

KARL MARX

11

**Notebook
on the
Paris
Commune**

Press
Excerpts
& Notes

Edited by Hal Draper

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**INDEPENDENT
SOCIALIST
PRESS**

For the Centennial 1871 - 1971

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The FSM Papers

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS AND EPHEMERA
OF THE "FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT"
AT BERKELEY IN 1964-65...ON MICROFILM

The Free Speech Movement at the University of California at Berkeley—the first big explosion of the New Left student movement—gave rise to innumerable books and articles. Yet most of the material issued by the FSM itself, and other students at the time, is not generally available for research. Hence this collection, which includes only material never republished in any of the books and articles (except for excerpts in some cases). It has been collated from three private collections, plus additions photocopied from the university's archive department, to ensure the most complete assembly anywhere of this type of material. It includes the voluminous report "Administrative Pressures [etc]" which was the FSM's most complete documentation of its retrospective case; a complete file of the *FSM Newsletter*, plus all supplements; other periodicals issued on the campus, now virtually unobtainable; and above all, a large, editorially dated and chronologically arranged collection of leaflets issued by the FSM or related student groups; followed by leaflets and other ephemera pertaining to the 1965 period of the Kerr resignation, attempt to form a Free Student Union; and more. *All of this has been paginated so that a detailed Table of Contents could be added at the beginning of the microfilm.....*

Edited by Hal Draper, author of *Berkeley: The New Student Revolt* (1965).

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NOTE

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Introduction

This book is, in a way, a companion volume to the collection of Marx and Engels' Writings on the Paris Commune, edited by the undersigned, which was published in March of this centennial year by the Monthly Review Press. My Foreword to that volume explains the circumstances under which Marx wrote his work *The Civil War in France*, as an "address" of the General Council of the International. Suffice to recall here that, although Marx's final draft was not read to the General Council until May 30, 1871, two days after the fall of the Commune, the fact is that he had been working on the material ever since the "revolution of March 18" in Paris.

The notebook reproduced here was one part of Marx's preparatory work. I quote a few lines from the account given in my Foreword:

Marx...began organizing the mass of press reports and information gleaned from Commune newspapers immediately after the March 18 revolution...

Marx's preparatory materials for the writing of *The Civil War in France* are in three sections. First, there is a notebook of excerpts and notes from the press (including the Commune press), beginning with the papers of March 18 and mainly in English and French. The bulk is considerable; in fact it is the longest of the three sections, taking up twenty-four large numbered pages in a copybook. (This section is not included in the present volume.)

This is the section which IS presented in the following pages. It was after he had accumulated most of the material in this notebook that, in the latter half of April, Marx began work on the first draft of the address; and about May 10 he started on a second draft. (Both of these preliminary drafts are included in the MR Press edition.) Then, about mid-May or a little later, Marx started over again with what was going to be the final version of *The Civil War in France*; and it was this last version which was adopted by the General Council on May 30.

All three sections of Marx's notebooks on the Paris Commune (the "excerpts and notes" and the two preliminary drafts) were first published in 1934 by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow, in the journal *Arkhib Marksa i Engel'sa*, vol. 3 (8). The original text, as deciphered from Marx's difficult handwriting, appeared on the lefthand (even-numbered pages) while a Russian translation ran on the right.

This book presents a direct reproduction of the pages in the Arkhib M-E which give the original text of the "excerpts and notes" section. The original pagination (of the Arkhib M-E) is given in brackets to the left of the text, on a level with the first line of the page indicated. Naturally, as indicated, all of these page numbers are even.

In the Arkhib M-E, the original text on the left was spaced out in order to run page for page with the Russian translation on the right. This extra spacing has been eliminated here.

It should be understood that the notebook did not contain actual clippings from the press; everything was written out by Marx. The entries include summaries and paraphrases as well as quotations or verbatim extracts; and the use of quotation-marks cannot be relied on to distinguish the former from the latter. It is best to assume that the emphasis (underlining—here, italics) was added by Marx and was not in the original press story. This also indicates what specially interested Marx about the items.

As a rule, Marx used English in those sections dealing with the English press, and French for items from the French press; but this is not invariably so; and German words and expressions are casually scattered about. In fact, there are sentences which use English, French and German all within the compass of a single line.

The text of this notebook has never been republished anywhere since its original appearance in 1934; it was not included in the Marx-Engels Werke. Even as far as translations are concerned, the only version I know of, after the 1934 Russian translation, is a French translation included in *La Guerre Civile en France, 1871. Edition nouvelle accompagnée des travaux préliminaires de Karl Marx* (Paris, Editions Sociales, 1953, repub. 1968). This French edition also has a special body of annotations based on a check of Marx's notes against the original text of the papers he quotes. Where I have used information from this E.S. edition in the following pages, the source has been credited each time, as "E.S."

In the present book, all passages in French or German are translated in footnotes. The footnote numbers are placed to the right of the text and on a level with the first line of the passage in question. The translations are presented on a paragraph-by-paragraph basis. That is: in a given footnote the translation does not go beyond the end of the paragraph; if necessary, a new footnote number is used for the next paragraph. The intention was to make it easier to match the translation with the translated passage.

Words and terms not translated in the footnotes may be found in the Glossary.

In the footnotes, a typographical distinction is made between two kinds of matter. Translations are given in this kind of roman type (Adjutant) combined with this kind of italic type (*Light Italic*). Other footnotes or other parts of footnotes which are editorial in nature are given in the type used in this sentence.

In general, the footnotes do not give explanations (of allusions, terms, etc.) which are already given in the annotations to the MR Press collection or which are contained in any of the three versions of *The Civil War in France*.

It should be noted that the original text includes the use of square brackets in two kinds of cases: in the headings, which typically give the name of a newspaper, then its date, and then give the number of that issue in square brackets; and after entries, to give the page and column number, e.g. "[p.4, c.5]." In the second case, the square brackets naturally reappear in the footnoted translation; but all other brackets used in the footnotes indicate editorial interpolations. As for the headings, note that these are not translated at all, insofar as they consist of the three elements mentioned. The only element subject to translation would be, of course, the month. The reader will meet the following names of the months—in the headings and in a few other places:

March	Fr. mars	Ger. März
April	Fr. avril	
May	Fr. mai	

The two chronological tables at the end of the book apply, of course, not only to the material in this book but to all of Marx and Engels' writings on the Commune and French politics. They had to be omitted from the MR Press volume because of space considerations but will, I think, be found useful for reference. Table II, on the Commune, is based primarily on the *Journal Officiel* of the Commune, plus some of the standard histories, especially Lissagaray's and Jellinek's.

April 1971

HAL DRAPER

Nachzusehn: Daily News und Pall Mall vom 19 März, 22 Mars, 24 M. 29 M.

Daily News. 18 March. [№ 7763]

Picard, the Home Minister, engaged to reorganize the Municipal Council. Préfecture of Seine offered to Casimir Perier. *General Valentin the new prefect of police*. *Temps* thinks that his appointment a warning, that the government does not consider the state of Paris normal. «It is certain», it adds, «that the cannons of Montmartre cannot remain in position indefinitely». [p. 4, c. 5] (*Paris. 16 March.*) (*Elections at Paris took place at the 8-th March.*) «These fine fellows (the National Guards) have become unruly and refuse authority».

(*Paris Corresp. 16 March*) Valentin's «first business is to establish a thoroughly efficient constabulary». «rebels of Montmartre... great heroes... so long as the people came to look at them». «Shamfights and sham-soldiery». «The sham is all in all». Als Beweis, dass die National Guards sham, dass das *Thiers* government has «rewarded the French army with no less than 3 658 crosses of the Legion of Honour». «Plan des government to lay a «stamp of 2 centimes on each copy of every periodical, whatever its nature». [p. 6, c. 1]

Paris, 17 March (telegram): «All the government officials... returned to Paris... Thiers, who is to receive 3 million fcs. a year, has his headquarters at Versailles... Excitement... among merchants... *Petitions for a speedy modification of the law relating to bills of exchange*. [p. 3, c. 1]

Situation. 18 Mars. [№ 154]

Les Canons de Montmartre: «meux gardés que jamais... le comité central (der Garde nationale) est tout-puissant; il donne exclusivement des ordres, et son influence efface absolument celle des magistrats mu-

1. Look up: *Daily News and Pall Mall [Gazette] of 19 March, 22 March, 24 March, 29 March.*

2. As proof that the National Guards [are] sham, [it says] that the *Thiers*...

3. "Plan of the..."

4. fcs.: francs.

5. *The cannons of Montmartre*: "better guarded than ever... the central committee (of the National Guard) is all-powerful; it alone gives orders, and its influence absolutely obliterates that of the municipal magistrates." (*Journal des Débats*) "Besides the distrust aroused by the government's attitude with respect to the removal of the Assembly to Versailles and the measures taken against the press, the rumor has gone through Montmartre that General Vinoy had decided to throw a block-

[94] nicipaux». (*Journal des Débats*) «En dehors des défiances que soulève l'attitude du gouvernement en ce qui touche au *transport de l'Assemblée à Versailles* et aux *mesures prises contre la presse*, le bruit a couru à Montmartre que le général Vinoy s'était décidé à *faire le blocus de Montmartre*. Quelque absurde que puisse paraître ce bruit, il a été fortement accrédité dans le public. De là... la résolution inébranlable de ne pas se démunir de l'artillerie etc». «Après cela... la question d'*Aurelle de Paladines*... le noeud du débat. La garde nationale veut étendre à son chef suprême le droit d'élection et non l'accepter du Gouvernement... Question de principe... qui a fait rompre les transactions etc. ... Garibaldi... unanimement proclamé comme général en chef de la garde nationale... On est intraitable sur ce point». [p. 3, c. 1]

«La grotesque armée des bataillons révolutionnaires continue à camper à Montmartre, autour des canons conquis sur les artilleurs français. Le gouvernement ne trouve-t-il pas que ce carnaval démagogique se prolonge un peu trop avant dans le carême? N'y aurait il pas plus d'avantages à faire cesser cette lugubre plaisanterie qu'à supprimer quelques journaux obscurs et à empêcher de créer *jusqu'à la levée de l'état de siège* de nouveaux organes de publicité? Nous espérons que le commandant de l'armée de Paris ne tardera pas à... rétablir l'ordre». (*Liberté*, 16 Mars)

«Hier matin (16-th — 17-th), une longue file de chariots d'artillerie se sont dirigés, par ordre, vers les hauteurs de Montmartre, afin de charger et d'emmener les munitions du trop fameux parc des buttes. L'opération, selon les instructions données, devait réussir d'emblée. ou bien, il ne devait pas y être donné suite, selon l'attitude des volontaires. Il paraît que la nuit n'avait pas encore porté conseil; on a parlé

ade around Montmartre. However absurd this rumor may seem, it has been firmly believed by the public. Hence...the unshakable determination not to be dispossessed of the artillery etc." "After that...the question of *Aurelle de Paladines*... the crux of the debate. The National Guard wants to extend their election rights to [elect] its commander in chief and not accept it [his appointment] by the Government... Question of principle...which has broken up negotiations etc. ... Garibaldi...unanimously proclaimed as general in chief of the National Guard... They are unyielding on this point." [p.3, c.1]

6. "The grotesque army of the revolutionary battalions continue to make camp in Montmartre, around the cannons conquered from French artillerymen. Doesn't the government feel that this demagogic carnival is lasting a little too long into the Lenten season? Would it not be more advantageous to put an end to this dismal jest than [merely] suppress some obscure newspapers and prevent the establishment of new public organs *until the state of siege is raised*? We hope that the [Versaillaise] commandant of the Paris army will not delay...re-establishment of order." (*Liberté*, March 16)

7. "Yesterday morning (16th-17th), a long column of gun-carriages headed, under orders [from Versailles], for the heights of Montmartre in order to load and take away the military supplies of the all too famous grounds on the hill. According to the instructions given out, the operation had to succeed then and there or else it could not be carried out at all, depending on the attitude of the volunteers. It seems that night still did not bring counsel; there was hardly a few minutes of talk and the carriages went back. In fact, the National Guards kept their cannons, but it was all done without making any row." (*Gaulois*.) [p.3, c.2]

à peine quelques minutes, et les chariots sont revenus. Les gardes nationaux ont, en effet, gardé leurs canons, mais tout cela s'est fait sans causer aucun tumulte. (*Gaulois*.) [p. 3, c. 2]

Assemblée nationale. 11 Mars (Bordeaux) *Président*: «Notre prochaine séance est fixée à Versailles au lundi 20 Mars». [p. 3, c. 4] 8

Nach loi votée (proposée par Dufaure) 10 Mars à l'Assemblée billets à payer dès le 16-th. (Télégramme 16 Mars Paris) («On s'accorde généralement à reconnaître que cette loi a été votée avec trop de précipitation».) 9

Paris 16 Mars (télégramme) «Le jardin du Luxembourg... fermé au public. Le 115-e régiment de ligne y est campé. Trois autres régiments occupent les boulevards près de l'Observatoire». [p. 4, c. 2] 10

[96] *. 11 Mars. Affiche Rouge*, adressée aux «soldats», placardée aujourd'hui partout au nom des *délégués de la garde nationale*. (Votée dans une séance tenue au Wauxhall 10 Mars) Darin u. a. «Il y a à Paris 300 000 gardes nationaux, et cependant on y fait entrer des troupes que l'on cherche à tromper sur l'esprit de la population parisienne. Les hommes qui ont organisé la défaite, démembré la France, livré tout notre or, veulent échapper à la responsabilité qu'ils ont assumée en suscitant la guerre civile. Ils comptent que vous serez les dociles instruments du crime qu'ils méditent». «Que veut le peuple de Paris? Il veut conserver ses armes, choisir lui-même ses chefs, et les révoquer quand il n'a plus confiance en eux. Il veut que l'armée soit renvoyée dans ses foyers». 11

Paris 11 Mars. Protestation du «Cri du Peuple» (in *Rappel*) contre sa suspension par Vinoy (mit noch 5 andern journaux). Vinoy invoque l'état de siège de Paris, déclaré par l'ex-impératrice. «Le Quatre septembre a passé par là-dessus, et l'Assemblée vient de voter la déchéance de l'Empire». [p. 7., c. 4] 12

8. *National Assembly. 11 March* (Bordeaux) *Chairman*: "Our next session is set at Versailles on Monday, March 20." [p.3, c.4]

9. *According to the law adopted (proposed by Dufaure) 10 March at the Assembly, bills to be paid from the 16th on. (Telegram, 16 March, Paris)* ("There is general agreement on recognizing that this law was adopted with too much haste.")

10. *Paris, 16 March* (telegram) "The Luxembourg garden...closed to the public. The 115th regiment of the line is camped there. Three other regiments occupy the boulevards near the Observatory." [p.4, c.2]

11. *11 March. Red poster*, addressed to the "soldiers," posted up all around today in the name of the *delegates of the National Guard*. Adopted in a session held at the Vauxhall 10 March) In it, among other things: "There are 300,000 National Guards in Paris, and yet troops are brought in whom they try to deceive about the spirit of the Parisian population. The men who organized the defeat, dismembered France, gave up all our gold, want to escape the responsibility they assumed by instigating the civil war. They count on your being docile tools of the crime they are planning." "What do the people of Paris want? They want to keep their arms, choose their leaders themselves, and remove them when they no longer have confidence in them. They want the army sent home."

12. *Paris, 11 March. Protest by the Cri du Peuple* (in *Le Rappel*) against its suspension by Vinoy (together with 5 other newspapers). Vinoy invokes the state of siege in Paris declared by the ex-empress [Eugénie]. "September 4 has passed by them up there, and the Assembly has just voted the downfall of the Empire." [p.7, c.4]

Le Champ de Mars et le Trocadero occupés par des régiments de l'armée de Chanzy, artillerie etc. [p. 8., c. 1] 13

La Liberté. [18 Mars]

Paris 18 Mars. «Le calme le plus complet continue à régner dans les quartiers excentriques». «La défiance a été accrue par la nomination du général Valentin à la préfecture de police. On n'a pu pardonner... son passage à la garde municipale... Rapprochement entre la nomination de Valentin et celle (im Dezember) de... *Espinasse*». [p. 1, c. 6] Proclamations von *Flourens und Blanqui*, condamnés à mort, affichées dans la Capitale. 14

Blanqui sagt u. a.: «Le 4 septembre un groupe d'individus qui, sous l'empire, s'étaient créé une popularité [p. 3., c. 2] facile, s'était emparé du pouvoir... pour la plupart les bourreaux de la République de 1848... les créateurs de l'empire... pour ne pas diviser la nation, chacun se mit de toutes ses forces à l'oeuvre de salut... Après avoir distribué à leurs amis toutes les places où ils ne conservaient pas les bonapartistes, ces hommes croisèrent les bras... En même temps, l'ennemi enserrait Paris... c'était par de fausses dépêches, par de fallacieuses promesses que le gouvernement répondait à toutes les demandes d'éclaircissements. L'ennemi continuait à élever des batteries etc.,... et à Paris, 300 000 citoyens restaient sans armes, et sans ouvrage, et bientôt sans pain, sur le pavé de la capitale. Le péril était imminent... Or, au gouvernement issu d'une surprise, il fallait substituer la Commune... De là le mouvement du 31 Octobre». [p. 3, c. 3] 15

Le National. 18 Mars. [Nº 781]

Erklärung vom 17 Mars durch 100 chefs de bataillons (votée unanimement 16 Mars café Pilon, boulevard Beaumarchais, au coin de la 16

13. The *Champ de Mars* and the *Trocadero* occupied by regiments of Chanzy's army, artillery etc. [p.8, c.1]

14. *Paris, 18 March.* "The most complete calm continues to reign in the outlying districts." "Distrust has grown due to the appointment of *General Valentin* to the *prefecture of police*. They could not forgive him...for going over to the *Municipal Guard*... Parallel between the appointment of Valentin and the appointment (in December) of...*Espinasse*." [p.1, c.6] Proclamations by *Flourens and Blanqui*, condemned to death, posted up in the Capital.

15. *Blanqui* says, among other things: "On September 4 a group of individuals who under the Empire had garnered an easy popularity [p.3, c.2] seized power... for the most part, the hangmen of the Republic of 1848... the creators of the Empire... in order not to divide the nation, everyone devotes all his strength to the job of assuring security... After handing out to their friends all the posts in which they did not retain Bonapartists, these men folded their arms... At the same time, the enemy tightened the noose around Paris... It was by fake dispatches, by misleading promises that the government responded to all demands for clarifications. The enemy continued to bring up batteries etc., ...and in Paris 300,000 citizens remained without arms, and without a job, and soon without bread, on the sidewalks of the capital. The danger was imminent... So, in place of the government resulting from a surprise move, it was necessary to substitute the Commune... Hence the movement of October 31." [p.3, c.3]

16. Declaration of March 17 by 100 battalion leaders (adopted unanimously 16 March at the Cafe Pilon, Boulevard Beaumarchais, corner of the Rue des Vosges):

- rue des Vosges): «fermement décidés à repousser, par tous les moyens possibles, les attaques qu'on oserait tenter contre la République, et à s'opposer également à toute tentative de désarmement de la garde nationale, garde naturel du pacte social, de l'ordre et de la liberté publique». «Il y a» (heissts in dem *National*) «en ce moment à Satory, un camp de 30 000 hommes, campés là par ordre exprès du Vinoy». [p. 2, c. 3—4]

19 und 20 März. Situation. [N^o 155]
(1 Nummer für beides zusammen)

117

Télégrammes: Paris 16 Mars: Général d'Aurelle de Paladines, en habits bourgeois, a inspecté les canons de Montmartre. [p. 4, c. 1]

Paris 17 Mars: La nuit dernière, tout était tranquille, (16 Mars), quand les autorités ont envoyé des artilleurs pour enlever les canons de la place des Vosges, qui semblaient ne pas être gardés. Mais aussitôt que les soldats apparurent avec leurs chevaux, le rappel fut battu, et l'officier se retira avec ses hommes. [p. 4, c. 2]

18

Situation zitiert aus *Times*, wonach die opposition au gouvernement n'est qu'une affaire de 30 sous. (Allocation aux gardes nationaux). «Supprimez cette allocation, le peuple raisonnera, et les rebelles et les fainéants, ce qui est synonyme, seront bientôt réduits à se soumettre par la faim». [p. 5, c. 4]

19

Siècle sagt über *Picard*: «Aussitôt le décret signé (suppression des 6 journaux), le ministre disparaît et cède la place au directeur de journal, qui s'empresse de blâmer le gouvernement de sa décision... on écrit que Paris est calme, que les diatribes des journaux supprimés étaient inoffensives etc». (*Electeur du 14 Mars*). [p. 7, c. 3]

20

19 Mars. *Le Figaro*. [N^o 74]

«M. Thiers veut tout simplement organiser une armée à peu près semblable — sauf la garde — à l'armée de l'empire». [p. 1, c. 1]

21

"steadfastly determined to repel, by all means possible, any attacks that may be dared against the Republic, and to oppose likewise any attempt to disarm the National Guard, the natural guardian of the social covenant, of order and public liberty." "There is" (says *Le National*) "at this very moment at Satory an encampment of 30,000 men, camping there by the express order of Vinoy." [p.2, c.3-4]

17. [Second line of heading:] (1 number for both dates together).—[Next paragraph:] *Telegrams: Paris, 16 March: General d'Aurelle de Paladines*, in civilian dress, inspected the Montmartre cannons. [p.4, c.1]

18. *Paris, 17 March*: Last night all was calm, (16 March), when the authorities sent some artillerymen to carry off the cannons in the Place des Vosges, which seemed to be unguarded. But as soon as the soldiers appeared with their horses, the call to arms was sounded, and the officer withdrew with his men. [p.4, c.2]

19. *La Situation* quotes from the *Times*, according to which the opposition to the government is just a matter of 30 sous. (Allowance to the National Guards). "Abolish the allowance, people will argue, and the rebels and idlers, which are synonymous, will soon be forced to give up because of hunger." [p.5, c.4]

20. *Le Siècle* says about *Picard*: "As soon as the decree was signed (suppression of the 6 newspapers), the minister disappears and gives way to the newspaper editor, who hastens to censure the government for its decision... it is being written that Paris is calm, that the diatribes of the suppressed newspapers were inoffensive etc." (*Electeur of 14 March*.) [p.7, c.3]

21. "M. Thiers very simply wants to organize an army nearly similar to the army of the Empire—except for the Guard." [p.1, c.1]

«La fédération nouvelle (de la Garde Nationale) est donc une alliance 22
de tous les bataillons de la garde nationale, mis en rapport les uns avec
les autres par des *délégués de chaque compagnie*, nommant à leur tour
des délégués de bataillon, qui nomment à leur tour *un délégué major, gé-
néral de légion* etc., qui doit représenter tout un arrondissement, et con-
férer avec les 19 autres délégués des 19 autres arrondissements... Ces
20 délégués, nommés par la majorité des bataillons de la garde natio-
nale, ont pour mission de... nommer *un général*».

[100] *Corbon*, maire démissionnaire, teilt mit Rede des *Trochu*, le len- 23
demain de l'affaire de Buzenval: «La première question, dit le général,
que s'empressèrent de m'adresser mes nouveaux collègues *le soir même
du 4 septembre*, fut celle de savoir si Paris était en état de soutenir,
avec chance de succès, un siège contre l'armée prussienne. *Je n'hésitais
pas à répondre négativement*. Quelques-uns de mes collègues sont ici:
ils peuvent témoigner de la véracité de mes paroles et *de la per-
sistance de mon opinion*. Je leur dis, en propres termes, que, en l'état
des choses, tenter à Paris de soutenir un siège contre l'armée prussienne
serait une folie. Sans doute, continuai-je, ce pouvait être *une* [p. 3, c. 1]
folie héroïque; mais ce ne serait que cela... Je veux bien admettre que
d'une héroïque folie puisse sortir, *comme par miracle*, un résultat heu-
reux. *Mais je ne l'espère pas*... Voilà, Messieurs les maires, ce que j'ai
dit aux collègues que venait de me donner l'acclamation populaire...
Les événements n'ont pas démenti ma prévision». [p. 3, c. 2]

20 Mars. Daily News. [N° 7765]

Leading Article: «The present government of France (Thiers etc.)
is as Republican as it can well be». «The *mob* that now imperils the
safety of Paris and of France». «the *rabble*». «an armed and insurgent
mob... may... form a Government whose *raison d'être* would be the
legalization of exaction and pillage». «This deplorable crime (General
Lecomte and Clément Thomas)... foretaste of another Reign of Ter-

22. "The new federation (of the National Guard) is, then, an alliance of all
the battalions of the National Guard, maintaining relations among themselves
through *delegates from each company*, who in turn name the *battalion delegates*,
who in their turn name a *chief delegate, legion general* etc., who is to repre-
sent a whole arrondissement, and meet with the other 19 delegates of the other 19
arrondissements... These 20 delegates, elected by the majority of the battalions
of the National Guard, have the task of...appointing a *general*."

23. *Corbon*, the mayor who has resigned, tells about his talk with *Trochu*, the
day after the Buzenval affair: "The first question," says the general, "that my
new colleagues [in the government] hastened to put to me *on the very evening of
4 September*, was whether Paris was in a position to stand a siege by the Prussian
army with any chance of success. *I did not hesitate to answer in the negative*.
Some of my colleagues are here: they can testify to the truth of my words and *the
persistence of my opinion*. I told them, in these very words, that, under the ex-
isting state of things, to try to hold out in Paris against a siege by the Prus-
sian army *would be a folly*. Without doubt, I added, it might be *an* [p.3, c.1] *he-
roic folly*; but it would not be more than that... I am willing to admit that a
heroic folly can produce, *as by a miracle*, a happy result. But I have no hope for
it... That, Messrs. Mayors, is what I told the colleagues who had just given me
popular acclaim... *The events have not given the lie to my prevision*." [p.3, c.2]

ror». «d'Aurelle de Paladines... brave general». «factionous persons whom indolence and ignorance have urged to break the law». «the populace of Montmartre does not establish any special heroism for itself». [p. 4, c. 6] «The ministry also desire a Republic, if such be the will of France; and what, therefore, is all the disturbance about?» «The Federation Committee retains power by reason of a *popular disquiet that refuses to be refined away by the processes of logic*». (Bravo, penny-a-liner!) «There remains, therefore, nothing but the harsher processions of coercion; and General d'Aurelle is not a man to depart from his word... The enemy is already within the walls of Paris, and must be *dealt with emphatically*». [p, 5. c. 1]

[102] *Paris Correspondent. Saturday night (18 Mars)*. «Assembly... to meet at Versailles on Monday (20 Mars)... Government could not show their faces before... power to *command order* in Paris». «Government... determined to take forcible possession of Montmartre, and the 2 or 300 guns and mitrailleuses there held captive at the order of a self-constituted committee... Utterly unknown to fame. They had so long ruled this district of the metropolis... *Order of last Sunday (12 Mars)*, suppressing the seditious papers, and that no other periodical prints should appear without permission, has been disregarded... new seditious prints appear every day without leave». Early in the morning (18) walls covered with *proclamation of Thiers*, worin u. a. «The Government has resolved to act. The criminals who affect to institute a Government must be delivered to regular justice, and the cannons taken away must be restored to the arsenals». Late in the afternoon, proclamation desselben Thiers und seiner 9 Kollegen to the «*National Guards*»: «The Government is «not» preparing a *coup d'état*. The Government of the Republic has not and cannot have any other aim than the safety of the Republic». Es will mit seinen measures nur «maintenance of order» und do away «with an insurgent committee whose members — *almost all unknown to the population* [p. 5, c. 4] represent only *communist doctrines*, and would consign Paris to *pillage* and France to death etc.». Late in the evening a third proclamation to the National Guard, signed by *Ernest Picard und d'Aurelle*: «Some misguided men... *resist forcibly the National Guard and the Army... The Government has chosen that your arms should be left to you. Seize them with resolution to establish the reign of law, and to save the Republic from anarchy!*»

At 9 in the morning I (the correspondent) was in the Faubourg of Montmartre, numerous groups assembled «we are to give up our cannon, by the side of which we are determined to protect the Republic they are so evidently desirous of knocking down».

About 3 in the morning (18 March) troops of the Line and some Mobiles suddenly surrounded the heights of Montmartre, and charging up took possession of the cannon, which they did with ease, as their attack was wholly unexpected. But the people called to arms by the

24. Penny-a-liner: hack journalist.

25. worin u.a.: which includes among other things:...

26. ...proclamation of the same Thiers and his 9 colleagues...

27. Its measures are intended only for the "maintenance of order" and to do away...

28. und: and.

rappel which was immediately sounded, came in great numbers, especially from Belleville, and reconquered the position. A body of policemen had been disarmed, and the people were now again in the possession of their guns. 15 persons killed in the scrimmage.

At half past three in the morning the Buttes Montmartre surrounded by the troops of *General Vinoy*, which took possession of all the leading thoroughfares, and planted guns and mitrailleuses at various points. At 5 o'clock a regiment from the army of *Faidherbe*, the 88-th of the Line, which arrived only yesterday in Paris, went up towards the Tower of Solferino, surprised the National Guards, who numbered little more than a score and took possession at once of the heights and of the guns. In about an hour the National Guard began to arrive, not strong enough to recover what they had lost, but bold enough to exchange shots with the troops of the Government. Several deaths of non-combatants. National Guards retook all their cannon, took some of the guns and mitrailleuses which the Line led up the slopes of Montmartre. Some of the regiments of the Line fraternized with the National Guards. People shouted «Vive la Ligne». In the midst of the soldiers several po-

[104] licemen, charged with Chassepots, they were roughly handled. *Lecomte*, one of the Generals in command of the troops, taken prisoner. Conducted to the gardens of the Château Rouge. The loyal portion of the army forced to retire, together with the loyal National Guards, utterly foiled and discomfited. The [p. 5, c. 5] rebels are gaining upon the town point by point. They have come down from Montmartre and taken possession of the Prince Eugene barracks, planted the red flag on the column of the Bastille, half Paris in their hands.

29

Now (10 o'clock in the night) the insurgents are erecting barricades. The barricade at the top of the rue Rochechouart is becoming quite formidable.

Other Correspondent. (Paris, 18 Mars, night) «General Vinoy in person, at the head of a considerable military force, marched in the dead of night to Montmartre, hoping to surprise the National Guard, who hold artillery there... By daybreak his troops occupied the Boulevard Clichy and the heads of all the streets leading to the heights of Montmartre. But when order was given to act, all the troops of the line threw the butts of their muskets in the air, and fraternised with the insurgents». «A bas Vinoy». «Some of the *Gardes de Paris* stood well for a short time, and responded to a fire first opened upon them by the insurgents... Very soon all fighting ceased... Vinoy... retired in excellent order». [p. 5, c. 6]

30

Telegrams. Paris 18 Mars: The 17 deputies of Paris who recently signed a conciliatory manifesto addressed to their electors, held a meeting on Mars 17, fresh appeal to moderation, insist upon the National Guards delivering their cannons to the authorities. *Schölcher* made particularly vigorous speech to this effect. *Nearly all the Paris papers* against the Federation Committee of the National Guard etc.

Nach dem Sieg: The general opinion among the groups in Mont-

31

29. Vive la Ligne: Long live [the troops of] the line.

30. A bas Vinoy: Down with [General] Vinoy.—*Gardes de Paris*: Municipal Guards, a police formation.

31. Nach dem Sieg: After the victory.

martre and Belleville is that the Assembly must be immediately dissolved, and another elected to sit at Paris.

18 Mars, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon Lecomte and Clément Thomas shot... General Vinoy's staff, with all the troops of the Line and Gendarmerie, withdrawn to the left bank of the Seine. No rioting or injury to property reported to the present. [p. 3, c. 1]

21 Mars. *Standard*. [Nº 14550]

[106] *Leading article: «Traitors of Belleville... the siege of Paris... had liberated them from the unpleasant necessity of labour... paid by the government for doing nothing; armed with weapons which they utterly refused to use against the public enemy, fed at the expense of the State... their cheap patriotism... drink and tobacco out of their... 30 sous... in no hurry to part with these blessings... the war over, those men had no mind to forego their comfortable positions... their pleasant idleness, and go back to hard work and hard living... In past times the National Guard represented the respectability of Paris... during the siege the roughs of Paris had been enrolled... The removal of General Aurelle de Paladines in favour of a more popular chief, whom nevertheless the National Guard refused to recognize; the resignation of Jules Ferry, the retirement of Vinoy, at once demonstrated the terror of the administration... Red Republic dominated by the thieves, rowdies, and demagogues of Paris... To yield would be ruin... Communism of the worst species, cruelty the most unsparing... [p. 4, c. 4] the canaille of Paris...» ([p. 4, c. 5]*

Paris Corr. 19 Mars, evening. «Some twenty low rowdies the arbiters of Paris. For the present they... are good enough to put off the sacking of the town until they shall have received reinforcements from Lyons and Marseilles... (On the 18-th) they have occupied all the public buildings in the place Vendôme... this morning... the famous Central Committee took possession of the Hôtel de Ville... the old Town Hall hemmed in by a perfect circle of barricades... [p. 5, c. 2] Up to this morning Dufaure, Jules Favre, Picard, Simon, Admiral Pothuau and General Leflô remained in Paris...» Published still proclamation to the National Guard and then left for Versailles. In der Proclamation: «Who are the members of this (Central) Committee? No one in Paris knows them; their names are new to all the world... Are they Communists, or Bonapartists, or Prussians?» A little later the insurgents occupied the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of the Interior, the National Printing Office, and the Elysée. *Das Committee 20 members.* Proclamation desselben vom 19 Mars: «L'état de siège est levé. Le peuple de Paris est convoqué dans ses sections pour faire ses élections communales». Ditto: «Aux Gardes Nationaux de Paris». «Vous nous avez chargés d'organiser la défense de Paris et de vos droits... A ce moment notre

32. der: the.

33. *The Committee [has] 20 members.* Its proclamation of 19 March: "The state of siege has been lifted. The people of Paris are called in their sections to carry out their communal elections." Ditto: "To the National Guards of Paris." "You entrusted us with organizing the defense of Paris and of your rights... At this time our mandate has expired; we return it to you, for we do not aspire to take the place of those whom the popular breath [voice] has just overthrown."

mandat est expiré; nous vous le rapportons, car nous ne prétendons pas prendre la place de ceux que le souffle populaire vient de renverser». *General Lecomte* was put to death by some men of the 88-th Regiment of the Line, who shouted: «It is your turn now; you wanted us to fire on the people»... *What is amazing is the utter tranquillity of Paris.*— The day was a fine one, and the Champs-Élysées, the Rue Rivoli, and Palais Royal were crowded with the usual Sunday assemblages of holiday makers. Even in the quarters bristling with bayonets there is no agitation... I should be sorry to see Paris occupied (by the Prus-

[108] sians), but it would be compensation to witness the dressing which *ces Messieurs de Belleville* would be sure to receive... *General Chanzy* is in the hands of the insurgents. [p. 5, c. 3] 34

Telegrams. Paris 19 Mars: The Central Committee has installed provisional Commissioners at all the Mairies, and has also taken possession of all the ministries and telegraph offices... The *mayors and deputies of Paris* sent deputation to Government to obtain the removal of Vinoy, Paladines, Valentin, Jules Ferry. Ferry resigned. *Langlois* appointed instead of Paladines. Went to the Central Committee, asked by Brunet whether he recognized it. Da nicht, nicht. Resigned. 35

Paris 20 March. Rumour that the National Guard intended marching to Versailles. [p. 6, c. 1]

Proclamation of L. Blanc, Schoelcher, Peyrat, Adam, Floquet, Bernard, Langlois, Lockroy, Farcy, Brisson, Greppo, Milliére. Verlangen: «election of all chiefs in the National Guard» und «creation of a municipal council elected by all the citizens». Und maires und adjoints von 19 arrondissements. 36 37 38

21 Mars. Cloche. [N° 385]

Hier *Figaro* sealed, sein Wiedererscheinen verboten. [p. 1, c. 2] 39

Proclamation du Comité Central (19 Mars): «Il (le comité) n'a pas été inconnu, car il était issu de la libre expression des suffrages de 215 bataillons de la garde nationale... la garde nationale n'a commis ni excès ni représailles... Et pourtant, les provocations n'ont pas manqué... le gouvernement n'a cessé, par les moyens les plus honteux, de 40

34. ...these Belleville gentlemen... [Belleville: the most militant working-class district of Paris.]

35. Da nicht, nicht: Since [the answer was] no, [then it's] no.

36. Verlangen: [They] demand.

37. und: and.

38. And mayors and deputy mayors from 19 arrondissements.

39. Yesterday *Figaro* sealed up, its reappearance forbidden. [p.1, c.2]

40. *Proclamation of the Central Committee* (19 March): "It (the committee) was not unknown, for it had issued from the free exercise of the vote by 215 battalions of the National Guard... the National Guard has been guilty of no excesses or reprisals... And yet, there has been no lack of provocations... the government, using the most shameful methods, has not stopped trying to commit the most appalling of crimes: *civil war*. It has slandered Paris and has stirred the provinces up against it. It has brought in our brothers of the army against us... It wanted to impose a general in chief upon us. In nocturnal attempts it tried to disarm us of our cannons, after we had prevented it from giving them up to the Prussians." Would deprive Paris of its crown as the capital... "Never has a sentence of execution been signed by us; never has the National Guard taken part in the execution of a crime."

tenter l'essai du plus épouvantable des crimes: *la guerre civile*. Il a calomnié Paris et a ameuté contre lui la province. Il a amené contre nous nos frères de l'armée... Il a voulu nous imposer un général en chef. Il a, par des tentatives nocturnes, tenté de nous désarmer de nos canons, après avoir été empêché par nous de les livrer aux Prussiens». Wollte arracher à Paris la couronne de capitale... «Jamais un arrêt d'exécution n'a été signé par nous; jamais la garde nationale n'a pris part à l'exécution d'un crime».

Das Committee, durch décret vom 19 Mars, *bestimmt elections municipales für 22 Mars*. Ferner angezeigt: «nous déclarons, dès à présent, être fermement décidés à faire respecter les préliminaires (de la Paix), afin d'arriver à sauvegarder à la fois le salut de la France républicaine et de la paix générale». [p. 1, c. 4] 41

[110] Aufruf der *délégues du Journal Officiel aux départements*, gerichtet sowohl an die grandes villes als campagnes. «Que la province se hâte donc d'imiter l'exemple de la capitale en s'organisant d'une façon républicaine, et qu'elle se mette au plus tôt en rapport avec elle au moyen des délégués». 42

All *political prisoners mis en liberté*. 43

Andere Publikationen im nicht offiziellen Teil des Journal Officiel: «Seuls, deux hommes qui s'étaient rendus impopulaires par des actes que nous qualifions dès aujourd'hui d'iniques, ont été frappés dans un moment d'indignation populaire. Le comité de la Fédération de la garde nationale, pour rendre hommage à la vérité, déclare qu'il est étranger à ces deux exécutions». [p. 1, c. 5] 44

Vers quatre heures, plusieurs bataillons, conduits par Flourens, se dirigent vers les Tuileries. [p. 1, c. 6] 45

Drapeau rouge arboré à l'Hôtel de Ville. 46

Invasion durch Gardes Nationaux des «Gaulois». [p. 2, c. 1] 47

22 March. *Petit Journal*. [N° 3002]

L'admiral Saisset est nommé commandant en chef des gardes na- 48

41. The Committee, by a decree of 19 March, *decides on city elections for 22 March*. Also announced: "we declare, from now on, to be steadfastly determined to have the (peace) preliminaries respected, so as to simultaneously safeguard the security of republican France and the general peace." [p.1, c.4]

42. Appeal of the *delegates of the Journal Officiel to the departments*, directed likewise to the big cities and the countryside. "Then let the provinces hasten to imitate the example of the capital by organizing themselves in a republican way and get in contact with the capital as soon as possible, by means of delegates."

