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Karl Grun: The Confrontation with Marx, 1844-1848

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KARL GRÜN:

THE CONFRONTATION WITH MARX, 1844-1848

by

J. Strassmaier

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

June 1969

To my wife Joan

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These and many other benefactions do not, of course, in any way lessen my responsibility for the contents of this essay.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

<u>DBZ</u>	<u>Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung.</u>
<u>DZAM</u>	Deutsches Zentralarchiv, Abteilung Merseburg.
<u>IISG</u>	Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam.
<u>KZ</u>	<u>Kölnische Zeitung.</u>
<u>MAZ</u>	Mannheim <u>Abendzeitung.</u>
<u>MEGA</u>	Marx and Engels, <u>Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe,</u> 1. Abteilung.
<u>MEW</u>	Marx and Engels, <u>Werke.</u>
<u>SLB</u>	Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden.
<u>STAM</u>	Staatsarchiv Münster.
<u>TZ</u>	<u>Trierische Zeitung.</u>
<u>WD</u>	<u>Weser Dampfboot, 1844;</u> <u>Westphälische Dampfboot, 1845-1848.</u>

Ciphers: articles written by Grün are identifiable by the following regular ciphers.

⌘ ⌘ Paris, KZ.

✓ Paris, TZ.

◇ Paris, TZ.

* * or * * Paris, TZ.

× Paris, TZ.

* Berlin, TZ is the regular cipher of Eduard Meyen.

INTRODUCTION

Karl Grün (1817-1887) is called in the title of a recent thesis "a neglected socialist."¹ Even this latest study does not alter materially the previous picture of Grün as a figure of quite secondary importance, a lesser "representative" of True Socialism, the philosophical socialism of the German Vormärz that was superceded by the contrastingly realistic theories of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.² This view, presented by Marxist historians of the caliber of Franz Mehring and Herwig Förder, has not been successfully challenged.³ Systematic study of Grün's

¹Renate Bridenthal, "Karl Grün (1817-1887): A Neglected Socialist" (unpublished Master's dissertation, Dept. of Political Science, Columbia University, n.d.). Cited hereafter as Bridenthal, "Grün."

²The most important estimations of Grün are Bridenthal, "Grün," p.70-72, 54; Edmund Silberner, Moses Hess, Geschichte seines Lebens (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1966), p.229, 250-54, cited hereafter as Silberner, Hess; Wilhelm Schulte, "Carl Theodor Ferdinand Grün, ein Lüdenscheider sozialer Idealist (1817-1887)," Der Reidemeister, Geschichtsblätter für Lüdenscheid Stadt und Land no. 1 (August 1965), cited hereafter as Schulte, "Grün." Other opinions are presented by Bridenthal, "Grün," p.71-72.

³Franz Mehring, Gesammelte Schriften, ed. Thomas Höhle et al., (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1963), vol. I, 243-45, vol. IV, 204-08. Herwig Förder, Marx und Engels am Vorabend der Revolution: Die Ausarbeitung der politischen Richtlinien für die deutschen Kommunisten (1846-1848) (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960), p.116-24, 171-74. Cited hereafter as Förder, Marx und Engels.

thought has failed to discover any significant originality.

Intellectually a follower, Grün migrated from one chosen mentor to another, from Schiller, Fichte and especially Hegel to Feuerbach, to Moses Hess, Marx and finally Proudhon, collecting in the process an amalgam of ideas too diffuse and undisciplined to be called a system.

If not an intellectual leader, Grün nonetheless performed a service as conveyer and propagator of major socialist ideas. He became one of the most active socialist journalists of the period before the Revolution of 1848; he shared with Lorenz von Stein the distinction of interpreting in German the theories of French socialism; and it was primarily he who introduced his countrymen to the powerful thought of Proudhon. However, even the effectiveness of these contributions has been questioned, and in defending Grün one would have to make concessions.⁵ Often vague, overly aesthetic and subjective, Grün's writing conveyed attitudes and impressions more than logical concepts.

⁴ David Koigen, Zur Vorgeschichte des modernen, philosophischen Sozialismus in Deutschland. Zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Socialphilosophie des Jung-Hegelianismus ("Berne Studien Zur Philosophie und ihrer Geschichte," ed. Ludwig Stein, vol. XXVI; Bern: C. Sturzenegger, 1901), p.205-33. Cited hereafter as Koigen, Vorgeschichte. Hanna Singer, Die Theorie des Wahren Sozialismus. Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des wissenschaftlichen Sozialismus in Deutschland. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde einer Hohen Philosophischen Fakultät der Hamburgischen Universität (Quakenbrück: Handelsdruckerei C. Trute, 1930). Cited hereafter as Singer, Wahrer Sozialismus.

