefinite day of the future, when the Austrian Constitution of the 17th of March comes into full force, and upon them, too, and they find that they, the faithful allies of the Emperor, must pay for the long course of Austrian extravagance and wastefulness.

They have deserted their natural allies and kindred, and have degraded their ancient kingdom into a province of Austria, and all they get in return, is a share in the grinding oppression which is fastened upon the rest of Hungary. The Austrians began by despoiling and inflaming them against the Magyars, and they end by their ever cruel and oppressive measures worse than they ever could have been oppressed before. One would have expected that skillful statesmen would, at least, reward followers who had suffered so much for their party. But it does not appear to have been done. Whether the Austrians have become blind, from their success, or whether they wish to degrade Hungary, in every way, as much as possible, certain it is that the Croats and the other tribes, the Wallachs, the Magyarians, and the other tribes, have all come quite as heavy upon the Croats as the other Hungarians, and the more bitterly, as they had expected something better.

The same is true of all the other tribes, or portions of tribes, who, at any time, sided with the Austrians. They are taxed, worried with police regulations, fettered in all liberty of speech or action, placed under the most arbitrary, lawless military despotism, precisely as the worst enemies of the Austrian power.

This is a heavy burden, throughout Hungary, has opened the eyes of the allies of Austria. The Hungarians had always warned them, that if they should succeed with Austria, they would find themselves under a tyranny worse than had ever been known in Hungary. They see it all true. As a consequence of all this, their whole feeling toward the Magyars has changed. I know of no better proof of this than an instance related to me by the noblest of Bohemia, and a gentleman of great intelligence, certainly a person whose opinion on such a subject as this would not incline too much to the Hungarian side.

He admitted, in a conversation I had with him while in his house at Pesth, that there were too many of the Austrian officers in the country who did not understand the Hungarian character, and who, from the disorganizing despotism of the Austrian Government in that matter, the government, as I stated in my last, promised to redeem these notes, at least to a certain fixed part of their value; but when a certain quantity were handed in, burned them, without ever paying a kreutzer to their owners. This, of course, has destroyed the confidence of the Bauer in the promises of the government, and gives Kossuth's party a great influence on the merely selfish among them, as they hope hereafter to get no value for their disorganizing despotism of the Austrian Government in that matter. The government, as I stated in my last, promised to redeem these notes, at least to a certain fixed part of their value; but when a certain quantity were handed in, burned them, without ever paying a kreutzer to their owners. This, of course, has destroyed the confidence of the Bauer in the promises of the government, and gives Kossuth's party a great influence on the merely selfish among them, as they hope hereafter to get no value for their disorganizing despotism of the Austrian Government in that matter. The government, as I stated in my last, promised to redeem these notes, at least to a certain fixed part of their value; but when a certain quantity were handed in, burned them, without ever paying a kreutzer to their owners. This, of course, has destroyed the confidence of the Bauer in the promises of the government, and gives Kossuth's party a great influence on the merely selfish among them, as they hope hereafter to get no value for their disorganizing despotism of the Austrian Government in that matter.

Probably the most discontented class in the Austrian dominions, at present, are the Hungarian peasantry. In addition to the various tributes adverse to the Hungarian party, there was an important body of noblemen—the *Magnates*—men owning vast estates, who had always stood aloof from the "Revolutionists." Many of them had even sided with the Austrians, and hated in Hungary—

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It will be seen, whatever be the explanation, that this is a very important fact for the Hungarian question. If the explanation be as the Hungarians give it, that no accurate census was ever made until now, under this exact military rule, inasmuch as before the only object of numbering the population was to find those liable to service under arms, it still does away with one great argument against the Magyar or Hungarian party. For it has always been said that the Magyars were only a small part of the population, some three or four millions, and that their pre-eminence in the land, late statistics, however, all show a much greater pre-eminence to the Magyar element than has been allowed. I observe by writers in our country, on the other side of the question, for instance Fenyes, that the number in 1842 was 4,870,000; and no one will ever accuse Fenyes of over-estimating anything. The "Universal Gazette" of Presburg, in 1849, states the Magyars as numbering some what over 5,000,000, and Schutte, German historian, in 1850, as 5,278,000.

However, leaving this, and admitting the explanation of this new increase given by the Austrian Police Director, it speaks most strikingly against what we have heard, in our country, of Magyar oppression and injustice to the other tribes of Hungary, and as a convincing proof of what the paternal government of Austria has done, in 1850, as a just reward, for the services of the Magyar element, and honest writer, gives them, in 1850, as 5,278,000.