43. All *political prisoners set free*.

44. Other pieces published in the unofficial part of the *Journal Officiel*: "Two men alone [Lecomte and Thomas], two men who made themselves unpopular by acts which from now on we brand as iniquitous, were struck down in a moment of popular indignation. The committee of the Federation of the National Guard, to give the truth its due, declares that it has nothing to do with these executions." [p.1, c.5]

45. Around 4 o'clock, several battalions, led by Flourens, head for the Tuileries. [p.1, c.6]

46. Red flag raised over City Hall.

47. Invasion by National Guard of *Le Gaulois*. [p.2, c.1]

48. Admiral Saisset is named Commander in chief of the National Guards of the Seine [Greater Paris]. [p.1, c.4]

tionales de la Seine. [p. 1, c. 4]

Le bruit persiste à courir (à Versailles) que 50 000 Parisiens et un nombre incalculable de canons et de mitrailleuses sont en marche sur l'Assemblée. [p. 1, c. 1] 49

L'Assemblée (20 Mars) vote *l'état de siège* du département de Seine-et-Oise, proposé par E. Picard — une loi qui confère à des soldats même le pouvoir judiciaire. [p. 1, c. 3] 50

«*Journal Officiel*» (des Comité) sagt u. a. (20 Mars): «Les prolétaires de la capitale, au milieu des défaillances et des trahisons des classes gouvernantes, ont compris que l'heure était arrivée pour eux de sauver la situation en prenant en mains la direction des affaires publiques... [p. 2, c. 2] Les travailleurs, ceux qui produisent tout et ne jouissent de rien, ceux qui souffrent de la misère au milieu des produits accumulés, fruit de leur labeur et de leurs sueurs, devront-ils donc sans cesse être en butte à l'outrage? Ne leur sera-t-il jamais permis de travailler à leur émancipation sans soulever contre eux un concert de malédictions?... Les désastres et les calamités publiques dans lesquels son (de la bourgeoisie) incapacité politique et sa décrépitude morale et intellectuelle ont plongé la France... Si, depuis le 4 septembre dernier la classe gouvernante avait laissé un libre cours aux aspirations et aux besoins du peuple... si elle n'avait pas préféré la ruine de la patrie au triomphe certain de la République en Europe, nous n'en serions pas où nous en sommes et nos désastres eussent été évités. Le prolétariat, en face de la menace permanente de ses droits, de la négation absolue de toutes ses légitimes aspirations, de la ruine de la patrie et de toutes ses espérances, a compris qu'il était de son devoir impérieux et de son droit absolu de prendre en main ses destinées et d'en assurer le triomphe 51

[112]

49. The rumor persists (in Versailles) that 50,000 Parisians with an incalculable number of cannons and mitrailleuses are on march on the Assembly. [p.1, c.1]

50. The Assembly (20 March) votes for *the state of siege* in the department of Seine-et-Oise [surrounding Greater Paris], proposed by E. Picard—a law which confers even judicial powers on soldiers. [p.1, c.3]

51. "*Journal Officiel*" (of the Committee) says, among other things (20 March): "The proletarians of the capital, amidst the failures and treasons of the ruling classes, have understood that the hour has come for them to save the situation by taking in hand the direction of public affairs...[p.2, col.2] The workers, those who produce everything and enjoy nothing, who suffer from poverty in the midst of an accumulation of products which are the fruit of their toil and sweat—are they then to be exposed to abuse without cease? Shall they never be permitted to work for their own emancipation without exciting a chorus of curses against them?... The disasters and public calamities into which France has been plunged by their (the bourgeoisie's) political incompetence and moral and intellectual decrepitude ... If, since last 4 September the ruling class had given a free hand to the aspirations and needs of the people...if it had not preferred the ruin of the fatherland to the sure triumph of the Republic in Europe, we would not be in the situation we are now and our disasters would have been avoided. The proletariat, confronting the permanent threat to their rights, the absolute negation of all their legitimate aspirations, the ruin of the fatherland and of all their hopes, understood that it was their imperious duty and their absolute right to take their own destiny in hand, and assure its triumph by seizing power... The course of progress, momentarily interrupted, will resume its advance, and the proletariat, in spite of everything, will achieve its emancipation." [p.2, c.3]

en s'emparant du pouvoir... Le cours du progrès, un instant interrompu, reprendra sa marche, et le prolétariat accomplira, malgré tout, son émancipation». [p. 2, c. 3]

Prorogation d'un mois des échéances des effets de commerce. 52
[p. 3, c. 1] Jusqu'à nouvel ordre, les propriétaires et les maîtres d'hôtel ne pourront congédier leurs locataires.

Lecomte, sagt das *Journal Officiel*, avait commandé à quatre reprises, 53
sur la place de Pigalle, de charger une foule inoffensive de femmes et d'enfants.

Clément Thomas a été arrêté au moment où il levait, en vêtements 54
civils, un plan des barricades de Montmartre. Le premier fusillé par des soldats, l'autre par des gardes nationaux. [p. 3, c. 2]

21 Mars. *Daily News*. [N° 7766]

Leader: «mock heroics... sham sentiment... stale antics of the stage». [p. 4, c. 4] «Exhausted braggadocio, with neither faith nor fight in it... Like the insurgents of June,... they resent the sudden cessation of pay and idleness... If the legislators who have neither unanimity enough to restore... monarchy, nor public virtue enough to sustain a Republic, have counted upon the Germans returning to pacify Paris etc». [p. 4, c. 5]

Paris Corresp. 20 Mars. The members of the Committee present insisted that the Generals should not be shot... [p. 5, c. 5] Never had any law such bad effect than the Dufaure law of the 10-th March against the passionate appeals of the Parisian merchants, has produced a perfect panic. The shopkeepers: «We be all dead men». So all the life and soul has been taken out of 1 000-nds of National Guards... Prussians re-entered St. Denis etc. [p. 5, c. 6]

23 Mars. *Daily News*. [N° 7768]

Bank of France forced to pay a million of fcs., for which a Treasury bill given. Communal elections postponed to 23 Mars.

Leader: The Proletariat reigns at Paris and the peasantry at Versailles... [p. 4, c. 5] this bitter fear of the betrayal of the Republic is at the bottom of the difficulties of the situation... The insurgents demand: election of a Communal Council of Paris by popular vote; reorganisation of National Guard, popular election of its officers; suppression of the Police Prefecture, and control of police by the Communal authorities; suppression of the army of Paris... Neither side likes to give the signal for civil war. [p. 4, c. 6]

Versailles 20 Mars. National Assembly. Urgency of municipal law 55
voted; ditto bill (urgency voted) of repealing Dufaure's act.

52. *Extension by a month of the due-dates of commercial bills.* [p.3, c.1] Until issuance of another order, owners and house managers cannot turn out their tenants.

53. *Lecomte*, says the *Journal Officiel*, had given the command four times, on the Place Pigalle, to charge an unoffending crowd of women and children.

54. *Clément Thomas* was arrested just as he was drawing a plan of the Montmartre barricades, dressed in civilian attire. The former [*Lecomte*] shot by soldiers; the other by National Guards. [p.3, c.2]

55. *Versailles, 20 March*: should read 22 March. [E.S.]

21 Mars. National Assembly. Urgency to restore all the Bonapartist Council Generals voted, despite Picard, proposed by «rural» de Gaslonde. A Proclamation, read by Lasteurie, «to Citizens and Soldiers» voted unanimously. Peyrat wanted to add: «Vive la France! Vive la République!» (Frantic roars of dissent from the Rurals). Thiers: it might be a very legitimate proposal etc. (Dissent der ruraux) Jules Favre made a harangue against the doctrine of the Republic being superior to universal suffrage. He flattered the «rural» majority, and said he repented of having kept the arms for the National Guard which the Prussians threatened to take away from them. The Prussians were at this moment diplomatically asking him, whether, if the insurrection prevailed in Paris, they would not have a right to suppress it. Thiers spoke more conciliatory than Favre, and said at last positively that «come what might he would not send an armed force to attack Paris». [p. 5, c. 6]

Paris Corr. 21 Mars. Forts around Paris in the hands of the insurgents. (Committee). Lyons is following, declaring itself a free town, against the Rurals... [p. 6, c. 1] The soldiers of the 81-st insisted upon shooting Lecomte and Clément Thomas... [p. 6, c. 2] Both Dufaure and Picard's best clients are amongst the proprietors averse to losing anything by the siege of Paris... [p. 6, c. 3]

Telegrams. Paris 21 Mars. About 4 000 «unarmed» reactionists marched through the streets in the central districts, their numbers increasing at every step, under cries: «Vive la France! Vive l'Assemblée Nationale!» «A bas le Comité». Went on till the Bourse was reached, when the commandant of the 11-th battalion, which was on guard there, gave orders for the salute being beaten, as evidence of sympathy with the manifestation. Mairie of the 2-nd Arrondissement, Rue de la Banque, remains in the hands of the regular municipality... Admiral Saisset's nomination to the command in chief of the National Guards... confirmed... He will act in union with the Mayors. [p. 3, c. 1]

21 March. Mayors refuse their concurrence in the voting for the Commune. 22 March. Committee declares that they will take place without them. «Avertissement» against the journals, against the declaration of yesterdays papers, against voting. Warns them.

[116]

Official Journal (des Comité): «Assembly only elected for a specific purpose — on the eve of a capitulation, when the territory was in the occupation of the enemy... The deputies of the departments occupied could not have been freely elected». Ausserdem «elected under reactionary influence». «Let them quietly resolve the... task of peace and war, and disappear». [p. 3, c. 2]

Berlin. March 22. The Provincial Correspondence says: «We shall certainly not now interfere with the internal dissensions of Paris and France». Return of the French prisoners stopt for the present.

56. "Rural": Provincial ("rural") landowner, member of the reactionary majority of the pro-royalist National Assembly.

57. Dissent of the rurals.

58. ...amidst cries of: "Long live France! Long live the National Assembly!" "Down with the Committee."

59. Avertissement: warning.

60. Official Journal (of the Committee)...

61. Ausserdem: Furthermore.

Versailles. March 22. Canrobert has made dignified advances to Thiers, by whom they have been received in a fitting manner. [p. 3, c. 3]

23 Mars. Daily Telegraph. [Nº 4921]

Paris 21 Mars. The first manifestation of the solid men of Paris occurred to-day. Auf dem «*Flag of France*»... inscription «les hommes d'ordre». All gentlemen. Moved slowly up the *Boulevard des Italiens*, proceeded towards the *Porte St. Denis*, passed in the *Rue Vivienne*, at three defiled into the *Place de la Bourse*. As many as 2 000 people about that place — solid men! (Improvised government hold its conclaves in the *Place Vendôme*.) The men of order rushed to the «railing» of the Exchange. Brokers and merchants now swelled the body to 3 000, proceeded down the *Rue Notre Dame des Victoires*, at half past 3 their head passed into the *rue Druot*, the sentinels retreated to the Mairie of the 9-th Arrondissement. A short distance from the Boulevard in the Rue Druot is the Mairie of the 9-th Arrondissement and directly opposite the Gendarmerie — both of which places command the approaches to Montmartre. Here also the Party of Order found many new adherents. The Guards and Men of Order fraternized. They put on the blue ribbon as symptom of order. This fact leaves no doubt that the men of order have an organisation; for even as we proceeded down the *Rue Lafayette* men came out at various intervals and distributed the blue ribbon. At the *Rue de la Paix* the body swelled to 5 000 men. Many wearers of the Legion of Honour and solid merchants. [p. 5, c. 5] Mass surged to the *Place Vendôme*. At 3.40 the sentinels guarding the rue de la Paix, fled into the Place Vendôme. The whole movement seemed a surprise. There were no preparations to meet it. — The National Guards disperse the throng, and reoccupy all their old outposts at 5 p. m. Once in front of the Etat Major of the Garde Nationale, the men of order cover the whole place. «Down with the Central Committee». This the first manifestation of the «men of order» to be repeated to-morrow on 22 Mars. [p. 5, c. 6]

- [118] In dem Zitat des *Daily Telegraph-Penny-a-Liner* «Manifestation of the solid men of Paris... All who were in the line of march were what the world calls gentlemen — that is with silk hats, fine cloth». [p. 5, c. 5] Ein anderer der Penny-a-liner sagt von den members des Central Committee that they were «spare men having about them that hangdog look, characteristic of the Paris workmen that had to pass through the Paris famine». (so ungefähr)

25 March. Le Rappel. [Nº 650]

Versailles. Assemblée Nationale 23 Mars und nachher séance de Nuit selben Tag. Die Versöhnungsmaires (vor den Wahlen vom 26. Mars) venus exprès de Paris mit propositions qu'un des maires-représen-

62. On the "*Flag of France*"...inscription "the men of order."
63. ...of the staff headquarters of the National Guard.
64. manifestation: demonstration...to be repeated to-morrow on 22 March.
65. In the quotation from the *Daily Telegraph*...
66. Another penny-a-liner says about the members of the Central Committee...
67. so ungefähr: approximately like that.
68. *Versailles. National Assembly, 23 March and afterwards night session the*

tants se chargeait de lire de la tribune. Als die maires eintraten, les membres de la gauche se levèrent: «*Vive la République*», worauf die maires antworten mit demselben Ruf. Darauf indignation von den Castellane, Baze, Buffet, M. de Lorgeril s'est couvert et tous les villages présents ont répondu à l'acclamation: *Vive la République!* par le grognement: *A l'ordre, à l'ordre*. On sommait le président de suspendre la séance. Le docile Grévy déclarait l'ordre du jour épuisé, et a disparu avec prestesse, au milieu des réclamations et des protestations de la gauche. L'ordre du jour n'était pas épuisé, parce que la proposition des maires pas même lue à la tribune. Représentants de Paris parlèrent de donner leur démission à l'ouverture de la séance de nuit. Dans l'intervalle des pourparlers et des négociations. Thiers intervint. Grévy entschuldigt sich à la reprise de la séance etc. Une demi-heure après, elle écoutait avec componction la lecture de la proposition des maires, votait l'urgence, et la renvoyait tout de suite pour le fond à l'examen des bureaux. [p. 1, c. 1]

Wie das «*Vive la République*» gerufen wird, *M. de Castellane*: 69
«Nous ne pouvons supporter cela». Un grand nombre de députés siégeant à droite quittent leurs bancs, arrivent au pied de la tribune et interpellent vivement le président.

Die Vorschläge der maires von Paris: 1) que l'Assemblée nationale se mit en communication permanente avec les maires de la capitale; 2) qu'elle voulût bien autoriser les maires à prendre, au besoin, les mesures que le danger public réclamerait impérieusement; 3) que l'élection du général en chef de la garde nationale fût fixée au 28 de ce

same day. The conciliationist mayors (before the March 26 election) came expressly from Paris with proposals that one of the mayor-representatives undertook to read from the platform. As the mayors entered, the members of the Left rose: "Long live the Republic," whereupon the mayors responded with the same cry. Thereupon indignation from the Castellanes, Bazes, Buffets; M. de Lorgeril put on his hat and all the villages [sic; villagers?] present answered the cheer *Long live the Republic!* with growls of *Order, order*. The chairman was called on to suspend the session. The docile Grévy declared the agenda exhausted and disappeared with alacrity, amidst complaints and protests from the Left. The agenda was not exhausted, because the mayors' proposal [was] not even read from the platform. Paris representatives talking of handing in resignations at the opening of the night session. In the interval, parleys and negotiations. Thiers intervened. Grévy apologized on the resumption of the session etc. A half-hour later, it [the assembly] listened with compunction to the reading of the mayors' proposal, voted an emergency, and as for the substance, sent it immediately for consideration by the administrative bureaux. [p.1, c.1]

69. As the cry of "Long live the Republic" was given, *M. de Castellane*: "We cannot put up with that." A large number of deputies seated on the right leave their benches, come to the foot of the platform and sharply apostrophize the chairman.

70. *The proposals of the Paris mayors*: 1) that the National Assembly put itself in permanent communication with the mayors of the capital; 2) that it agree to authorize the mayors to take measures, as need be, that are imperiously demanded by the public danger; 3) that the election of the general-in-chief of the National Guard be set for the 28th of this month; 4) that the election of the Paris municipal council take place even before April 3; 5) as for the law on the municipal election: that the eligibility requirement be reduced to six months' residence, and that the mayors and deputy mayors issue from the election. [p.2, c.4]

[120] mois; 4) que l'élection du conseil municipal de Paris eût lieu même avant le 3 avril; 5) en ce qui concerne la loi relative à l'élection municipale, que la condition d'éligibilité fut réduite à six mois de domicile, et que les maires et adjoints procédassent de l'élection. [p. 2, c. 4]

In derselben *Nachtséance*: Interpellation du compère de Jules Favre, eines M. Turquet, ce que voulait dire la *dépêche du commandant prussien au Comité Central*. [p. 1, c. 1]. Favre, après quelques platitudes à la Prusse, «qui veut bien ne pas douter de sa sincérité», a menacé encore Paris du fer et du feu de M. de Moltke. «C'est la coupable émeute de Paris... à jamais maudite, qui consomme la malheur du pays». Saint Jules Favre, priez Bismarck pour nous! 71

Versailles 24 Mars. Les échéances prorogées d'un mois. [p. 1, c. 2] 72

Comité central verordnet die Wahlen für Sonntag, 26 März. 73

Die ruraux le parti «qui a toujours eu pour moyen la guerre civile, qui a dans son passé les deux chouanneries, qui a levé l'armée de Condé et les paysans de Charette, qui est rentré en France par la grâce de Dieu et du roi de Prusse». [p. 1, c. 3] 74

A la gare de Versailles, il y a un commissaire de police spécial qui demande aux arrivants s'ils ont des journaux. S'ils en ont qui déplaisent à la majorité de l'Assemblée, ces journaux sont saisis. A Paris, à côté de ses proclamations, le comité laisse s'établir celles du gouvernement de Versailles. [p. 1, c. 4] 75

23 Mars. Saisset als Commandant en chef provisoire zeigt den Parisern an, dass die députés de la Seine und die maires élus ont obtenu du *gouvernement de l'Assemblée Nationale*: «1) la reconnaissance complète des franchises municipales; 2) l'élection de tous les officiers de la garde nationale, y compris le Général en chef; 3) des modifications à la loi sur les échéances; 4) un projet de loi sur les loyers, favorable aux locataires, jusqu'à et y compris les loyers de 1 200 fcs.» 76

71. In the same *night session*: Interpellation by Jules Favre's crony, one M. Turquet, about the meaning of the *Prussian commander's dispatch to the Central Committee*. [p.1, c.1]. Favre, after some platitudes à la Prussia, "*which is willing not to doubt his sincerity*," again threatened Paris with Herr von Moltke's fire and sword. "It is the criminal outbreak in Paris... *forever accursed*, that consummates the misfortune of the country." Saint Jules Favre, pray to Bismarck for us!

72. *Versailles, 24 March*. Due-dates of bills extended for a month. [p.1, c.2]

73. *Central Committee* orders the elections for Sunday, March 26.

74. The Rurals the party "which has always had civil war as its method, which has two Chouanneries in its past, which organized the army of Condé and the peasants of Charette, which returned to France by the grace of God and the king of Prussia." [p.1, c.3]

75. At the Versailles station, there is a special police constable who asks arrivals if they have newspapers. If they have any that displease the Assembly majority, these papers are seized. In Paris, alongside its own proclamations, the committee allows those of the Versailles government to be put up. [p.1, c.4]

76. 23 March. Saisset as provisional commander-in-chief announces to the Parisians that the Seine deputies and the elected mayors have obtained the following from the *government of the National Assembly*: "1) complete recognition of municipal rights; 2) election of all National Guard officers, including the general-in-chief; 3) modifications in the law on due-dates of bills; 4) draft of a bill on rents, favorable to tenants, up to and including rents of 1200 francs."

22 Mars. In dem Aufruf des Comités für die Wahlen u. a.: «Pour 77
la première fois depuis le 4 septembre la République est affranchie du
gouvernement de ses ennemis... [p. 1, c. 6] à la cité une milice natio-
nale qui défend les citoyens contre le pouvoir, au lieu d'une armée per-
manente qui défend le pouvoir contre les citoyens».

Favre. Dès son arrivée au pouvoir, M. Jules Favre s'est empressé 78
de faire mettre en liberté Pic et Taillefer, condamnés pour vol et faux
en écriture dans l'affaire de l'*Etendard*. Taillefer, rattrapé, réincarcéré
par ordre du comité.

Affaire de Vendôme. 22 Mars. Journal Officiel: A 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ heures, la 79
manifestation, qui se massait depuis midi sur la place de la Nouvelle
[122] Opéra, s'est engagée dans la rue de la Paix. [p. 2, c. 1] Dans les pre-
miers rangs, un groupe très exalté, parmi lesquels de Heeckeren, de Coëtlo-
gon et H. de Pène, anciens familiers de l'empire. Arrivée à la hauteur
de la rue Neuve-St.-Augustin la manifestation a entouré, maltraité
et désarmé deux gardes nationaux détachés des sentinelles avancées.
Ils se sont réfugiés sur la place de Vendôme. Aussitôt les gardes natio-
naux, saisissant leurs armes, se sont portés immédiatement en ordre
de bataille, jusqu'à la hauteur de la rue Neuve-des-Petits Champs.
Recommandation était faite de ne pas tirer. Le premier rang de la foule,
800 — 1 000, se trouve bientôt face à face avec les gardes nationaux
mit: «A bas les assassins! à bas le Comité!». Grossières insultes contre
les gardes nationaux. On les appelle: «Assassins, lâches, brigands».
Ces furieux saisissent les fusils des gardes nationaux. On arrache le
sabre d'un officier. Les cris redoublent. Véritable émeute. Un coup
de revolver vient atteindre à la cuisse [le] citoyen Maljournal, lieute-
nant d'état-major de la place, membre du comité central. Le géné-
ral Bergeret, commandant [de] la place, accouru au premier rang dès le

77. 22 March. In the Committee's call for the elections, among other things:
"For the first time since 4 September the Republic is liberated from the govern-
ment of its enemies... [p.1, c.6] in the city a national militia which defends the
citizens against the governmental power, instead of a standing army which defends
the governmental power against the citizens."

78. Favre. Since his coming to power, M. Jules Favre has hastened to set free
Pic and Taillefer, convicted of theft and forgery in the *Etendard* affair. Taille-
fer, recaptured, reimprisoned by the committee's order.

79. Vendôme affair. 22 March. Journal Officiel: At half-past one, the demonstra-
tion, which had been massing since noon on the Place du Nouvel-Opéra, headed into
the Rue de la Paix. [p.2, c.1] In the front ranks, a very fanatic group, includ-
ing Heeckeren, Coëtlogon and H. de Pene, old familiars of the Empire. Reaching the
crest of the Rue Neuve-Saint-Augustin, the demonstration surrounded, roughed up,
and disarmed two National Guards stationed there as forward sentries. They took
refuge on the Place Vendôme. Immediately the National Guards, grabbing their arms,
formed into battle order at once, up to the crest of the Rue Neuve-des-Petits-
Champs. Order was given not to fire. The front ranks of the crowd, 800-1000, soon
are face to face with the National Guards, with: "Down with the murderers! down with
the Committee!" Coarse insults against the National Guards. They are called:
"Murderers, cowards, brigands." These fire-eaters grab the guns of the National
Guards. An officer has his saber wrested from him. The yells are redoubled. Real
riot. A revolver shot hits the thigh of Citizen Maljournal, local staff lieuten-
ant, member of the central committee. General Bergeret, commandant of the area,

debut, fait sommer les émeutiers de se retirer. Pendant près de cinq minutes roulement du tambour. Dix sommations sont faites. On y répond par des cris et des injures. Deux gardes nationaux tombent grièvement blessés. Cependant leurs camarades hésitent, et tirent en l'air. *Les émeutiers s'efforcent de rompre les lignes et de les désarmer.* Des coups de feu retentissent et l'émeute est subitement dispersée. Le général Bergeret fait immédiatement cesser le feu. Des maisons des coups de fusil ont été tirés sur les gardes nationaux. Deux entre eux sont tués, Wahlin et François, huit ont été blessés. *Vicomte de Molinet*, au premier rang de l'émeute, tué par derrière (durch seine Eignen). Auf seinem corps on trouve un *poignard* fixé à la ceinture par une chaînette. Un grand nombre de revolvers et de cannes à épée ont été ramassés dans la rue de la Paix et portés à l'état-major de la Place. [p. 2, c. 2]

25 March. Daily News. [№ 7770]

Leader: «At no time in her history has France sunk so low as at this moment, when we find the elected and representative Government of the country courting the assistance of her bitterest enemy to subdue rebellion, while the rebels themselves are anxious to be on friendly terms with that enemy, so as to secure their own ends». «*Savage rabble*», [p. 4, c. 5] «*outlaws of society*», «*fired upon defenceless citizens*», «*cowardly ruffians* who were guilty of Wednesday's massacre», «*general de Charette... commissioned to increase his Volunteer legion of the West*».

[124]

«*General von Schlotheims* announcement has given rise to the rumour that... Bismarck has been secretly fomenting these disturbances». «It is no less certain that the most humane among us would not be too scrupulous about the repressive measures which might be necessary to secure that end» (to put down the rebellion.) [p. 4, c. 6]

Telegrams, Paris 24 Mars: Resistance to the rebels is spreading. *In the loyal districts several recalcitrant bataillons have been disarmed*; many National Guards allow themselves to be disarmed easily. *The Journal Officiel* (only a letter to it) explains what was meant when it proposed that the greater part of the indemnity should be paid by the authors of the war. The property of the rich proprietors of France 170 milliards, confiscate 3 or 4% of that property... *Jules Favre*, at

who had hurried to the front ranks from the beginning, calls on the rioters to turn back. For nearly five minutes, drum rolls. Ten times the *sommations* [riot act] are read. They are answered with shouts and insults. Two National Guards fall seriously wounded. Yet their comrades hesitate, and fire into the air. *The rioters make an effort to break the lines and disarm them.* Some shots ring out and the riot is suddenly dispersed. General Bergeret immediately orders cease-fire. From houses, some gunshots were fired at the National Guard. Two of them were killed, Wahlin and François; eight were wounded. *Vicomte de Molinet*, in the front ranks of the riot, killed from behind (by one of his own people). On his body is found a dagger, fastened to his belt by a small chain. A large number of revolvers and sword-canes were picked up in the Rue de la Paix and brought to the headquarters in the square. [p.2, c.2]

Versailles, has declared that, to his astonishment, he is quite ignorant of the correspondence between the commander of the 3-d German Army Corps and the insurgents. [p. 3, c. 1]

Paris. 23 Mars. All the space between the Rue Richelieu, Boulevard et Rue Montmartre etc. etc. occupied by the reactionary National Guards of those districts. The boys of the Ecole Polytechnique placed themselves at the disposal of the reactionary Provisional Staff installed in the Place de la Bourse to act as aides-de-camp. [p. 3, c. 2]

Admiral Saisset commander-in-chief of the National Guard, Langlois et Schoelcher have undertaken the moving and concentration of the «orderly» bataillons. Their staff is provisionally installed in the Place de la Bourse. Lyons has proclaimed the Commune. Ditto Marseilles. [p. 3, c. 3] 80

Irishman 1. April. [Vol. XIII, № 39]

«*felon sheets, the Figaro and the Gaulois.* «Qu'est le producteur? Rien. Que doit il être? Tout. Quel est le travailleur? Rien. Que doit il être? Tout». [p. 626, c. 1] 81

25 March. Saisset, after having shifted his flag from the Bourse to the Western railwaystation, issued an order directing the faithful battalions of the National Guards to return home, while he threw down his command and left Paris. [p. 627, c. 2] — *Valentin, ex-Colonel of Gendarmes.*

[126] *Paris. 26 March.* Abdication of the Central Committee to the new elected maires etc. Elections took place on 26 (Sunday). The majority of the papers go with the *Journal des Débats*, which declares that it will not join in a vote which is appointed without right. More persons are voting in the loyal part of the town than was expected. Saisset said it would require 300 000 men to put down the insurrection. The Committee have been victorious except in the 1, 2 and 7 arrondissements. [p. 627, c. 3] The discipline observed by the insurgent troops is remarkably good. McMahon has offered his services to Thiers. Gen. Cathelineau has summoned his Vendéans to meet him at Rambouillet. 82 [p. 628, c. 1]

Versailles, 27 March. Thiers: «I give a formal contradiction to those who accuse me of leading the way for a monarchical settlement. *I found the Republic an accomplished fact.* Before God and men I declare I will not betray it etc.»

Lyons, March 27. Defeat of the Commune.

The Versailles government have determined on attacking Paris. [p. 628, c. 2]

The *Mairies* of the 1-st, 2-nd and 16-th arrondissements, held by the «party of order», were surrounded by the Red battalions, amply supported by artillery, and their garrisons given the choice either to evacuate the buildings or agree to allow the voting to take place on

80. et: and.

81. "What is the producer? Nothing. What should he be? Everything. What is the worker? Nothing. What should he be? Everything." [p.626, c.1]

82. Vendéans: soldiers recruited from the Vendée (northwest France), which, in 1793 et seq., was the center of a pro-royalist peasant movement led by the nobles.

the appointed date. The «party of order» chose the latter alternative. Deputies and Mayors of Paris present in the city affixed their names to a document, counter-signed by the delegates of the Central Committee, in which they recognised the validity of the elections in question, exhorting all citizens to vote, and the Central Committee made the same appeal. Out of 500 000 voters very nearly the half did not come to the polls. Elections took place under the regime of the electoral law of 1849, which prescribes $\frac{1}{8}$ of the voters on the registry to be a sufficient majority. Hence the elected legal representation of Paris. [p. 628, c. 3] *Most of the Reds bore the traces of poverty and bad feeding.*

Vendôme Affaire. A number of cane-swords and revolvers lay on the streets by which the «unarmed» demonstration had passed. Pistol shots were fired before the insurgents received orders to fire on the crowd. The *Officiel* adds that general Sheridan, who witnessed the whole affair from a window in the Rue de la Paix, can give testimony to the fact that the manifesters were the aggressors. 83

22 March. Abends (nach der Demonstration) the *rappel* was beaten in the 1-st, 2-nd and 16-th wards, and on the morning of the 23-d, the whole space, shut in by the Boulevard, the Rue Richelieu, the Rue Montmartre, and the Rue des Halles, was occupied by the opponents of the Commune. The *mairie* in the Place de la Bourse was made the headquarters of this party. At a short distance from this point, the [128] advanced posts of the rival factions faced each other... The partisans of the Assembly had no cannon ... madness to struggle with their adversaries without artillery. Saisset, nominated General in Chief of the National Guard by the Mayors of Paris, at first attempted to organise the loyalists with the view of ousting the Committee from the Hôtel de Ville, left Paris for Versailles on Saturday, after ordering the entire National Guard off duty. His own party obeyed him, but the «Red» bataillons did not. [p. 629, c. 1] 84

The election was conducted fairly and regularly. Never in the police-ridden era of the Empire did the polls present a quieter aspect. [p. 628, c. 3] There was consternation at Versailles. An attack on Versailles was expected on Thursday week (23 March), for the leaders of the Communal agitation had announced that they would march on Versailles, if the Assembly took any hostile action. The Assembly did not. On the contrary, it voted as urgent a proposition to hold Communal elections in Paris etc. By the concessions the Assembly admitted its powerlessness. [p. 640, c. 1] 85

Royalist Intrigues at Versailles. Bonapartist Generals and Duc d'Aumale. Favre bent upon displacing Thiers. Favre even avowed that he had received a letter from Bismarck, announcing that unless order were restored by Sunday last (26 March), Paris would be occupied by the German troops. *Reds* saw plainly through this little artifice. Liberation of Chanzly took place almost simultaneously with the

83. General Sheridan: This was the Union general, Philip Henry Sheridan, who was in Paris at the time.

84. 22 March. In the evening (after the demonstration) the call to arms was beaten...

85. Thursday week: i.e., a week from Thursday, 23 March, hence on 30 March. [E.S.]

retreat of Saisset. The royalist journals were unanimous in *decreeing the death of the general*. They desired to fix that amiable proceeding on the «Reds». «Three times he had been ordered to execution, and now he was really going to be shot». The *Reds* do not treat their prisoners [worse] than the *Ministers of England* their *Irish victims*. Elections delayed through a desire to compromise with the Government on the subject, although knowing these delays were dangerous, and would only give the Royalist reactionists time to act. — The regulations for the voting were such as to assure the most perfect freedom from intimidation... Out of a Communal Council of 90 members 72 Reds chosen... The abstainers cannot be accounted as opponents of the Commune, for the largest proportion of votes were registered in the *Conservative Districts*. *Proclamation of the Commune on March 28*. Enthusiasm at its installation. [p. 640, c. 2] They want a Republic which secures the fullest extension of popular rights.

[130] *Programm of the Commune*: The desire to establish a free Commune in every leading French town (capital of each department). The departmental Commune is to be elected by the people of its department, and to be a perfect legislative chamber. It is to govern the finance and the military organisation of its district and to have full power to levy taxes and to borrow money for these purposes, just as the State legislatures of the United States. *National* affairs are to be managed by a National Assembly chosen from the Nation. [p. 640, c. 3]

27 March. *Standard*. [№ 14555]

Paris, 26 March. Left Rep. Party at Versailles, 120 members 86 resolved to support the Government so long as it maintained itself on the Rep. platform. Yesterday evening Chanzy arrived. [p. 6, c. 1]

Leader: «Assi, the blacksmith». «When will some brave ruler of 87 men arise in France with capacity and courage enough for the task of saving the country by blowing the Republic into space with «a whiff of grapeshot». [p. 4, c. 5]

Paris Corr. 25 March. «sang-impurs» (the Rebels). Spricht von 88 «re infecta». [p. 5, c. 2]

Versailles 25 March. Order restored at Lyon, St. Etienne etc. [p. 3, c. 3 — 4]

25 March. Commune proclaimed at Marseilles. [p. 3, c. 3]

Another leader: «Socialism... has given to French Republicanism whatever real life, whatever true hold on the population it may possess... the masses, the rank and file of the republican party — ... prepared to fight,... kill and... die for the Republic — are socialists almost to a man». Placard of the *Syndicate of Trade Unions of stonemasons*... Socialism in its most vicious aspect. «*Relation between Communism and Carnage*». «The French ouvrier, an infidel to the 89

86. Left Rep. Party: the left-republican tendency in the National Assembly.

87. "Assi, the blacksmith": Marx is thus noting the mistake about the Communard Assi, who was a machinist, not a blacksmith.

88. Paris Correspondent, 25 March. "Men of 'tainted blood'" (the Rebels). Speaks of "re infecta" [tainted material]. — Sang impur is a phrase in the Marseillaise.

89. ouvrier: worker.

core, recognises no Paradise after death, and is, therefore, passionately [p. 1, c. 1] anxious to snatch a Paradise in this life». [p. 1, c. 2]

27 March. *Daily News*. [N° 7771]

Leader: There are two nations in France — the peasantry officered by the priests — and the workmen, led by politicians and journalists (!). «Thiers... has chosen his ambassadors... with a view of reviving the traditions of Orleanism... The members of the *International Society*, who are bent not only on a Republic, but on a socialistic Republic, find an occasion for secretly promoting the war of labour, or perhaps we ought rather to say of idleness, for such in the end it would prove against Capital». [p. 5, c. 2] 90

[132] *Paris Corr.* 25 March. The Peace negotiations with Admiral Saisset had been concluded on the following terms: that the different mai-ries which had been invaded, should be restored to their different districts; the Mayors to return to their posts; to prepare for the immediate election of the Commune; after them the central Council and Saisset to withdraw. War alles Humbug. [p. 5, c. 5] Next morning 91 (25) the *Journal Officiel* decided the question, ordered elections for 26-th. On this point the negotiations had split. Mayors and deputies of Paris had to give in.

25 March. *Versailles. Assemblée Nationale*. «The Bonapartist judges who served in the mixed Commissions of 1852 and made themselves degraded instruments of the coup d'état by giving a semblance of legality to the transportation to Cayenne of republicans on the black books of Louis Napoléon Bonaparte — dismissed by Crémieux — reinstalled». [p. 5, c. 6] «Jules Favre has made a most atrocious... attempt to provoke civil war, and has caressed in a way which will never be forgotten,... the idea of a Prussian occupation of Paris to restore order». [p. 6, c. 1] 92

Paris 26 March. Organe Officiel de la Commune excites the passions of the mob by assuring in long articles of the largest type that the Assembly has appointed the Duke of Aumale Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. [p. 3, c. 1] 93

28 March. *Petit Journal*. [N° 3008]

Le comité a mis en liberté non seulement Général Chanzy mais 94 aussi Général de Langourian. [p. 3, c. 3]

28 March. *Daily News*. [N° 7772]

26 March. *Paris Corr.* «A revolution may be right, and yet not legal; on the other hand, it may be legalised, and yet still be wrong. When the *coup d'état* was legalised, did that make it right? And was the Revolution of 4-th September wrong because it was illegal? —

90. *International Society*: the *International Working Men's Association* (the *First International*), in France (*Association Internationale des Travailleurs*).

91. It was all humbug.

92: National Assembly.

93. *Official Organ* of the Commune... [*Journal Officiel*].

94. The committee has set free not only General Chanzy but also General de Langourian.

... let them not talk nonsense about the shameful of illegality in a country where every party except one, the high and dry Legitimists, who are in a desperate minority, have planted their standards in illegality, and through illegality have risen to power». [p. 5, c. 5] «It is most remarkable that the General (at Lyons) whose proclamation Picard cited to the National Assemblée, was constrained to put at the bottom of his letter «*Vive la République*» before «*L'Assemblée Nationale*». Three days ago the Assembly deliberately eliminated the words «*Vive la République*» from their proclamation to the «Citizens and the Army». Ueber die fraternization and handshaking der Bour-

[134] geois am Election day mit den Reds: «Those gentlemen who go about the courts of the mayoralties, shaking hands with the insurgent National Guards, talk of nothing among themselves but «repressive measures», «energy» and «mitraille». A fat bourgeois in my presence, with irate countenance and animated gesture, expressed it as his hope and belief that «the canaille» with which he... volunteered to fraternize, would be in a few days decimated *en masse* and sent to fry in Cayenne». If the Assemblée had the power to organize wholesale fusillades it might do so, with the warm approval of the *wealthy bourgeois* of Paris. Though the Red flag floats on the Hôtel-de-Ville, the people there less blood-minded than the honest and moderate who live under the shadow of the Column Vendôme. *The runaways of yesterday think to-day by flattering the men of the Hôtel-de-Ville to keep them quiet until the Rurals and Bonapartist generals, who are gathering at Versailles, will be in position to fire on them.* [p. 5, c. 6]

95

28 March. Standard. [N° 14556]

«*Incapable amateurs*» (govern at Paris) [p. 4, c. 5] «bloodthirsty mountebanks». «France has sunk to the meek level of the early Christian martyrs... *Damnatur ad bestias*». [p. 1, c. 3]

30 March. Daily News. [N° 7774]

The Paris Government wants «money» and proves it by different means. But according to the British penny-a-liner a «cheap» government has no right to live. [p. 6, c. 4]

Telegr. Paris 29 March. Central Committee burnt all the papers of the police office... The shopkeepers are dissatisfied with M. Dufaure's Bill regulating House Rents... [p. 3, c. 1] *M. Rampon* «the Director of the Post Office, has formally refused to cede his place to the new director appointed by the Committee». 28 March. Order has been reestablished at Toulouse, Lyons, Marseilles, St. Etienne. M. de Charette has arrived at Versailles with 8 000 Bretons. [p. 3, c. 2]

28 March. *Paris Corr.* «The members of the Central Committee are very able men... Their practical knowledge is of a superior kind, their information on political questions considerable... their organisation perfect... It will not do to treat these men in the *Hôtel de Ville* as weaklings, they are strong men... stern and intelligent... who will not endure that the ignorant peasantry who know not what they vote should rule France». [p. 6, c. 4]

[136] *Versailles. Assembly 28 March. Floquet:* «They are fools», «Versailles was but 5 leagues from Paris, it was 1 000 leagues distant in ideas».

Fresneau, an old Deputy of 1849: Wanted to know from M. Picard whether any effectual means had been or would be taken to *prevent the International Society* from communicating with Paris. *Picard* evaded the questions, saying an answer would be premature, as deeds and not words were now wanted.