⁵ Koigen, Vorgeschichte, p.206.

The evaluation of Grün as a thinker and a propagandist needs little correction. On the other hand, his role in the maneuvering and competition for influence and leadership that marked the emergence of German socialism has been slighted. This is true particularly of his relations with Marx. Grün's well-known falling-out with Marx has been chronicled as the predictable consequence of Grün's inability to grasp the fundamental economic and political exigencies of a progressive, activist socialism. Finding him incapable of development, Marx simply dissociated himself from the sentimental idealist. When accused of wanting to destroy Grün, he answered that he did not consider him worth the trouble. There the matter has rested; no one has troubled to look directly into the sources relating to the affair.⁶ What better reason to be ignored by the historian than to have been 'neglected' by Marx himself?

A documentary gap wants correcting. An indication that this project will prove more than just an academic exercise is the reference to Grün in the Communist Manifesto, a signal to the historian that the True Socialist meant more to Marx than the latter wished to be thought. The full particulars of their

⁶ A noteworthy exception is Emil Zens' "Die Trierer Zeit Karl Grüns," Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch, Fourth Yearbook of the Stadtbibliothek Trier and the Gesellschaft für nützliche Forschungen (Trier: Druckerei und Verlag Neu, 1964). Cited hereafter as Zens, "Grün." Grün's writing in the Trierische Zeitung is touched upon in Wilhelm Becker's unpublished doctoral dissertation, "Die Presse des deutschen 'wahren' Sozialismus in der Bewegung der 40er Jahre" (Philosophische Fakultät, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn, [1920]). Cited hereafter as Becker, "Presse."

relationship are to be investigated. Should the facts warrant the use of the term 'confrontation,' Grün, as one of Marx's first opponents, will find a more definite and significant place in the history of German socialism.

II

The principal socialists of Vormärz Germany were men of the same generation, born in the second decade of the nineteenth century. Moses Hess, the eldest, was born in 1812, Karl Grün in 1817, Karl Marx and Otto Lüning in the following year, Friedrich Engels and Hermann Kriege in 1820. This generation reached their majority and began their university education in the difficult period of the eighteen thirties. The political reaction that followed the national and liberal awakening started by French penetration of central Europe was intensified by the 1830 July Revolution. Political activity under these circumstances was a dangerous course.⁷ Censorship and police surveillance helped to ensure that the student would be preoccupied with matters of the mind, that he would be caught up in the philosophy, rather than the mechanics, of opposition.

⁷Ernst R. Huber, Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte seit 1789, Band II: Der Kampf um Einheit und Freiheit, 1830 bis 1850 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, c.1960), II, 151-52, 173-75. Cited hereafter as Huber, Verfassungsgeschichte. The hard fate of the student incriminated in illegal political activities is illustrated in Wilhelm Schulte, Volk und Staat, Westfalen im Vormärz und in der Revolution 1848/49 (Münster: Regensberg, 1954), p.65-74. Cited hereafter as Schulte, Westfalen.

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The young German mind of this period was captured by the post-Hegelian debate that radiated from the university of Berlin, seat of the Hegelian philosophy. Hegel's last lectures in 1830-1831 provided a section of his followers with material to use against conservative colleagues who argued the rightness, that is, the rationality of the present order of things. This was a new Hegel, shaken out of his hopes for a "lasting reconciliation" in the present order by the July Revolution.⁸

History was once again in need of resolution. One party of his students, impressed by the inadequacy of things as they were, now had a mandate to search for the new truth. Rather than bow to mere actuality, they insisted that the consenting mentality be replaced by a critical attitude. The critical self-conscious would produce a new truth whose very existence would in turn revolutionize the world outside the mind.⁹

⁸Horst Stuke, Philosophie der Tat: Studien zur "Verwirklichung der Philosophie" bei den Junghegelianern und den Wahren Sozialisten ("Industrielle Welt. Schriftenreihe des Arbeitskreises für moderne Sozialgeschichte," ed. Werner Conze, vol. III; Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1963), p.253. Cited hereafter as Stuke, Philosophie der Tat.