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or who delayed before they joined the forces, left an equal enthusiasm for the party which had freed them. They saw what they had gained. They could choose their own Judges, their own Aldermen, their own local Assemblies for government. They owned, too, the lowest of them, even in an election for the great Hungarian Parliament, the nobles, who had turned out to combat the noblemen, into their own ranks. They were freed from all their old *Kobak*—their feudal labor of so many days in the year to their landlords.

Many of them had become rich. By the change, Kossuth also came among them, and addressed them especially, with his stirring, passionate eloquence. They heard new words of "Freedom," of "Brotherhood," of the rights which God has given the lowest in this world, of the wrongs which Austria would inflict on their beloved Hungary. Every man became determined, passionately, to fight for the cause, and the blessed sun then, by these speeches of Kossuth, are working yet, incredibly, among that peasantry. It will be remembered also, that several months after this act of the Parliament, when the difference between Austria and Hungary had happily widened, the Emperor published a Decree, in which he renounced all the services of Hungary. In the next of all the services of Hungary. In the Decree was probably hardly even known to the peasantry of Hungary, and nothing more was heard till the close of the war.

Then would have been the time, in the forming a new Government in Hungary, to have made a really felt Austria had freed the peasants, and it is but just to say that these measures, being done away with all feudal exactions, were faithfully carried out, after the revolution, in Bohemia and in other parts of the Empire, by the Austrian Government, though, after all, with a great sacrifice of the Emperor's revenue. He had been laid, nearly all, upon the shoulders of the peasants and the proprietors. It is possible, by a judicious policy, that the Government might have made the peasants believe they were really seeking the best interests of their class. But, at once, as every class must be alike degraded in the unhappy country, they commenced by placing over them all the iron rule of military authority. All the privileges which they had enjoyed under the Hungarian Ministry were a once taken from them.

Their elections, their assemblies, their voting of every kind, was at an end, for all building is inconsistent with a state of siege (*szétzárás*).

Their Judges and town officers and aldermen were sent to them from a distance, and were either strangers or appointed from Hungarians whom they despised. They found that they had to voice or vote in the matter; that they were quite as much *serfs* as before the Revolution, and even in a worse condition, for the new taxes and the other measures, which must be paid for the land, his *head*, and, more than that, he must labor on the public roads for the State, and do other services, until it all became more intolerable than the detested *Robot*. And indeed no severer tax could be laid upon such a population than a money tax. Labor would have been much easier for them to give throughout.

It is true, agents of Government have gone among them and attempted to make the matter clear to them; they have shown them the eloquent Decree of the Emperor, proclaiming their freedom in all their rights in his Empire, they have described the love he bears them, "his children."

But the convincing argument to the peasant's mind—and one which stands before him always—is in the facts themselves. "Where are the rights," he says, "which I had under Kossuth? Where are our elections, our officers, our judges? I could vote then. I could be chosen for an office. I could speak and act then as I chose. Where's all this? Now, I have gone *draves* all the time, watching my cattle, as well as my own commission. I have nothing whatever to do in the Government. Besides, I must pay taxes for everything I eat, and drink, and own. Where is your freedom?"

A few phrases about "the exigencies of a state of siege" will never answer such questions—and the Bauer put them, or similar, very often.

Besides all this, the Hungarian party have a very strong hold on the peasants from the large amount of *Kossuth notes* kept in concealment by them, and from the disorganizing despotism of the Austrian Government in that matter. The government, as I stated in my last, promised to redeem these notes, at least to a certain fixed part of their value; but when a certain quantity were handed in, burned them, without ever paying a kreutzer to their owners. This, of course, has destroyed the confidence of the Bauer in the promises of the government, and gives Kossuth's party a great influence on the merely selfish among them, as they hope hereafter to get no value for their disorganizing despotism of the Austrian Government in that matter. The government, as I stated in my last, promised to redeem these notes, at least to a certain fixed part of their value; but when a certain quantity were handed in, burned them, without ever paying a kreutzer to their owners. This, of course, has destroyed the confidence of the Bauer in the promises of the government, and gives Kossuth's party a great influence on the merely selfish among them, as they hope hereafter to get no value for their disorganizing despotism of the Austrian Government in that matter.

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