Dufaure laid on the table his bill for payments of rents in Paris. The bill gives the debtor only the option of paying up at once (the houselord must not share in the nuisance of the war), or going to law to establish a plea of poverty. (Rents for the last 6 months.) [p. 6, c. 5]

Many of the journals of order which lately joined the solemn league and covenant not to countenance the illegal municipal elections, now say that they constitute a *fait accompli*, and that the Versailles government must compromise with Paris. Thus *Siècle*, *Temps*, *Avenir National*. [p. 6, c. 6]

Leader. «A prey to selfish and unworthy dread of the only form of Government which offers a neutral ground of reconciliation for all parties, the majority of the Assembly... persisted in the *moral decapitation* of France by removing the seat of government from the natural and historic centre of her territorial, political, intellectual, and social unity. Treating Paris as an enemy, instead of as the express image and consummate expression of the national life, it has forfeited the title of a national representation. Moreover, from the moment, when it had ratified the *terms of peace*, the continuance of its own powers became an *unconstitutional usurpation*». [p. 5, c. 1]

30 Mars. Rappel. [N° 655]

Thiers n'a jamais fait que des fautes, et n'a jamais causé que des catastrophes. [p. 1, c. 1] 96

La garde nationale, tenue en suspicion et laissée à l'écart par des généraux incapables ou traîtres, avait pourtant prouvé à *Buzenvall* ce qu'elle aurait pu faire; son artillerie était sa propriété à double titre: d'abord elle l'avait payée, puis le traité de paix ne la laissait à la France que parce qu'elle lui appartenait. Vinoy a perdu sans tirer un coup de feu la bataille de la place Pigalle. Thiers, vaincu avec le général-sénateur de l'empire, a pris la fuite à Versailles. Versailles est plein de troupes; 100 000 hommes sont rassemblés au camp de Satory, un général en chef, *du Barail*, est choisi; on réunit les Bre- 97

96. Thiers has never made anything but mistakes and has brought about nothing but catastrophes.

97. The National Guard, held in suspicion or pushed aside by incompetent or treacherous generals, yet had proved at *Buzenvall* what it could do; its artillery was its own property in two ways: first, it had paid for it; second, the peace treaty left it to France only because it belonged to the Guard. Vinoy lost the battle of the Place Pigalle without firing a shot. Thiers, vanquished together with the general-senator of the Empire, took flight to Versailles. Versailles is full of troops; 100,000 men are massed in the camp at Satory; a general-in-chief, *du Barail*, has been selected; the Bretons of M. Charette and the Municipal Guards of M. Valentin are united with the policemen of M. Piétri.

[138] *tons de M. Charette et les municipaux de M. Valentin aux sergents de ville de M. Pietri.*

30 Mars. *Proclamation de la Commune.* Darin: «Aujourd'hui, les criminels, que vous n'avez pas même voulu poursuivre, abusent de votre magnanimité pour organiser aux portes mêmes de la cité un foyer de conspiration monarchique. Ils invoquent la guerre civile, ils mettent en oeuvre toutes les corruptions, ils acceptent toutes les complicités, ils ont osé mendier jusqu'à l'appui de l'étranger». [p. 1, c. 2] 98

Séance de la Commune du 29 Mars: le Comité central a remis ses pouvoirs, déclare de n'être plus désormais que ce qu'il était avant le mouvement: *le conseil de famille de la garde nationale.* [p. 1, c. 3] 99

28 Mars. *Versailles. Circulaire de Thiers, aux préfets et sous-préfets:* «Il faut que les bons ouvriers, si nombreux par rapport aux mauvais, sachent que si le pain s'éloigne encore une fois de leur bouche, ils le doivent aux adeptes de *l'Internationale*, qui sont les tyrans du travail, dont ils se prétendent les libérateurs». [p. 1, c. 5] 100

M. Jules Ferry, ex-maire de Paris, a défendu, par une circulaire en date du mardi 28 mars, aux employés de l'octroi, de continuer toute perception pour la ville de Paris. [p. 1, c. 6] 101

La peste bovine sévit avec une telle vigueur, qu'on a dû suspendre toutes les foires de Normandie où se font à cette époque de l'année les ventes de bestiaux. Les boeufs qui alimentent Paris viennent tous maintenant de Portugal. [p. 2, c. 1] 102

31 Mars. *Daily News.* [N° 7775]

Telegrammes. Paris. March 30. Rampont quits for Versailles (Commune having seized upon the post-office). The Government refuses to let provisions enter Paris. The Commune refuses to let wine leave Bercy, the great dépôt in Paris. No one in Paris shall obey instructions from Versailles. *Central Committee should continue in operations as the Council of the National Guards. Rent for the last 3 quar-* 103

98. 30 March. *Proclamation of the Commune.* Includes: "Today the criminals, whom you did not even want to get after, abuse your magnanimity to organize a center of monarchist conspiracy at the very gates of the city. They unleash civil war, they instigate all kinds of corruption, they take up with any accomplice, they have even dared to beg for the foreigner's support." [p.1, c.2]

99. *Session of the Commune of March 29:* the Central Committee has laid down its powers, declares that henceforth it will be no more than what it was before the movement: *the family council of the National Guard.* [p.1, c.3]

100. 28 March. *Versailles. Circular by Thiers, to prefects and sub-prefects:* "The good workers, who are so numerous in comparison with the bad ones, ought to know that if their bellies once again lack bread, they owe this to the adepts of *the Internationale*, who are the tyrants of labor, whose liberators they claim to be." [p.1, c.5]

101. M. Jules Ferry, ex-mayor of Paris, in a circular dated Tuesday, 28 March, has forbidden the employees of the *octroi* [city tax] administration to continue to collect taxes for the city of Paris. [p.1, c.6]

102. *The cattle plague* rages so virulently that they have had to suspend all fairs in Normandie where cattle sales take place at this time of the year. The beef to feed Paris now all comes from Portugal. [p.2, c.1]

103: quits for = leaves for.

ters up to April wholly remitted. Whoever has paid any of these 3 quarters shall have the right of setting that sum against future payments. The same law to prevail in the case of furnished apartments. No notice to quit coming from landlords to be valid for 3 months to come. 104
Forbidden to post notices on the walls of Paris emanating from Versailles.

Figaro (which had been allowed to reappear) seized again, not to be allowed to appear any more.

[140] The Commune of Paris still presumes to legislate on *national* questions.

Thiers forbids importation of horses into Paris. [p. 3, c. 3] No more tribunals or courts sitting at the Palais de Justice. No more judges. [p. 3, c. 4]

The disarmament of loyal National Guards in Passy, Ternes et 105
Batignolles is actively continued. Every district which voted against the Commune deprived of its Chassepots. [p. 3, c. 3]

Members of the commune a monthly salary of 300 fcs; sum that had been fixed by M. Ferry as a provisional allowance for the mayors and adjoints of Paris during the siege.

The Executive committee of the Commune appointed for one month, can be revoked at any time. [p. 3, c. 4]

Paris Corr. 29 March. The French towns will one day rise together to insist on their supremacy in the councils of the nation. The Commune is at its wit's end for money. Varlin told the Commune this at its first sitting. [p. 5, c. 4] The Commune, rather hard upon men, in many cases depriving them of their liberty, and subjecting them to the severest discipline, is extremely anxious for the liberty of women, abolished the police department busying itself with their morals.

Dufaure's bill on house-rent: proposes to give to the courts of arbitration power not only to defer payment to the extent of 2 years, but, in the case of purely commercial tenants, to remit altogether $\frac{1}{4}$ of the rent. Condemned by the most moderate journals. The concessions to the tenants nothing, for by common law the ordinary courts can relieve debtors from obligations the fulfilment of which prevented by force *supérieure*. Great masses besides tradesmen lost during siege 106
their incomes from which house-rents paid. [p. 5, c. 5]

21 Mars. Situation. [N° 156]

Les hommes du 4 Septembre retiennent les Prussiens à la Porte 107
de Paris, après les y avoir fait venir. [p. 7, c. 1]

Thiers n'a jamais été ministre sans pousser les soldats au massacre 108
du peuple, [p. 7, c. 2] parricide, incestueux, concussionnaire, plagiaire, traître, ambitieux, un impuissant.

104. quit = leave, vacate the lodging.

105. loyal: i.e. loyal to Versailles. Passy, etc. are districts of Paris.

106. force *supérieure*: superior force.

107. The men of 4 September keep the Prussians at the gate of Paris, after letting them get there. [p. 7, c. 1]

108. *Thiers* has never been a minister without pushing the soldiers into a massacre of the people. [p. 7, c. 2] parricide, incestuous, peculator, plagiarist, traitor, ambitious, an impotent.

Dufaure [p. 7, c. 3] l'austérité de la coquinerie. E. Picard vou- 109
lait être le ministre de Louis Bonaparte. [p. 7, c. 4]

Bismarck — à son retour à Berlin — disait à *Frankfort*: «L'As- 110
semblée nationale eut préféré voir la Prusse occuper Paris, désarmer
la Garde Nationale, et tenir la canaille en respect; mais comme le gou-
[142] vernement prussien avait résolu de ne pas sacrifier un seul homme de
plus, après avoir atteint le but essentiel de la campagne, il n'avait pu
rendre ce service à l'Assemblée nationale». Ainsi Thiers et Jules Favre
(s'autorisant de l'opinion de la majorité de l'Assemblée) ont sollicité
l'occupation de Paris et le massacre des Parisiens. [p. 8, c. 1] On ne
saurait blâmer les Parisiens de ne pas vouloir subir le gouvernement
élu par des hommes, qui ont sollicité leur massacre du Chancelier
de l'Empire allemand. [p. 8, c. 2]

28 Mars. Situation. [N° 162]

Brief von *Schlotheim* vom 11 Mars. Answer des Comité central 111
vom 22 Mars «informe, que la révolution accomplie à Paris... ayant
un caractère essentiellement municipal, n'est en aucune façon agres-
sive contre les armées allemandes. Nous n'avons pas qualité pour dis-
cutter les préliminaires de paix votés par l'Assemblée de Bordeaux».
[p. 2, c. 3] Die affaire von 22 Mars provoquée par ce faussaire, ce
jésuite infâme *Jules Favre*, qui est monté (21 oder 22) à la tribune de
l'Assemblée de Versailles «pour insulter ce peuple qui l'a tiré du néant
et soulever contre Paris les départements». [p. 2, c. 4]

Journée du 24 Mars. Versuch der résistance des hommes d'ordre. 112
[p. 4, c. 2] 25 Mars. Geschichte mit Saisset am Ende. [p. 4, c. 2 — 3]

Versailles, 27 Mars. Duc D'Aumale à Versailles. [p. 4, c. 1] 113

1 Avril. Daily News. [N° 7776]

Leader: The better class of people are leaving Paris... 150 000
fled since the elections. *Exodus*... Step by step the Commune of Paris

109. *Dufaure* [p.7, c.3] the austerity of knavery. E. Picard wanted to be Louis Bonaparte's minister. [p.7, c.4]

110. *Bismarck*—on his return to Berlin—said at *Frankfort*: "The National Assem- bly would have preferred to see Prussia occupy Paris, disarm the National Guard, and keep the canaille in check; but as the Prussian government had resolved not to sacrifice a single additional man, after achieving the essential goal of the campaign, it could not render this service to the National Assembly." Thus Thiers and Jules Favre (authorized by the opinion of the majority of the Assembly) sol- icited the occupation of Paris and the massacre of the Parisians. [p.8, c.1] One could not blame the Parisians for not wanting to submit to the government elected by men who solicited their massacre by the Chancellor of the German Empire. [p.8, c.2]

111. Letter from *Schlotheim* of March 11. Answer of the Central Committee of 22 March "informs that the revolution carried out in Paris...having an essential- ly municipal character, is in no way aggressive as against the German armies. We have no authority to discuss the peace preliminaries voted by the Assembly at Bor- deaux." [p.2, c.3] The affair of 22 March provoked by that forger, that infamous Jesuit *Jules Favre*, who (on the 21st or 22nd) took the floor of the Versailles Assembly "to insult those people who had raised him up out of nowhere and to stir up the departments against Paris." [p.2, c.4]

112. *The day of 24 March*. Attempt at resistance by the men of order. [p.4, c.2]
25 March. Business with Saisset ended. [p.4, c.2-3]

113. *Versailles, 27 March*. Duke d'Aumale at Versailles. [p.4, c.1]

114.
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118.

is declaring itself the Government of France. It has already assured political functions so far as the city is concerned. *Jamner des Siècle!* 114
[p. 5, c. 3]

Telegr. Paris 31 March. The Commune has forced loan from 5 insurance Companies, *conscription abolished* (29 March). The Commune has declared the incompatibility of a seat in its ranks with a seat in the Assembly. *Declares Foreigners can have seat in it, declared the election of Frankel valid.* The mitrailleuses sent to support Saisset, in the hands of the Commune. [p. 3, c. 1] *Constitutionnel* seized (March 31). [p. 3, c. 2]

Paris Corr. 30 March. Moniteur (Versailles) says that Paris cannot be a free city, because it is the capital. Paris objects to be the capital of government whose form dictated by the ruraux. Decree on house-rent 29 March. [p. 5, c. 5] Sale of pawned articles at Mont de Piété suspended. (29, March). [p. 5, c. 6] To the objection that our new governors, numbering 29, are unknown, their organs reply: «So were the 12 Apostles». [p. 6, c. 1]

[144]

3 April. *Petit Journal*. [N° 3014]

Jeux de hasard suppressed. [p. 1, c. 3]

115

3 April. *Evening Standard*. [N° 14561]

Telegr. Paris. April 2. Gefecht zwischen Courbevoie und Neuilly, close to Paris. National Guards beaten, bridge of Neuilly occupied by the «Thiers» soldiers. [p. 5, c. 1] (Gen. Bruat.) [p. 4, c. 4] Several thousands of National guards having come out of Paris and occupied Courbevoie, Puteaux, and the bridge of Neuilly, routed. Many prisoners taken. [p. 5, c. 1] Many of the insurgents immediately shot as «rebels». Versailles troops began the firing. [p. 4, c. 4] 116

31 March. *Corresp. 31-st Regiment surrendered* at the Parisian outposts. [p. 2, c. 1] 1 April. Rochefort says: «We have to elect municipal Councils through all France, and then proceed to general elections». [p. 2, c. 3] *Journal Officiel* (1 April) *der Commune*: «the revolution of the 18-th of March had not for its only object the securing to Paris of communal representation elected, but subject to the *despotic tutelage of a national power strongly centralised*. It is to conquer and secure independence for all the communes of France and also all groups of superior cantons, departments, and provinces, united among themselves for their common interest by a really national pact; it is to guarantee and perpetuate the Republic... Paris has renounced her *apparent omnipotence* which is identical with her forfeiture, she has not renounced that moral power, that intellectual influence, which so often has made her victorious in France and Europe in her propaganda». *Comité Central* (das alte) has left the Hôtel de Ville, and taken up its quarters in the *Château d'Eau*. 117 118

114. Lamentations of *Le Siècle!*

115. Games of chance suppressed.

116. Battle, in-between Courbevoie and Neuilly...

117. *der*: of the.

118. *Central Committee* (the old one)...

April 2: the highest salary to Communal authorities 6 000 f. [p. 2, c. 5] Bank has advanced 3 millions to the Central Committee. The army of Versailles has occupied St. Cloud and the line of the Seine. [p. 2, c. 6]

3 April. Daily Telegraph. [Nº 4930]

Leader. «these outlaws». «ungrammatical cads». «filibusters of the Hôtel de Ville». [p. 5, c. 4] «Assassins» «Convicts» [p. 4, c. 5] «kick down the rights of property with decrees». [p. 5, c. 4] «The army of the Commune!... Bombastes Furioso never commanded a more unlike lot». [p. 5, c. 5]

1 April friends of order are in force, and hold the bridge of Auteuil — where General Galliffet, with his Chasseurs d'Afrique, some 119 Zouaves, etc. are camped. [p. 6, c. 1]

[146]

4 April. Daily Telegraph. [Nº 4931]

Paris. 3 April (Telegr.) 25 soldiers of the 80th Regiment of the Line, shot as «rebels» by the men of the 75th. Bergeret, Flourens present. They believed that the Commandant of the Mont Valérien had 120 promised not to fire. The firing from the Mont Valérien did it. [p. 3, c. 3] The Executive Committee accuses Thiers, Favre, Picard, Dufaure and Pothuau of commencing a civil war in France, and has sequestered their property until they deliver themselves up to justice. [p. 3, c. 4]

Paris, April 3. Decree separates the Church from the State, suppresses the religious budget, and declares all clerical estates national properties.

Commune in a proclamation: The Government of Versailles has attacked us. Not being able to count upon the army, it has sent *Pontifical Zouaves of Charette, Bretons of Trochu and gendarmes of Valentin*, in order to bombard Neuilly. *Mac Mahon* appointed general in chief at Versailles. [p. 3, c. 5]

4 April. Times. [Nº 27028]

Leader. Encounter before Paris on Sunday 2 April. Great battle of 3 April.

On 2 April the Versailles government had sent forward a division chiefly consisting of *Gendarmes, Marines, Forest Guards, and Police* Versailles troops in this first engagement 4 to 1, sent them in wild flight over the bridge of Neuilly; [p. 8, c. 4] the insurgents, though engaging against overwhelming odds with unequal weapons, had to fall back in complete disorder. *Stood their ground at their barricade before the bridge* for a long time keeping up a very hot fusillade. Some of the insurgent prisoners shot in cold-blood.

119. Chasseurs d'Afrique: light infantry from Africa [i.e. Algeria]...

120. Mont Valérien: one of the forts, occupied by Versailles troops, on the west side of Paris, on the route to Versailles.

121. Pontifical Zouaves: formed in 1860 under Gen. Charette, as papal troops for Pius IX, on the model of the French "Zouave" troops in Algeria, but recruited from French (sometimes Belgian) upper-class youth; used by the pope against Garibaldi; hated by the Roman people. In 1870 they were pulled back to France, & used against the Commune in 1871.

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Throughout the night and at break of day, the insurgents assembled to the number of 100 000, and marching in 3 columns from *Clichy and Neuilly, Point du Jour and Châtillon*, they advanced upon Versailles. Their right suffered severely on nearing Mont Valérien, at once broken and dispersed; but on the southeast, the centre and left of the insurgents... gained ground upon the enemy in the direction of Meudon, where *Bergeret* was at 10 o'clock, asking for reinforcements. 30 000 with artillery, sent to his support under Gustave Flourens, thwarted by the governmental troops, fell disorderly back upon Paris.

«mere Paris rabble» [p. 8, c. 5] «the conspiracy against civilisation» «the social outcasts of Belleville». «Paris, that is, the rich, the capitalists the idle» [p. 8, c. 6]

[148]

4 April. Daily News. [N° 7778]

Corr. Paris. 2 April (Sunday night). The Versailles troops of the line were full of wavering. The chief part of the Versailles fighting done by the Gendarmerie and the artillery. Affaire at Neuilly practically over at half past 12 in the morning. Communal forces have Châtillon. [p. 5, c. 5]

4 April. Situation. [N° 168]

Arthur Picard, frère de Ernest (Bericht aus dem Cabinet du 122 Préfet de Police, 31 July, 1867 als Escroc an der Börse etc. signalisiert) (escroquerie en matière de jeux de Bourse) (ausgeschlossen von der Bourse). (Als Kandidat dans Seine-et-Oise, pour le prochain Conseil Général vorgebracht von Jules Favre, Odilon Barrot, E. Picard etc.) Picard a volé 300 000 fcs. (als directeur de la succursale de la Société générale, rue Palestro, No. 5, où il avait été placé à la demande de son frère). «Picard a été arrêté aussitôt. Il avoua tout, et il vient être écroué au dépôt de la Préfecture». (*Extrait. Officier de Paix. Boudeville, 11 Décembre 1868*) A. Picard, rédacteur du journal de son frère, «*L'électeur libre*, qui a la spécialité d'appeler chaque jour pour les républicains: pillards, bandits et partageux». [p. 2, c. 4]

5 April. Situation. [N° 169]

Journal Officiel du 31 Mars (Commune): Rapport de la Commission 123 des élections. «Considérant que le drapeau de la Commune est celui

122. *Arthur Picard*, brother of Ernest (Report by the Office of the Prefect of Police, 31 July 1867, described as a Stock Exchange swindler) (swindling in connection with stock speculation) (expelled from the Stock Exchange). (As candidate in Seine-et-Oise for the next General Council, put forward by Jules Favre, Odilon Barrot, E. Picard, etc.) Picard stole 300,000 francs (as manager of the branch of the Société Générale [du Crédit Mobilier] at Rue Palermo, No. 5, where he had been placed at the request of his brother). "Picard was arrested immediately. He confessed everything, and he is going to be booked at the police station lockup." (*Excerpt. Peace Officer. Boudeville, 11 December 1868*) A. Picard, editor of his brother's newspaper "*L'Electeur Libre*, which specializes in daily calling the republicans: plunderers, bandits and *partageux*." [p. 2, c. 4]

123. *Journal Officiel of 31 March (Commune): Report of the Election Commission.* "Whereas the flag of the Commune is that of the Universal Republic etc. ...for-

de la *République Universelle* etc... les étrangers peuvent être admis... hence Franckel». Valide aussi les élections die nicht $\frac{1}{8}$ der Stimmen nach loi von 1849, weil «le *plébiscite impérial* ... du 3 novembre» has artificially (falsely) raised the number of elections, «décès pendant le siège, habitants qui ont abandonné Paris après la capitulation, chiffre considérable pendant le siège des réfugiés étrangers à Paris etc.» Commune adopte ces conclusions. [p. 2, c. 4]

Paris. 4 Avril. Telegr. Vers 4 heures du matin, *Flourens et Duval* ont opéré leur jonction au Rondpoint de Courbevoie. Les troupes haben dennoch vorwärts marschiert. Les deux colonnes ont pu franchir la ligne et se mettre en marche sur Versailles. 124

Floquet et Lockroy ont donné leur démission des députés, disant 125 que leur place est au milieu de leurs concitoyens. [p. 4, c. 1]

La gendarmerie s'est surtout fait remarquer par la dureté de sa 126 conduite. [p. 4, c. 4]

[150]

5 April. *Echo*. № [724]

Telegrammes. Versailles. April 4. Gustave Flourens killed. Evening: The redoubt of Châtillon taken this morning. 2 000 prisoners, including Gen. Henry, brought to Versailles. *General Duval was shot* 127 *inside the redoubt.* Large numbers of sailors and soldiers are continually joining the National Guards. [p. 5, c. 1]

5 April. *Daily Telegraph*. [№ 4932]

Telegrammes. April 4. Versailles. Rebels beaten under Mont Valérien, and on the heights of Meudon. *Every man wearing the uniform of the regular army who was captured in the ranks of the Communists,* was straightway shot without the slightest mercy. The governmental troops were perfectly ferocious against the traitors and rebels.

Paris. April 4. Strangers and inhabitants rushing in hottest haste from the Capital.

At break of this day the Versailles troops attacked the Redoubt of Châtillon, massacred the Communists, who allowed them quietly to approach as friends. [p. 3, c. 3]

eigners can be admitted...hence Franckel." Also valid, the elections in which not an eighth of the votes [in which less than an eighth of the registered voters actually voted] in accordance with the law of 1849, since "the *imperial plebiscite* ...of November 3" has artificially (falsely) raised the number of elections [electors], "deaths during the siege, residents who deserted Paris after the capitulation, the considerable number of refugees, strangers to Paris, during the siege, etc." Commune adopts these conclusions. [p.2, c.4]

124. *Paris. 4 April. Telegram.* Around 4 o'clock in the morning, *Flourens and Duval* effected a junction of their forces at the Rond-point of Courbevoie. The troops have marched still further. The two columns were able to cross the line and set out on a march on Versailles.

125. *Floquet and Lockroy* have handed in their resignations as deputies, saying that their place is among their fellow citizens. [p.4, c.1]

126. The gendarmerie has stood out particularly, due to the harshness of its conduct. [p.4, c.4]

127. Marx later learned, and noted, that this report about Duval's death was false. Duval was shot on order of Gen. Vinoy after being taken prisoner.

April 3. Duval and Flourens effected a junction at the Rond Point of Courbevoie. Scarcely arrived, subjected to powerful fire from Mont Valérien. [p. 3, c. 4]

Leader: It really appears that Thiers has broken the neck of the counterrevolution. [p. 4, c. 4] «The successes of Monday were crowned by the death... of Mr. Flourens». «Mr. Thiers was enabled to communicate these encouraging particulars to the Assembly on Monday». «The body of Flourens is at Versailles and therefore we may be sure his restless spirit is quiet at last». «The strategy of the printer Bergeret». «What but contempt can be felt for those children of liberty». «It is not History — it is Hysteria». [p. 4, c. 5]

Legt seine *Correspondence from Paris 3 April* under the heading: 128
«The Collapse of the Commune». «Absinthe and the tall talk». «The 129
men believed that Mont Valérien was in the hands of the Communists; the staff officers thought that some arrangement had been made with its Commandant not to fire on the National Guard as they passed. Cruelly indeed were they deceived». [p. 5, c. 4]

5 April. *Standard*. [Nº 14563]

Leader: «Flourens... was not a mere rowdy like the rest». [p. 4, c. 5] «Revolutionary Ruffianism». [p. 1, c. 3]

Paris. April 4. Telegram. The Army of the Commune still holds out at Vanves, Issy, Clamart, where they have been vigorously attacked all the day. Fighting is still going on. [p. 5, c. 1]

[152] During the arrangement, Col. Flourens and his Garibaldian aide de camp, were surprised at Châtillon, and the former, having discharged his revolver, had his head cleft open by a sabre blow, and his dead body was brought to Versailles. [p. 6, c. 2] The death is a clear gain to France.

Leader: Flourens and Bergeret duped by belief in the Valériens... 130
«Ever since the middle of February Thiers has been the head of a Conservative and Monarchical Assembly. If he crushes the Commune he will have crushed it thanks to a Conservative and Monarchical army». [p. 4, c. 5]

April 2 (*Vengeur*) «This morning the Chouans of Charette, the Vendéans of Cathelineau, the Bretons of Trochu, aided by the Gendarmes of Valentin, covered the inoffensive village of Neuilly with grape and shells, and engaged in civil war with our national guards». [p. 5, c. 3]

5 April. *Daily News*. [Nº 7779]

Leader. «General Vinoy, with two brigades of infantry, and General Galliffet — the husband of that charming Marchioness whose costumes at the masked balls were one of the wonders of the Empire — at the head of a brigade of cavalry and a battery of artillery, advanced upon Courbevoie». [p. 4, c. 6] (*This the first fight*). «The unconscionable cowardice of the National Guard». [p. 5, c. 1]

128. Places its *Correspondence from Paris*...

129. The word "the" before "tall talk" should be omitted, according to the Errata list in Arkhiv M-E.

130. Valériens: the Versailles garrison of the Fort Mont-Valérien.

6 April. *Daily Telegraph*. [№ 4933]

Telegr. Paris. April 5. In a proclamation issued to the inhabitants, the Commune complains that the Monarchists wage war like savages; they shoot prisoners; they murder the wounded; they fire on ambulances; troops raise the butt-end of their rifles in the air, and then fire traitorously. Unmarried men from 17 — 35 years are forced to serve. *Archbishop of Paris* arrested, accused of plotting against the state; (arrested for the purpose of having a hostage). The Commune threaten to execute him in case the Government of Versailles should go on with its shooting. Arrests of other important personages will be made with the same object. *Curé de la Madeleine* has been arrested. Fighting going on, at the Porte Maillot two officers arrested in the uniform of the National Guard Artillery, recognised as officers of the Gendarmerie who had attempted to enter the town with a carriage ambulance. The populace demanded their instant death. National Guards refused, took them to headquarters in the Place Vendôme.

Débats, Constitutionnel, Liberté seized. *Soir* is expected to meet the same fate.

[154] *April 4. Declaration of Millière* «let France know that Paris is not in a state of insurrection, but ... of legitimate defence;... the people of Paris was not making any aggressive attempt, or creating any disorder, when the Government ordered it to be attacked by the ex-soldiers of the Empire, organised as Praetorian troops, under the command of ex-Senators». [p. 3, c. 4]

Leader: «Only contempt can be felt for National Guards who etc.». [p. 4, c. 4]

Versailles Correspondent. April 3. (Über die Affaire vom 2 April) Attack undertaken on the advice of Vinoy. 25 men of the Line (captives) Vinoy had executed at once. The National Guards prisoners [p. 5, c. 4] brought to Versailles — villainous looking set difficult to find in the galleys. Had it not been for a strong guard of gendarmes, they would have been torn to pieces. Were abused in a most energetic manner, hooted and abused as «murderers». [p. 5, c. 5]

5 April. *Daily News*. [№ 7779]

Telegr. Versailles 4 April. In Thiers proclamation über seine prisoners: «Never had more degraded countenances of a degraded democracy met the afflicted gaze of honest men». [p. 3, c. 1]

Marseilles April 4. Insurgents beaten.

Paris 4 April. The Zouaves of Charette fight under a white flag, every one of them wears on his breast a Jesus' heart, in white cloth, with the inscription: «stop, Jesus' heart is truth». They shout «Vive le Roi»... *Cluseret* appointed head of the war department. [p. 3, c. 2]

131. *Archbishop of Paris*: Georges Darboy.

132. *Curé de la Madeleine*: Gaspard Deguerry, priest at the Madeleine (Church of Sainte-Marie-Madeleine) in Paris.

133. (About the affair of 2 April)...

134. In Thiers's proclamation about his prisoners...

135. Vive le Roi: Long live the King.

Paris Correspondent. 3 April. The most conservative journals make the reflection that the desperate valour displayed by the Paris National Guard in the sad civil war now going on, shows that *General Trochu did not know how to use them against the Prussians.*

7 April. Daily News. [N° 7781]

Telegr. 6 April. Paris. Decree of the Journal Officiel (Commune):
 «Considering that the Versailles Government openly treads under foot the laws of humanity and those of war, and that it has been guilty of horrors such as even the invaders of the French soil have not dishonoured themselves by... it is decreed. Art. 1. Every person guilty of complicity with the Versailles Government will be immediately arrested and imprisoned; Art. 2. A jury will be summoned within 24 hours to investigate the charges brought forward. Art. 3. The jury will give its decision within 48 hours. Art. 4. All accused persons detained by the
 [156] verdict of the jury will be the hostages of the people of Paris. Art. 5. All execution of a prisoner of war or of a partisan of the regular Government of the Commune of Paris will be immediately followed by the execution of thrice the number of hostages,... who will be selected by lots. Art. 6. Every prisoner of war will be brought before the jury, which will decide whether he is to be immediately set free or detained as a hostage». (*«The Commune of Paris».*)

Arrests go on every day. 500 prisoners now in the Conciergerie, 136 many members of the clergy, and the whole staff of the College of Jesuits. Curé of Saint-Augustin to-day arrested.

The Communal Guards are more sober and cautious since they have got rid of the illusion that the army will fraternize with them. Part of the Versailles army who would not fight against Paris sent to the South Bank of France has advanced another $\frac{1}{2}$ million. 400 000 francs seized which the Jesuits wanted to smuggle out of Paris. [p. 3, c. 1]

Versailles. 4 April. General Duval was taken prisoner, and shot instantly. Vinoy protests against any mercy to insurgent officers or line men.

April 5. Proclamation of Commune «Every day the banditti of Versailles slaughter or shoot our prisoners, and every hour we learn that another murder has been committed... The people, even in its anger, detests bloodshed as it detests civil war, but it is its duty to protect itself against the savage attempts of its enemies, and whatever it may cost it shall be an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth».

Paris. April 5. Prices of Provision are beginning to rise. *Times* says: «State of 1793 without its courage». [p. 3, c. 2]

Leader: 4 days' fighting. [p. 4, c. 4]

Corr. Paris 5 April. Paris Journal, Pays silenced... [p. 5, c. 4]
It appears that Flourens had fixed his headquarters in a house not far from Meudon. The gendarmes informed by sure spies, a company went out to take him dead or alive. Entered the house, only one advanced into the room where Flourens and his aide-de-camps were preparing to get out of a window. Flourens turned quickly round, fired

on the invader. Ball missed. The gendarme cleft his head almost in two by a sword stroke.

[158] It is impossible to conceive anything more inhumanly ferocious than their treatment (of about 1000 National guards prisoners marched into Versailles) of the Parisian prisoners. They spat in their faces, they tore off their kepies, they yelled curses, they *screamed the coarsest epithets* they could think of at them. M. Picard, with his hands in his trousers pockets, walked from group to group cracking jokes. On the balcony of the Prefecture, *Madame Thiers* and a bevy of ladies in excellent health and spirits... The hero of the day was Henry, who marched at the head of the squad of prisoners, so handsome, so manly, so ingenious, so indifferent to the fate in store for him... odious wretches insulted him... The prisoners were marched into the barrack yard in front of the palace, *where they were minutely searched by the police of M. Pietri, who have been gathered to Versailles by Picard.* The Bellevites were so roughly handled that reaction had 137 set in for them. General Vinoy, surrounded by a brilliant staff, came galloping into Versailles. [p. 5, c. 5]

April 7. Times. [Nº 27031]

Leader. «Paris — unredeemed Pandemonium». [p. 6, c. 3]

Telegr. Paris. 6 April. Vinoy to be named grand chancellor of the Legion of Honour. [p. 7, c. 3] The troops of the Assembly dislodged the *insurgents* from their positions at the bridge of Neuilly.

F. Sarcey in the *Gaulois* über die Prisoners: «the greatest part of 138 these wretches have a positively idiotic appearance. They might be called *brute beasts* rather than *ferocious animals*». [p. 7, c. 4]

8 April. *Daily News.* [Nº 7782]

Tel. Disp. Paris, 7 April. Incumbents of all the principal churches arrested; to-day the Curés of St. Sulpice, St. Severin, Notre Dame de Lorette, in consequence of their wanting to save the Church property from the clutches of the Commune. All National Guards who will not serve, no pay, disarmed, will lose their civil rights.

April 6. *Galliffet* driving over the bridge of Neuilly the few detachments of the National Guards which still lurked in Courbevoie, after varying success. [p. 3, c. 1] Church of St. Laurent to-day pillaged by the National Guards. 1800 prisoners in Versailles, including 59 officers. Courts-martial have been ordered.

In the Versailles Assembly *Dufaure* proposed a bill to shorten the formalities of courts martial. Immense majority voted urgency. Even the *Soir* condemns that bill. 500 prisoners sent to Belle-Isle, 500 to Lorient, 500 to Brest. [p. 3, c. 2]

Paris, April 7. Einige successes der Pariser (plateau of Châtillon 139 retaken etc). [p. 3, c. 3]

137. Bellevites: men from Belleville, working-class district of Paris.

138. ...on the Prisoners:...

139. Some successes by the Parisians...

[160]

8 April. *Standard*. [N° 14505]

Paris 6. April. This is the 5-th day of fighting; the forces of the Commune have everywhere been driven back. [p. 5, c. 3]

Petit Journal. 10 Avril. [N° 3020]

(Also: Paris 9 April)

140

8 April. Fighting continued to-day more desperate than ever.

Paris 6 Avril. Grade de général supprimé. Citoyen *Ladislas Dombrowski*, commandant de la 12-e légion, nommé commandant de la place de Paris, statt Bergeret. [p. 3, c. 2] 141

10 April. *Standard*. [N° 14567]

Leader: «orgie of blood and fire». [p. 4, c. 5] «nameless herd of ignoble roughs now rioting at the Hôtel de Ville». [p. 4, c. 4]

Tel. Assemblée. (Versailles) 8 April. Dufaure wants new press law (mit «juries» of his stamp...) [p. 2, c. 2] 142
Siècle protests against the prohibition issued by the Commune against the meeting recently projected at the Bourse in favour of conciliation... Versailles troops carried the barricade at the Neuilly bridge at about 7 o'clock yesterday evening. [p. 2, c. 1] 143
 8 April: Mont Valérien and the Versailles batteries situated on the bridge of Neuilly are bombarding the porte Maillot, and sweeping down the Avenue de la Grande Armée. Committee despatches reinforcements to the Porte Maillot. *Delegate of the war office:* «Service in... war... for men von 17 — 19 free, obligatory von 19 — 40,... National Guards,... married or unmarried». [p. 2, c. 2] — The Versailles Government seem inclined to undertake a regular siege of Paris. [p. 5, c. 1] 144
General Henry escaped from Versailles. [p. 2, c. 1]

10 April. *Daily News*. [N° 7783]*Paris 9 April.* Cathedral of Notre Dame sacked.

The *Assembly* (Versailles 9 April) voted by 285 against 275, that the mayors should be elected in every commune. But Thiers vehemently threatening to resign made them vote an amendment, giving the Executive the nomination of mayors in communes of over 20 000.

Versailles, 8 April: The Versailles troops gained a considerable advantage (7 April), when they took the Neuilly bridge, and can now send any number of troops to the left bank of the Seine; but they have not taken the Porte Maillot, nor have on any point got across the fortifications of Paris. Great losses on the Versailles side. [p. 3, c. 2]

[162]

General (Marquis) de Galliffet, who on (6 April) «surprised» near Rueil a captain, lieutenant, and private of National Guards, had them at once shot, and immediately published a proclamation to glorify himself in the deed. [p. 5, c. 4.]

140. (Therefore: Paris 9 April)

141. *Paris. 6 April.* Rank of general abolished. Citizen *Ladislas Dombrowski*, commander of the 12th legion, named city commander of Paris, in place of Bergeret. [This actually applies to Jaroslaw Dombrowski, not to Ladislas (or Théophile) Dombrowski, the former's brother, who was an officer in the 17th legion.]

142. *Telegram. Assembly.* ...

143. mit: with.

144. von: from.

Rappel. 10 April. [N° 666]

Assemblée, 8 Avril. M. Dufaure a déploré que le gouvernement restât si longtemps désarmé, en présence des «excès» commis par les journaux des départements. [p. 1, c. 3] 145

9 April. 28 conseillers communaux à choisir aujourd'hui. 146

Il y a tous les soirs réunion de la gauche dans la salle du Jeu de Paume. [p. 1, c. 4] Die prisonniers (bei ihrem départ von Versailles) about 1 400 enchainés cinq par cinq. Escortés par 450 gardiens de la paix mobilisés. *Combault* gefangen, un corporal lui flanque un coup de pied dans le derrière. *Duval* (qui se conduisit très bravement) fusillé par Ordre de *Vinoy*... 1 100 insurgents dans un bâtiment au camp de Satory. On tient les prisonniers dans l'obscurité et liés... un pain par jour. [p. 2, c. 2] 147

«Les sergents de ville qui se battent contre Paris ont 10 francs par jour». [p. 2, c. 3] 148

La Commune a chargé un de ses membres *Protot*, de sauvegarder la liberté individuelle des citoyens. [p. 2, c. 3] Mehr als 150 entlassen. Viele arrêtés, sans motifs sous le gouvernement de la défense, *pas encore interrogés*. Manche noch nicht interrogiert, schon seit Jahr eingesperrt (unter Bonaparte). [p. 2, c. 4] 149

11 April. Le Rappel. [N° 667]

9 und 10 Avril. Dombrowski nimmt d'Asnières und Bois-Colombes sous le feu du Mont Valérien. [p. 1, c. 5] 150

Les généraux de l'Empire bombardent l'Arc de Triomphe, épargné par les Prussiens. [p. 2, c. 2] 151

11 April. Daily News. N° [7784]

Telegr. 10 April. Paris. Army unable to retain its advanced positions, forced to withdraw after battering in the bridge and gate of Porte Maillot... [p. 3, c. 1] Commune busy in construction of barricades.

145. *Assembly, 8 April.* M. Dufaure deplored the fact that the government remained disarmed so long, in the face of the "excesses" committed by the newspapers of the departments. [p.1, c.3]

146. *9 April.* 28 communal councillors to be chosen today.

147. Every evening there is a meeting of the Left in the Jeu de Paume [Tennis Court] hall. [p.1, c.4] The prisoners (on their departure from Versailles) about 1400 chained in groups of five. Escorted by 450 mobilized guardians of the peace. *Combault* captured, a corporal gives him a kick in the behind. *Duval* (who behaved very bravely) shot by order of *Vinoy*... 1100 insurgents in one building at the Satory camp. The prisoners are kept in darkness, bound... a loaf of bread per day. [p.2, c.2]

148. "The policemen who are fighting against Paris get 10 francs a day." [p.2, c.3]

149. *The Commune* has commissioned one of its members, *Protot*, with safeguarding the individual liberty of the citizens. [p.2, c.3] More than 150 set free. Many arrested without cause under the government of defense, *not yet interrogated*. Many not yet interrogated, imprisoned *since a year ago* (under Bonaparte). [p.2, c.4]

150. *9 and 10 April.* Dombrowski takes *Asnières* and *Bois-Colombes* under fire from Mont-Valérien. [p.1, c.5]

151. The Empire's generals bombard the Arc de Triomphe, which was spared by the Prussians. [p.2, c.2]

Versailles. 10 April. Sortie of the insurgents 10 000 strong occupies Châtillon, the houses and the entrenchments.