⁹Isaiah Berlin, Karl Marx, His Life and Environment (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p.63-65. Cited hereafter as Berlin, Marx. Sidney Hook, From Hegel to Marx: Studies in the Intellectual Development of Karl Marx (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962), p.130. Cited hereafter as Hook, Hegel to Marx. Colorful contemporary descriptions of the impact of the later Hegel are recorded in "Louis Blanc's neuestes Buch. (Die Horen.)," Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung, 3 June 1847, and "* Wissenschaft und Leben, II. - Trier, im Mai," Trierische Zeitung, 3 May 1846. These papers are cited hereafter as DBZ and TZ.

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These Young Hegelians, as they were called, applied their critical philosophy first to religion, arousing great controversy with attacks upon the authenticity of Scripture and the historicity of Christ. The consequence of this line of thought begun by David Strauss and Bruno Bauer was extreme: the destruction of theology. In the thought of Ludwig Feuerbach, God became man. The divine predicates stood revealed as man's estimate of man, thus theoretically terminating an alienation which prevented man from seeking perfection in himself and in the existing material world.¹⁰

Before this line of intellectual development reached a conclusion in Feuerbach's epochal Wesen des Christentums (1841), another influence was already operating to turn the speculative mind toward the world of political reality. This was the literary movement of Young Germany. Seeing in romanticism the spirit of Reaction, the Young Germans sought to produce a literature that would accurately portray the real life of the people and bring into focus the social and political rights of the individual.¹¹

¹⁰Hajo Holborn, A History of Modern Germany, 1648-1840 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), p.517-18. Cited hereafter as Holborn, Modern Germany. Hook, Hegel to Marx, p.220ff.

¹¹Fritz Martini, Deutsche Literatur im bürgerlichen Realismus, 1848-1898 ("Geschichtliche Darstellungen," vol. V, pt. 2; Stuttgart: J.V. Metzler, c.1962), p.91-92. Cited hereafter as Martini, Deutsche Literatur. Friedrich C. Sell, Die Tragödie des deutschen Liberalismus (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, c.1953), p.97-109. Cited hereafter as Sell, Liberalismus.

The Young Germans were affected also by French socialism, particularly by the ideas of Saint-Simon, which they helped to introduce into Germany. Ludwig Börne and the minor poet German Mäurer, and to a lesser extent also Heinrich Heine, were involved in the German worker organization in Paris called the League of the Just.¹² The influence of this socialism, however, was outweighed by the relation of the movement to enlightened bourgeois liberalism.

Arnold Ruge united this political awareness of Young Germany with Left-Hegelianism in its most advanced form. Where Bruno Bauer feared to compromise the purity of philosophy by involvement in particular causes, Ruge intentionally spoke of philosophy as politics. In order to take part in the guiding and making of history, the critical mind must concretize its opposition in the form of a political party. Thus the Hegelian

¹²One of the immediate predecessors of the League was the similar organization in Switzerland, Young Germany. Wolfgang Schieder, Anfänge der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung: Die Auslandsvereine im Jahrzehnt nach der Julirevolution von 1830 ("Industrielle Welt, Schriftenreihe des Arbeitskreises für moderne Sozialgeschichte," ed. Werner Conze, vol. IV; Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1963), p.29ff, 49. Cited hereafter as Schieder, Auslandsvereine. The name derived, of course, from the Young Europe of Mazzini; yet it is a fitting coincidence. The socialist aspect of Young Germany has been generally overlooked. A second study of the subject is Werner Kowalski's Vorgesichte und Entstehung des Bundes der Gerechten ("Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Deutsche Geschichte an der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle," ed. H.C. Leo Stern, vol. I; Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1962), p.83ff. Cited hereafter as Kowalski, Bund der Gerechten. E.M. Butler, The Saint-Simonian Religion in Germany: A Study of the Young German Movement (Cambridge: University Press, 1926), p.436, 265-68. Cited hereafter as Butler, Saint-Simon.

philosophy was adapted to liberalism and the German student equipped with a mandate for involvement beyond the sphere of critical theorizing.¹³

Ruge became an advocate of a democratic or republican unified German state. In the beginning his political critique appearing in the Hallische Jahrbücher (founded 1838) was hidden from the censor by a display of Prussian nationalism. Suppressed in 1841, the journal almost immediately reappeared in Dresden as the Deutsche Jahrbücher. Through this vehicle he delivered openhanded attacks upon the tyrannical Prussian police state during the next two years.¹⁴

The philosophical momentum, however, was far from played out. Critical speculation would not descend to earth before a whole new conception of the goal of human activity, the end stage of human society, had been evolved. French socialism, particularly the challenging Qu'est-ce que la Propriété of Proudhon, and Feuerbach's humanist materialism provided the

¹³Hook, Hegel to Marx, p.129-32.