9 April. Jules Favre returned from Rouen, dined with Thiers: *grand dinner* (ambassadors, ministers, generals). There has been another sortie by Auteuil and Point-du-Jour. The Commune occupies [164] Boulogne and other villages on the Seine. *Gaulois* estimates the number of clergymen arrested at 300. [p. 3, c. 2]

11 April. *Petit Journal*. [N° 3021]

Différentes visites, domiciliaires and arrestations, l'Hôtel Lafont, 152 *inspecteur général des prisons*. Kerl war fort. Ein Wagen documents etc. von ihm fortgeschleppt. Ditto bei Lehideux, banquier; Thomassin, directeur (one of three) der Compagnie de l'Ouest arrested wegen Umtrieben mit Thiers etc. [p. 3, c. 4]

12 April. *Daily News*. [N° 7785]

Siècle et Temps suppressed. 153

Telegram 11 April. Lull in the fighting now incessant for 9 days. [p. 3, c. 1] *Night* action commenced again. [p. 3, c. 1—2]

Versailles 11 April. Favre read in the tribune with tragic-comic accents and annotations, a despatch from Paschal Grousset to the German General, inquiring whether the Versailles Government had paid the first instalment of 500 millions, and when the forts will be surrendered to the Paris Commune, to which they of right belong.

Gaulois ridicules Favre's theatrical manner, and says he beats Frederick Lemaitre. [p. 3, c. 1]

12 April. *Le Vengeur*. [2-e série N° 14]

Paris a prouvé, en défendant la Commune, qu'il aurait sauvé la 154 nation si le gouvernement provisoire l'avait armé, au lieu de le calomnier, de le trahir et de le livrer. [p. 1, c. 1] Toujours même pluie de bombes et d'obus dans le quartier de l'Etoile. [p. 1, c. 4]

1840 à la Chambre, loi des fortifications. 155

Thiers disait: «Quoi! imaginer que des ouvrages de fortification 156 quelconque peuvent nuire à la liberté ou l'ordre. *C'est se placer hors de toute réalité.* Et d'abord, c'est calomnier un gouvernement *quel qu'il soit* de supposer qu'il puisse un jour chercher à se maintenir en

152. Various house visitations and arrests, *Lafont's* mansion, *inspector-general of prisons*. The fellow was away. A wagon-load of documents etc. by him hauled away. Ditto with Lehideux, banker; Thomassin, manager (one of three) of the Company of the West arrested for intrigues with Thiers etc. [p.3, c.4]

153. et: and.

154. Paris has proved, in defending the Commune, that it would have saved the nation if the provisional government had armed it, instead of slandering it, betraying it and surrendering it. [p.1, c.1] Still the same rain of bombs and shells on the Etoile district. [p.1, c.4]

155. 1840 in the Chamber, law on fortifications.

156. Thiers said: "What! to fancy that any works of fortification can harm liberty or order. *That is to take a position outside all reality.* And first of all, it is to calumniate any government *whatever* by supposing that it could some day

bombardant la capitale. Quoi! après avoir percé de ses bombes la voûte des Invalides ou du Panthéon, après avoir inondé de ses feux la demeure de vos familles, il se présenterait à vous pour vous demander la confirmation de son existence! *Mais il serait cent fois plus impossible après la victoire qu'auparavant*. [p. 2, c. 2]

La Vérité: «Nous ne voulons pas seulement la République, mais les institutions républicaines à la base et au faite de l'édifice social». 157

Ces citoyens (*Louis Blanc, H. Brisson, Ed. Adam, L. Tirard, E. Farcy, A. Peyrat, Edgar Quinet, Langlois, Dorian*) parlent d'insurrection et des mots de modération prononcés par M. Thiers. [p. 2, c. 4] 158

12 April. *Standard*. [N° 14569]

Leader. The world which was lately upbraiding Paris for its want of spirits is now compelled to bewail its courage... desperate obstinacy... If the Versailles army has grown accustomed to bombarding Paris, Paris has grown accustomed to being bombarded: «The bombardment of Paris by the Prussian was almost a farce... The bombardment of Paris by Frenchmen is a stern reality». [p. 4, c. 4]

12 April. *Situation*. [N° 174]

Fast 100 Bonapartist Generals at Versailles. Les officiers supérieurs sont presque tous rentrés en France, et ont reçu un emploi de leur grade. [p. 3, c. 4] 159

Paris 11 April. *La ligue républicaine* a publié un manifeste pour faire cesser la lutte fratricide. Verlangt: la suppression de l'armée de Paris, remplacée par la garde nationale; l'élection de tous les fonctionnaires de Paris par les citoyens, enfin armistice complet pour les citoyens. Gingen zu Thiers. Abgewiesen. Nun nach den andren Städten. [p. 4, c. 1] 160

La garde nationale et l'armée se battent courageusement sur le terrain même où Trochu prétendait ne pas pouvoir réussir à les opposer 161

attempt to maintain itself by bombarding the capital. What! after sending their shells through the vaulted arches of the Hôtel des Invalides or the Pantheon, after raining bullets on the dwellings of your families, they [the government] would come before you to ask them to keep them in power! *But that would be a hundred times more impossible after the victory than before.*" [p.2, c.2]

157. *La Vérité*: "We do not want the Republic only, but [also] republican institutions at the base of and at the summit of the social edifice."

158. These citizens (*Louis Blanc, H. Brisson, Ed. Adam, L. Tirard, E. Farcy, A. Peyrat, Edgar Quinet, Langlois, Dorian*) talk about insurrection and about words of moderation spoken by M. Thiers. [This refers to a statement issued by the nine Paris deputies to the Versailles assembly, calling for support to Versailles versus the Commune but advising moderation on the government.]

159. Nearly 100 Bonapartist generals at Versailles. The higher officers have almost all returned to France [from imprisonment by the Prussians], and have been given posts according to their rank. [p.3, c.4]

160. Paris, 11 April. *The Ligue Républicaine* [Union Républicaine] has published a manifesto to end the fratricidal struggle. Demands: abolition of the army of Paris, to be replaced by the National Guard; election of all Paris officials by the citizens; lastly, complete armistice for the citizens. Went to see Thiers. Rejected. Now to the other towns. [p.4, c.1]

161. The National Guard and the army are fighting bravely on the very same terrain where Trochu claimed [he] could not succeed in victoriously pitting them a-

victorieusement aux Prussiens. M. Trochu n'a jamais osé s'avancer à portée de balle des lignes prussiennes. Les forts de Paris, et notamment le Mont Valérien d'aucune valeur contre les Prussiens, parce que leur feu ne peut dominer les hauteurs qui environnent la capitale et sur lesquelles ils auraient dû être construits, mais il n'est pas de même contre Paris. Ainsi, construits par Thiers de façon à le pouvoir bombarder plus facilement, et non à protéger Paris contre l'ennemi. Le carnage donc la réalisation du plan de Thiers sous Louis Philippe. [p. 4, c. 4]

Les hommes du Quatre Septembre font bombances, sous les regards ardents des *dames* de M. Thiers et de M. Jules Favre... ces *mégères avancées*... fêtent le retour de Favre de Rouen! [p. 5, c. 4] 162

L'Assemblée a usurpé le mandat souverain que nul ne leur a offert; la convention en vertu de laquelle ils sont élus leur a, au contraire, formellement dénié. Ils ont investi Thiers d'un titre qu'ils ne pouvaient régulièrement lui donner. [p. 6, c. 2] 163

Vérité du 4 Septembre. «Nous avons dit pendant le siège que les généraux aimaient mieux trahir, sinon en réalité, au moins au fait, la cause de la défense nationale, plutôt que d'avoir l'air de céder aux réclamations unanimes de la population civile, ou, ce qui revient au même, de la garde nationale. Ces galants officiers tous bonapartistes, [168]

against the Prussians. The forts of Paris, especially the Mont-Valérien fort, of no value against the Prussians, because their fire cannot dominate the heights that surround the capital, on which they should have been built; but the case is not the same [when used] *against* Paris. Thus, built by Thiers in such a way as to be able to bombard Paris more easily, and not to protect Paris against the enemy. The slaughter [is] therefore the realization of Thiers' plan [made] under Louis Philippe.

162. The men of 4 September are holding festivities, under the ardent eyes of the *ladies* of M. Thiers and M. Jules Favre... these *old shrews*...celebrate the return of Favre from Rouen! [p.5, c.4]

163. The Assembly has usurped the sovereign mandate which no one offered them; the agreement by virtue of which they were elected, on the contrary, formally refused to grant [it] to them. They have endowed Thiers with a title which they could not normally give him. [p.6, c.2]

164. *Vérité of 4 September*. "We said during the siege that the generals preferred—at least in effect, if not in reality—to betray the cause of national defense, rather than appear to yield to the unanimous demands of the civil population, or, what comes to the same thing, of the National Guard. These gallant officers, all Bonapartists, Orleanists or Legitimists, sensed admirably that the triumph of Paris, which they were commissioned to save, would at the same time be the triumph of the Republic of which they stood in horror. That is why they were so badly beaten during the siege, that is why they never agreed to use the National Guard... Trochu's real enemy has never been the Prussians, but the Republic. His goal has always been the capitulation of Paris... The present civil war is only the continuation of the conspiracy that was called the Trochu plan. It is the struggle of *functionarism*, of *parasitism* and, in a word, of all the monarchist passions in coalition against French democracy, of which Paris can be considered ...the center and nucleus... The Vinois, the Jules Favres, the Picards, people whose fortune and future depend on the success of reaction... Paris abhors the men of the Fourth of September who exploited, starved and betrayed it... On one side, honest workers, [p.7, c.2] on the other these lawyers, these hired assassins, these squirelings..." [p.7, c.3]

orléanistes ou légitimistes, sentaient à merveille que le triomphe de Paris qu'ils avaient mission de sauver serait en même temps le triomphe de la République dont ils avaient horreur. C'est pourquoi ils se sont si mal battus pendant le siège, c'est pourquoi ils n'ont jamais consenti à employer la garde nationale... Le véritable adversaire de Trochu n'a jamais été les Prussiens, mais la République. Il a toujours eu pour but la capitulation de Paris... la guerre civile actuelle n'est que la continuation de cette conspiration qu'on appelait le plan Trochu. C'est la lutte du *fonctionnarisme*, du *parasitisme* et, en un mot, de toutes les passions monarchiques coalisées contre la démocratie française, dont Paris peut être considéré... le centre et le foyer... Les Vinois, les Jules Favres, les Picards, gens dont la fortune et l'avenir dépendent du succès de la réaction... Paris a l'horreur des hommes du Quatre Septembre qui l'ont exploité, affamé, trahi... Auf der einen Seite travailleurs honnêtes, [p. 7, c. 2] auf der andern ces avocats, ces spadassins, ces gentillâtres...» [p. 7, c. 3]

13 Avril. Situation. [N° 175]

Télégrammes. Paris 12 Avril. Aujourd'hui on n'a cessé de bombarder Maillot. — Une partie des biens de ceux qui se sont réfugiés sera confisquée... [p. 4, c. 1] hommes sans conviction et sans courage qui remplacent l'une par l'habileté et l'autre par le cynisme. [p. 5, c. 2] 165

13 Avril. Le Rappel. [N° 669]

«Il ne faut point confondre le mouvement de Paris avec la surprise de Montmartre, qui n'en a été que l'occasion et le point de départ; ce mouvement est général et profond dans la conscience de Paris; le plus grand nombre de ceux-là mêmes qui, pour une cause ou pour une autre, s'en sont tenus à l'écart, n'en désavouent point pour cela la légitimité sociale. Qui est ce qui affirme cela? Des «individus appartenant à la Commune», comme dit J. Favre? Non, *ce sont les délégués des Chambres syndicales*. Ce sont des hommes qui parlent au nom de 7 — 8 000 commerçants et industriels... Ils sont allés le dire à Versailles». [p. 1, c. 1] 166

«Ces provinciaux espiègles». «Ils excitent la foule à insulter les vaincus dans les rues de Versailles»... aussi odieux que ridicules. [p. 1, c. 3] 167

165. *Telegrams. Paris, 12 April.* Today the bombardment of Maillot ended.—Part of the possessions of the refugees will be confiscated... [p.4, c.1] men with neither conviction nor courage, who replace the former with cleverness and the latter with cynicism. [p.5, c.2]

166. "One must not confuse the Paris movement with the Montmartre surprise [of 18 March], which only provided its occasion and starting-point; this movement is general and deep-rooted in the consciousness of Paris; the majority even of those people who, for one reason or another, have remained aloof from it, do not thereby deny its social legitimacy. Who makes that statement? Some 'individuals belonging to the Commune,' as J. Favre says? No, *they are the delegates of the Chambres Syndicales*. They are men who speak in the name of 7-8000 merchants and industrialists... they have gone to talk to Versailles." [p.1, c.1]

167. "These mischievous provincials." "They incite the mob to insult the vanquished in the streets of Versailles"...as odious as they are ridiculous. [p.1, c.3]

«M. Lucien Dubois, inspecteur des halles [p. 1, c. 6] et marchés, 168
est détenu depuis deux jours au dépôt de la préfecture de police... Accusé
d'avoir dissimulé une partie du stock de farine qui se trouve en magasins».

[170] *La province est sous le coup de la loi des suspects. Les arrestations 169*
se multiplient.

Die lettres of the Archbishop of Paris (*Darboy*) (*d. d. Mazas 8 April*) 170
an Thiers und im selben Sinn von *Deguerry* (curé de la Madeleine)
[p. 2, c. 1] (*d. d. Conciergerie 7 April*) ne sont pas signées par deux
prêtres en liberté, mais par deux ecclésiastiques prisonniers et qui
pourraient craindre d'être les objets des «*terribles représailles*» dont
parle M. Deguerry. (In dem Brief des letzten Kerls heisst: «Ces
exécutions soulèvent de grandes colères à Paris et peuvent y produire
de «*terribles représailles*».) «Ainsi l'on est résolu, à chaque nouvelle exé-
cution, d'en ordonner deux des nombreux ôtages que l'on a entre les
mains. Jugez à quel point ce que je vous demande comme prêtre est
d'une rigoureuse et absolue nécessité».

Der *Rappel* bemerkt: «Une chose qui a été fort remarquée, c'est 171
que, commerçants, francs-maçons, journalistes, maires, représentants,
tous les groupes de citoyens se sont entremis pour arrêter l'effusion du
sang — excepté les prêtres. La *députation des chambres syndicales*
est allée deux fois à Versailles; la députation de *franc-maçonnerie*, et
la députation de *l'Union Républicaine* en arrivent. Les curés sont
restés à Paris. C'est pourquoi nous craignons que l'intervention «de
deux des nombreux ôtages que l'on a entre les mains» ne fasse croire
que le sang dont ils aspirent à empêcher l'effusion — est le leur». La
République laissera aux généraux de l'Empire «les atroces excès qui
ajoutent à l'horreur de nos luttes fratricides». [p. 2, c. 2] (Die letzten
Worte aus dem Brief des archevêque.)

168. "M. Lucien Dubois, inspector of marketplaces [p.1, c.6] and stores, was
held for two days at the central police station... Accused of hiding a part of the
flour stocks which are stored away."

169. *The provinces* are threatened with the Law of Suspects. Arrests are multi-
plying.

170. The letters of the Archbishop of Paris (*Darboy*) (*dated Mazas Prison, 8 Ap-
ril*) to Thiers, and to the same effect from *Deguerry* (curé of the Madeleine)
[p.2, c.1] (*dated Conciergerie, 7 April*) are not signed by two priests at liberty
but by two ecclesiastics in prison, who might well be afraid of being the objects
of the "*terrible reprisals*" that M. Deguerry speaks of. (In the letter written by
the latter fellow, it says: "These executions arouse great anger in Paris and can
cause 'terrible reprisals' there.") "Thus they have resolved, every time there
is a new execution, to order the same for two of the many hostages who are in
their hands. Judge to what extent that which I ask you as a priest is a strict
and absolute necessity."

171. *Le Rappel* comments: "One thing that has been much remarked is this, that
merchants, Freemasons, journalists, mayors, representatives, every group of cit-
izens have intervened to stop the flow of blood—except the priests. The *delega-
tion of the Chambres Syndicales* went to Versailles twice; the delegation of the
Freemasonry, and the delegation of the *Union Républicaine* are going there. The
curés remained in Paris. That is why we are afraid that, when "two of the numer-
ous hostages they have in their hands" do intervene, one must believe that the
flow of blood they'd like to stanch—is their own." The Republic will leave to
the generals of the Empire "the atrocious excesses which add to the horror of our
fratricidal struggles." [p.2, c.2] (The last words [are] from the archbishop's
letter.)

13 April. Daily News. [Nº 7786]

Telegr. Paris. 12 April. Paris was in great commotion last night, on account of the night attack made by the Versailles troops on the west and south of Paris, simultaneously. The troops just received 30 new guns of large calibre, and began to try them last night. Failed. Continued to-day. (*Rochefort* in another article to-day denounces *Felix Pyat* and his set as abominable tyrants or rather downright fools.) Chief object of the cannonade to-day *Porte Maillot*, battered by the guns of *Mont Valérien*.

Numerous shells about the Arch of Triumph.

Catholic General *Cathelineau* forms at *Compiègne* a Breton legion. [p. 3, c. 1]

[172]

Corr. St. Denis April 11. The best (governmental) troops the corps of *gendarmes*, mostly *Corsicans*. [p. 6, c. 3]

Versailles 11 April. Corr. War in Paris. In Paris nothing to indicate that a fierce combat was raging within 2 miles of the *Madeleine*. The cafés had their usual number of inmates, and most of the theatres were open. The «*Gaulois*» picture (in yesterday's edition) of a complete reign of terror and violence... a mere fiction... very violent counsels prevail with the authorities of the regular troops. Most horrible details of the cold-blooded shooting of prisoners, not deserters, related with an evident gusto by general officers and other eye-witnesses. [p. 6, c. 4]

An English Visitor in Paris: «As for my general impressions with regard to the Commune, I must beg to differ entirely from the correspondents who have painted the Nationals in such black colours, and who pretend that they represent only a small section of Paris. The contest seems to me to be eminently one between Paris and the peasants, and the great majority of those now in Paris sympathise heartily with the Commune. The ramparts are crowded with people of all ranks, and among them many bourgeois wishing success to the Guards, and cursing «ces Prussiens-là». The National Guards are by no means an ill-looking set of men; in fact, their respectability struck me at once, and their officers are of the usual and most polished type of French officer, and a regiment of the Guard may compare well with the Mobile and even the Line, certainly in looks, and, I fancy, also in fighting. I may add that since I have been in Paris, I have not seen one man drunk, and both at the *Hôtel de Ville* and everywhere else, have met with the greatest politeness, and I believe that every unprejudiced Englishman coming and seeing the untiring energy, the self-denial, the patriotism of these men as compared with the sloth and jobbery of *Empire* and *Assembly* alike, would end by crying, as all do here: «*Vive la Commune! Vive Paris!*»

173

174

175

172. Heroism of the women in Paris! [p.2, c.3-4]

173. Nationals: National Guards.

174. ... "those Prussians." [Meaning the Versailles, according to E.S.]

175. Mobile: the Mobile Guard.

14 April. Situation [N° 176]

[174] *L'Officiel de la Commune*: «Lorsque les perquisitions eurent fait 176
découvrir la preuve de la véracité des informations; ordre donné et
paiement fait par le Gouvernement de Versailles; recommandation ré-
cente d'accélérer l'exécution d'une guillotine perfectionnée; plan,
ouvriers, outils, et enfin le corps de délit. Réquisition en fut opérée,
ainsi que de l'instrument ordinaire: le sous-comité assemblé en dé-
libération, décida que les deux instruments de supplice seraient brû-
lés en place publique, après que l'avis en aurait été lu et tambou-
riné. Voici le texte du placard affiché: «Citoyens. Informé qu'il se
faisait en ce moment une nouvelle guillotine, payée et commandée
par l'odieux gouvernement déchu (guillotine plus portative et accé-
lérative), le sous-comité du 11-e arrondissement a fait saisir ces instru-
ments serviles de la domination monarchique et en a voté la destruc-
tion pour toujours. En conséquence, la combustion va en être faite,
sur la place de la Mairie, pour la purification de l'arrondissement et
la consécration de la nouvelle liberté, à 10 heures, 6 Avril 1871».

Les membres du Sous-Comité etc. 5 Avril 1871. [p. 2, c. 4] 177

«*L'Assemblée siège paisiblement*» (Circulaire de Thiers aux pré- 178
fets). Elle aussi a *le coeur léger*... N'était-ce pas assez pour ces Spartiates
de pacotilles, qui ne savaient *ni mourir, ni être victorieux*, d'avoir
livré Paris par une capitulation honteuse; avaient-ils juré aussi de
l'achever par la guerre civile?... [p. 5, c. 3] un Triboulet sanguinaire
à la livrée rouge de Philippe-Egalité.

«Thiers et les Hommes du 4 Septembre, aveuglés par la *cupidité* 179

176. *The [Journal] Officiel of the Commune*: "When investigations were made to confirm the truth of the news [about the new guillotine]: order turned in and payment made by the Versailles Government; recent recommendation to hasten the completion of an improved guillotine; plans, workers, tools and finally the corpus delicti itself. It was commandeered, along with the ordinary guillotine: the subcommittee, meeting to consider it, decided that the two instruments of punishment would be burnt in a public place, after notification of it had been read and proclaimed by drum-roll. Here is the text of the poster put up: "Citizens. Informed that a new guillotine was being made at this time, paid for and ordered by the odious government that has fallen (a more portable and speedier guillotine), the subcommittee of the 11th arrondissement has seized these slavish instruments of monarchist domination and voted their destruction forever. Consequently, their burning will take place on the Place de la Mairie, for the purification of the arrondissement and the consecration of the new freedom, at 10 o'clock, 6 April 1871."

177. *The members of the Subcommittee etc. 5 April 1871. [p.2, c.4] — [The date 5 April applies only to the poster; the whole passage was in the Journal Officiel for April 10, where it is dated April 9.]*

178. "*The Assembly is meeting peacefully*" (Thiers's circular to the prefects). It too has *a light heart*... Wasn't it enough for these papier-maché Spartans, who knew *neither how to die nor how to be victorious*, to have handed Paris over by a shameful capitulation; have they also sworn to finish it off by civil war?... [p.5, c.3] a bloodthirsty Triboulet in the red livery of Philippe-Egalité.

179. "Thiers and the Men of 4 September, blinded by *cupidity even more than by political passion*...resort to the most infamous of slanders, that the Versailles troops have to face only convicts on the loose. 200,000 convicts in Paris... Odious jest." [p.5, c.4]

plus encore que par la passion politique... recourt à la plus infâme des calomnies, que les troupes de Versailles n'ont devant elles que des forçats en rupture de ban. 200 000 forçats à Paris... Plaisanterie odieuse». [p. 5, c. 4]

«Au moment où a éclaté la Révolution parisienne, l'emprunt Pouyer-Quertier allait être conclu; et par des moyens, à l'emploi desquels la maison Rothschild elle-même ne pouvait s'opposer, ces messieurs et ces dames se trouvaient pouvoir réaliser, en 10 années, un bénéfice net de 327 835 000 fcs... L'opération était conclue; les parts étaient faites, il ne manquait, pour mettre la main dessus, que d'alléger Montmartre de ses canons... [p. 6, c. 1] Les dames Thiers, Jules Favre, Pouyer-Quertier, Picard et Simon se connaissent en chiffre... Sous l'empire d'une telle préoccupation le salon de M-me Thiers est devenu l'antre des femmes. Sans la moindre vergogne les femmes y sautent au cou des généraux revenant du champ de bataille, pour un pouce de terrain gagné qui rapproche la bande de la caisse; la personne etc... a entendu ce cri du coeur sortir des lèvres de M-lle Dosne: «Les misérables, quand tout allait être signé!» [p. 6, c. 2]

Social: «Flourens tué! les fédérés vaincus! La rente montait». «Tous les coulissiers le savent, notre victoire est leur défaite. Le travail viendra reprendre la place qu'ils ont volée». [p. 7, c. 1]

Vengeur: Thiers. 1) Qui a renié en 1830 la République du *National* pour se convertir à la meilleure des Républiques? Thiers. 2) Qui a trahi son bienfaiteur, M. Laffitte, pour prendre sa place de ministre? Thiers. 3) Qui a emprisonné son ami et collaborateur Carrel pour garder sa place de ministre? Thiers. 4) Qui a, comme ministre, altéré l'histoire de la Révolution, qu'il avait faite comme républicain? Thiers.

180. "Just when the Paris revolution broke out, the Pouyer-Quertier loan was going to be settled; and by some means or other which even the House of Rothschild could not oppose, these gentlemen and ladies found they could make a net profit of 327,835,000 francs in 10 years... The operation was carried through; the shares were divided up; the only thing still lacking, for them to get their hands on the money, was to relieve Montmartre of its cannons... [p.6, c.1] The ladies, Mmes. Thiers, Favre, Pouyer-Quertier, Picard and Simon know what to do about money... Dominated by this preoccupation, Mme. Thiers's salon became the women's den. Without the slightest shame the women fall all over generals returning from the battlefield, for an inch of territory gained which brings them closer to the moneybags; the person etc...heard this heart-felt cry spring from the lips of Mlle. Dosne: "The wretches! just when everything was going to be signed!" [p.6, c.2]

181. Without a note about it, E.S. changes the reading to "l'antre des furies," i.e. "Mme. Thiers's salon became a den of furies." This certainly makes more sense.

182. ...the person etc.: The full text in the newspaper reads: "the person who gave us this information assures us he heard this heart-felt cry..." etc. — Mlle. Dosne was Thiers's sister-in-law.

183. *Sociale*: "Flourens killed! the Federals beaten! Dividends went up." "All the stockjobbers know, our victory is their defeat. Labor will move in to take back the position they have usurped." [p.7, c.1]

184. *Vengeur*: Thiers. 1) Who in 1830 disowned the Republic of *Le National* in order to go over to the best of republics? Thiers. 2) Who betrayed his benefactor, M. Laffitte, in order to take his place as minister? Thiers. 3) who imprisoned his friend and collaborator Carrel in order to keep his place as minister? Thiers. 4) Who, as minister, changed the history of the Revolution which he had made as a republican? Thiers. 5) Who proposed the September laws against the

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184. *Vengeur*: Thiers. 1) Who in 1830 disowned the Republic of *Le National* in order to go over to the best of republics? Thiers. 2) Who betrayed his benefactor, M. Laffitte, in order to take his place as minister? Thiers. 3) who imprisoned his friend and collaborator Carrel in order to keep his place as minister? Thiers. 4) Who, as minister, changed the history of the Revolution which he had made as a republican? Thiers. 5) Who proposed the September laws against the

- 5) Qui a proposé les lois de Septembre contre la presse? Thiers. 6) Qui a proposé la loi du 31 Mai contre la liberté de la presse? Thiers. 7) Qui a rengainé l'épée de la France, en 1840 pour la prendre en 1871? Thiers. 8) Qui a fait les forts détachés contre Paris, pour le roi de Prusse? Thiers. 9) Qui a signé les bons de plomb pour Transnonain et la guillotine pour Buzançois? Thiers. 10) Qui a été le geôlier-accoucheur de la légitimité et le parrain de la quasi-légitimité? Thiers. 11) Qui a été le frère et le conseil d'un Judas qui vendit les quatre sergents de La Rochelle? Thiers. 13) Qui a, comme Tartufe, courtoisé la mère pour épouser la — Thiers. 14) *Qui est parti d'Aix gueux comme Job, pour devenir deux fois millionnaire en devenant deux fois ministre?* Thiers. 15) Qui a prêté serment à la royauté, à la république, à l'empire et à la république en attendant le reste? Thiers. 16) Qui a été l'historien national, le brossier de la redingote grise, le balayeur de la rue de Poitiers? Thiers. 17) Qui a écrit 20 pages pour le despotisme et pas une seule pour la liberté? Thiers. 18) *Qui a voté pour la guerre de Rome, pour la guerre de Mexique, pour toutes les guerres?* Thiers. 19) *Qui a le plus crié contre l'unité allemande, pour les bords du Rhin et la*

press? Thiers. 6) Who proposed the Law of May 31 against freedom of the press? Thiers. 7) Who sheathed the sword of France in 1840 in order to take it out in 1871? Thiers. 8) Who built the outer forts against Paris, for the king of Prussia? Thiers. 9) Who signed the authorization of lead [bullets] for Transnonain and the guillotine for Buzançois? Thiers. 10) Who was the jailer-accoucheur for legitimacy and the godfather for quasi-legitimacy? Thiers. 11) Who was the brother and adviser of a Judas who sold out the four sergeants of La Rochelle? Thiers. 13) Who, like Tartufe, wooed the mother in order to marry the — [?] Thiers. 14) *Who left Aix as poor as Job and then became twice a millionaire by becoming twice a minister?* Thiers. 15) Who has taken an oath to royalty, to the republic, to the empire and to the republic till something else turned up? Thiers. 16) Who has been the national historian, the flunkey of the gray frock-coat, the floor sweeper of the Rue de Poitiers? Thiers. 17) Who has written 20 pages for despotism and not a single page for liberty? Thiers. 18) *Who voted for the war on Rome, for the war on Mexico, for all the wars?* Thiers. 19) *Who has cried out most against German unity, for the banks of the Rhine and the Prussian war?* Thiers. 20) Who has most exalted the old imperial military system, big army and fat budget? Thiers. 21) Who voted men and money for that German war when France was not prepared? Thiers. 22) Who kept the people from a *levée en masse* in good time, by Danton's methods? Thiers. 23) *Who went to beg the help of kings for the Republic in exchange for a king?* Thiers. 24) Who signed a peace fatal for France, a parricidal peace, in complicity with a forger? Thiers. 25) Who is president of the Republic in order to restore monarchy? Thiers. 26) Lastly: who, by his public and private virtues, perjury and incest, by his love for the vile multitude and his hatred for Mazas [prison], is 26 times representative of the people? Who is the savior of property, religion and the family, the father of the Fatherland... and of his wife? Thiers. [p.7, c.2]

185. Here Marx seems to have made a slip in copying. The *Vengeur* wrote under point 6: "Who proposed the Law of May 31 [1850] against universal suffrage?" [E.S.]

186. Another copying error: *Vengeur* had "rendre," not "prendre," i.e. "...in order to surrender it in 1871?" [E.S.]

187. Question 12 is omitted: "Who was the son of a father who was a broker, shady speculator and godfather of his son, the finance minister? Thiers." [E.S.]

188. The dash stands for the word "daughter" in the *Vengeur* article. [E.S.]

189. The *Vengeur* article had "volumes," not "pages." [E.S.]

guerre de Prusse? Thiers. 20) Qui a le plus vanté le vieux *système militaire impérial, grande armée et gros budget*? Thiers. 21) Qui a voté les hommes et l'argent de cette guerre d'Allemagne quand la France n'était pas prête? Thiers. 22) Qui a empêché le peuple de la faire à temps par le moyen de Danton, la levée en masse? Thiers. 23) *Qui a été mendier l'aide des rois pour la République en échange d'un roi?* Thiers. 24) Qui a signé une paix mortelle à la France, une paix parricide, en complicité d'un faussaire? Thiers. 25) Qui est président de la République pour restaurer la royauté? Thiers. 26) Qui, enfin, par ses vertus publiques et privées, le parjure et l'inceste, par son amour *de la vile multitude* et sa haine de Mazas, est 26 fois représentant du peuple? Qui est le sauveur de la propriété, de la religion et de la famille, *le père de la Patrie... et de sa femme?* Thiers. [p. 7, c. 2]

April 14. Standard

[178] *Leader.* M. Thiers seems incapable of taking to heart the pregnant wisdom locked up in the famous brief advice of *frapper vite, et frapper fort!*.. he ought to be aware that from the moment, [he allowed] shells from Valérien to fall within *the enceinte*, he had committed himself to all the odium which necessarily attends a resolute policy... He has already done enough to be handed down, to use M. Jules Favre's language, to the execration of history, as history is read in Belleville.

April 14. Rappel. [N° 670]

Paris, 12 April. Décret sur la démolition de la colonne de la place de Vendôme comme «monument de barbarie, symbole de force brute et de fausse gloire, une affirmation du militarisme, une *négation* du droit international» etc. [p. 1, c. 3]

April 13. Dalouvert chef du cabinet de la haute police (occulte) sous l'empire, arrêté. [p. 2, c. 2]

April 12. Décret: «Toutes poursuites pour échéances... suspendues... Le *Journal Officiel* publie le décret sur les échéances». [p. 2, c. 4]

15 April. Standard. [N° 14572]

The German threat to bombard Paris furnished the members of the new Republic Government, and the French newspapers of all parties, with the occasion for most indignant and eloquent «denunciation» of the «barbarians» who acknowledge no other law than the promotion

190. This omits some words from the *Vengeur* question 20, which went: "Who has most rejected the military system in Prussia [but] most exalted the old Imperial pattern of a big army and fat budget?" [E.S.]

191. ...advice of *strike quickly, and strike hard!*

192. *enceinte*: city walls.

193. *Paris. 12 April. Decree on the demolition of the column in the Place Vendôme* as "monument to barbarism, symbol of brute force and false glory, an affirmation of militarism, a *negation* of international law" etc. [p.1, c.3]

194. *13 April. Dalouvert*, administrative secretary of the high (secret) police under the Empire, arrested. [p.2, c.2]

195. *12 April. Decree:* "All prosecutions for non-payment of bills...suspended ... The *Journal Officiel* publishes the decree on bill payments." [p.2, c.4]

of their own purposes. It provoked, moreover, a *general condemnation in all neutral countries*, the English whipper in (Glyn) of course 196
 excepted. And when after waiting some months the Germans did at last bombard Paris, *holy indignation of Jules Favre etc.* During the last week Paris has been subjected to a bombardment infinitely more destructive than that which it sustained at the hands of the Germans. Tenfold at least bombarded Paris after whining about the sanctity of the city... [p. 4, c. 5] There is no strategical advantage to be gained in raining down shells in the Avenue de la Grande Armée and the Avenue Wagram, smashing lamp-posts, and killing and wounding harmless lookers on, women, and children. Creates bad feeling among the *Party of Order*. What is bombarded is the *Westend of Paris*, das pro- 197
letarische Paris ausser ihren canons... the troops of the Commune are evidently at least a match for the regulars, who have been making such futile and feeble attempts to penetrate into Paris. [p. 5, c. 4] *Commune has sent all the Government plate it could lay hands on to the Mint etc.* [p. 5, c. 5]

[180]

16 April. *Rappel*. [Nº 672]

En même temps que *Thiers* promettait (*Antwort an die Ligue de l'Union Républicaine*) «le droit communal» à Paris, *Thiers* a forcé l'Assemblée à le refuser à toutes les villes. Paris — exceptionnellement — zu teilen in 80 quartiers ou ilots, dont chacun séparément nomme un *seul* conseiller — au *scrutin individuel* — et quelle que soit sa population, qu'il compte 3 000 oder 30 000 âmes. [p. 1, c. 2] 198

Le Journal officiel a inauguré la publicité des séances de la Commune (15 Avril) [p. 1, c. 6] 199

Paris. 14 Avril. Casimir Bouis, nommé président d'une commission d'enquête in den doing der dictature du 4 septembre. [p. 2, c. 5] 200

17 April. *Standard*. [Nº 14573]

(In dieser Nummer, p. 3 auch die Sache wegen *Tolain*). 201

The *National Assembly*. April 14 passierte *Municipal Bill* by an enormous majority; ditto: the bill relating to press offences etc. [p. 3, c. 2] 202

196. The E.S. reading omits the word "in": "The English whipper (Glyn)..."—
 Glyn was the parliamentary whip of the Liberal Party.

197. ...the *West End of Paris*, [but] proletarian Paris [is] beyond the range of its cannons...

198. At the same time that *Thiers* promised (*answer to the Ligue de l'Union Républicaine*) "communal rights" for Paris, *Thiers* has forced the Assembly to refuse this for all cities. Paris—by exception—to be divided into 80 districts or block sections, with each separately naming a *single* councillor—by balloting for individual names— and whatever its population, whether it numbers 3000 or 30,000 souls. [p.1, c.2]

199. The *Journal Officiel* has inaugurated publication of the sessions of the Commune (15 April) [p.1, c.6]

200. *Paris. 14 April. Casimir Bouis*, named chairman of an investigating commission into the doings of the dictatorship of 4 September. [p.2, c.5]

201. (In this number, p.3, also the business about *Tolain*).

202. passierte: passed, adopted.

16 and 17 April. Situation. [N° 178]

Le citoyen Beslay (für die Commune) a fait traité avec la Banque 203
de France. Aux termes de cet accord, la Commune reconnaissait
à la Banque son caractère d'établissement privé et s'engageait à faire
respecter la Banque, soit par l'organisation d'un bataillon de gardes
nationaux composé des employés de l'établissement, soit, s'il était
besoin, en adjoignant à ce bataillon d'autres détachements comman-
dés par la Commune. Par contre, la Banque devait fournir à la Commune,
sur un reçu de Mr. Beslay, les fonds appartenant à la ville de Paris
et déposés à la Banque, et, dans le cas où ces fonds seraient épuisés,
celle-ci devait faire à la Commune des avances, garanties par la remise
de titres sur les biens de la ville. [p. 8, c. 4]

17 April. Rappel. [N° 673]

L'effort tenté par la *Ligue de la réunion républicaine* n'a pas ré- 204
ussi... [p. 1, c. 2] *Lockroy prisonnier à Versailles*... [p. 1, c. 3]

Les mensonges et les calomnies des journaux de Versailles par- 205
viennent seuls aux départements, et y font loi... Ils s'indignent des
pillages et des meurtres dont une bande de 20 000 malfaiteurs désho-
nore la capitale. La *Ligue* (de l'*Union Républicaine*) se donne pour
premier devoir de faire la lumière et de rétablir les relations normales 206
entre la province et Paris. [p. 1, c. 4]

[182]

Nachwahlen für «Conseillers» (communes) den 16. Avril. Sehr 207
grosse Abstention (*Dupont choisi au 17 arrondissement*) [p. 1, c. 5]

La Commission des quinze (der Assemblée) et les journaux de 208
Versailles sont d'accord pour nier officiellement et officieusement,
les «prétendues exécutions sommaires et les représailles attribuées aux

203. *Citizen Beslay* (for the Commune) had made agreement with the Bank of France. According to the terms of this agreement, the Commune recognized the Bank's character as a private establishment and obligated itself to prevent any harm to the Bank, either by the organization of a battalion of National Guards made up of employees of the institution, or, if need be, by augmenting this battalion with other detachments under the Commune's command. On the other hand, the Bank was to give the Commune the funds belonging to the city of Paris deposited in the Bank, against a receipt by Mr. Beslay, and in case these funds are exhausted, the bank will make advances to the Commune, backed up by turning over title to city possessions. [p.8, c.4]

204. The effort made by the *Ligue de la Réunion [Union] Républicaine* has not succeeded... [p.1, c.2] *Lockroy prisoner in Versailles*... [p.1, c.3]

205. The lies and slanders of the Versailles newspapers are the only ones reaching the departments, and lay down the law there... They are indignant about the pillaging and murdering by which a band of 20,000 malefactors dishonor the capital. The *Ligue* (de l'*Union Républicaine*) undertakes as its first task to shed light and re-establish normal relations between the provinces and Paris. [p.1, c.4]

206. The *Vengeur* article reads: "rétablir relations morales"—i.e. "re-establish intellectual relations..." [E.S.]

207. By-election for "Councillors" (commune's) on 16 April. Very large amount of abstention (*Dupont chosen in the 17th arrondissement*) [p.1, c.5]

208. The Commission of Fifteen (of the Assembly) and the Versailles newspapers agree in officially and semi-officially denying the "alleged summary executions and reprisals attributed to the Versailles troops." And the *executions of Duval and the National Guards*, ordered by Vinoy and Galliffet?

troupes de Versailles». Et les exécutions de Duval et des gardes nationaux, ordonnées par Vinoy et Galliffet?

La *Vérité* cite le passage suivant d'un discours de Thiers prononcé en janvier 1848: «Vous savez, Messieurs, ce qui se passe à *Palerme*: vous avez tous tressailli d'horreur en apprenant que pendant 48 heures, une grande ville a été bombardée. Par qui? Etait-ce par un ennemi étranger, exerçant les droits de la guerre? Non, messieurs, par son propre gouvernement. Et pourquoi? Parce que cette ville infortunée demandait des droits. Eh bien! Pour la demande de ses droits, il y a eu 48 heures de bombardement. Permettez-moi d'en appeler à l'opinion européenne. C'est un service à rendre à l'humanité que de venir, du haut de la plus grande tribune peut-être de l'Europe, faire retentir quelques paroles d'indignation contre de tels actes!» [p. 2, c. 2] (Sieh *Schluss des Zitats etc. 19 April. Vengeur*). 209

In derselben Nummer des *Rappel die Loi Municipale*, gemacht durch die *Ruraux*, 14 Avril, 1871. [p. 2, c. 3] 210

Die *Commission sur les échéances* [p. 2, c. 2] propose à la Commune: Art. 1. Le remboursement des dettes de toute nature souscrites jusqu'à ce jour, et portant échéance: *billets à ordre, lettres de change, factures réglées, mandats, dettes (concordaires)* etc., sera effectué dans un délai de 2 années, à partir du 15 Juillet prochain, et sans que ces dettes puissent être chargées d'aucun intérêt. Art. 2. Le total des sommes dues sera divisé en 8 coupures égales, payables par trimestre, à partir de la date ci-dessous indiquée. Art. 4 und 5. Die porteurs des créances können nur verklagen im gewöhnlichen Weg «sur la coupure qui y donnera lieu». [p. 2, c. 3] 211

18 Avril. *Daily News*. [N^o 7790]

Paris. Teleg. 17 Avril. The Commune has appointed a Commission to inquire into the number of workshops and manufactories in

209. *La Vérité* cites the following passage in a speech by Thiers given in January 1848: "You know, gentlemen, what is happening at *Palermo*: you have all shaken with horror on learning that, for 48 hours, a large town has been bombarded. By whom? Was it by a foreign enemy, exercising the rights of war? No, gentlemen, by its own government. And why? Because that unfortunate town asked for rights. Well then! For asking for its rights, there were 48 hours of bombardment. Allow me to appeal to European opinion. It is doing a service to humanity to arise and make some words of indignation against such acts ring out from the height of perhaps the greatest tribune in Europe!" [p.2, c.2] (See conclusion of the quotation etc., 19 April. *Vengeur*.)

210. In the same number of *Le Rappel*, the *Municipal Law*, adopted by the *Rurals*, 14 April 1871. [p.2, c.3]

211. The *Commission on Bill Due-Dates* [p.2, c.2] proposes to the Commune: Art. 1. The repayment of debts of any kind entered into up to this day—*bills payable to order, bills of exchange, regular invoices, drafts, debts (certificated)* etc.—will take place after a two-year moratorium, beginning next 15 July, without any interest being charged to these debts. Art. 2. The total sums due will be divided into 8 equal installments, payable quarterly, beginning with the date indicated below. Art. 4 and 5. Creditors can only sue in the usual way "for the installment which is subject to payment." [p.2, c.3] — [According to the *Journal Officiel*, 18 April, these measures were adopted, not merely proposed; the moratorium was for three years, not two; the installments were 12, beginning with "the same date," 15 June.]

Paris now closed through the absence of their owners, or their refusal to open them under present circumstances. The Commission is to prepare a report showing under what conditions they may be transferred to cooperative societies of workingmen, to be opened by them for their own behoof, and what indemnity they may be called upon to pay to the dispossessed occupants.

[184]

The commune has 38 Million francs cash. A great many unsold bonds of the City of Paris were found at the Hôtel de Ville. These bonds were what remained from the issue of scrip for the last loan contracted by the City of Paris. Being perfectly legal, bought by the Bank of France from the Commune. — The state of siege felt in the matter of food. Prices are rising very fast... Paris is to be starved out. [p. 3, c. 1]

Leader. «The Reds of Paris are not given to reflection... Regiments of loungers, who draw their pay, wear a uniform, and enjoy idleness on the centimes granted them by an illegal power, are not likely to give up that occupation through mere weariness of it». [p. 4, c. 5]

19 Avril. *Vengeur*. [2-e série, N° 21]

(cf. 17 Avril Rappel) «Messieurs, lorsque, il y a 50 ans, les Autrichiens exerçant les droits de la guerre, pour s'épargner les longueurs d'un siège, voulurent bombarder Lille, lorsque plus tard les Anglais, qui exerçaient aussi les droits de la guerre, bombardèrent Copenhague; et tout récemment, quand le régent Espartero, qui avait rendu des services à son pays, pour reprimer une insurrection, a voulu bombarder Barcelone; dans tous les partis, il y a eu un cri général d'indignation». [p. 1, c. 2] 212

In seinem *circulaire vom 16 Avril* sagt Thiers: «Si quelques coups de canon se font entendre, ce n'est pas le fait de l'armée de Versailles, c'est celui de quelques insurgés voulant faire croire qu'ils combattent, lorsqu'ils osent à peine se faire voir». [p. 1, c. 3] 213

«La Commune... a donné ordre aux mairies de ne faire aucune distinction entre les femmes légitimes ou dites illégitimes, les mères et les veuves des gardes nationaux, quant à l'indemnité des 75 centimes». 214

Vérité sagt: «Il n'est pas difficile de deviner quels sont les hommes 215

212. (cf. 17 April *Rappel*) "Gentlemen, when the Austrians, 50 years ago, exercising the rights of war, in order to spare themselves the tedium of a siege, wanted to bombard Lille; when later the English, who were also exercising the rights of war, bombarded Cooenhagen; and very recently, when the regent Espartero, who had rendered services to his country, in order to suppress an insurrection, wanted to bombard Barcelona; in all the parties there was a general cry of indignation." [p.1, c.2]

213. In his *circular of 16 April* Thiers says: "If some cannon shots are heard, it is not the act of the army of Versailles; it is that of some insurgents who want to make people believe that they are fighting, when they scarcely dare let themselves be seen." [p.1, c.3]

214. "The Commune...has given orders to the mayors' offices to make no distinction between legitimate or so-called illegitimate wives, mothers, and widows of the National Guards, with regard to the indemnity of 75 centimes."

215. *Vérité* says: "It is not hard to guess what sort of men they are who have

[186] chargés de réduire Paris et de le ramener à l'obéissance. Tels on les a vus pendant le siège, tels on les retrouve aujourd' hui, que d'assiégés ls sont devenus assiégeants. *Le mensonge, comme par le passé, est leur arme favorite.* De même, qu'ils annonçaient naguère des victoires impossibles à contrôler en raison du blocus effectif de Paris, ils publient maintenant les nouvelles les plus fausses. Pour achever la ressemblance, ils suppriment, saisissent les journaux de la capitale, interceptent les communications, de telle sorte que la province en est réduite aux nouvelles qu'il plaît à MM. Jules Favre, Picard et consorts de lui donner, sans qu'il soit possible de vérifier l'exactitude de leur dire... Plus loin, le journal officiel affirme que l'armée de Versailles se tient sur la plus stricte défensive. «Si quelques coups de canon» (etc. *Vide super*) — N'en déplaise à ce véridique gouvernement nous invitons ses membres à venir passer quelques heures aux Champs-Elysées ou aux Ternes. Ils pourront s'assurer par eux-mêmes, que les coups de canon, pas plus que les obus qui éclatent et tuent des passants, ne proviennent pas tous du fait des fédérés».

Mot d'ordre: «Le gouvernement versaillais démolit sans scrupules 216 cheminées et crève avec le plus grand sang-froid vos canapés à coup d'obus, mais il trouverait *odieux qu'on les vendit.* On ne pousse pas plus loin la logique et la probité... [p. 2, c. 3] Ainsi l'Arc de Triomphe porte sur ses bas-reliefs 80 traces d'obus. La rue Galilée est devenue inhabitable, les toits d'alentour s'effondrent sous les bombes, et ce ne sont pas les troupes de Versailles qui tirent sur Paris. Mais qui diable est-ce donc? Les troupes de la Commune peut-être, qui écornent elles-

the task of reducing Paris and restoring it to obedience. As we saw them during the siege, so we find them today, besieged who have become besiegers. As in the past, the lie is their favorite weapon. Just as not long ago they used to announce victories that could not be verified because of the effective blockade of Paris, so now they publish the falsest news. To achieve verisimilitude, they suppress and seize the newspapers of the capital, intercept communications, so that the provinces are reduced to getting such news as Messrs. Jules Favre, Picard and Company please to give them, without being able to verify the accuracy of what they say... Further on, the *Journal Officiel* states that the army of Versailles is holding most strictly to the defensive. "If some cannon shots" (etc. See above)—With all due deference to this veracious government, we invite its members to spend a few hours on the Champs Elysées or in the Ternes. They could themselves confirm the fact that the cannon shots, just like the shells that explode and kill passers-by, are not all the Federals' doing."

216. *Mot d'Ordre:* "The Versaillaise government does not scruple to destroy chimneys, and very coolly demolishes sofas with its shell-fire, but it would consider it an offense if they were sold. One must not push logic and honesty too far... [p.2, c.3] Thus the Arc de Triomphe has 80 marks of shell-fire on its bas-reliefs. Rue Galilée has become uninhabitable; the roofs all around are giving way under the bombs, and yet it is not the Versailles troops that are firing on Paris. Who the devil is it then? The Commune's troops perhaps, who chip the monuments themselves in order to make people suppose that M. Thiers is capable of bombarding the capital that elected him, etc."... *Bomba... Réveil* says: "The shells, the canister-shot, the bombs blow holes in walls, cave in roofs, break through floors, kill women and children, cleave the bodies of merchants in their stores and workers in their shops—all for the greater glory of the rural Assembly of Versailles and the triumph of the ideas of authority and centralization which the little Executive [Thiers] represents so well."

mêmes les monuments pour laisser supposer que M. Thiers est capable de bombarder la capitale qui l'a élu, etc.»... *Bomba... Réveil* sagt: «Les obus, les boîtes à mitraille, les bombes, trouent les murs, enfoncent les toits, percent les planchers, tuent les femmes et les enfants, coupent en deux des marchands dans leur magasin, des ouvriers à leur établi, le tout pour la plus grande gloire de l'Assemblée rurale de Versailles et le triomphe des idées d'autorité et de centralisation que représente si bien le *petit Exécutif*».

L'Opinion Nationale: «Ce qui se passe à Neuilly est terrible; 217
c'est une honte pour notre Siècle». [p. 2, c. 4]

Le projet de loi sur l'enquête relative à la cession aux compagnies 218
ouvrières des ateliers abandonnés, est mis aux voix et adopté.

La Liberté (journal franc-fileur publié à St. Germain) sagt u. a.: 219
«En présence des pitoyables scènes qui se multiplient à l'Assemblée, il était permis de croire qu'à défaut de la conscience de sa mission, la triste expérience qu'elle fait journellement d'elle-même, lui démontrerait l'absolue nécessité où elle est de se séparer. Quel vertige s'est donc emparé de cette Assemblée qu'au lieu de songer à se concilier, par une retraite, le pardon de ses fautes, elle s'installe dans des attributions usurpées et s'organise savamment pour en commettre de nouvelles et mille fois plus graves». [p. 2, c. 2]

19 April. *Standard*. [N° 14575 and 14873]

Paris. 18 April. Tel. Capture of Château of Becon durch 36-th 220
Regiment under Colonel Davoust. Defeat of the Reds at Asnières. The
[188] Reds do not now hold a single inch of ground on the right bank of the
Seine from Neuilly to St. Denis... Passy, Trocadero, Ternes, Levallois
und Clichy, extensively bombarded. *The end is evidently approaching.* 221
[p. 5, c. 1]

Paris 17 April. The result of yesterday's voting for members to
fill the vacant seats in the Commune is check to that body in 13 ar-
rondissements. Only in 4 did some candidates obtain even as much
as $\frac{1}{8}$ of the votes to be recorded. In all the others no candidate duly
elected. [p. 6, c. 1]

Leader: the reinforcements which Marshal MacMahon is continually
receiving begin to tell upon the course of the contest [p. 4, c. 5—6].

217. *L'Opinion Nationale*: "What is happening at Neuilly is terrible; it is a
disgrace for our Century." [p.2, c.4]

218. The bill on the investigation into turning over abandoned workshops to
workers' societies is put to a vote and adopted.

219. *La Liberté* (franc-fileur newspaper published at Saint-Germain) says among
other things: "In the face of the pitiful scenes that are common in the Assembly,
one has a right to believe that, in the absence of any consciousness of its mis-
sion, the sad spectacle that it daily makes of itself would show it the absolute
necessity it is under to dissolve itself. How lightheaded this Assembly has be-
come, then, when instead of thinking about winning pardon for its mistakes by
beating a conciliatory retreat, it takes over usurped prerogatives and conscious-
ly organizes to commit new mistakes a thousand times more serious." [p.2, c.2]

220. durch: by.

221. und: and.

19 April. Daily News. [N° 7791]

Paris 17 April. Corr. «Private crime is wonderfully diminished in Paris». [p. 5, c. 5]

20 April. Le Mot d'Ordre. [N° 56]

Le *Mot d'Ordre* avait prêché le vote à outrance. C'est l'absten- 222
tion qui a triomphé. [p. 1, c. 1]

Hier commissaire de police a arrêté *Polo*, directeur de *l'Eclipse*. 223
(Kein politisches Journal)).

Les gendarmes usent des procédés prussiens à l'égard des troupes 224
fédérées. Lorsqu'ils parviennent à cerner quelques Parisiens dans une
maison, ils inondent le bâtiment de pétrole et y mettent le feu. Plusi-
eurs cadavres de gardes nationaux calcinés ont été transportés à l'am-
bulance de la presse des Ternes. [p. 1, c. 6]

Les prix des comestibles a augmenté depuis quelques jours, dans 225
des proportions considérables. [p. 2, c. 1]

On sait la haine féroce du petit bonhomme (Thiers) contre les che- 226
mins de fer. Sous la monarchie de juillet, il traitait dédaigneusement
de chimère, la construction des voies ferrées!

Les princes d'Orléans à Versailles. [p. 2, c. 3] 227

On va publier ces jours-ci la correspondance d'Ernest Picard avec 228
son agent de change. Pourrait avoir pour titre: «De l'art, non d'élever
mais d'abaisser une nation et de s'en faire 100 000 l. de rentes».

Les professeurs de l'Ecole de médecine ont abandonné leur poste; 229
les cours sont suspendus. Die Commission d'enseignement a pris des
mesures zur Stiftung freier Faculté. [p. 2, c. 4]

[190]

20 Avril. Daily News. [N° 7792]

Corr. Paris 18. Private houses have been invaded and papers seiz-
ed; but no furniture has been carried away and sold by auction.

222. The *Mot d'Ordre* preached voting to the bitter end. It is abstention that
has triumphed. [p.1, c.1]

223. Yesterday police inspector arrested *Polo*, manager of *L'Eclipse*. (Not a
political journal.)

224. The gendarmes use Prussian procedures with regard to Federal troops. When
they succeed in surrounding some Parisians in a house, they drench the house with
petroleum and set it afire. Several corpses of National Guards burnt to a crisp
were taken away by the Ambulance of the Press from the Ternes. [p.1, c.6]

225. Food prices have gone up for several days now, to a considerable extent.
[p.2, c.1]

226. We know the ferocious hatred borne by the little fellow (Thiers) against
railways. Under the July monarchy, he scornfully treated the construction of rail-
way lines as a chimera!

227. The princes of Orléans at Versailles. [p.2, c.3]

228. One of these days, Ernest Picard's correspondence with his broker is going
to be published. Could have as its title: "On the art of bringing a nation not to
new heights but to new depths and making 100,000 pounds out of it."

229. The professors of the *Ecole de Médecine* have deserted their posts; courses
are suspended. The Commission on Education has taken measures for founding a free
medical school. [p.2, c.4]

Vote of the 16-th April:

2 Arrond: Inscribed: 22 858. Voters: 11 143 (March 26). Voters
3 498 (16 April). *Sérailler* 3 141. 230

17 Arrond: Inscribed: 26 574. Voters: 11 329 (March 26). Voters
4 848 (16 Avril). *Dupont* 3 450. [p. 5, c. 5] 231

Versailles. 17 April. The proscripts of 1852, both Orleanists and Republicans, have not a word to say against M. Thiers *for reviving M. Pietri's Police*, and making use of it exactly as the Emperor did, when Espinasse and Morny were Ministers of the Interior... *Picard's last decree* beats the law of «*Suspects*» of the First Revolution. Gendarmes are enjoined to search every train going in the direction of Paris or Versailles, and arrest all those who «appear to them» of suspicious appearance, take their papers from them, and not let them go until the Prefect (who may want to refer to Picard) gives an order for their liberation. The passport nuisance is re-established in all its ancient vigour. Ladies travelling, or walking by themselves, are exposed to worse indignities than imprisonment. [p. 5, c. 6]

Paris April 19. Telegramme. Opinion Nationale, Bien Public, Soir, Cloche suppressed. (*Tolain.*) «Considering that *Sieur Tolain*, elected to the National Assembly as a representative of the working classes, has deserted his cause in the most disgraceful manner, the International (Federal) Council of Paris excludes him, and proposes to the Council General of London to concur (confirm this) with this». — Another Cannonade. — *Court Martial* at Paris established to decide upon every offence, affecting public safety. *Uhlbach* arrested. — *Gaulois* confesses: that there is an *ensemble* in the plan of defence of the insurgents, and that the leaders show intelligence and daring. [p. 3, c. 1] 232

[192] *St. Denis Avril 17.* Interview with *General von Pape* (*Prussian Commander at St. Denis*). Bismarck had sent no ultimatum to Thiers, requiring him to put an end to the disorders in Paris by the 23-d at latest, or put up with a Prussian intervention. As long as Prussia held so immense a part of France, there could be no advantage in interference. It might *revive* the hatred against the victors which had all but died away. The Prussian government ready to do anything short of active and direct intervention to assist the party of order in putting an end to the disturbances. The Treaty fixed the boundaries of the Prussian occupation during and after the armistice, and described with great minuteness the neutral ground which neither army had a right to tread on. That neutral ground still exists from the enceinte to the line of Prussian outposts, although the German general has a discretionary power to allow his soldiers to occupy it up to the walls of the city. When MacMahon is allowed to march on this ground and surround the city, it will be with the express permission and connivance with Prussia, and in so far as this permission would never be granted

230. *Sérailler*: misspelling of *Serrailier*, elected to the Commune in the 2nd arrondissement.

231. *Dupont*: Marx apparently thought this referred to *Eugène Dupont*, the General Council's corresponding secretary for France, then living in Manchester; for in several cases candidates for the Commune had their names put up *in absentia*. However, the man who was elected in the 17th arrondissement was A. Dupont, not *Eugène*.

232. *ensemble*: coherent unity.

to a soldier of the Commune, Prussia may be said, to actively assist Versailles in putting down the insurrection.

Nach v. Pape MacMahon could not attack the City Walls or the 233
forts for at least 3 weeks, at the present rate of progress of his army.
V. Pape said nur 50 000 men (till 15 April night) could be depended 234
upon by Versailles. And with these, MacMahon has to guard Versailles,
and the rest of the men who cannot be relied on. It was incredible,
with what contempt the soldiers of Alsace and Lorraine, who were
returning home, spoke of the whole army, and the officers in parti-
cular. Their comrades, not of the same provinces, swore they would
lift a gun neither for Versailles nor Paris. They are sent down to South
or Havre to be reorganized. Very few men who arrive in Versailles
from all parts of the country, from Belgium, Germany, Switzerland,
remain there to form part of MacMahon's army; and he wants at least
120 000 men. *A distinct offer had been made on the part of the Prus-
sian government to send troops to the assistance of Versailles, and
since then it had been proposed to cut the railways and shut Paris up,*
but Thiers' answers so weak, that no third offer made... Although
Germany remains neutral and stands aloof, at any moment ready to
step in in the cause of order. [p. 6, c. 1]

21 April. *Echo* [Nº 737]

Versailles. 21 April. Governmental Successes at Neuilly. Capture
of barricades and cannons. [p. 5, c. 2]

21 April. *Daily News*. [Nº 7793]

20 April. Capture of Asnières by Dombrowski. *Bien Public*
published to-day despite the prohibition.

20 April. *St. Denis*. There are symptoms among the Prussian troops
of an intention to break up. The forts will be given up to the lawful
government to enable the Prussians to retire to Rheims. *Canrobert* has
[194] arrived and visited Thiers. *Ducrot* expected with 8 000 from Cherbourg.
7 000 troops arrived from Switzerland (General Clinchamp). [p. 3, c. 4]

The Commune has declared that all judgments of Law Courts
must be rendered in his name.

19 April. Declaration of the Commune: «What does Paris demand?
The Recognition and Consolidation of the Republic, and the absolute
autonomy of the Commune extended to all places in France... equal
for all Communes... The inherent rights of the Commune... to vote
the Communal budget of receipts and expenses, the improving and 235
alteration of taxes, the direction of local services, the organization of
the magistracy, internal police and education. The administration of
the property... of the Commune, the choice by election or competition
with the responsibility and permanent right of control and revocation
of the Communal magistrates, and officials of all classes... right of
meeting and publicity... The organization of urban defence and... the
National Guard, which elects its chiefs, and alone watches over the

233. According to [General] von Pape...

234. Von Pape said only 50,000 men...

235. The text of the Commune declaration reads: not "the improving and altera-
tion of taxes," but "the fixing and assessment of taxes." [E.S.]

maintenance of order in the city. Paris wishes nothing more under the head of local guarantees, on the well understood condition of regaining in a grand central administration and delegation from the Federal Communes the realisation and practice of those principles etc... desires not «to impose its will and supremacy of the rest of the nation... The unity which has been imposed upon us up to the present, by the Empire, the Monarchy, and Parliamentary Government, is nothing but centralisation, despotic, unintelligent, arbitrary, and onerous. The political unity as desired by Paris, is a voluntary association of all local initiatives... End of... the governmental and clerical world, of military supremacy and bureaucracy and jobbing in monopolies and privileges, to which the proletariat owed its slavery, and the country its misfortunes and disasters... Paris is only in arms in consequence of her devotion to liberty, and the glory of all in France ought to cause this bloody conflict to cease. It is for France to disarm Versailles by a solemn manifestation of her irresistible will... It is our duty to fight and conquer».

[196] 18 April. *Republican League* has published this: «M. Thiers statements to our delegates afford us guarantees neither for the maintenance of the Republic nor the establishment of Communal liberty, in fact, [p. 3, c. 5] for none of the things we demanded». «... the only possible issue from the present conflict is to be found in a compromise... We have decided for the present moment to place ourselves in communication with the municipal councils of the provincial towns of France and to make known to them the legitimate wishes of Paris... Lyons, which has obtained its Commune, Lille, Mâcon, and other towns which understand that the cause of Paris is the cause of all the Communes of France, have anticipated our appeal. Their intervention is a sign which it would be imprudent in the National Assembly to misunderstand. Let the Assembly comprehend at last that all the great towns of France have resolved to uphold against all the Republican form of government, and to give it, as an *unshakeable basis, communal liberties in their integrity*».

Versailles. April. 20. Brunet moved appointment of a committee of 25 to make an appeal for conciliation. Urged the Assembly to declare itself ready to treat with Paris. Rejected by previous question. [p. 3, c. 6]

Leader. «The 20 millions £. St. are in readiness in Versailles... to buy the retirement of the Prussian garrisons... Thiers not anxious to see them go. The possession of... forts and lines now held by the Germans would be of immeasurable service to MacMahon, if he had troops enough to hold them.. but... his available resources fell... short of that». «As for a simultaneous attack on Paris on the north-west, west and south... is practicable now as it would be after the withdrawal of the Germans,... v. Pape having expressed his willingness to allow Marshal MacMahon to advance along the neutral ground lying between the enceinte and the German outposts». [p. 5, c. 1]

20 April. Daily News. [N° 7792]

Aus Brief von Littré: «This terrible, this fratricidal war is the work 237
of the Assembly. It would have sufficed to have definitely proclaimed
the Republic, instead of accepting it provisionally, and hampered
with innumerable conditions — to have removed the Assembly at
once to Paris, and recognised its municipal rights; and by a *single*
law upon the vexed questions of échéances and rents to have called upon 238
the provinces which had escaped from the invaders to bear some part
of the burden thrown upon Paris during its long siege. These simple
acts would have been sufficient to avert the present conflict... Instead
of this, the Assembly has let slip no opportunity of manifesting its
hatred of Paris and of the Republic. It prevented Garibaldi from speak-
ing — it howled down Victor Hugo — it let be known, by the mouth
of those whom it allowed to speak, that its intention was to *deca-*
capitalise Paris, and when in the Committee-rooms it was replied —
«You wish, then, for civil war?» they answered: «If civil war arises —
if Paris rebels — we will crush her». That was not enough; Paris was
wise, and gave no sign. But it was necessary, as in 1848 (June), to
bring about an insurrection, in order to have an excuse for smothering
[198] the Republic. It was necessary, moreover, that the signal for this
insurrection should not be the proclamation of a Monarchy, for such
a step would have roused every city in France. What did the Execu-
tive then do? It named *Vinoy* Governor of Paris — *Vinoy, the mit-* 239
railleur of the 2-nd December; it named *Valentin* Préfet of the Police
and *d'Aurelle de Paladines* Commander-in-Chief of the National
Guard... under the pretence of reorganizing them. Paris disarmed;
Paris manacled by the Vinoys, the Valentins, the Paladines, the Re-
public was lost. This the Parisians understood. With the alternative
of succumbing without fighting, and risking a terrible contest of un-
certain issue, they chose to fight; and I cannot but praise them for
it.... If the Commune succumbs, the Republic is lost, and the resto-
ration of a Monarchy in France, where the monarchical feeling is
dead, is the end of our country». [p. 3, c. 3]

22 April. Mot d'Ordre. [N° 58]

Le *Mont Valérien* vient de recevoir 40 pièces de 30, destinées à 240
pulvériser *Neuilly, Asnières* et toute la partie sud du Paris *insurgé*,
comme disent les ruraux. [p. 2, c. 1]

«La Prusse a mis tant d'empressement à permettre à Thiers 80 000, 241
puis 150 mille hommes, au lieu des 40 000 fixés par le traité... L'épui-
sement, la ruine de la France, voilà la volonté Allemande. (Sonst la

237. From a letter by Littré: ...

238. *échéances*: due-dates of bills.

239. *mitrailleur*: machine-gunner.

240. *Mont-Valérien* has just received forty 30-caliber guns, to be used to pul-
verize *Neuilly, Asnières*, and the whole southern part of *insurgent* Paris, as the
rurals put it. [p.2, c.1]

241. "Prussia has shown such haste to allow Thiers 80,000 men, then 150,000 men,
instead of the 40,000 fixed by the treaty... The exhaustion and ruin of France,
that is the Germans' wish. (Otherwise *Prussia has only to simply reject the re-*

Prusse n'avait qu'à rejeter simplement les demandes du second bombardeur pour le contraindre à rétablir l'ordre en traitant immédiatement avec Paris.) [p. 2, c. 2] La guerre civile ajoute le plus beau rouage à leur système d'épuisement». Elle veut de l'argent! Qu'on veuille donc songer que chaque jour de retard nous coûte 120 000 fcs. pour l'entretien des troupes d'occupation, et que cette menue monnaie, depuis le jour de l'armistice, ne laisse pas que de grossir la somme de 5 milliards et de vider un peu nos poches. [p. 2, c. 3]

Paris 19 Avril. Commune erklärt auch die untergesetzlichen majorités valides. [p. 2, c. 5]. 242

22 Avril. *L'Avant-Garde.* [N° 451]

Versailles. 19 Avril. Le mouvement de Bordeaux est l'objet de toutes les préoccupations. On l'attribue dans les couloirs à la teneur de la loi municipale. La foule a parcouru les rues, criant: à bas Thiers! Vive la Commune! Des groupes se sont présentés sans armes à l'Hôtel-de-Ville. Un vrai meeting populaire. Pas de violences. Les pétitions des [200] Conseils municipaux pour une solution pacifique arrivent chaque jour plus nombreuses. [p. 2, c. 2] 243

Appel de la Chambre syndicale des ouvriers mécaniciens: convoquent les ouvriers mécaniciens pour le dimanche 23 Avril, 1871. *Programme:* Emancipation sociale—Projet d'association—Défense de la République et de la Commune. [p. 2, c. 3] 244

Décret de la Commune: l'établissement d'une compagnie d'aéro-stiers civils et militaires de la Commune de Paris (placed under Capitaine Durnof.) 245

Paris. 20 Avril. Commission exécutive: Art. 1. Le travail de nuit est supprimé. Art. 2. Les placeurs institués par la police impériale sont supprimés. Cette fonction est remplacée par un registre placé dans chaque mairie pour les inscriptions des ouvriers boulangers. Un registre central sera établi au ministère du commerce. [p. 2, c. 6] 246

quests of the second bombarder so as to compel him to re-establish order by negotiating immediately with Paris.) [p.2, c.2] Civil war adds the finest cog in their machinery of exhaustion." She [Prussia] wants money! So think about the fact that every day of delay costs us 120,000 francs to maintain the occupation troops, and that this small change, since armistice day, only augments the sum of 5 billion and empties our pockets a little more. [p.2, c.3]

242. *Paris, 19 April.* Commune declares that the majorities below the legal percentage [are] valid. [p.2, c.5]

243. *Versailles, 19 April.* The Bordeaux movement engrosses everyone's attention. In the corridors it is attributed to the character of the municipal law. The mob overran the streets, crying: down with Thiers! Long live the Commune! Groups of people came to the City Hall unarmed. A real popular meeting. No violence. The petitions of the Municipal Councils for a peaceful solution come in greater and greater numbers each day. [p.2, c.2]

244. *Appeal of the machinists' union:* call the machinists together for Sunday, 23 April 1871. *Program:* Social emancipation—Bill on association [right to organize]—Defense of the Republic and the Commune. [p.2, c.3]

245. *Decree of the Commune:* establishment of a company of civil and military aeronautical balloonists of the Paris Commune (placed under Captain Durnof).

246. *Paris. 20 April. Executive Committee:* Art. 1. Night work is abolished.

22 Avril. Situation. [N° 183]

15 Avril. Réquisition im Hôtel des frères Pereire, rue du faubourg St. Honoré. [p. 7, c. 2] 247

22 April. Daily News. [N° 7794]

Paris. April 21. Fighting going on with various success. Asnières has become untenable for both sides... Neue Commission gewählt 248
Frankel (Labour and Exchange) *Cluseret* (War) *Jourde* (Finance)
Viard (Subsistances) *Paschal Grousset* (Foreign Affairs) *Protot* (Justice)
Andrieux (Public Works) *Vaillant* (Education) *Raoul Rigault* (Public Safety).

The ministry thus constituted is to hold power under the following conditions:

«1) The executive power is and remains confided provisionally to one Delegate from each of the 9 Commissions, amongst which the Commune has divided the work of administration. 2) The Delegates will be named by the Commune by a majority of votes. 3) The delegates will meet each day, and take by majority the decisions relative to each of their departments. 4) Each day they will render an account to the Commune in secret Committee of the measures decreed or executed by them, and the Commune will ratify those measures». [p. 3, c. 1]

One decree of the Commune closing all cafés at midnight... *Bien Public* at last fairly suppressed. It does not appear to-day.

Cri du Peuple violently attacks *Cluseret*, even accuses him of cowardice.

Versailles 20 April. Thiers gave grand military dinner to Gen. [202] *Ducrot*, who arrived from Cherbourg with 15 000 men of the Metz garrison returned from Germany.

About 100 seats vacant in the Assembly... Requisitions have been made in the residences of all the members of the late Government of National Defence. [p. 3, c. 2]

22 April. Irishman. [vol. XIII, N° 42]

Paris, 16 Avril. Paris received notice to surrender in 24 hours. People are flying from Paris in greater number than ever. [p. 674, c. 2]

12 Avril. Destruction des Arc de Triomphe. [p. 677, c. 2] 249

23 April. Observer. [N° 4170]

The «really dangerous classes» are thus described in the *Rappel*: «The quiet inhabitants of *St. Germain-en-Laye* amuse themselves a good deal just now. Some enterprising persons have set up telescopes on their terrace; all wait their turn to see the battle taking place before Paris... The civil war is but an agreeable digression. Parisians and Versaillaise are but actors playing their parts a little more seriously than usual, that is all... *St. Germain* is at this moment inhabited by

Art. 2. The employment registrars instituted by the Imperial police are abolished. This procedure is replaced by a registry placed in each *mairie* for signing up bakery workers. A central registry will be established in the Ministry of Commerce. [p.2, c.6]

247. 15 April. Requisitioning in the Pereire brothers' mansion,...

248. New Commission elected...

249. 12 April. Destruction of the Arc de Triomphe. [p.677, c.2] — This refers to the damage done by the Versaillaise bombardment: damage but not "destruction."

persons who have no real tie to the French nation. Its new population is composed of «*franc-fileurs*» and *Parisians of the boulevard*, male 250 and female, frightened away by the events. The town is but a *rural Café Anglais*, or a magnificent *maison dorée*. The *habitués* of these 251 two establishments have no nationality, they are a species apart—*eminently imperialist creatures*, who know nothing of life but what 252 is amusing!... What is to be done to resume the joyous napoleonic existence? Why, look at the battle, and count the cannon-shot, to be sure. The Châtelet had some military pieces lately; but this performance is much better got up. The men who fall are really dead, the 253 cries of the wounded are cries in good earnest. Besides, the whole thing is intensively historical. These ladies and gentlemen are right in observing this spectacle so curiously, for it is precisely against them that these desperate fights are directed. *What Paris will no longer stand is just the existence of the Cocottes and Cocodès*. What it is resolved 254 to drive away or transform is this useless, sceptical and egotistical race, which has taken possession of the gigantic town to use it as its own. No celebrity of the Empire (i. e. keine seiner Huren) shall have the 255 right to say «Paris is very pleasant in the best quarters, but there are too many poor in the others». [p. 5, c. 3]

[204]

24 April. Daily News. [№ 7795]

Leader: «Day after day passes, and the utterly hopeless character of the insurrection in Paris becomes more and more apparent». [p. 4, c. 5]

Paris 22 April (Corresp.) «He must have great faith who still believes with M. Thiers in the easiness of victory for the troops of Versailles. Every day in which victory is deferred is a gain to the Commune». [p. 5, c. 4]

Corr. Versailles. 22 April. «The danger to the insurgents does not lie in front of them, but at their flanks. The rumour is current at present that St. Denis is being cleared by the Prussians, and occupied by Governmental troops. No foundation in the report, but by the time MacMahon has his troops sufficiently organised, the movement will either have taken place, or General von Pape will allow him to cross the Seine through the town and throw himself into St. Ouen. There is a redoubt close to the village, but as yet the Germans have refused anyone the permission to occupy it. Mac Mahon would probably get this permission, establish himself in St. Ouen, and threaten Clichy by that means on the right». [p. 5, c. 6]

Paris, April 23. (Telegram). The gendarmes of the Versailles Government at St. Denis, by favour of the Prussians, strictly search every train which goes into Paris by the Northern Railway, in accordance

250. *franc-fileurs*: see Glossary.

251. *Café Anglais*: English (or English-style) café, place of resort.—*maison dorée*: bawdy-house.—*habitués*: denizens, frequenters.

252. *imperialist*: typical of the Empire (the Second Empire of Bonaparte).

253. Châtelet: a theater.

254: Cocottes: loose women; kept women; courtesans; in the *First Draft*, Marx defines it as "higher prostitutes."—Cocodès: dandies; fops.

255. keine seiner Huren: none of its whores.

with Picard's directions that suspicious foreigners must be kept out of Paris. The students of medicine, convoked to reorganise a medical school, refused to go into the question with the Commune, and broke up amid cries of «*Vive la République*»... [p. 3, c. 1] Some very curious documents relative to the siege of Paris have been discovered in the War office... The Commune has adopted the proposition of Deles- 256 cluse, that military affairs shall be directed by the decisions of the majority of the delegates, not by Cluseret alone. [p. 3. c. 2]

Havre. April 23. The Municipal Council of Havre has to-day despatched three of its members to Paris and Versailles with instructions to offer mediation, with the view of terminating the civil war on the basis of the maintenance of the Republic, and the granting of municipal franchises to the whole of France. [p. 3. c. 3]

23 and 24 April. Situation. [N° 184]

Réunion des artistes de Paris, sous la présidence du citoyen Courbet. 257
Kerls wollen die Vendômesäule nicht zerstört haben. (Ganz freie Diskussion). (Öffentliche Sitzung). In der Tat hat die Commune nun beschlossen nur den Bonaparte herunter zu haben und an seine Stelle die Freiheit zu setzen. (about 3 000 artistes à Paris.)

[206] «Toutes les grandes villes du monde entier envient à la nôtre; ce 258 génie de l'art qui préside au travail intelligent de nos ouvriers et qui a fait la réputation incontestée et sans rivale de Paris» (sagt der *Laus- 259 Soir* selbst.) [p. 2, c. 4] On a déclaré que les femmes étaient assimilées aux hommes, à la fois électeurs et éligibles. (der Artist Club) [p. 3. c. 1]

Leader. On est en train de vendre la colonne; l'Arc de Triomphe 260 s'écroule. [p. 5, c. 4]

25 April. Situation. [N° 185]

Les provocateurs et les instigateurs sont les hommes qui ne crai- 261 gnent pas d'abord de pousser la masse à l'émeute pour obtenir le pouvoir, n'hésitent pas ensuite à massacrer leurs frères pour s'y consolider.

256. Delescluse: i.e. Delescluze.

257. Meeting of the artists of Paris, under the chairmanship of citizen Courbet. The fellows don't want the Vendôme column destroyed. (Entirely free discussion.) (Public session.) In point of fact, the Commune has now decided only to take down the Bonaparte statue [on top] and replace it with a [statue of] liberty. (about 3,000 artists in Paris.)

258. "All the great cities of the entire world envy ours; this genius for art which permeates the intelligent labor of our workers and which makes the uncontested and unrivaled reputation of Paris" (says the lousy *Soir* itself). [p.2, c.4] It was stated that the women have been integrated with the men, eligible both to vote and run for office. (of the Artist Club) [p.3, c.1]

259. The *Soir* article read, not "de Paris" but "de l'artiste de Paris," i.e., "...reputation of the Paris artist." [E.S.]

260. *Leader.* The column is in process of being sold; the Arc de Triomphe is crumbling. [p.5, c.4]

261. The provocateurs and instigators are the men who, to begin with, are not afraid to push the masses into riots in order to get power, and next, do not hesitate to massacre their brothers in order to consolidate it.

- [208] 2) l'armée de Sedan qui est ramenée de force à Versailles, dès sa rentrée sur le territoire français;
- 3) l'armée de province qui se compose d'officiers en quête de subsides et de secours, et qui ne compte pas un seul soldat.
- Ces 3 armées si. bizarres s'entredétestent. et de nombreux duels 266
ont lieu entre officiers.
- Les délégués de Lyon reçus hier matin par Picard, puis par Thiers. 267
[p. 1, c. 3] Ils sont partis peu satisfaits des dispositions du gouverne-
ment qui veut «*La guerre à tout prix*». [p. 1, c. 4]
- Depuis 2 jours des groupes de gendarmes qui gardent les routes 268
convergeant vers Paris, arrêtent et confisquent les provisions et den-
rées dirigées sur la capitale. [p. 2, c. 2]
- Les arrivages de la province et de la banlieue sont plus satisfai- 269
sants aujourd'hui.
- 30 000 hommes de l'ex-garde impériale réorganisée par Ducrot, 270
dit ni Mort ni Victorieux, contournent en ce moment même *St. Denis*,
par *Montmorency* et *Groslay*, et doivent, d'accord avec le général de
Fabrice, opérer une diversion puissante du côté de l'Est. (Man sagt: *Can-*
robert soll sie kommandieren.) [p. 2, c. 3]
- A Versailles le cacochyme *Changarnier* vient d'être nommé 271
grand'croix de la Légion d'honneur par un décret du chef de l'exécutif,
son vieux complice de 48 et de 51. *Vinoy* qui cumule les fonctions
de décebriseur, d'assassin du général Duval et de grand chancelier
de la Légion d'honneur, a été chargé de l'exécution de ce décret. Voilà
où ils en sont. [p. 2, c. 1]
- Versailles April 22: numerous promotions in, and appointments
to, the Legion of Honour in the *Army of the Rhine*, in order, as pro-
posed by General *Le Flô*, to put an end to the great inequality exist-
ing in regard to the rewards granted between that army and the *army*
of Paris, the North, and the Loire. Generals *Changarnier*, *Bourbaki*,
Cissey, and *Bisson* are appointed Grand Crosses. 272
- 120 Sitze vacant in der assemblée.

266. These 3 strange armies detest each other and numerous duels have taken place between officers.

267. The delegates from Lyons received yesterday morning by Picard, then by Thiers. [p.1, c.3] They left not very satisfied with the arrangements of the government, which wants "war at all costs." [p.1, c.4]

268. For the last 2 days, groups of gendarmes guarding the roads converging on Paris have been stopping and confiscating provisions and food bound for the capital. [p.2, c.2]

269. The supplies coming in from the provinces and the outskirts are more satisfactory today.

270. 30,000 men of the ex-Imperial Guard reorganized by Ducrot, who is given the sobriquet "neither Dead nor Victorious," are at this very moment circling around *St. Denis*, via *Montmorency* and *Groslay*, and, in cooperation with General de Fabrice, are to pull off a strong diversionary movement from the eastern side. (It is said: *Canrobert* is supposed to be in command of them.) [p.2, c.3]

271. At Versailles the dyspeptic *Changarnier* has just been awarded the grand cross of the Legion of Honor by a decree of the chief executive, his old accomplice of '48 and '51. *Vinoy*, who combines the roles of *décebriseur*, murderer of General Duval, and grand chancellor of the Legion of Honor, has been charged with carrying out this decree. That's what they have come to. [p.2, c.1]

272. 120 seats vacant in the assembly.

25 April. *Daily News*. [N° 7796]

Leader: Suspension of arms at Neuilly. The incessant cannonading of the last few weeks has been far more destructive to the houses of the people living in the outskirts of Paris than to the soldiers engaged in these artillery duels. Damage done to property immense, and the injuries suffered by private individuals altogether disproportionate to those borne by the troops etc. Quarrels of the commune published in open daylight... Central Committee and Cluseret at open feud. [p. 5, c. 2]

[210] *Paris. 23 April. Corr.* The armistice put off, in order not to recognize the belligerent rights of the «rebels»... But gradually, by mere efflux of time, the rebels are ceasing to be rebel, and are assuming the position of belligerents... In fact, the insurgents have ceased to be insurgents, they have an authority and a domain of their own; and within the lines of which they are masters their power is as legitimate as that which after the downfall of the late Empire the late Government enjoyed all over France... In the fact of putting it down (the Commune) the Versailles Government will destroy itself. [p. 5, c. 5]

St. Germain-en-Laye. 23 April. The terror of spy (on the part of the Versaillese) is much greater than inside; every one who enters or leaves this place or Versailles has to produce a passport or certificate of some kind or other. Domiciliary visits on the part of the Police Commissaries... Thiers has not hesitated to put his name to the statement, so notoriously incorrect, that no prisoners have been shot by the troops... the Government laws on leases and bills of exchange entailed the bankruptcy of the majority of the respectable shopkeepers of Paris... On the Saturday following the affair of the Place Vendôme, when the Commune was suffering from the reaction caused by the bloodshed of that afternoon, when the *mairies* of the 1-st, 2-nd, 8-th and 9-th Arrondissements, the Bank, the Bourse, the Grand Hôtel, and the Gare de St. Lazare, were all held by the well disposed; when the walls were posted with admiral Saisset's proclamation that he was come to lay down his life, after the example of his son, for the cause of «honour and country», and the mayors of Paris, with the deputies, were besieging Versailles, with entreaties for assistance, the Government could not lay his hands on 10 000 reliable troops and at 5 o'clock Saisset made his escape... The Guards of order broke up and went to their respective homes etc. [p. 5, c. 6] 273

25 April. *Mot d'Ordre*. [N° 61]

La délégation maçonnique, à laquelle s'étaient joints deux membres 274
des chambres syndicales, reçue (23 ou 24 April!) à Versailles par Thiers. 275
Sa mission était d'abord de réclamer un armistice qui permit à la mal-

273. the well disposed: those favorable to Versailles.

274. The Freemason delegation, joined by two members of the *Chambres Syndicales*, received (April 23 or 24!) at Versailles by Thiers. Its mission was first to demand an armistice permitting the unfortunate population of Neuilly, the Ternes and Sablonville, shut up in their cellars, to come out and find places of safety; then to propose an arrangement based on the pure and simple recognition of the municipal rights of the city of Paris.

275. The correct date is 21 April. [E.S.]

heureuse population de Neuilly, des Ternes et de Sablonville, enfermée dans ses caves; de sortir et de se mettre en lieu de sûreté; ensuite de proposer un arrangement basé sur la reconnaissance pure et simple des franchises municipales de la ville de Paris.

Sur le premier point, Thiers a déclaré que, sans consentir à un [p. 1, c. 3] armistice régulier conforme aux lois de la guerre, il donnerait l'ordre au général Ladmirault, commandant le 1-er corps d'armée versaillais, d'accorder, sur l'envoi d'un parlementaire, une trêve d'une durée égale au temps strictement nécessaire à l'évacuation des villages bombardés. 276

[212] Thiers s'est montré fort étonné de ce que la loi municipale votée par l'Assemblée de Versailles n'avait pas soulevé le moindre enthousiasme dans Paris... «C'est», répétait-il sans cesse, «la loi la plus libérale qu'une Assemblée française ait jamais votée sur l'organisation des municipalités». «Et la loi municipale de 91?» «Voudriez-vous donc nous ramener aux folies de nos ancêtres?» Il a déclaré qu'aussitôt les forts laissés par les Prussiens son intention est de bombarder Paris pour «rétablir le pouvoir légitime». 277

Le rapport des délégués doit être représenté aujourd'hui à deux heures à l'assemblée générale de la franc-maçonnerie. [p. 1, c. 4]. 279

Les délégués de Lyon ont quitté Versailles, après nouvelle entrevue avec Thiers, qui ne s'est en rien départi de son obstination insensée. «S'il en est ainsi, ont-ils dit en le quittant, dans quelques jours on vous apprendra que Lyon a proclamé sa Commune. La réponse que nous apportons à nos concitoyens les soulèvera tous». [p. 2, c. 5]. 280

Krakehle gegen Garibaldi in der Assemblée nationale. [p. 2, c. 2]. 281
«Nous sommes des gens de parole» (sagen die Favre et Cons. in der Assemblée.) [p. 2, c. 3]

24 Avril. Tribune de Bordeaux.

(Darin das Programm der Pariser Commune) (vom 19. April). 282

276. On the first point, Thiers declared that, without agreeing to a [p.1, c.3] regular armistice conforming to the laws of war, he would give orders to General Ladmirault, commander of the 1st corps of the Versaillaise army, if a white-flag bearer were sent, to grant a truce for the evacuation of the bombarded villages.

277. Thiers showed he was very astonished that the municipal law adopted by the Versailles Assembly had not aroused the least enthusiasm in Paris... "It is," he kept on repeating, "the most liberal law that a French Assembly has ever adopted on the organization of the municipalities." "How about the municipal law of '91?" "Would you want us to go back to the follies of our ancestors then?" He declared that as soon as the forts [were] left by the Prussians, his intention is to bombard Paris in order to "re-establish the legitimate power."

278. The Mot d'Ordre read not "laissés" but "livrés"—i.e. "given up by the Prussians..." [E.S.]

279. The report of the delegates is to be presented today at two o'clock to the general assembly of the Freemasonry. [p.1, c.4]

280. The delegates from Lyons have left Versailles, after another interview with Thiers, who did not budge from his senseless obstinacy. "If that's the way it is," they told him as they left, "in a few days you will learn that Lyons has proclaimed its own Commune. The reply that we are carrying back to our fellow citizens will arouse them all." [p.2, c.5]

281. A row raised against Garibaldi in the National Assembly. [p.2, c.2] "We are men of our word" (say the Favres and their ilk in the Assembly.) [p.2, c.3]

282. (Contains the Program of the Paris Commune) (of 19 April.)

Conspiracy of the rural Assembly. Déjà à ses premiers jours à Bordeaux séances tumultueuses, violences, gaucheries comme l'insulte à Garibaldi, l'injure à la garde nationale de Bordeaux etc. 283

A *Versailles* les prétendants à la recherche d'une position royale viennent prendre langue et cherchent des *conjurés*. Les gouvernants sont *Thiers* et *Jules Favre*. *Thiers* comme ambassadeur patenté de la République française sollicite des entrevues de tous les souverains de l'Europe et n'en obtient rien. Plus de 20 *départements ruraux* wählen ihn. *Thiers' Erklärung vom 10. Mars républicaine. Aber traité secret zwischen ihm und den Ruraux.* Pour faire suite à ses engagements du 10 mars, quels sont les premiers actes de son gouvernement? D'abord la nomination de *d'Aurelle*, de *Valentin*, de *Vinoy* à des fonctions qui devaient leur permettre d'écraser Paris, si Paris tentait le moindre soulèvement contre telle ou telle entreprise du pouvoir. There was grande fermentation dans la capitale justifiée par l'abus de la confiance dont ils avaient été victimes et par une capitulation qui faisait rejailir sur eux un opprobre qu'ils n'avaient certes pas mérité. Ces nominations étaient la goutte d'huile jetée sur la plaie... Le pouvoir ne songeait à rien moins qu'au désarmement de la garde nationale de Paris, lequel aurait été suivi d'une mesure semblable pour celle des départements... Sous cette ténébreuse entreprise il y avait un projet de conjuration... En même temps que ces événements se passaient à Paris et avaient leur contrecoup dans les départements, les *princes d'Orléans* se fixaient à *Versailles*, malgré que la discussion sur la validité de leur élection fût sans cesse écartée sous prétexte de ne rien envenimer. Leur métier de conspirer, comme celui de *Thiers* de mentir... Ensuite l'accueil fait par *Thiers* aux généraux et maréchaux de l'Empire. Tous ces gens-là sont intéressés à la chute de la République qui a l'immense tort à leurs yeux, de ne pas payer assez cher ses serviteurs. S'attachent à 284

[214]

283. *Conspiracy of the rural Assembly.* Even in its first days at Bordeaux, tumultuous sessions, violence, bungling, like the insult to Garibaldi, insult to the National Guard of Bordeaux, etc.

284. At *Versailles* the pretenders in quest of a royal position hold their tongues and seek conspirators. The men in control of the government are *Thiers* and *Jules Favre*. *Thiers* as recognized ambassador of the French Republic solicits interviews with all the sovereigns of Europe and obtains none. More than 20 rural departments elect him. *Thiers's declaration of 10 March republican. But secret treaty between him and the Rurals.* To follow up his pledges of 10 March, what are the first acts of his government? First of all, the appointment of *d'Aurelle*, *Valentin*, *Vinoy* to posts which would permit them to crush Paris, if Paris attempted the least revolt against this or that undertaking of the governmental power. There was great ferment in the capital, justified by the abuse of confidence they had suffered and by a capitulation which cast an opprobrium over them which they had certainly not deserved. These appointments were the drop of oil on the open wound... The government dreamt of nothing less than the disarming of the Paris National Guard, which would have been followed by a similar measure for the Guard in the departments... Behind this shady enterprise there was a scheme for a conspiracy... At the same time that these events were taking place in Paris with repercussions in the departments, the *princes of Orléans* settled at *Versailles*, in spite of the fact that the discussion on the validity of their election was continually pushed aside on the pretext of avoiding bitterness. Their business to conspire, as *Thiers's* to lie... Then the welcome given by *Thiers* to the generals and marshals of the Empire. All these people are interested in the fall of the Republic, which in their eyes is

tout prétendant réunissant quelques chances... Soin du gouvernement à ne nommer que des monarchistes à des *emplois publics et aux diverses représentations extérieures*. C'est là l'objet de toute sa sollicitude, et elle est trop empressée pour qu'elle soit sans but... Pendant que l'Assemblée se livrait à ces violences et que le gouvernement essayait de porter la main sur la République, les journaux légitimistes et orléanistes reproduisaient un document annonçant que *la fusion entre les Bourbons et les descendants de Philippe-Egalité était à peu près un fait accompli*. Le cousin de la branche cadette, par une lettre rendue publique, avait fait acte de souverain... Donc conspiration: le pouvoir, non seulement en a connu l'existence, mais il l'a favorisée. Thiers secondera la majorité, et alors, si la France ne s'y oppose, la conspiration éclatera et la restauration s'accomplira sans effort ni obstacle. Ou Thiers combattra la majorité, sera obligé à résigner ses pouvoirs. *D'Aumale* étant député, il ne s'agira plus alors que de valider son élection et de l'élever sur le pavois.

Litanie de Guizot contre Paris.

285

Marie Amélie appela Guizot «un crabe à pattes inflexibles qui se cramponnait au rocher du pouvoir».

286

A la nouvelle du désastre de Sedan, le peuple se leva d'un bond et proclama la République; nul, à ce moment, n'éleva des protestations contre cet acte libre, spontané et unanime. Des représentants auraient-ils le droit de défaire ce que le souverain a fait et dont il exige le maintien?

287

Carayon-Latour (in der Assemblée) will... nicht forcer (lui, légitimiste) die Versammlung zu entscheiden sur la forme définitive du gouvernement.

288

Le Favoritisme. La bourgeoisie macht ihre Söhne, parents etc.

289

guilty of the great sin of not paying dearly enough for its servitors. Attach themselves to any pretender who stands a chance... The government's care to appoint only monarchists to *public posts and various external positions of representation*. That is the object of all its solicitude, and it is in too much of a hurry about it for it to be unpurposeful... While the Assembly devoted itself to these outrages and the government tried to lay hands on the Republic, the Legitimist and Orleanist newspapers published a document announcing that *the merger between the Bourbons and the descendants of Philippe-Egalité was nearly an accomplished fact*. The cousin of the junior branch, in a letter made public, had assumed the royal prerogative... Hence conspiracy: the government not only knew of its existence but favored it. Thiers will back up the majority, and then, if France does not oppose it, the conspiracy will burst out into the open and the restoration will be accomplished without effort and without obstacles. Or else Thiers will fight the majority and will be obliged to resign his power. *D'Aumale* being a deputy, all that has to be done then is to declare his election valid and raise him on their shields.

285. *Guizot's litany against Paris.*

286. *Marie Amélie* called Guizot "a crab with rigid legs clinging desperately to the rock of power."

287. *At the news of the Sedan disaster*, the people rose as one man and proclaimed the Republic; *no one* at that moment raised any protests against this free, spontaneous and unanimous act. Would representatives have the right to undo what the sovereign power did and what it insists on maintaining?

288. *Carayon-Latour* (in the Assembly) will...not force (he a Legitimist) the assembly to decide on the definitive form of the government.

289. *Favoritism*. The bourgeoisie makes its sons, relatives, etc. "*chief tax-col-*

[216] «*receveurs généraux*». La recette d'Orléans compte au nombre de ces parasites. M. Magne, qui ne coûtait pas au budget de l'empire moins de 5 à 600 000 francs par an, tout en son nom personnel, comme ministre à tout faire, que comme membre du conseil privé et au nom de ses parents de tous les degrés, avait donné à son fils le riche canonicat d'Orléans. M. Alfred Magne s'était retiré le 4 septembre. M. Pouyer-Quertier, le nouveau ministre, s'est empressé de doter des 50 à 60 000 fr. que rapporte bien ou mal la recette générale du Loiret M. Roche Lambert, son gendre.

Lettres de Lafargue. Depuis la disposition de la police, comme par enchantement, on n'entend parler ni de vols ni d'assassinats, ce qui faisait dire à un patriote que tous les «conservateurs s'étaient enfuis à Versailles». Les cocottes ennemies jurées de la Commune. La contre-révolution nécessaire pour permettre à ces dames de reprendre leur honnête métier. Leurs consolateurs les Prussiens. Elles vont en pèlerinage à St. Denis et les autres lieux occupés par les troupes prussiennes, se consoler de l'absence de leurs amants... 290

Que faites-vous de toutes les fonctions, emplois, grades de la République! Vous les donnez à tous ses ennemis avérés. Ils sont les patrimoines naturels d'une bourgeoisie épaisse et sans cœur qui a droit d'en jouir exclusivement, et le plus mince de ces emplois donné en dehors de sa caste est un vol qui lui est fait. 291

25 April. Tribune de Bordeaux.

La résistance à l'oppression, base fondamentale de la liberté et de la civilisation moderne, a sa racine historique, sa tradition dans la Commune. 292

Unter Bonaparte (Louis): «tous les maires étant dans les mains des préfets et toutes les communes dans les mains des maires, on a vu fonctionner le mécanisme (i. e. die candidats officiels) avec une incroyable perfection». 293

lectors." The Orléans collectorship counts as one of these parasites. M. Magne, who cost the Empire's budget no less than 5-600,000 francs a year, all in his personal name, as minister of all work, now as a member of the privy council and in the name of his relatives of various degrees, had given his son the rich canonry of Orléans. M. Alfred Magne retired on 4 September. M. Pouyer-Quertier, the new minister, hastened to endow the 50-60,000 francs more or less brought in by the general-collectorship of the Loiret on M. Roche Lambert, his son-in-law.

290. Letters from Lafargue. Since the police were disposed of, as if by magic one hears neither of robberies nor murders, which meant to one patriot that all the "conservatives had fled to Versailles." The cocottes sworn enemies of the Commune. The counterrevolution necessary to permit these ladies to resume their honest trade. Their consolers the Prussians. They make pilgrimages to St. Denis and other places occupied by Prussian troops, consoling themselves for their lovers' absence...

291. What do you do with all the posts, jobs and ranks of the Republic! You give them to all its avowed enemies. They are the natural patrimony of a thickheaded and heartless bourgeoisie which has the exclusive right to enjoy them, and the most insignificant of these posts, if given away outside of its caste, constitutes stealing something from it.

292. Resistance to oppression, fundamental basis of liberty and modern civilization, has its historical root, its tradition in the Commune.

293. Under Bonaparte (Louis): "all the mayors being in the hands of the prefects and all the communes in the hands of the mayors, we saw the mechanism (i.e., the official candidates) function with incredible perfection."

Sagt Herr *Thiers* von den *Légitimistes*: «Il y a trois moyens qu'elle emploie sans cesse audacieusement et dont la preuve est partout: *l'invasion étrangère, la guerre civile et l'anarchie*... Jamais un gouvernement qui a ces trois moyens à son usage ne sera celui de la France». (*Moniteur Universel. Séance de la Chambre des Députés du 5 janvier 1833*).

In der Sitzung der Assemblée vom 20. Avril grosse Wut gegen Jean Brunet, der proposition liest pour la pacification de Paris. (Assemblée soll traiter mit Paris, Commission von 25 ernennen dazu, hostilités suspendieren). The Assembly kills this proposition par la question préalable.

[218] *Thiers — Mirabeau-mouche. Thiers bedroht die Pariser fortwährend mit der intervention des Prussiens.* 296
Sanglant Tom-Pouce. 297

26 April. Le Mot d'Ordre [N° 62]

Der traité de Neuilly sollte 24 sein. Thiers verlegte ihn auf 25 (von 9 Uhr nachts bis 5 Uhr abends). [p. 1, c. 1] Dadurch viele Einwohner mit obus überworfen etc. [p. 1, c. 2] 298

Pyat reprend sa place dans la Commune. [p. 1, c. 6] *Conneau, Devienne à Versailles.* [p. 2, c. 4] *Palikao ditto. de Faily. Canrobert.* 299

Circulaire de Dufaure (an die Generalprokuratoren): *Versailles, 23 Avril 1871*: [p. 1, c. 6] «Ils (des écrivains) se font, par toute la France, les apologistes effrontés d'une dictature usurpée par des étrangers ou des repris de justice... Oui, la force matérielle qui s'est constituée dans Paris sous le nom de la Commune pour commettre de si abominables 300

294. Says M. *Thiers* of the *Legitimists*: "There are three methods which they continually employ boldly, proof of which is everywhere: *foreign invasion, civil war and anarchy*... Never will a government which has these three methods as its customary usage be the government of France." (*Moniteur Universel. Session of the Chamber of Deputies of 5 January 1833.*)

295. In the Assembly session of 20 April great fury against Jean Brunet, whose proposal for the pacification of Paris was read. (Assembly is to negotiate with Paris, name a commission of 25 for this purpose, and suspend hostilities.) The Assembly kills this proposition by moving the previous question.

296. *Thiers—Mirabeau-mouche. Thiers incessantly threatens the Parisians with the intervention of the Prussians.*

297. *Bloodthirsty Tom Thumb.*

298. The Neuilly agreement is supposed to be for the 24th. Thiers postpones it to the 25th (from 9 o'clock at night to 5 o'clock in the evening.) [p.1, c.1] In that way many inhabitants covered with shell-bursts etc. [p.1, c.2]

299. Pyat resumes his seat in the Commune. [p.1, c.6] *Conneau, Devienne at Versailles.* [p.2, c.4] *Palikao ditto. de Faily. Canrobert.*

300. *Circular by Dufaure* (to the attorneys general): *Versailles, 23 April 1871*: [p.1, c.6] "They (writers) are becoming, throughout France, the brazen apologists of a dictatorship usurped by foreigners or by habitual criminals... Yes, the material force which is constituted in Paris under the name of the Commune to commit such abominable excesses found apologists... these are not [only] the enemies of any government whatever, but of all human society; you must not hesitate to prosecute them. And don't let yourselves be stopped when, in language more moderate in appearance without being less dangerous, they pose as apostles of a reconciliation in which they do not believe themselves; putting on the same plane the Assembly which issued from universal suffrage and the alleged Commune of Paris; blaming the former for not according Paris its municipal rights etc."

excès trouva des apologistes... ce ne sont les ennemis d'un gouvernement quelconque, mais de toute société humaine; vous ne devez pas hésiter à les poursuivre. Et ne vous laissez pas arrêter lorsque, dans un langage plus modéré en apparence sans être moins dangereux, ils se font les apôtres d'une conciliation à laquelle ils ne croient pas eux-mêmes; mettant sur la même ligne l'Assemblée issue du suffrage universel et la prétendue Commune de Paris; reprochant à la première de n'avoir pas accordé à Paris ses droits municipaux etc».

Depuis avant'hier les Prussiens empêchent l'entrée à Paris des ap- 301
provisionnements etc. [p. 2, c. 1] A *St. Denis* la police est faite par des
gendarmes et des sergents de ville. Les étrangers, comme les passants,
sont examinés etc. [p. 2, c. 2]

26 April. *Daily News*. [N° 7797]

Lettre of Louis Blanc vom 23 April (Allen Alles) (République une 302
et indivisible.) [p. 3, c. 3]

Corresp. Paris. 24 April. Paris now completely invested. The Prus-
sians have given up the fort of Charenton to the French army and the troops
from Versailles are coming up to St. Denis. *Lutte zwischen Committee 303*
Central (der National guards) und *Kommune* (Pyat since the 26-th March
in the Commune). [p. 5, c. 5]

(Dufaure wants to put down Paris by press prosecutions in the Pro-
vinces. [p. 5, c. 6] Monstruous to bring journals before a jury for preach-
ing «Conciliation».) [p. 6, c. 1]

[220] *Paris 25 April*. (Tel.) *Raoul Rigault* given his demission (as Minis- 304
ter of Public Safety). Replaced by *Cournet*. (Aber Rigault bleibt membre 305
de la commission de sûreté). [p. 3, c. 1]

27 April. *Mot d'Ordre*. [N° 63]

Le Mot d'Ordre supprimé (à Versailles) par le fuyard Vinoy. [p. 1, 306
c. 1]

Adresse des Délégués de Lyon présentée (24 April) à l'Assemblée par 307
Greppo. [p. 1, c. 6]

Les Prussiens qui empêchaient depuis 2 jours la sortie de St. Denis 308
des vivres destinés à Paris, les laissent passer librement depuis hier
matin.

301. Since yesterday the Prussians have been preventing the entrance of provi-
sions etc. into Paris. [p.2, c.1] At *St. Denis* the policing is done by gendarmes
and constables. Strangers, like passers-by, are questioned etc. [p.2, c.2]

302. *Letter of Louis Blanc of 23 April* (Everything to everybody) (Republic, one
and indivisible.) [p.3, c.3]

303. ...*Struggle between Central Committee* (of the National Guard) and *Commune*
(Pyat since the 26th March in the Commune.) [p.5, c.5]

304. demission (Fr. *démision*): resignation.

305. (But Rigault remains a member of the committee of public safety.)

306. *Le Mot d'Ordre* suppressed (at Versailles) by the runaway Vinoy. [p.1, c.1]

307. *Address of the Lyons Delegates presented (24 April) to the Assembly by*
Greppo. [p.1, c.6]

308. *The Prussians*, who have for 2 days been preventing provisions from leaving
St. Denis for Paris, are now letting them go through freely, since yesterday morn-
ing.

Les gendarmes (jetzt armés) non seulement à St. Denis, mais aussi 309
à Enghien, gardant toutes les voies reliant de ce côté Versailles à Paris.
[p. 2, c. 2].

28 April. Mot d'Ordre. [Nº 64]

Wieder 4 gardes nationales sans toutes formalités (après avoir été 310
fait prisonniers) fusillés par les Versaillais.

Raoul Rigault nommé procureur de la Commune. [p. 1, c. 3]. 311

On annonce officiellement dans les journeaux de Versailles, dass 312
duc d'Aumale und prince de *Joinville* dans l'Oise, près d'Alençon, lo-
gés au château de M. D'Audiffret-Pasquier, député à l'Assemblée Natio-
nale... Un décret de bannissement interdit à la famille d'Orléans le
séjour de la France... (excitateurs à la guerre civile). Ainsi Papa Trans-
nonain trahit! Et *Vinoy* a fusillé *Duval*, et *Valentin* a arrêté *Lockroy*, et
Dufaure a déclaré, dans sa circulaire, que toute tentative de concilia-
tion entre Versailles et Paris devait être considérée comme un crime.
[p. 1, c. 5]

Les propriétaires qui s'étaient enfuis de Paris à l'approche des Prus- 313
siens et qui réclamaient maintenant leurs loyers!

Hier, les francs-maçons ont fait une manifestation à l'Hôtel-de Ville, 314
et ont parcouru différents quartiers de la ville, drapeau rouge en tête.
[p. 1, c. 6]

Une vingtaine d'hommes du 35-e Versaillais, dont deux sous-offi- 315
ciers, sont entrés hier matin à Paris par la porte des Ternes. [p. 2, c. 1]

ditto 30 chasseurs à pied. [p. 2, c. 2] 316

April 24. Affiche de Beslay: (Contre Thiers) «Asservissement du 317
travail au Capital, tel est le fond de votre politique, et, le jour où vous

309. The gendarmes (armed now) not only at St. Denis, but also at Enghien,
guarding all roads connecting Versailles with Paris on that side. [p.2, c.2]

310. Once again 4 National Guards, without any formalities (after being made
prisoners), shot by the Versaillaise.

311. *Raoul Rigault* named public prosecutor of the Commune. [p.1, c.3]

312. It is announced officially in the Versailles newspapers, that *Duke d'Aumale*
and Prince de *Joinville* [are] in the Oise, near Alençon, lodging at the chateau of
M. d'Audiffret-Pasquier, National Assembly deputy... A decree of exile prohibited
the Orléans family from sojourning in France... (instigators of civil war). Thus
Papa Transnonain [Thiers] is committing treason! And *Vinoy* had *Duval* shot, and
Valentin has arrested *Lockroy*, and *Dufaure* stated, in his circular, that any at-
tempt at conciliation between Versailles and Paris was to be considered a crime.
[p.1, c.5]

313. The property-owners who had fled Paris on the approach of the Prussians and
who now demand their rent payments!

314. Yesterday, the Freemasons held a demonstration at City Hall, and went through
various districts of the city, red flag at their head. [p.1, c.6]

315. A score of men of the Versaillaise 35th, including two noncommissioned offi-
cers, yesterday morning entered Paris by the Ternes gate. [p.2, c.1] — [This and
the next paragraph refer to Versaillaise soldiers going over to the side of the
Commune. E.S.]

316. ditto 30 light infantry. [p.2, c.2]

317. April 24. Poster by Beslay: (Against Thiers) "Enslavement of labor to Capi-
tal, that is the basis of your policy, and, since the day you saw the Republic of
Labor installed at City Hall, you have not stopped crying out to France every day:
"These are criminals"... "You crowned your errors and sins on the day you forced the
Assembly to rescind its vote, so as to keep the appointment of mayors in large

[222] avez vu la République du Travail siéger à l'Hôtel-de-Ville, vous n'avez cessé de crier chaque jour à la France: «Ce sont des criminels»... «Vous avez mis le comble à vos erreurs et à vos fautes le jour où vous avez forcé l'Assemblée à revenir sur son vote pour garder dans la main du pouvoir la nomination des maires dans les grandes villes». «Vos hommes? Mais ce sont les hommes de l'Empire», «cosaque ou républicaine». [p. 2, c. 5]

28 April. Daily News. [N° 7799]

Tel. Paris. 27 April. Decree des Paschal Grousset zum Schutz der foreigners against all requisitions etc. «Never a government in Paris so... courteous to Foreigners». No goods — until further notice — allowed to leave Paris. This is in retaliation for the stoppage of the cattle trucks entering Paris and the cutting off of the milk and fish supplies. Die Paris forts (Issy etc.) battered by the Versailles. [p. 3, c. 4]

29 April. Le Mot d'Ordre. [N° 65]

La Question Blanqui. Halten ihn so verborgen im cachot, dass personne ne sait dans quelle prison on le détient. Thiers will seine Schwester nicht wissen lassen, wo er ist. Gegen den Code — diese réponse de Thiers le rend tout bonnement passible des galères. Und diese chiens se sont déchainés contre la Commune à propos de la loi des otages! c'est à croire que vous voudriez la pousser à l'appliquer! [p. 1, c. 1]

27 Avril. Commissaires envoyés par la Commune à Bicêtre pour faire une enquête sur les gardes nationaux du 185-e bataillon de marche de la garde nationale. Einer davon noch am Leben, sehr schwer verwundet. Er und 3 camarades überrascht durch chasseurs à cheval, forderten sie auf, sich zu ergeben. Taten es. Soldaten liessen sie in Ruhe. Als schon prisonniers, kommt capitaine des chasseurs à cheval, mordet sie mit Revolver. [p. 1, c. 2]

30 April élections municipales dans toute la France. 322

Commune à Narbonne. 323

Depuis plus d'un mois 200 000 ouvriers maîtres de Paris. Ils ont 324

towns in the hands of the governmental power." "Your men? Why, they are the men of the Empire," "coassack or republican." [p.2, c.5]

318. Decree of Paschal Grousset for the protection of foreigners...

319. Die: the.

320. The Blanqui Question. Hold him so buried away in a dungeon-cell that nobody knows in what prison he is kept. Thiers will not let his sister know where he is. Against the Code—this answer by Thiers makes him very simply liable to penal servitude. And those dogs are raging against the Commune because of the law of hostages! one might think you would like to drive the Commune to put it into application! [p.1, c.1]

321. 27 April. Commissioners sent by the Commune to Bicêtre to make an investigation on the National Guards of the 185th marching battalion of the Guard. One of them still alive, very seriously wounded. He and 3 comrades surprised by light-cavalrymen, [who] demanded they surrender. Did so. Soldiers left them alone. When already prisoners, along comes a captain of the light-cavalry, murders them with revolver. [p.1, c.2]

322. 30 April municipal elections throughout France.

323. Commune at Narbonne.

324. For over a month, 200,000 workers masters of Paris. They have arms, cannon,

des armes, des canons, la force — et la misère. Non seulement ils n'ont pillé aucun hôtel, ils ne se sont vengés d'aucun riche, ils n'ont commis aucune atrocité, mais encore — et c'est à la lettre — ils n'ont pas brisé une branche d'arbre, ils n'ont pas cueilli une fleur dans les jardins publics, confiés à leur seule garde... les paysans brûlaient vifs leurs adversaires... [p. 1, c. 5]

La Gazette de Cologne affirme que le renvoi des prisonniers français a été catégoriquement refusé par Bismarck. (Antwort auf demande formelle de Thiers). [p. 1, c. 6] 325

Thiers hat den députés de Versailles gesagt, qu'il ne recevra plus aucune députation provinciale chargée d'une mission conciliatrice. 326

14 wagons de lait arrêtés à la gare de Pontoise par les Prussiens ou les Versaillais. 327

[224] La force gouvernementale n'est pas autant à Versailles qu'à Rueil ou même à St. Germain. Les sommités bonapartistes groupées dans ces localités ne regardent les hommes champêtres de Versailles que comme des instruments aveugles, mais indispensables au succès de leur cause. Le général Ladmirault, les Galliffet, Canrobert, Vinoy, Ducrot, Maud' hui, Palikao, Jérôme David, Chevreau, Rouher, Conti, de Banville, les Cassagnac, Valentin, n'attendent absolument qu'une chose, c'est que les vicinaux, à l'aide de Thiers, leur aient donné assez de force militaire et préfectorale pour les flanquer à la porte. [p. 2, c. 1] 328

!!! *Le capitaine de gendarmerie qui a tué Flourens* vient d'être décoré. [p. 2, c. 2] 329

Assemblée de Versailles. 26 April. 330

Louis Blanc gegen das circulaire de Dufaure. Er fragt bloß demütig den Dufaure d'expliquer «toute la portée de sa circulaire». [p. 2, c. 3] Ehe der Kleine herabsteigt, fragt ihn ein Rural (M. le Comte de Rampon) ce qu'il pense du comité de la garde nationale de Paris, «s'il 331

force—and poverty. Not only have they not pillaged any wealthy house, not taken revenge on any of the rich, not committed any atrocity, but even—and this is literally true—they have not broken so much as a tree branch, they have not picked a flower in the public gardens, entrusted to their sole watch and ward... the peasants burned their enemies alive... [p.1, c.5]

325. *The Kölnische Zeitung* states that the return of French prisoners has been categorically refused by Bismarck. (Answer to formal request by Thiers.) [p.1, c.6]

326. Thiers told the Versailles deputies that he will no longer receive any provincial delegation charged with a conciliationist mission.

327. 14 milk cars stopped at the Pontoise station by the Prussians or Versaill-ese.

328. The government's strength lies not so much at Versailles as at Rueil or even St. Germain. The Bonapartist top leadership concentrated in these places regard the rustics of Versailles only as blind tools, but indispensable to the success of their cause. General Ladmirault, men like Galliffet, Canrobert, Vinoy, Ducrot, Maud' hui, Palikao, Jérôme David, Chevreau, Rouher, Conti, de Banville, men like Cassagnac, Valentin are waiting for absolutely one thing, and that is till the locals, with Thiers's help, give them enough military and prefectoral forces to flank them at the gate. [p.2, c.1]

329. !!! *The captain of gendarmes who killed Flourens* has just been decorated. [p.2, c.2]

330. *Versailles Assembly. 26 April.*

331. *Louis Blanc* against Dufaure's circular. He humbly simply asks Dufaure to explain "the whole import of his circular." [p.2, c.3] Before the little man steps down, he is asked by a Rural (M. le Comte de Rampon) what he thinks of the Commit-

prend la défense de la Commune. Louis Blanc (au pied de la tribune): «Je pense que la Commune a violé la légalité, pour laquelle je suis (Interromption bruyante: A la Tribune, à la Tribune!) *Je réproouve les actes de la Commune* (Interpellations etc. etc.) Mais ce que je tiens aussi à vous dire, c'est qu'il est à Paris une nombreuse intelligente et honnête population, qui veut l'ordre et qui veut la liberté. C'est avec cette population que vous avez à traiter. Voilà ce que j'ai à dire (Assez! l'ordre du jour!)». Dufaure unter grossem Beifall und grosser Unverschämtheit macht die Apologie seines circulars. Dufaure sagt, dass provincial municipal councils agieren unter Mot d'ordre von Paris. Z. B. der *conseil municipal d'Auch* unanimement lui demande de *proposer immédiatement un armistice* und dass die Versammlung *gewählt 8 Februar* sich auflöst (résigne) da ihr *Mandat expiré*. [p. 2, c. 4]

Dann liest er aus: «*Défense nationale*» (*Journal de Limoges*): «la province a déjà motivé son mécontentement en refusant les bataillons de volontaires qui lui ont été demandés». Abgeschmackte Antwort des Louis Blanc, ob auch die Leute zu verfolgen, die blos *désirent conciliation sans pensée coupable*. [p. 2, c. 5] 332

29 April. Daily News. [Nº 7800]

Tel. Paris 28 April. Fighting and cannonade goes on.

The Commune has demanded a payment within 24 hours of 2 million francs from the railway Companies. Besides called upon for the future to pay regularly the imposts due since March 18.

[226] Cry for conciliation. Even *Paschal Grousset*. Schism between Commune und Committee Central more serious. Thiers gets power to declare any department in a state of siege. *Procureur-Général de Mayennes* writes to Dufaure to «resign... I cannot serve an Administration which orders me, in a moment of civil war, to rush into party struggles and prosecute citizens, whom my conscience holds innocent, for uttering the word *conciliation*». [p. 3, c. 1] 333

Paris. 28 April. Corr. Eighth Battalion of Gardes Nationaux has 334

tee of the National Guard of Paris, "whether he undertakes the defense of the Commune." Louis Blanc (at the foot of the platform): "I think the Commune has violated legality, for which I am (Noisy interruption: On the platform, on the platform!) *I condemn the acts of the Commune* (Interpellations etc. etc.) But what I am also anxious to tell you is that in Paris there is a large number of intelligent and honest people who want order and who want liberty. It is with these people that you have to negotiate. That is what I have to say (Enough! agenda!)" Dufaure, with great approbation and greater shamelessness, presents the apologia for his circular. Dufaure says that the provincial municipal councils act under orders from Paris. For example, the *municipal council of Auch* unanimously asks him to *immediately propose an armistice* and that the Assembly elected on 8 February should dissolve (resign) since its *mandate has expired*. [p.2, c.4]

332. Then he reads from the "*Défense Nationale*" (*Limoges newspaper*): "the provinces have already motivated their discontent in refusing the battalions of volunteers that had been requested from them." Unsavory answer by Louis Blanc, whether [the government would] also prosecute people who simply *desire conciliation without any other culpable thought*. [p.2, c.5]

333. Attorney General of Mayenne ...

334. Eighth Battalion of National Guards...

just issued a statement in which it declares distinctly for the League of Conciliation. Refuses to fight. [p. 5, c. 5]

29 April. Situation. [N° 189]

Paschal Grousset fait cesser son journal «*L'Affranchi*». [p. 2, c. 3] 335

Journal Officiel de Paris: Tous les jours on trouve des documents nouveaux qui établissent d'une manière authentique la trahison des hommes de la défense nationale, trahison d'autant plus infâme que ces hommes haut placés s'en faisaient un jeu jusque dans leur correspondance. 336

Paris (12 Décembre, 1870) ((Lettre de *Guiod* (*Alphonse Simon*) (commandant supérieur de l'artillerie des armées de défense de Paris et Grand-croix de la Légion d'Honneur) (Adressée à *Susanne*, général de division d'artillerie)) Handelt sich um einen gewissen *Hetzel* oder *Hessel*, dem *Guiod* empfohlen von *Suzanne*. «Dites-moi franchement ce que vous désirez, et je le ferai. Je le prendrai à mon état-major où il s'embêtera, n'ayant rien à faire, ou bien je l'enverrai au Mont-Valérien, où il courra moins de dangers qu'à Paris (ceci pour les parents), et où il aura l'air de tirer le canon, parce qu'il tirera le canon en l'air, selon la méthode. Noël. Déboutonnez-vous la bouche, bien entendu». (Dieser Noël zu jener Epoche officier supérieur d'artillerie, et, au 12 Décembre 1870, il commandait le fort du Mont-Valérien) (diese Note (Brief etc.) communiqué par le Comité Central.) [p. 2, c. 4] Proposition d'une ligue de la paix (par *Schoelcher*). [p. 3, c. 1—2] 337

30 April et 1 May. La Situation. [N° 190]

Das Programme des 8-e bataillon de la garde Nationale vom 25 April. 338

with a smile of elated vanity. [p. 3, c. 4.]

335. *Paschal Grousset* suspends his newspaper "*L'Affranchi*." [p.2, c.3]

336. *Journal Officiel* of Paris: Every day new documents are found which authoritatively confirm the treason of the men of [the Government of] National Defense, treason all the more infamous in that these highly placed men joked about it right in their correspondence.

337. *Paris* (12 December 1870) (Letter by *Guiod* (*Alphonse Simon*) (supreme commander of the artillery of the Army of Defense of Paris and Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor) (Addressed to *Susanne*, general of division of artillery) Deals with a certain *Hetzel* or *Hessel*, recommended to *Guiod* by *Suzanne*. "Tell me frankly what you desire, and I will do it. I will take him into my staff where he will be bored to death, have nothing to do, or I will send him to Mont-Valérien, where he will be in less danger than in Paris (this for the relatives), and where he will put on an air of firing cannon, because he will fire cannon into the air, in accordance with the Noël method. Loosen your tongue, of course." (This Noël [was] at that time a high artillery officer, and, on 12 December 1870, he commanded the Mont-Valérien fort) (this note (letter, etc.) communicated by the Central Committee.) [p.2, c.4] Proposal for a peace league (by *Schoelcher*.) [p.3, c.1-2] — [The names of the two generals were *Adolphe* (not *Alphonse*) *Simon Guiod* and *Louis Susane* (not *Suzanne* or *Susanne*). These errors were in the text of the letter as given in the Commune press; the *Journal Officiel* gave *Susane's* name as *Suzanne*. The young officer's name was probably *Hetzel*, not *Hessel*; there was a prominent publisher by that name who, in fact, later published a book by Gen. *Susane*.]

338. The program of the 8th battalion of the National Guard of 25 April.

Notes

M. Thiers sagt im speech in Assemblée législative, 17 Janvier, von 339
seinem Freund Changarnier:

- [228] «Nous avons pu craindre au milieu extraordinaire des esprits, que 340
la politique s'introduisant dans l'armée, n'y affaiblît l'esprit militaire...
Eh bien! l'énergique et habile général qui était à sa tête, en ravivant en
elle *l'esprit militaire* avait étouffé *l'esprit politique*. Voilà ce que l'his-
toire dira un jour, et ce qui sera sa gloire». Ce fut seulement *février*
1851 que *Thiers, Changarnier, Odilon Barrot* se séparèrent du gouver-
nement. Thiers trat so auf wegen *Affaire Changarnier*. Question de
compétition zwischen Bonaparte und Orléans. Neumayer à la revue de
Satory. 1869 verlangten die Hunde der *Union Libérale* pour Paris un
conseil municipal élu. C'est la République de 1848 qui a remplacé par
une commission administrative nommée par le gouvernement *l'ancien*
conseil municipal élu. 19 Juin 1851 *Jules Favre* déclara à la Tribune:
«Je comprends parfaitement que le pouvoir municipal, si énorme dans
une cité comme Paris, appartienne à un agent qui soit *directement placé*
sous la main de M. le ministre de l'intérieur. Et pourquoi, Messieurs?
Non seulement, parce que ce serait, suivant moi, une *imprudence poli-*
tique que de restaurer la *Commune de Paris*; mais encore parce que la
présence et l'action du gouvernement central sont une *garantie con-*
stante pour les citoyens. Quant à moi, je ne crains pas qu'on prenne acte
contre moi de la déclaration que je dépose ici: Je considérerais comme
n'ayant rien appris dans l'histoire, comme étant un homme politique
voulant vouer son pays à des tempêtes, celui qui essayerait de *ressusci-*
ter à l'heure qu'il est, une municipalité indépendante, une Commune
de Paris qui ne relèverait pas du Gouvernement».

339. M. Thiers says, in his speech in the Legislative Assembly, 17 January [1851],
of his friend Changarnier:

340. [The following translation follows a correction in the first line noted by
C.S.: "au milieu de l'agitation extraordinaire des esprits..."] "We could have
been afraid, amidst the extraordinarily disturbed state of people's minds, lest
the introduction of politics into the army weaken the military spirit... Well then,
the energetic and clever general who headed it, by reviving its *military spirit*
had stifled the political spirit. That is what history will say one day, and that
will be his glory." It was only in February 1851 that Thiers, Changarnier, Odilon
Barrot left the government. Thiers came out in this way because of the Changarnier
affair. Question of competition between Bonaparte and Orléans. Neumayer in the Sat-
ory journal. In 1869 the dogs of the *Union Libérale* demanded an elected municipal
council for Paris. It is the Republic of 1848 that substituted an administrative
commission appointed by the government for the *old elected municipal council*. On
19 June 1851 Jules Favre stated from the platform: "I understand perfectly that
the municipal power, which is so immense in a city like Paris, belongs to an agent
who is directly placed in the hands of the Minister of the Interior. And why, gen-
tlemen? Not only because it would be, in my opinion, a *political imprudence* to re-
store the *Commune of Paris*; but also because the presence and activity of the cent-
ral government are a continual guarantee for the citizens. As for me, I am not
afraid that anyone will take legal cognizance against me of the statement that I
present here: I would regard anyone as a man who has learnt nothing from history,
as a politician who wants to doom his country to be tempest-tossed, if he were to
try at the present time to revive an independent municipality, a *Commune of Paris*
which would not be subordinate to the Government."

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Dufaure: Erste was das Ministerium Odilon Barrot tat (26. Decem- 341
ber 1848) war, gegen disposition formelle de la loi de 1831, den General
Changarnier, der den Oberbefehl über die Linientruppen hatte, auch
zum Chef der Nationalgarde zu machen. Cet art. 67 de la loi sur la garde
nationale qui consacrait la division radicale de l'autorité militaire et de
l'autorité civile, fut abrogé le 7 juillet 1849; sur proposition de Monta-
lembert: l'Assemblée donna au gouvernement la faculté de concentrer
dans les mains du chef d'une division militaire le commandement des
gardes nationales de tous les départements compris dans la même cir-
conscription.

Posten der République (1848 etc.): *Je vais t'assassiner, mais c'est* 342
pour ton bien, ce que bourreau disait à Don Carlos.

[230] 2 Juin 1849 nahm *Dufaure* (im Ministerium *Odilon Barrot*) le por- 343
tefeuille de l'*Intérieur*. L'*Union Libérale* (1869) s'est réformée comme
en 1847. Le général Cavaignac poussait sa candidature à la présidence
avec toutes les fureurs du désespoir. Forcé de lever l'état de siège, le
29 Octobre. Il insultait la révolution de Février en appelant au pouvoir.
2 ministres de *Louis-Philippe*, *Dufaure* et *Vivien*: la réunion de la rue
de Poitiers avait demandé des positions en garantie etc. M. M. Cavaignac
et Marrast, qui avaient besoin de l'appui des dynastiques de l'As-
semblée, consentirent à leur donner des garanties positives, et un re-
maniement ministériel avait lieu. Le *National* livra des portefeuilles
à l'ancien *tiers-parti*. *Dufaure*, tant raillé par le *National* pour avoir
refusé d'assister au banquet de Saintes où il voulait qu'on portât un
toast à Louis-Philippe, fut appelé au ministère de l'*Intérieur*. Comme tel,
il faisait tout pour favoriser la candidature de Cavaignac. La France
fut inondée de courtiers électoraux et de brochures vantant les hautes
vertus du général; on diffamait et on trainait dans la boue les autres
candidats et notamment *Louis Bonaparte*, dont *Dufaure* allait être

341. *Dufaure*: The first thing the Odilon Barrot cabinet did (26 December 1848) was, contrary to the formal provision of the law of 1831, to make General *Changarnier*, who had supreme command over the troops of the line, also the head of the National Guard. This art. 67 of the law on the National Guard which sanctions the complete separation between the military authority and the civil authority, was abrogated on 7 July 1849; on proposal by Montalembert: the Assembly gave the government the right to concentrate, in the hands of the head of a military division, command over the National Guards of all the departments included in the same designated area.

342. Position of the Republic (1848 etc.): *I am going to murder thee, but it is for thy own good*, as the executioner said to Don Carlos.

343. 2 June 1849 *Dufaure* (in the *Odilon Barrot* cabinet) took the *Interior* portfolio. The *Union Libérale* (1869) re-formed as in 1847. General Cavaignac pushed his candidacy for the presidency with all the fury of despair. Forced to raise the state of siege, on 29 October. He insulted the February revolution by calling to power 2 of Louis Philippe's ministers, *Dufaure* and *Vivien*: the Rue de Poitiers group had requested posts as guarantees etc. Messrs. Cavaignac and Marrast, who needed the support of the dynastics of the Assembly, agreed to give them positive guarantees, and a cabinet reshuffle took place. *Le National* handed over some portfolios to the old *third-party*. *Dufaure*, so often derided by the *National* for having refused to attend the Saintes banquet, where he wanted a toast proposed to Louis Philippe, was called to the Ministry of the Interior. As such, he did all he could to favor Cavaignac's candidacy. France was overrun with electoral agents and pamphlets eulogizing the great virtues of the general; they slandered and

quelques mois plus tard le ministre dévoué. On entravait les publications hostiles à Cavaignac en arrêtant leurs distributeurs. Dufaure retardait le départ des malle-postes pour faciliter l'envoi de bulletins favorisant la candidature de Cavaignac. Jamais l'intimidation et la corruption électorale ne furent exercées sur une plus large échelle.

Dufaure le ministre de l'état de siège de 1849. Il avait accepté un portefeuille déjà au lendemain d'une date néfaste, le 13 mai 1839, c'est-à-dire, qu'il avait été le ministre de la répression impitoyable exercée par le Gouvernement de Juillet, à la suite de la dernière prise d'armes du parti républicain. Le ministre du 13 mai 1839 était digne d'être le ministre du 13 juin 1849. 344

(Discussion sur l'Italie). 345

In der Session de 1848 (sous Louis-Philippe) Thiers: «Je suis du parti de la Révolution, tant en France qu'en Europe. Je souhaite que le gouvernement de la Révolution reste dans les mains des hommes modérés... Mais quand ce gouvernement passera dans les mains d'hommes ardents, fût-ce les radicaux, je n'abandonnerai pas ma cause pour cela. Je serai toujours du parti de la Révolution». 346

Capitulation de Metz. 347

Tamisier au 31 Octobre donna sa démission, alors Clément Thomas (nommé sous le mouvement réactionnaire du 1-er Novembre). Alors c'est lui qui a fait arrêter et révoquer tous les officiers révolutionnaires de la garde nationale, (c'est lui qui a mis en avant la lâcheté des Belleville men. Lemprière). A l'affaire 22 Janvier (les Bretons ont fusillé des gardes nationaux) (sur la place de l'Hôtel-de-ville) (Ce Résultat résultat de Montretout. (On parle dans les journaux officieusement de capi- 348

slung mud against the other candidates, especially Louis Bonaparte, whose devoted minister Dufaure was going to be a few months later. They obstructed publications hostile to Cavaignac by arresting their distributors. Dufaure used to hold up the departure of mail-coaches to facilitate the sending of bulletins favorable to Cavaignac's candidacy. Never were intimidation and electoral corruption practised on such a big scale.

344. Dufaure [was] the minister of the state of siege in 1849. He had already accepted a portfolio on the morrow of an ill-starred day, 13 May 1839, that is, he had been the minister of the pitiless suppression carried out by the July Government as a consequence of the last time the republican party took up arms. The minister of 13 May 1839 was worthy of being the minister of 13 June 1849.

345. (Discussion on Italy).

346. In the session of 1848 (under Louis Philippe) Thiers: "I am of the party of the Revolution, in France as much as in Europe. I wish the government of the Revolution to remain in the hands of moderate men... But when that government passes into the hands of passionate men, even if they are radicals, I shall not desert my cause for all that. I shall always be of the party of the Revolution."

347. Capitulation of Metz.

348. Tamisier on 31 October handed in his resignation, then Clément Thomas (appointed under the reactionary movement of 1 November). Then it was he [Thomas] who arrested and removed all the revolutionary officers of the National Guard, (it was he who put out the tale about the cowardice of the men of Belleville. Lemprière). In the 22 January affair (the Bretons had shot the National Guards) (on the Place de l'Hôtel-de-Ville) (This result was the result of Montretout. (Semi-officially the talk in the newspapers [was] of capitulation and armistice) (The armis-

[232] tulation et d'armistice) (l'armistice fait le 28 Janvier). (Démonstration sur la place de l'Hôtel-de-Ville) (tués et blessés). Clément Thomas joua un grand rôle là-dedans comme commandant en chef. (Pendant le siège il ne faisait rien que désorganiser la garde nationale. Il n'a jamais fait la guerre contre les Prussiens. 2 Décembre. Affaire de Champigny. Trochu faisait jouer un rôle ridicule à la Garde Nationale. Thomas était derrière Trochu qui venait pour haranguer les gardes de désister etc.)

10 March. Affiche rouge, adressée aux soldats, placardée aux soldats, placardée aujourd'hui au nom des délégués de la garde nationale: 349

«Il y a à Paris 300 000 gardes nationaux, et cependant on y fait entrer des troupes que l'on cherche à tromper sur l'esprit de la population parisienne. Les hommes qui ont organisé la défaite, démembré la France, livré tout notre or, *veulent échapper à la responsabilité* qu'ils ont assumée en excitant la guerre civile. Ils comptent que vous serez les dociles instruments du crime qu'ils méditent. Que veut le peuple de Paris? Il veut conserver ses armes, choisir lui-même ses chefs, et les révoquer quand il n'a plus confiance en eux. Il veut que l'armée soit renvoyée dans ses foyers».

17 March. Erklärung von 100 chefs de bataillons (votée unanimement 16 March): «firmly decided to repousser, by all possible means the attacks which they would dare to attempt against the Republic, et to oppose themselves equally to every attempt of disarming the national guard, the natural guard of the social pact, of ordre, and of public liberty». 350

Coup of 18 March to take Montmartre by nocturnal surprise.

19 March. Central Committee (20 members) (at Hôtel de Ville). Proclamation. «L'état de siège est levé. Le peuple de Paris est convoqué dans ses sections pour faire ses élections communales». Ditto aux 351

tice came on 28 January). (Demonstration on the Place de l'Hôtel-de-Ville) (people killed and wounded). Clément Thomas played a big role in all that as commander in chief. (During the siege he did nothing but disorganize the National Guard. He never did anything in the war against the Prussians. 2 December. Champigny affair. Trochu made the National Guard play a ridiculous role. Thomas was behind Trochu who came to harangue the Guards to desist etc.) — [This paragraph left unfinished by Marx, notes E.S.]

349. 10 March. Red poster, addressed to the soldiers, posted up for the soldiers, posted today in the name of the delegates of the National Guard:

"There are 300,000 National Guards in Paris, and yet troops are brought in whom they try to deceive about the spirit of the Parisian population. The men who organized the defeat, dismembered France, handed over all our gold, *want to escape the responsibility* they assumed by instigating the civil war. They count on your being the docile tools of the crime they are planning. What do the people of Paris want? They want to keep their arms, choose their leaders themselves, and remove them when they no longer have confidence in them. They want the army sent home."

350. 17 March. Declaration by 100 heads of battalions (voted unanimously on 16 March): "firmly decided to repel... [In the third line, et = and.]

351. "The state of siege is lifted. The people of Paris are called on in their sections to carry out their communal elections." Ditto to the National Guards:

Gardes Nationales: «Vous nous avez chargés d'organiser la défense de Paris et de vos droits... A ce moment notre mandat est expiré; nous vous le rapportons, car nous ne prétendons pas prendre la place de ceux que le souffle populaire vient de renverser».

20 Mars. *L'Assemblée vote l'état de siège du département de Seine et Oise*, proposé par E. Picard — une loi qui confère à des soldats mêmes le pouvoir judiciaire». 352

[234] 21 March. *Chanzu* — set free und General Langourian. The insurgents demand: election of Communal Council of Paris by popular vote; reorganisation of National Guard, popular elections of its officers; suppression of the Police Prefecture and control of police by the communal authorities. 353

Neither (!) party likes to give the signal for civil war!

21 March. Urgency to restore all the Bonapartist Council Generals voted. A Proclamation «to citizens and soldiers» voted, Peyrat wanted to add: «Vive la France! Vive la République.» Frantic roars of dissent from the Rurals. *Thiers*: «It might be a very legitimate proposal etc. (*Dissent of the Rurals*) *Jules Favre* made a harangue against the doctrine of the Republic being superior to Universal suffrage. Flattered the «rural» majority etc. *Thiers*: «Come what may he would not send an armed force to Paris».

21 March. *Official Journal of the Comité*: «Assembly only elected for a specific purpose, on the eve of the capitulation, when the territory was in the occupation of the enemy. The deputies of the départements occupied could not have been freely elected». Ausserdem «elected under reactionary influence». 354

22 March. Canrobert makes dignified advances to Thiers, by whom they have been received in a fitting manner.

23 March. *Versailles. Assemblée Nationale*. Maires of Paris (delegates for conciliation). Scandalous scene on their calling «Vive la République». The Assembly deliberately eliminated the words «Vive la République» from their proclamation to army and citizens. Selbe Sitzung speech of *Favre* does not know what «the despatch of the Prussian commander to the Central Committee means». Addresses platitudes to Prussia «qui veut bien ne pas douter de sa sincérité», menaces Paris with the fire and sword of Bismarck, «la coupable émeute de Paris à jamais maudite». 355 356 357 358

22 Mars. *Proclamation of Central Comité*: «Pour la première fois 359

"You have entrusted us with organizing the defense of Paris and of your rights... At this time our mandate has expired; we return it to you, for we do not claim to take the place of those whom the popular voice has just overthrown."

352. 20 March. *The Assembly votes the state of siege for the department of Seine-et-Oise*, proposed by E. Picard—a law which confers judicial powers on the soldiers themselves."

353. und: and.

354. *Comité*: the Central Committee of the National Guard.

355. Ausserdem: furthermore.

356. Selber Sitzung: Same session.

357. "which is willing not to doubt his sincerity"...

358. "the criminal outbreak in Paris, forever accursed."

359. 22 March. *Proclamation of Central Committee*: "For the first time since

depuis le 4 Septembre la République est affranchie du gouvernement de ses ennemis... à la cité une milice nationale qui défend les citoyens contre le pouvoir au lieu d'une armée permanente qui défend le pouvoir contre les citoyens».

The Versailles Government courts the assistance of the bitterest enemy of France to subdue rebellion.

Central Committee through its official journal declares that «the greater part of the war indemnity should be paid by the authors of the war».

[236] 27 March. Versailles. Thiers: «I found the Republic an accomplished fact». (Nachher wirds wieder hypothetical fact). 360

When on the 27 March the government had received news from defeat of commune at Lyons, it determined on attacking Paris.

Republicains. Paris 26 March. Left Rep. Party at Versailles, 120 members, resolved to support the Government, as long as it maintained the Republican platform. Maires and Deputies of Paris tried to prevent the elections of 26 March; had to give in. Versailles 9 April: tous les soirs réunion de la gauche dans la salle du Jeu de Paume. 361 362

25 March. Versailles Assemblée. The Bonapartist judges (ebenso vorher voted urgency of the reestablishment of the Bonapartist Conseils Généraux) who served on the mixed commissions of 1852 and made themselves degraded instruments of the Coup d'Etat by giving a semblance of legality to the transportation to Cayenne of the republicans on the black books of Louis Bonaparte, dismissed by Crémieux — reinstalled! Jules Favre has made a most atrocious attempt to provoke a civil war, and has caressed in a way which will never be forgotten, the idea of Prussian occupation of Paris to restore order. 363

27 March. Duc d'Aumale à Versailles. 364

Ende März — Anfang April. Exodus der party of order, 150 000 fled since the elections. 365

To the objection that our new governors, numbering 29, are unknown, the governors reply: «So were the 12 Apostles».

Circulaire Dufaures (Conciliation) 23. Avril, 1871. 366

Assemblée. 27. Avril: «Il n'y a contre la République bu'une cons- 367 piration, c'est celle qui est à Paris, et qui oblige à verser le sang français».

4 September the Republic is liberated from the government of its enemies... in the city a national militia which defends the citizens against the governmental power instead of a standing army which defends the governmental power against the citizens."

360. (Afterwards, becomes again [a] hypothetical fact).

361. Republicans. Paris, 26 March. Left Rep[ublican] Party...

362. Versailles, 9 April: every evening, meeting of the Left in the Jeu de Paume [Tennis-Court] hall.

363. 25 March. Versailles Assembly. The Bonapartist judges (just as previously voted urgency of the re-establishment of the Bonapartist General Councils)...

364. 27 March. Duke d'Aumale at Versailles.

365. End of March—beginning of April. Exodus of the party of order...

366. Dufaure's circular (Conciliation) 23 April 1871.

367. Assembly. 27 April: "There is nothing confronting the Republic but a conspiracy, it is the one which is at Paris, and which obliges us to shed French blood."

«Je le repète à satiété... Que ces armes impies tombent des mains 368
qui les tiennent, et le châtiment s'arrêtera sur le champ; devient un acte
de paix, excepté à l'égard des criminels qui, heureusement, ne sont pas
très nombreux. (Mouvements sur divers bancs à droite)»... *Thiers*: «Mes-
sieurs, dites-le-moi, je vous en supplie, est-ce que j'ai tort? Est-ce que
vous avez regret que j'aie pu dire que les criminels sont peu nombreux?...
N'est-il pas heureux, heureux dans ce malheur, que ceux qui ont pu
verser le sang de Clément Thomas et du général Lecomte soient des ra-
retés?»

[238] *Assemblée du 18 mai* Francfort traité, 10 Mai, 1871. Angenommen 369
in der Versammlung vom 18. Mai, votants: 588: pour 490, contre 98.

22 Mai «Je vous disais, il y a quelques jours, nous marchons vers 370
le but. Aujourd'hui, je viens vous dire le but est atteint». (21 Mai entry
of General Douay par la porte de St. Cloud.)

16 Mai Thiers's maison détruite. 371

Séance du 11 Mai 372

21 March «Come what may I will not send an armed force to Paris»,
while Jules Favre menaced «the coupable émeute de Paris a jamais 373
maudite» with the fire and sword of Bismarck.

27 March «I found the Republic an accomplished fact», goes on with
his peace etc., aber beschliesst to go on the same day after having receiv- 374
ed news of the defeat of the Commune at Lyons.

Mystères du couvent de Picpus. (Mot d'Ordre. 5 May). 375

Couvent de Picpus, faubourg St. Antoine. Perquisitions there have 376
led to the discovery of an atrocious crime. In a cell of some square feet
there were found three nuns there shut up for 9 years. In consequence of
this long sequestration they have become idiots. The oldest, 73 years,
installed at the casern of Rueilly under the protection of the National 377
guard; the 2 others, one about 40 and the other about 30 years taken care
of in the private houses of citizens. Des fouilles opérées dans le couvent 378
have led to the discovery of different skeletons and bones of children
buried in the soil.

368. "I repeat it to satiety... Let these impious arms fall from the hands which
hold them, and the punishment will stop at once; becomes an act of peace, except
with regard to the criminals who, fortunately, are not very numerous. (Stirrings
on various benches on the Right)"... *Thiers*: "Gentlemen, tell me, I implore you,
am I wrong? Do you regret that I could say that the criminals are far from numer-
ous?... Is it not fortunate, fortunate amidst this misfortune, that those who
could shed the blood of Clément Thomas and General Lecomte are rarities?"

369. *Assembly of 18 May* Frankfort treaty, 10 May 1871. Adopted in the Assembly
of 18 May, voting: 588; in favor 490; against 98.

370. 22 May "I told you a few days ago, we are marching toward the goal. Today,
come here to tell you the goal has been reached." (21 May entry of General
Douay via the gate of St. Cloud.

371. 16 May Thiers's house destroyed.

372. *Session of 11 May*

373. "the criminal outbreak in Paris, forever accursed"...

374. ...his peace etc., but decides to go on...

375. *Mysteries of the Picpus convent. (Mot d'Ordre. 5 May).*

376. *Picpus convent...*

377. casern (Fr. *caserne*): barracks.

378. Excavations made in the convent...

379.
380.
381.
monast
treati
Capuch
382.
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This monastery (couvent) of Picpus an immense property. — The oldest was in a small cage... Starved, whipped, all because she wanted to leave the cloyster and return to her family. Love Affaire with Father Raphael. When she had got leave to go, she was caught on her departure, and shut up... In two cages, smaller and much more low than those in which the leopards of the Jardin des Plantes. In it un miserable grabat sur lequel les malheureuses ont passé 9 ans. 379

In a small jardin situated plus au fond du jardin *instruments of torture* (as found in the caves of the Inquisition in Spain and at Rome...). 380
A souterrain leading from the couvent des soeurs de Picpus avec un établissement de religieux situé tout en face de l'autre côté de la rue. 381
Le traité sur les avortements que l'on a trouvé chez la supérieure est du père Bousquet, capucin.

Dans les souterrains de l'Eglise de St. Laurent un espace de plus de 20 mètres cubes remplis d'ossements humains. Plus loin, quelques squelettes, remontant à une date plus récente. 382

379. In it a miserable pallet on which the unfortunate women spent 9 years.

380. In a small garden situated at the farther end of the garden...

381. An underground passage leading from the convent of the Picpus sisters to a monastic institution situated right across on the other side of the street. The treatise on abortions found at the mother superior's is by Father Bousquet, a Capuchin.

382. In the underground passages of the Church of St. Laurent a space of more than 20 cubic meters filled with human bones. Further on, some skeletons, of a more recent date.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE I.

Dates in French History

1789-1871

mentioned by Marx and Engels in their writings on the Paris Commune

(This table is intended only as a practical aid to the reading of Marx and Engels, and not as a systematic chronology of French history. Included also are a few dates concerning Prussia and the development of the First International.)

THE GREAT FRENCH REVOLUTION

1789	May 5	Estates-General meets in Versailles.
	June 17	Third Estate forms itself into National Assembly.
	June 20	"Tennis Court Oath" in Jeu de Paume.
	July 14	Storming of the Bastille (Bastille Day).
	Aug. 27	Declaration of the Rights of Man.
	Oct. 5-6	Mass march on Versailles; liberal monarchical constitution.
1790	July 14	Reorganization of government structure; king accepts constitution.
1791	June 20-25	Flight of the king to Varennes; he is captured and returned.
	Sept. 30	Dissolution of the National Assembly.
	Oct. 1	Legislative Assembly elected.
1792	April	War of the First European Coalition against France begins.
	Aug. 10	Storming of the Tuileries; government falls.
	Sept. 20	French military victory at Valmy: turning-point in war.
	Sept. 21	National Convention meets; France declared a republic.
	Sept. 22	First day of the First Republic.
1793	Jan. 21	Execution of Louis XVI.
	Feb. 1	France at war with Britain, Holland, Spain.
	March	Royalist peasant revolt in the Vendée.
	Apr. 6	Committee of Public Safety established.
	June 22	Constitution of 1793 sent for ratification.
	July 13	Assassination of Marat.
1793-94		"Reign of Terror"; "Cult of Reason"; levée en masse; establishment of "Revolutionary Calendar"; suppression of <i>Enragés</i> .
1794	July 27	Fall of Robespierre (on 9 Thermidor).
1794-95		Power of Paris Commune and Jacobin clubs broken by "Thermidoreans"; some monarchists return.
1795	Mar. 5	Peace with Prussia; treaty of Basel.

THE NAPOLEONIC PERIOD (1795-1814)

1795	Aug. 22	The Directory established: power vested in Directory of five; Bonaparte in command of troops.
1796-98		Military campaigns by Napoleon.
1798	Dec. 24	War of the Second European Coalition against France begins.
1799	Nov. 9	Coup d'état by Napoleon (on 18 Brumaire); Directory overthrown; Napoleon becomes First Consul (the Consulate).

1804 May

1805

1806 Jul
Aug

1806-07

1806 Oct

1807 Jul

1807-11

1808-14

1809

1812

1813-14

1814 A

1814 M

1814-1

1815

1824-3

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1831

1834

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1847

- 1804 May 18 Napoleon proclaimed Emperor (First Empire—till 1814).
- 1805 War of the Third European Coalition against France.—Oct. 21: Battle of Trafalgar.—Dec. 2: Battle of Austerlitz.
- 1806 July 12 Confederation of the Rhine established.
Aug. 6 End of the Holy Roman Empire.
- 1806-07 France at war with Prussia and Russia.
- 1806 Oct. 14 Battle of Jena.
- 1807 July 7-9 Treaties of Tilsit, with Prussia and Russia.
- 1807-11 Stein-Hardenburg liberalizing reforms in Prussia.
- 1808-14 Peninsular War: France vs. Britain (Britain aiding the Spanish and Portuguese).
- 1809 France at war with Austria.—July 5-6: Battle of Wagram.—Oct. 14: Treaty of Schönbrunn ends war.
- 1812 French invasion of Russia.—Sept. 15-19: Burning of Moscow.—Oct.-Nov.: Napoleon's retreat from Moscow.
- 1813-14 German "wars of liberation" against Napoleon.
- 1814 Apr. 11 Napoleon abdicates; exiled to Elba.

THE RESTORATION MONARCHY (1814-1830)

- 1814 May 3 Louis XVIII enters Paris.
- 1814-15 Congress of Vienna.
- 1815 Mar. 1 Napoleon lands in France. The Hundred Days: Mar. 20 to June 29.
—Exile to St. Helena.
- Aug. 22 First parliamentary election under Restoration; the new parliament ("*Chambre introuvable*") is ultra-royalist, reactionary.
- Sept. 26 Holy Alliance formed (Russia, Prussia, Austria).
- 1824-30 Reign of Charles X.

THE "JULY MONARCHY" OF LOUIS PHILIPPE (1830-48)

- 1830 July 28 Outbreak of the "July revolution."
Aug. 7 Louis Philippe, Duke of Orléans, proclaimed king by parliamentary rump.
- 1831 Feb. 14-15 Anti-Legitimist riot in Paris.
Nov. Workers' insurrection in Lyons.
- 1834 Apr. 13-14 Repression of revolts in Paris.
- 1835 Sept. "September Laws" for control of press.
- 1836 Feb.-Sep. First ministry of Thiers.
- 1839 May 12 Blanquist putsch in Paris suppressed.
- 1840 Mar.-Oct. Second ministry of Thiers.
- 1847-48 Campaign of political "banquets" by parliamentary opposition.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 AND THE SECOND REPUBLIC

- 1848 Feb. 22 The "February revolution" in Paris.
 Feb. 24 Louis Philippe abdicates; republic proclaimed.
 June 23-26 Workers' insurrection in Paris; Cavaignac dictatorship.
 Dec. 10 Louis Bonaparte elected President of the republic.
- 1849 Apr.-June French attack on the Roman Republic.
 June 13 Abortive demonstration by Ledru-Rollin's Radicals suppressed.
- 1851 Dec. 2 Coup d'état by Louis Bonaparte.
 Dec. 21 Plebiscite held by Bonaparte.

THE SECOND EMPIRE (1852-1870)

- 1852 Nov. 2 Empire proclaimed with Louis Bonaparte as Napoleon III.
- 1854 Mar. 28 France at war with Russia (Crimean War).
- 1859 France and Piedmont at war with Austria.
- 1861-67 French invasion of Mexico.
- 1864 Sept. 28 First International founded at St. Martin's Hall, London.
- 1865 Sept. 25-29 London Conference of the International.
- 1866 June 14 War between Prussia and Austria.
 July 3 Battle of Sadowa: Prussia victorious over Austria.
 Sep. 3-8 First Congress of the International, Geneva.
- 1867 Sep. 2-8 Second Congress of the International, Lausanne.
- 1868 Mar.-May French government persecution of International in France, arrests, trials.
 Sep. 6-15 Third congress of the International, Brussels.
- 1869 Sep. 6-12 Fourth Congress of the International, Basel.
- 1870 Jan. 10 Republican journalist Victor Noir shot by Prince Pierre Bonaparte; demonstrations.
 Apr. 30 Government begins arrests of International leaders (3rd attack).
 May 8 Bonaparte holds plebiscite on "liberalized" Empire.
 June-July Trial of arrested Internationalists.
 July 19 Beginning of Franco-Prussian war: France declares war.
 July 23 First Address of the General Council of the International on the war.
 Aug. 4-6 First Prussian victories in war.
 Aug. 6 Anti-government demonstrations in Paris.
 Aug. 7 State of siege imposed on Paris.
 Aug. 8-9 Demonstrations; Palikao ministry replaces Ollivier.
 Aug. 14 Blanquist putsch in La Villette section of Paris.
 Aug. 14-18 Gen. Bazaine's army encircled by Prussians in Metz; siege of Metz.
 Sep. 1-2 Battle of Sedan; French forces captured, Emperor taken (Sep. 2), held at Wilhelmshöhe (Sep. 5, 1870 to Mar. 19, 1871).
 Sep. 4 Mass demonstrations in Paris at news of Sedan. Third Republic proclaimed by parliamentary rump; "Government of National Defense" (Favre, Gambetta, Trochu).
 Sep. 8 Government postpones elections.
 Sep. 9 Second Address of the General Council of the International on the war.
 Sep. 15 Favre leaves to negotiate with Bismarck.
 Sep. 19 Siege of Paris by Prussians begins.

- Sep. 22 National Guard delegates and city leaders demand election of an autonomous Commune of Paris.
- Sep. 28 Bakunin's putsch in Lyons ("abolition of the state").
- Oct. 5 Attempt at seizure of Paris City Hall by Flourens's battalion of National Guards.
- Oct. 27 Gen. Bazaine surrenders Metz ("treason").
- Oct. 30 Thiers returns from tour of European courts, agrees with Favre to go for armistice.
- Oct. 31 Attempt at revolutionary putsch in Paris.
- Nov. 1-2 Commune established at Marseilles for two days.
- Nov. 3 Plebiscite held by Government of National Defense.
- Nov. 4 Demonstrations in Lyons.
- Nov. 5 Paris election for mayors (of arrondissements); government starts crackdown on popular leaders. Clément Thomas named head of National Guard.
- Nov. 9+ Army of the Loire has initial successes against Prussians, then suffers reverses.
- 1871 Jan. 5 Prussians start bombardment of Paris.
- Jan. 7 National Guard puts up posters demanding a Commune.
- Jan. 15-17 Gen. Bourbaki defeated by Prussians at Héricourt.
- Jan. 18 King of Prussia, Wilhelm I, proclaimed German Emperor at Versailles.
- Jan. 19 Parisian forces beaten in battle of Buzenval.
- Jan. 22 Blanquist-led putsch suppressed in Paris.
- Jan. 23 Government repression intensifies: left-wing clubs banned; 17 newspapers suppressed. Favre begins negotiations for capitulation of Paris.
- Jan. 28 Capitulation of Paris; armistice agreement.
- Jan. 31 Gambetta decrees Bonapartist officials ineligible for election; Bismarck protests, Paris government capitulates to him.
- Feb. 6 Gambetta resigns from the government.
- Feb. 8 Elections to the National Assembly.
- Feb. 13 New National Assembly meets at Bordeaux with big reactionary majority (Assembly of the "Rurals").
- Feb. 15 Assembly abolishes 30-sous payment of National Guards.—Paris Federal Committee of the International reorganizes.
- Feb. 17 Thiers elected Chief of the Executive Power.
- Feb. 19 Thiers forms his ministry.
- Feb. 24 Central Committee of the National Guard set up by 2000 delegates of battalions.
- Feb. 26 Preliminary peace treaty with Prussia signed by Thiers and Favre; adopted by National Assembly Feb. 28.—National Guard transfers its cannon to Montmartre and Belleville to avoid seizure by the Prussians.
- Mar. 1-3 Prussian troops occupy outskirts of Paris and certain forts (also, for a couple of days, the Champs Elysées).
- Mar. 3 National Guard assembly of delegates, at Vauxhall, adopts statutes of the Republican Federation of the National Guard and elects an executive committee.—Thiers names Gen. d'Aurelle de Paladines to be commander of National Guard.
- Mar. 8 Thiers government tries unsuccessfully to seize cannon of National Guard in the Luxembourg.
- Mar. 10 National Assembly adopts "Dufaure's Laws," on bill payments, hitting the poor.—Assembly votes to transfer seat to Versailles.
- Mar. 11 Death sentences pronounced against Blanqui and Flourens in violation of government promises of Oct. 31.—National Assembly adjourns.

- Mar. 13 Central Committee of National Guard ratified by 215 battalions out of 270, elected.
- Mar. 14 *Paris-Journal* publishes article about a (forged) letter by Marx; the fake letter itself published on the 19th.
- Mar. 15 Fourth assembly of National Guard: list of Central Committee members is definitively proclaimed.
- Mar. 16 National Guard repulses government attempt to seize its cannon in Place des Vosges.—Valentin named Paris prefect of police by the government.

CHRONO

MARCH

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APRIL

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2

Glossary

accoucheur: obstetrician; medical attendant at birth.

arrondissement: one of the 20 administrative divisions of Paris, each headed by its "mayor" (maire).

Assemblée: Assembly.

avril: April.

bataillon: battalion.

Bourse: stock exchange.

canaille: Collectively: rabble, riffraff; individually: scoundrel, blackguard.

Chambres Syndicales: in this usage, trade associations (of employers).

Chassepot: breech-loading rifle, the best then available in France.

Chouannerie: pro-royalist movement of peasants in 1793.

cocottes: loose women; kept women; courtesans; "higher prostitutes" (Marx).

curé: priest.

Décembriseur: a supporter of Louis Bonaparte's coup d'état or regime.

enceinte: city walls.

f., fcs.: francs (abbrev.)

fait accompli: accomplished fact.

franc-fileur: absconder; one of the people who fled from Paris.

Hôtel de Ville: city hall.

képi: peaked military cap.

levée en masse: mass arming of the people.

mai: May (the month).

maire: mayor (see arrondissement).

mairie: town hall; borough hall.

mars: March (the month).

mitraille: grapeshot; rain of bullets.

mitrailleuse: machine-gun.

Mont-de-Piété: municipal pawnshop.

octroi: tax levied by a city on goods brought in for sale.

partageux: divider-up, "communist."

préfet: prefect.

rappel: call to arms.

rond-point: circular intersection of several roads.

ruraux: "rurals," i.e. reactionary provincial landlords.

sou: small coin, "penny."

Ternes: Paris district north of the Etoile.

Triboulet: a Victor Hugo character, the tragic-buffoon type.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE II.

The 72 Days of the Paris Commune

MARCH 18 to MAY 28, 1871, with an EPILOGUE

(All entries, unless otherwise specified, refer to Paris and its Commune—not to Versailles, the Prussians, etc. Dates refer to events, not to the date of publication in the Commune press or elsewhere; in general, the date of publication in the *Journal Officiel* was the following day. — Abbreviations: N.G. = National Guard. C.C. of N.G. = Central Committee of National Guard. J.O. = *Journal Officiel*.)

MARCH

- 18 (Saturday) Government sends armed force to Butte Montmartre to seize cannon belonging to Paris N.G.; troops fraternize with the people; mass action in the streets; Gen. Lecomte and Clément Thomas killed; C.C. of N.G. installs itself in City Hall.
- 19 First proclamation of C.C. sets Communal election for Mar. 22; raises state of siege; amnesty for political prisoners.—Group of mayors (of arrondissements) and deputies reject authority of C.C. and claim control.—Thiers names Admiral Saisset to replace Gen. d'Aurelle de Paladines as N.G. commander.
- 20 National Assembly reconvenes at Versailles; names commission of 15 to aid (and watch) Thiers in putting down Paris.—First issue of *Journal Officiel de la République Française* issued under auspices of C.C. (material in this issue is dated Mar. 19).
- 21 Statutes of Republican Federation of N.G. published in J.O.—Communal election postponed to May 23.—Demonstration by pro-Versailles "Friends of Order" dispersed by N.G., Place de la Bourse.—Versailles government occupies Fort Mont-Valérien (outside Paris, on road to Versailles).
- 22 Second and more aggressive armed demonstration and march of "Friends of Order" broken up at Place de Vendôme.—Commune established in Lyons.
- 23 Commune established in Marseilles.
- 24 Conciliation move by Paris mayors rejected by Versailles.—Communes established in Narbonne, Toulouse, Saint-Etienne.
- 25 Paris mayors accept principle of immediate Communal election.—Commune in Lyons falls.
- 26 Commune election held, without incident.—Commune established in Creusot.
- 27 Commune in Toulouse falls.
- 28 Commune of Paris officially proclaimed, installed in City Hall.—Commune in Saint-Etienne falls.
- 29 Decrees: abolition of conscription; formation of 10 commissions (equivalent of ministries); deferral of rent payments; sale of pawned goods suspended; gambling banned.
- 30 Election Commission validates election of foreigners to Commune.—Decree: Commune members are administrators of their arrondissements.
- 31 Commune in Narbonne falls.

APRIL

- 1 Maximum salary for all functionaries fixed at 6000 fr. per year.—Delegate for Bibliothèque Nationale issues order on safeguarding library.
- 2 First attack by Versailles forces, on Courbevoie.—Decree: separation of church and state.

- 3 Three columns of N.G. march on Versailles; Bergeret's column dispersed by fire from Fort Mont-Valérien; Flourens killed; Gen. Galliffet massacres Federal prisoners.—Cluseret named Delegate for War.
- 4 Federal forces retreat; Duval captured and shot.—Hostages arrested, including Archbishop Darboy and Deguerry.—Commune at Marseilles defeated by government troops, who take over on the 5th.
- 5 Decree: persons in collusion with Versailles to be held as hostages.
- 6 Commune issues appeal to provinces.—Versailles names MacMahon as head of armed forces.—Commune burns guillotine in public ceremony.
- 7 Decree: rank of general abolished.—Dombrowski named Paris staff headquarters commander.—(Apr. 7-8) Delegates of Chambres Syndicales (employer associations) fail in conciliation attempt at Versailles.
- 8 Formation of a Commission on Barricades is announced.—Favre goes to Prussian headquarters at Rouen to negotiate release of French prisoners of war in order to strengthen Versailles forces.
- 9 Regulations on democratic organizations and discipline of N.G. issued.—First bombardment of Paris by Versaillese.
- 10 Decree: pension for family of soldiers killed in defense of Commune.—Commune Executive Committee issues statement vindicating choice of a foreigner, the Pole Dombrowski, as Paris commander, as "a soldier devoted to the Universal Republic."—Conciliation effort by representatives of Freemasons rebuffed by Versailles.
- 11 Decree: election of disciplinary councils in N.G.—A meeting establishes Union of Women for organization of *citoyennes* in defense of Paris.
- 12 Decree: demolition of Vendôme Column as symbol of militarism and "false glory"; suspension of prosecution for non-payment of debts.—Pierre Leroux dies of a strike, in Paris.—Paris Federal Council of International expels Tolain.—Negotiations with Versailles on exchange of Blanqui for archbishop and other hostages.—Federals under Dombrowski counterattack.
- 14 Decree: safeguards against arbitrary arrest.—Commune Executive sets up commission of inquiry on "the dictatorship of September 4 [1870]" and capitulation of Paris.—Federation of Artists founded at meeting convened by Courbet and Pottier under Commune auspices.—Report of Union Républicaine on failure of conciliation attempt with Versailles published in J.O.—(Night of Apr. 14-15) Heavy fighting for Fort Vanves; Versaillese repulsed.
- 15 J.O. begins regular publication of Commune proceedings (first report is on Apr. 13 session).—Order issued forbidding riders to gallop horses through the streets, to prevent accidents.
- 16 Supplementary election held, to fill vacant seats in Commune.—Decree: calling for plan to operate abandoned workshops by workers' cooperatives; head of a N.G. legion (of arrondissement) is subordinate to Commune member (for that arrondissement) and the two posts cannot be combined.—Pro-Commune demonstrations in Grenoble and Bordeaux.
- 17 Decree: 3-year moratorium on debts and bill payments.—Reorganization of School of Medicine planned.—Federation of Artists meeting in Louvre elects commission of 47 (painters include Courbet, Corot, Daumier, Manet, Millet).—Academy of Sciences holds regular session in Paris as if nothing had happened.—Versailles forces begin offensive.
- 18 Decree: against arbitrary arrest.—Suppression of four pro-Versailles papers for advocating civil war against Commune.
- 19 Programmatic manifesto, "Declaration to the French People," issued by Commune.—Results of Apr. 16 supplementary election ratified.—Versailles adopts "Dufaure Law" for control of press.
- 20 Corps of "aeronauts" (balloonists) formed.—Executive decrees abolition of night work by bakers.—Executive reorganized to consist of heads of nine commissions.—Versailles Assembly bitterly rejects Brunet proposal for pacification commission.

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- 21 Commune refuses to act on F. Pyat's resignation.—Federals under Dombrowski gain in fighting around Clichy.—Announce that Bibliothèque Nationale will be reopened Apr. 24; employees' exemption from military service continued.
- 22 Special tribunal of public safety is instituted.
- 23 Decree: notaries, bailiffs and other municipal officers to receive a fixed salary and turn over all fees to Commune.
- 24 Decree: requisition of vacant lodgings for use by people bombed out of their homes.—Rigault resigns as head of police commission after Commune discussion of right of police to hold prisoners in close custody not open to visit by Commune members; replaced by Cournet; Ferré, following Rigault, resigns from the commission.—Commission on Labor announces that, beginning Apr. 26, a headquarters will be available for trade unions to carry on their work, especially the implementation of the Apr. 16 decree on use of abandoned workshops.
- 25 Cease-fire for several hours to allow evacuation of civilians from Neuilly.—Four Federal soldiers captured at Belle-Epine shot out of hand by Versailles officer.
- 26 Commission on external relations announces order on protection of persons and possessions of foreigners.—Rigault named Public Prosecutor.—Freemasons announce Versailles has rejected conciliation, promise support to Commune after a last test (see Apr. 29).
- 27 Decree: demolition of Bréa church (memorial to government massacre of June 1848 massacre).
- 28 Decree: forbids fines and deductions from wages and salaries.—Commune begins three-day debate on proposal to set up Committee of Public Safety.—Executive decree: confirms and further defines abolition of night work in bakeries.—Commission established to organize system of secular elementary and vocational schools.
- 29 Freemasons (as announced Apr. 26) plant their banners on ramparts to test Versailles's desire for peace.—Fort Issy evacuated by Federal soldiers without any attack.—Elie Reclus named new director of Bibliothèque Nationale.—J.O. announces Federation of Artists has established a commission for theater and concert benefits.
- 30 Cluseret recalled as Delegate for War, arrested; replaced by Rossel.—Federal troops reoccupy Fort Issy.—Pro-Commune demonstration by the Alliance Républicaine des Départements, Place du Louvre.—Municipal elections held in the provinces by Versailles government, show republican gains.

MAY

- 1 Commune votes 45-23 to establish Committee of Public Safety of five (beginning of Majority-Minority schism).—(Night of May 1-2) Versailles troops capture Clamart station.
- 2 Reorganization of the Seine river gunboat battalion of the N.G.
- 3 Decree: confirms abolition of night work in bakeries and prescribes penalties.—Education Commission appoints administrator to return Museum of Natural History to operation.—(Night of May 3-4) Versailles forces surprise garrison at redoubt of Moulin Saquet, massacre many in their sleep.—Clamart station reoccupied by N.G.
- 4 Decree: abolition of political and occupational oaths.
- 5 C.C. of N.G. is put in charge of administration of military services, introducing ambiguity in authority.—Decree: demolition of the Chapel of Atone-ment of Louis XVI.—Seven pro-Versailles papers suppressed.—Commune member Blanchet (alias of Stanislas Pourille) exposed as police agent, resigns, arrested.
- 6 Decree: free return of goods pawned at Mont-de-Piété.—Education Commission announces opening soon of first vocational school for youth.—Manifesto of Union of Women for the defense of Paris.

- 8 Decree: fixing price of bread; limiting powers of C.C. of N.G. in military administration.—Federals abandon Fort Issy. (Versaillese occupy it next day.)—Versailles government issues ultimatum to Paris; bans congress of municipal delegates scheduled for Bordeaux by Ligue Patriotique des Villes Républicaines.
- 9 Committee of Public Safety membership changed.—Rossel resigns as Delegate for War; C.C. of N.G. decides Rossel should be dictator.—J.O. publishes report (partial) of Federal Commission of Artists on reorganization of fine arts.
- 10 Delescluze named Delegate for War to succeed Rossel, who is to be arrested and tried; Rossel flees.—Decree: seizure of Thiers's property in Paris and demolition of his house.—Thiers government signs final peace treaty with Germany at Frankfurt.
- 11 Education Commission (Vaillant) issues order abolishing religious symbols in schools.—Six periodicals are suppressed.
- 12 Decree: revision of all contracts entered into by Commune; civil tribunal for summary dispensation of justice.—Vésinier named editor of J.O.
- 13 Ferré named to head police commission instead of Cournet.—Versailles forces occupy Fort Vanves.
- 14 Decree by Committee of Public Safety: every citizen will be required to carry a card of identification.
- 15 Commune Minority (22 members) issue a public manifesto attacking Majority for setting up a dictatorship in Committee for Public Safety, announce withdrawal from Commune sessions; manifesto published in press on 16th.
- 16 Decree by Committee of Public Safety: civil commissars appointed for each of the three military commanders (Dombrowski, La Cécilia, Wroblewski).—Vendôme Column is pulled down in public ceremony.—Versailles Assembly rejects recognition of the republic.
- 17 Bitter debate at Commune over Minority manifesto; part of Minority attends; Federal Council of International calls meeting for 20th to discuss the schism.—Abolition of distinction between legitimate and illegitimate wives in payment of pensions.—Cartridge factory of Avenue Rapp blows up.—Education Commission (Vaillant) calls for organization of vocational school system.
- 18 Committee of Public Safety decrees suppression of 10 papers; no new papers to be published till end of war.—Decree calls for secularization of all schools in 48 hours.—C.C. of Union of Women convenes meeting of women workers to form trade-union organizations.—Versailles Assembly ratifies Treaty of Frankfurt of May 10.
- 19 Decree: establishes accounting commission as check against corruption.—Rigault holds first trial of Versailles prisoners to decide whom to hold as hostages.
- 20 Federal Council of International, in special session, approves views of Minority but insists on unity in Commune.—Decree: theaters are under control of Education Commission, not to be monopolized by any theatrical or other group.
- 21 Cluseret is tried before Commune and freed. (Last regular meeting of Commune.) —Versaillese forces enter Paris by St. Cloud gate, on signal from a traitor, and occupy two sections of the city.
- 22 Beginning of *la Semaine Sanglante* (Bloody Week). Barricades rise in workers' districts. Delescluze issues "fatal proclamation" encouraging disregard of military discipline. Versaillese reach Champs Elysées, exterior boulevards, come up against barricades in Batignolles.
- 23 Prussians allow Versailles troops their zone to outflank Montmartre. Versaillese take Batignolles and Montmartre; begin massacre of unarmed people, including women and children. Women's Battalion retreats from Place Blanche.

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Dombrowski fatally wounded. Great fires begin. Rigault has four hostages shot.

- 24 City Hall evacuated; Federals move headquarters to mairie of 11th arrondissement. Versailles occupy center of Paris; take Latin Quarter; Rigault killed. Wroblewski holds firm at Butte-aux-Cailles.—Ferré signs order to execute six hostages; Archbishop Darboy, Deguerry, and four others shot. Last issue of J.O.
- 25 Versailles level heavy attack on Butte-aux-Cailles, Château-d'Eau; occupy most of Paris, except 19th and 20th arrondissements and parts of 11th and 12th. Summary massacre in streets by Versailles troops becomes general. Delescluze dies on the barricades. Commune members evacuate headquarters; last Commune meeting of any kind.
- 26 Versailles take Bastille; shoot deputy Millière. Federal forces fall back on Belleville. Federal headquarters moved to Rue Haxo (Cité Vincennes), taken over by C.C. of N.G. About 50 hostages executed by Federal soldiers with no official authorization.
- 27 Last mass struggle in Belleville; Buttes Chaumont taken by Versailles; bloodiest massacre by Versailles troops at Père Lachaise cemetery, at the Wall (now *Mur des Fédérés*).
- 28 Last resistance around district of Rue du Faubourg-du-Temple, Boulevard de Belleville; last barricade in Rue Ramponneau. Order reigns in Paris over 30,000 corpses.

EPILOGUE

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|------|------------|--|
| 1871 | May 29 | Fort of Vincennes capitulates. |
| | May 30 | In London, Marx reads <i>The Civil War in France</i> to General Council of the International, which adopts it unanimously. |
| | June | Mass executions of thousands by Versailles continue into the first days of June. Summary executions continue to middle of June. |
| | July | "Restoration of order" continues with mass arrests. Supplementary elections show 100,000 fewer electors in Paris than in February. |
| | Aug. 7 | Government begins show-trial of captured Communard leaders. (Sentences rendered Sep. 2.) |
| | Sep. 17-23 | London Conference of the International. |
| | Nov. 28 | Ferré and others executed at Satory. |
| 1874 | June 6 | Last of the "legal" executions of Communards. (But condemnations to prison, deportation, etc. continues for years.) |
| 1876 | May 18 | Chamber of Deputies (after an election won by the Radical "left") rejects amnesty 396-50. |
| 1879 | Mar. 3 | Partial amnesty law voted. |
| 1880 | July 11 | Total amnesty voted. |

Name Index

This Index applies only to Marx's Notebook, not to the Chronologies or Introduction. All persons listed are French unless otherwise specified. "(n.m.i.)" = No more information available. In some cases, where the information is available, the usual first name used has been indicated by putting all others in brackets. The short form "Vers. dep. '71" = deputy in the Versailles National Assembly in 1871.

- Adam, [Antoine] Edmond, 1816-77. Left-repub. politician and editor. 16, 46.
 Affre, Denis Auguste, 1793-1848. Archbishop of Paris, killed during June 1848 uprising. 70
 Amélie: *see* Marie-Amélie.
 Andrieu [erron. Andrieux], Jules Louis, 1820-84. Elected Commune member; head of Public Services & member of Executive. 67
 Assi, Adolphe Alphonse, 1841-86. Machinist, of Italian origin; strike leader, N.G. commandant; elected Commune member. 28
 Audiffret-Pasquier, Edme Armand Gaston, duc d', 1823-1905. Orleanist politician; Vers. dep. '71. 79
 Aumale, Henri Eugène Philippe Louis d'Orléans, duc d', 1822-97. Fourth son of Louis Philippe; Vers. dep. '71. 27, 29, 34, 61, 74, 75, 79, 89
 Aurelle de Paladines, Louis Jean Baptiste d', 1804-77. General; clericalist; named commander of Paris N.G. Mar. 3, '71; Vers. dep. '71. 8, 11, 13, 15, 16, 65, 74.
 Banville: *see* Bouville.
 Barail: *see* Barral.
 Barral [erron. Barail], du (n.m.i.). General, commander of Versailles camp at Satory. 31
 Barrot, Odilon, 1791-1873. Orleanist politician, liberal monarchist; pres. Council of State under Thiers 1871. 37, 84, 85
 Baze, Jean Didier, 1800-81. Conservative repub. politician; Vers. dep. '71. 22
 Bergeret, Jules, 1830-1905. N.G. commandant; staff officer who dispersed Place Vendôme demonstration Mar. 22, 1871; elected Commune member. 24, 25, 36, 37, 39
 Bernard, Aristide Martin, 1808-83. Anti-Bonapartist republican; leftist Vers. dep. '71. 16
 Beslay, Charles, 1795-1878. Proudhonist businessman; elected Commune member; Delegate for Bank of France, which he protected. 56, 79
 Bismarck, Otto, Fürst von, 1815-98. Pomeranian Junker; chancellor of Prussia and German Empire 1862-90. 23, 25, 27, 34, 62, 81, 88, 90
 Bisson (n.m.i.). Bonapartist general. 71
 Blanc, Louis, 1811-82. Early state-socialistic social-democrat; member Provisional Govt. of 1848 ("National Workshops"); leftist Vers. dep. '71. 16, 46, 78, 81f
 Blanqui, Louis Auguste, 1805-81. Main leader of revolutionary secret societies, putschist Jacobin socialist, from 1830s on. 10, 80
 Bomba: *see* Ferdinand II.
 Bonaparte, Louis Napoléon, 1808-73. Nephew of Napoleon I; later Napoleon III, 1852-70. 29, 34, 44, 76, 84, 85, 89
 Bouis, Casimir, 1843-1916. Blanquist lawyer & journalist; Communard. 55
 Bourbaki, Charles Denis Sauter, 1816-97. General; led Army of the East under Thiers in 1870. 71
 Bousquet, père (n.m.i.). 91
 Bouville [erron. Banville], Louis Alexandre Henri, comte de, 1814-188?. Bonapartist official. 87
 Brisson, Eugène Henri, 1835-1912. Republican politician; Vers. dep. '71. 16, 46
 Bruat (n.m.i.). Versailles general. 35
 Brunet, Jean Baptiste, 1814-?. Republican officer & politician; leftist Vers. dep. '71, later rightwinger. 16, 64, 77
 Buffet, Louis Joseph, 1818-98. Bonapartist politician; Vers. dep. '71. 22
 Canrobert, François Certain, 1809-95. Bonapartist general. 21, 63, 71, 77, 81, 88

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- Carayon-Latour, Joseph de, 1824-?. Legitimist, clericalist; Vers. dep. '71. 75
- Carlos, Don, 1545-68. Son of Philip II of Spain. 85
- Carrel, Armand, 1800-36. Liberal editor and politician. 52
- Cassagnac, Bernard Adolphe Granier de, 1806-80. Reactionary Bonapartist journalist. 81
- Castellane, de (*n.m.i.*). Royalist; Vers. dep. '71. 22
- Cathelineau, Henri de, 1813-91. Royalist general. 26, 39, 50
- Cavaignac, Louis Eugène, 1802-57. Republican politician & general, suppressed June 1848 uprising. 70, 85, 86
- Changarnier, Nicolas Aimé Théodule, 1793-1877. Royalist general & politician; Vers. dep. '71. 71, 84, 85
- Chanzy, Antoine Eugène Alfred, 1823-83. Conservative repub. general; left-center Vers. dep. '71; captured by Commune but released. 10, 16, 27f, 28, 29, 88.
- Charette de la Contrie, Athanase, baron de, 1832-1911. Legitimist Breton landowner, general of Pontifical Zouaves. 23, 25, 30, 32, 36, 39, 40
- Chevreaux, Julien Théophile Henri, 1823-1903. Bonapartist official; in Palikao cabinet 1870. 81
- Cissey, Ernest Louis Octave Courtot de, 1810-82. General & politician; Vers. dep. '71. 71
- Clinchamp: *see* Clinchant.
- Clinchant [*erron.* Clinchamp], Charles, 1820-81. General. 63
- Cluseret, Gustave [Paul], 1823-1900. Military & political adventurer; elected Commune member, Delegate for War Apr. 3-30 (ousted); later Bakuninist and anti-Semitic reactionary. 40, 67, 69, 72
- Coëtlogon, Louis Charles Emmanuel, comte de, 1814-86. Bonapartist officer and functionary. 24
- Combault, Amédée Benjamin Alexandre, 1837- d. after 1884. A founder of Int'l in France; administrator during Commune. (But it is uncertain whether this is the Combault in the reference.) 44
- Condé, Louis Joseph de Bourbon, prince de, 1736-1818. Aristocratic émigré, raised army against French Revolution. 23
- Conneau, Henri, 1803-77. Doctor, intimate of Louis Bonaparte. 77
- Conti, Charles Etienne, 1812-72. Bonapartist lawyer & official; Vers. dep. '71. 81
- Corbon, Claude Anthime, 1808-91. Artisan who made career as anti-radical journalist; Vers. dep. '71. 12
- Courbet, Gustave, 1819-77. Famous painter; socialistic republican; elected Commune member, organized Federation of Artists. 69
- Cournet, Frédéric Etienne, 1839-85. Radical journalist; elected Commune member, head of Police Commission. 78
- Crémieux, Isaac Moïse, *known as* Adolphe, 1796-1880. Lawyer and politician; minister of Justice in gov't after Sep. 4, 1870. 29, 89
- Dalouvert (*n.m.i.*). Bonapartist police officer. 54
- Danton, Georges Jacques, 1759-94. Leader in French Revolution. 54
- Darboy, Georges, 1813-71. Archbishop of Paris, arrested by Commune as hostage and executed May 24. 40, 49
- David, Jérôme Frédéric Paul, baron, 1823-82. Bonapartist officer and politician; minister in Palikao cabinet Aug. 1870. 81
- Davoust (*n.m.i.*). Versailles colonel. 60
- Deguerry, Gaspard, 1797-1871. Curé of the Church of the Madeleine; arrested by the Commune as hostage, executed May 24. 40, 49
- Delescluze, Charles, 1809-71. Jacobin republican, radical journalist; elected Commune member; Delegate for War May 11 to end. 69
- Delpech, C. (*n.m.i.*). N.G. officer during June 1848 uprising. 70
- Desmarests (*n.m.i.*). Versailles captain of gendarmes who killed Flourens. 41f, 81
- Devienne, Adrien Marie, 1802-84. Bonapartist functionary. 77

- Dombrowski, Jaroslaw, 1836-71. Polish officer; after 1863 insurrection against Russia, member of Int'l in Paris; general of Commune troops, killed on barricades May 23. 43, 44, 63
- Dombrowski, Ladislav or Théophile, 1841-90. Brother of Jaroslaw; also officer in N.G. under Commune. 43
- Dorian, Pierre Frédéric, 1814-73. Politician; deputy under Bonaparte; Vers. dep. '71, at first conciliationist. 46
- Dosne, Félicie, 1823-1906. Sister-in-law of Thiers. 52
- Douay, Félix Charles, 1816-79. General under Bonaparte; helped suppress Commune. 90
- Dubois, Lucien (*n.m.i.*). 49
- Ducrot, Auguste Alexandre, 1817-82. Orleanist general; Vers. dep. '71; organized Versailles forces. 63, 67, 71, 81
- Dufaure, [Jules] Armand [Stanislas], 1798-1881. Orleanist lawyer & politician; deputy and minister under Louis Philippe, Bonaparte & Thiers; Vers. dep. and minister of justice 1871. 9, 15, 19, 20, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 42-44, 77-79, 81, 82, 85, 86, 89
- Dupont, A. [Anthime or Aminthe?], 1841 - d. after 1879. Elected Commune member, member of Police Commission. 56, 62
- Dupont, Eugène, *ca.* 1837 (or 1831?)-1881. One of the French founders of Int'l; resident in England 1862 on; General Council 1864-72; corr. secy. for France 1965-71. 56, 62
- Durnof (*n.m.i.*). Captain of Commune balloonist corps. 66
- Duval, Emile Victor, 1840-71. Strike-leader; Blanquist; joined Int'l 1867; member of C.C. of N.G.; elected Commune member; a commander in Apr. 3 march on Versailles. 38, 39, 41, 44, 57, 71, 79
- Espartero, Baldomero, 1792-1879. Spanish general; regent 1841-43; fled from uprising; premier 1854-56. 58
- Espinasse, Charles Marie Esprit, 1815-59. Bonapartist general; killed in battle of Magenta. 10, 62
- Fabrice, Georg Friedrich Alfred von, 1818-91. German general, commanded occupation troops in Paris region Feb.-June 1871. 71
- Faidherbe, Louis Léon César, 1818-89. General in Fr.-Pruss. War; Vers. dep. '71, resigned to protest Treaty of Frankfurt. 14
- Faillly, Pierre Louis Charles de, 1810-92. General under Bonaparte. 77
- Farcy, Eugène, 1830-1910. Navy officer; Vers. dep. '71, at first conciliationist. 16, 46
- Favre, [Gabriel Claude] Jules, 1809-80. Republican lawyer and politician; as minister of foreign affairs, played leading role in gov't of Sept. 4, 1870 and in suppressing Commune. 15, 20, 23-25, 27, 29 34, 36, 37, 45, 47, 48, 54, 55, 59, 73, 74, 84, 88-90
- Favre, Mme. (*n.m.i.*). Wife of Jules Favre. 47, 52
- Ferdinand II, 1810-59. King of the Two Sicilies (of Neapolitan Bourbons); dubbed "King Bomba" after bombarding Palermo and Messina in 1848 revolution. 60
- Ferry, Jules [François Camille], 1832-93. Republican lawyer and politician; secy. of gov't of Sept. 4, 1870; mayor of Paris 1870-71 before and after Commune. 15, 16, 32, 33
- Floquet, Charles Thomas, 1828-96. Anti-Bonpartist lawyer and politician, founded Union Républicaine; Vers. dep. '71, resigned April as conciliationist. 16, 31, 38
- Flourens, Gustave [Paul], 1838-71. Scientist, dismissed for radical views; ardent revolutionist, led Belleville N.G. battalion 1870; elected Commune member; a commander in Apr. 3 march on Versailles. 10, 17, 36-39, 41, 52, 81
- François (*n.m.i.*). Member of 215th N.G. battalion, killed in Mar. 22 demonstration. 25
- Frankel [also Franckel, Fränkel], Leo, 1844-96. Hungarian; active as socialist in Germany, then France; member of Int'l in Paris; elected Commune member, head

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- of Labor and Exchange Commission; later supporter of Marx in London and founder of Hungarian socialist party. 35, 38, 67
- Fresneau, Armand Félix, 1823-1900. Legitimist politician, clericalist; Vers. dep. '71. 31
- Galliffet, Gaston Alexandre Auguste, marquis de, 1830-1909. Bonapartist general; led Versaillaise cavalry in massacre of Commune. 36, 39, 42, 43, 57, 81
- Gambetta, Léon, 1838-82. Republican lawyer and politician; resigned from gov't Feb. 6, 1871 in break with Thiers; in Spain during Commune. 70
- Garibaldi, Giuseppe, 1807-82. Italian revolutionary democrat; leader of national liberation armed forces in Italy; elected deputy to Vers. assembly 1871 but resigned at first session. 65, 73, 74
- Gaslonde, Charles Pierre, 1812-86. Law professor; Bonapartist; Vers. dep. '71. 20
- Glyn, George Grenfell, 1824-87. English financier and Liberal Party leader. 55
- Greppo, [Jean] Louis, 1810-88. Lyons silk weaver and socialist; a Paris mayor 1870-71; Vers. dep. '71, conciliationist. 16, 78
- Grévy, François Paul Jules, 1807-91. Republican lawyer and politician; Vers. dep. '71. 22
- Grousset, Paschal [Jean François], 1844-1909. Jacobin leftist, radical journalist; elected Commune member, head of External Relations Commission. 45, 67, 80, 82, 83
- Guiod, Adolphe [not Alphonse] Simon, 1805-?. Artillery general. 83
- Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume, 1787-1874. Orleanist historian, government leader under Louis Philippe 1840-48. 75
- Heeckeren, Georges Charles d'Anthès, baron de, 1812-95. Aristocratic adventurer, Bonapartist. 24
- Henry, Lucien Félix, 1850-d. after 1879. Artist; N.G. activist in 1870, called "General"; captured by Versaillaise Apr. 3, 1871. (Sometimes confused with the Communard Fortuné Henry.) 38, 42, 43
- Hessel: see Hetzel.
- Hetzel (*n.m.i.*). See footnote 337, page 83.
- Hugo, Victor, 1802-85. Poet and novelist; anti-Bonaparte; elected Vers. dep. '71, soon resigned as protest, went to Belgium. 65
- Jacquemet (*n.m.i.*). Abbé, vicar-general to Archbishop Affre 1848. 70
- Joinville, François d'Orléans, prince de, 1818-1900. Third son of Louis Philippe; Vers. dep. '71. 79
- Jourde, François, 1843-93. Member of C.C. of N.G.; elected Commune member. 67
- Ladmirault, Louis René Paul de, 1808-98. General under Bonaparte; active in massacre of Commune. 73, 81
- Lafargue, Paul, 1842-1911. Member of Int'l; married Marx's daughter Laura; during Commune, active in Bordeaux. 76
- Laffitte, Jacques, 1767-1844. Banker and politician; Orleanist gov't leader 1830-31, then ousted by Louis Philippe. 52
- Lafont (*n.m.i.*). 45
- Lambert: see Roche-Lambert.
- Langlois, Amédée Jérôme, 1819-?. Navy officer; Proudhonist; Vers. dep. '71, enemy of Commune. 16, 26, 46
- Langourian (*n.m.i.*). General. 29, 88
- Lasteyrie du Saillant, Ferdinand Charles Léon, comte de, 1810-79. Royalist politician; Vers. dep. '71. 20

- Lecomte, Claude Martin, 1817-71. General; in charge of attempt to steal N.G. cannon Mar. 18, 1871; killed. 12, 14-16, 19, 20, 90
- Le Flô, Adolphe [Emmanuel Charles], 1804-87. General and politician; deputy 1848; minister of war under Favre and Thiers 1870-71; Vers. dep. '71. 15, 71
- Lehideux (*n.m.i.*). 45
- Lemaître, Frédérick [*pseud. of A. L. P. Lemaître*], 1800-76. Famous actor, author of *Robert Macaire*. 45
- Lemprière (*n.m.i.*). 86
- Littre, [Maximilien Paul] Emile, 1801-81. Lexicographer; Comtist; conservative republican; Vers. dep. '71. 65
- Lockroy, Etienne Auguste Edouard, *known as Simon*, 1840-1913. Republican anti-Bonapartist; Vers. dep. '71, resigned as protest Apr. 3, arrested. 16, 38, 56, 79
- Lorgeril, Hippolyte Louis, vicomte de, 1811-88. Reactionary Legitimist; Vers. dep. '71. 22
- Louis Philippe, 1773-1850. Duke of Orleans; king of France 1830-48. 47, 85, 86
- MacMahon [Fr. Mac-Mahon], Patrice, comte de, duc de Magenta, 1808-93. Marshal of France; reactionary Bonapartist; commander-in-chief of Versaillaise forces against Commune. 26, 36, 60, 62-64, 68, 70
- Magne, Alfred (*n.m.i.*). Son of Pierre Magne. 76
- Magne, Pierre, 1806-79. Financier and politician; Orleanist, then Bonapartist; Vers. dep. '71. 76
- Maljournal, Louis Charles, 1841-94. Member of CC. of N.G. Wounded accidentally in course of Mar. 22, 1871 demonstration. 24
- Marie-Amélie de Bourbon, 1782-1866. Married Louis Philippe 1809; queen of France 1830-48. 75
- Marrast, Armand, 1801-52. Journalist and politician; member Prov. Gov't 1848, supported suppression of June uprising. 85
- Maud'hui (*n.m.i.*). Bonapartist general. 81
- Millière, Jean Baptiste, 1817-71. Journalist, republican democrat and left Proudhonist; Vers. dep. '71, supported Commune, shot by Versaillaise. 16, 40
- Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriel Riquetti, comte de, 1749-91. Constitutional-monarchist leader and orator of French Revolution. 77
- Molinet, vicomte de (*n.m.i.*). 25
- Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard, graf von, 1800-91. German field-marshal, chief of Prussian general staff 1871. 23
- Montalembert, Charles Forbes, comte de, 1810-70. Politician, clericalist defender of papal power. 85
- Morny, Charles, comte, *later* duc de, 1811-65. Half-brother and government leader for Louis Bonaparte. 62
- Napoleon III: *see* Bonaparte, Louis Napoleon.
- Neumayer (*n.m.i.*), 1789-1866. Royalist general. 84
- Noël (*n.m.i.*). 83
- Paladines: *see* Aurelle de Paladines.
- Palikao, Charles Cousin-Montauban, comte de, 1796-1878. General and politician; formed cabinet Aug. 1870; Bonapartist; fled to Belgium Sept. 4. 77, 81
- Pape, von (*n.m.i.*). German general commanding the occupation of forts north and east of Paris. 62-64, 68
- Pène, Henri de, 1830-88. Legitimist politician, writer and journalist. 24
- Périer, Casimir Pierre, 1777-1832. Banker and politician, supporter of Louis Philippe monarchy. 7
- Peyrat, Alphonse, 1812-91. Journalist and politician, anti-Bonaparte; Vers. dep. '71, conciliationist at first. 16, 20, 46, 88
- Philippe-Egalité [*name assumed by Louis Philippe Joseph, duc d'Orléans*], 1747-1793. Father of Louis Philippe; supported French Revolution, guillotined. 51, 75
- Pic, Jules (*n.m.i.*). Bonapartist journalist. 24
- Picard, [Eugène] Arthur, 1825-?. Brother of Ernest Picard. 37

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- Picard, [Louis Joseph] Ernest, 1821-77. Lawyer, moderate republican politician; minister of finance in Sept. 4, 1870 gov't; minister of interior under Thiers 1871; Vers. dep. '71. 7, 11, 13, 15, 18, 20, 30, 31, 34, 36, 37, 42, 48, 59, 61, 62, 69, 71, 88
- Piéttri, Joseph Marie, 1820-1902. Bonapartist police official; police prefect of Paris 1866-70. 32, 42, 62
- Polo (*n.m.i.*). 61
- Pothuau, Louis Pierre Alexis, 1815-82. Admiral and politician; Vers. dep. '71; navy & colonial minister in Thiers gov't, organized bombardment of Paris. 15, 36
- Pouyer-Quertier, Auguste Thomas, 1820-91. Industrialist & Bonapartist politician; Vers. dep. '71; finance minister under Thiers. 52, 76
- Protot, Eugène, 1839-1921. Lawyer & journalist; Blanquist; elected Commune member; head of Justice Commission. 44, 67
- Pyat, Félix, 1810-89. Writer and journalist; professional demagogue in radical circles; Vers. dep. '71; elected Commune member, fled when Versaillaise entered Paris. 50, 77, 78
- Quinet, Edgar, 1803-75. Philosopher and historian; Vers. dep. '71, conciliationist at first. 46
- Rampon, Joachim Achille, comte de, 1806-83. Vers. dep. '71, supported Thiers. 81
- Rampont, Germain François Sébastien, 1809-?. Vers. dep. '71, supported Thiers. 30, 32
- Raphael, Father (*n.m.i.*). 91
- Rigault, Raoul, 1846-71. Blanquist, student revolutionary; elected Commune member; head of Police Commission, then Public Prosecutor. 67, 78, 79
- Roche-Lambert (*n.m.i.*). 76
- Rochefort, [Victor] Henri, 1830-1913. Born Henri, marquis de Rochefort-Luçay; politician and journalist, anti-Bonaparte, left republican; edited *Le Mot d'Ordre* under the Commune. 35, 50
- Rouher, Eugène, 1814-84. Bonapartist gov't leader, fled to England on fall of Empire. 81
- Saisset, Jean Marie Joseph Théodore, 1810-79. Admiral and royalist politician; Vers. dep. '71; named commander of N.G. by Thiers in 1871. 17, 20, 23, 26-29, 34, 35, 72
- Sarcey, Francisque, 1827-99. Journalist, dramatic critic; lauded massacre of Commune. 42
- Schlotheim, von (*n.m.i.*). German general, commanding 3rd army corps. 25, 34
- Schoelcher, Victor, 1804-93. Left republican politician; Vers. dep. '71, conciliationist. 14, 16, 26, 83
- Sérailler: *erron.* for Serrailier.
- Serrailier, Auguste, 1840-?. French worker, moved to London, member of General Council of Int'l 1869-72, corr. sec'y for France 1871-72; went to Paris as rep. of G.C., elected Commune member; supporter of Marx. 62
- Sheridan, Philip Henry, 1831-88. U.S. (Union) general. 27
- Simon, Jules, 1814-96. Born Jules François Simon Suisse. Republican politician; education minister in Sept. 4, 1870 gov't and under Thiers. 15
- Susane, Louis, 1810-76. [*Erron. also spelled* Susanne, Suzanne] Artillery general. 83
- Taillefer (*n.m.i.*). 24
- Tamisier, François Laurent Alphonse, 1809-80. Artillery general and politician; anti-Bonaparte; commander of N.G. after Sept. 4, 1870, resigned in protest after Oct. 31 repression; Vers. dep. '71, in republican opposition. 86
- Thiers, [Louis] Adolphe, 1797-1877. Lawyer, historian, politician; Orleanist minister under Louis Philippe till 1840; Party of Order leader till Bonaparte; Nat'l assembly 1871 named him Chief of the Executive. 7, 11-13, 20-22, 26, 27, 29, 31-36, 39, 40, 43, 45-48, 51-55, 57, 58, 60-68, 71-75, 77, 79-82, 84, 86, 88-90

- Thiers, Mme. (*n.m.i.*). Wife of Adolphe Thiers. 42, 47, 52
- Thomas, [Jacques Léonard] Clément, 1809-71. General and politician; moderate republican; commander of N.G. Nov.1870-Feb.1871. 12,15,19,20,86,87,90
- Thomassin (*n.m.i.*). A director of the Compagnie des Chemins de Fer de l'Ouest. 45
- Tirard, Pierre Emmanuel [*called* L. Tirard in *Marx's text*], 1827-93. Mayor of 2nd arrondissement in Nov. 1870; Vers. dep. '71, conciliationist; elected Commune member but soon resigned. 46
- Tolain, Henri [Louis], 1828-97. Proudhonist founder-leader of Int'l in France; elected Vers. dep. '71, supported Versailles against Commune, expelled from Int'l. 55, 62
- "Transnonain, Papa": *nickname* of Adolphe Thiers.
- Trochu, Louis [Jules], 1815-96. Orleanist general, monarchist clericist; president of gov't Sept. 4, 1870; Vers. dep. '71. 12,36,39,41,46-48,87
- Turquet, Edmond Henri, 1836-?. Politician and jurist; Imperial prosecutor till 1868; Vers. dep. '71, Thiers supporter. 23
- Uhlbach: *erron. for* Ulbach.
- Ulbach, Louis, 1822-89. Writer and editor, anti-Bonapartist; hostile to Versailles but also to Commune. 62
- Vaillant, Edouard, 1840-1915. Member of Int'l, of C.C. of N.G.; elected Commune member, head of Education Commission; Blanquist leader, later reformist. 67
- Valentin, Louis Ernest (*n.m.i.*). Commander of gendarmes, participated in crushing Commune under Gen. Vinoy. 7, 10, 26, 32, 36, 39, 65, 74, 79, 81
- Varlin, Eugène, 1839-71. Workers' organizer, leader of Int'l in France; member of C.C. of N.G., elected Commune member. 33
- Viard, Auguste, 1836-92. Member of C.C. of N.G.; elected Commune member. 67
- Vinoy, Joseph, 1800-80. General; Bonapartist; Versaillese military commander against Commune. 8, 9, 11, 14-16, 31, 39, 40, 42, 44, 48, 57, 65, 71, 74, 78, 79, 81
- Vivien, Alexandre François, 1799-1854. Orleanist minister in Cavaignac cabinet of 1848. 85
- Wahlin (*n.m.i.*). 25

ABOUT SOME UNPUBLISHED NOTEBOOKS BY MARX

The existence of other notebooks of press excerpts and notes made by Marx later in 1871 is indicated by a little known pamphlet, the English version of which is titled *Karl Marx as Labor Defender*, by A. Czobel and C. Kahn (New York, International Labor Defense, ca. 1933). The authors are associates of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism (Moscow), which possesses the notebooks. The excerpts below are from the section by C. Kahn on the Commune period. The English translation is quite bad; almost all names are misspelled. We have corrected such errors and also some punctuation, but not the text itself (e.g. Millièrre was not a "Communard journalist").

Of special interest to us in connection with this question is the first of these notebooks, which has a heading by Marx dated May, 1871, but the particular contents of which were not finished earlier than July or August. In this notebook we find various material directed against the leaders of the Versailles government, composed principally of excerpts from the London newspapers. In trying to get together the largest possible amount of material exposing Favre & Co., Marx regularly looked over the different London papers, usually marking with a red pencil the most interesting and significant articles. Consequently the contents of 48 pages of the first notebook is made up of an assortment of newspaper reports which he had read, marked and then either at once cut out and pasted or else copied into the notebook that which seemed to him important and significant. He put into the notebook likewise also detailed oral and written evidence he had gathered, directed against the Versailles tyrants. From the character of these writings and clippings, it is evident that Marx filled up several notebooks with such material and that he worked during all the summer months of 1871 on the collection of this material. At the beginning he selected articles and references concerning individual members of the Versailles government—Favre, Thiers, Trochu and others. At the end of the notebook there is a table of contents of the material included. Later this method of systematization was dropped and suitable newspaper material put into the notebooks merely to keep the related material together. ...the figures of Favre and Thiers occupied the center of Marx's attention and ... most of the collected material concerns them.

Marx most carefully recorded everything that could back up the accusations against Favre made by the Communard journalist Millièrre, who showed that Favre had committed crimes which still remained unpunished ...

Nor did Marx forget the "degenerate"—Thiers. He cut from one newspaper a characterization of Thiers by the English minister Disraeli. Disraeli termed the head of the Versailles government

"an ignorant little intriguer who was paying his mistresses out of the public sale of government posts." Marx carefully copied down in his notebook a long extract from letters just received by him from an English democrat. These contained new proof of the dishonest manipulations of Thiers on the London Stock Exchange. Marx made the notation that this "old cobra" had, with the help of old laws of the time of the Empire, destroyed the right of public assembly. In the "May" notebook Marx collected likewise exhaustive material against Thiers. Apart from this material directly involving Favre and Thiers, the first notebook contains the most various evidence of the criminal acts of other members and officials of the Versailles government.

In the second notebook, which contains almost wholly extracts from newspapers of the period of the Commune and which is dated by Marx "July, 1871," we find similarly a large amount of material exposing Versailles. Here Marx directed his attention especially to matters involving the personal criminal activities of the individual members of the Versailles government. Apart from additional new data unmasking the chief leaders of the Versailles counter-revolution, we find in this notebook copies of the minutes of the trial of General Galliffet, which had been taken away from [by?] Communards in the prefecture of the police department of Paris. It confirms rumors, long circulated in Paris, concerning the foul adventures of this butcher of the Commune, who had no scruples during the years of the Empire to live on a fortune acquired through the running of a gambling house by his wife. We find here also exhaustive material characterizing the criminal activities of almost all the generals of the "government of National Defense" and of the Versailles government. Marx drew attention especially to the dark figure of General Vinoy.

There are notations by Marx in the notebook and a little information about individual acts of traitors against the cause of the proletariat, which could throw light on the activities of the French reformists of that time—Tolain and Louis Blanc ...