¹⁴Kurt Koszyk, Deutsche Presse im 19. Jahrhundert, Geschichte der deutschen Presse Teil II ("Abhandlungen und Materialien zur Publizistik," ed. Fritz Eberhard, vol. VI; Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1966), p.94-96. Cited hereafter as Koszyk, Presse. Werner Conze and Dieter Groh, Die Arbeiterbewegung in der nationalen Bewegung: Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie vor, während und nach der Reichsgründung ("Industrielle Welt. Schriftenreihe des Arbeitskreises für moderne Sozialgeschichte," ed. Werner Conze, vol. VI; Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, c.1966), p.23. Cited hereafter as Conze and Groh, Arbeiterbewegung.

main inspiration. Under these powerful influences Moses Hess brought Left-Hegelian thought to its most advanced conclusion in the original German socialist philosophy.

Hess claimed to have satisfied finally the radical Young Hegelian aspiration for the "realization of philosophy." Advancing from an earlier religious standpoint to a theory of socialism in which society replaced God as the end of man in the fulfillment of history, he added to the Feuerbachian formula, "theology is anthropology," the proposition, "anthropology is socialism." To eradicate the deception of religious thought was not enough to destroy the dichotomy that troubled man; there remained a further alienation, one even more real: the contradictions of social life. The key to this final alienation was money, the substantial form of the egoism which prevented man from becoming one with society.

The dichotomy between man and society was to be solved by the "moral act." The power of truth was destined to awaken the good in men; enlightenment and education would suffice for the conversion of society into its ideal state. Hess was by choice no revolutionary. The transformation of society would

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Marx to J.B. Schweitzer, London 24 January 1865; in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Ausgewählte Briefe, besorgt vom Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin-Institut beim ZK der SED (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1953), p.181. Cited hereafter as Marx and Engels, Ausgewählte Briefe. Stuke, Philosophie der Tat, p.230-31. Silberner, Hess, p.231.

¹⁶

Stuke, Philosophie der Tat, p.221-22, 238, 240-41.

not be carried out overnight by decree. The task of the "True Socialist" was to attack the existing reality with truth, exposing the condition of the times to the scrutiny of the moral conscience. A wise society, informed by the moral precepts of this True Socialism, would institute a more adequate welfare system; it would tend to the problem of unemployment, promote agriculture and provide free general education.¹⁷

This was not the end of Hess' development, considerable as the achievement was. At the same time he had begun to investigate further the socio-economic motor forces operative in the evolution of society. As early as 1837 he diagnosed a process of concentration of wealth, increased general misery, and a resultant collapse.¹⁸ This approach moved Hess toward the position which Marx would assume.¹⁹ Yet, Hess' inability to discard the ethical parts of his theory would make collaboration difficult, whatever the degree of willingness on either side. The same would hold true for others who adopted Hess' ideas.

The social and economic conditions which the young German intellectuals began to understand were by no means desperate. The industrial revolution had scarcely begun to affect German life. The absence of radical class divisions and the attachment to the existing class arrangements meant that the

¹⁷Stuke, Philosophie der Tat, p.240-42.

¹⁸Ibid., p.241.

¹⁹Silberner, Hess, p.229-35.

//

social structure was still fluid and relatively adaptive. Social stability in the Vormärz period was cemented by a generally responsible and intelligent bureaucracy. The condition of the German worker was precarious but not hopeless, that is, not revolutionary.²⁰

Free of the compulsion of an actual revolutionary situation, the intellectual translated his general feeling that the times were out of joint into personal terms. There was a tendency to think of alienation (Entfremdung), the key term in the True Socialist diagnosis of society, as first of all the affliction of the individual.²¹ The remarkably persistent struggle to achieve a Philosophie der Tat was animated by a personal desire for a rational and active identification with the real world.

III

The radical Young Hegelians who left the university around the year 1840 had little prospect, because of their identification with philosophical extremism, of entering an

²⁰Rudolf Stadelmann, Soziale und politische Geschichte der Revolution von 1848 (Munich: B.F. Bruckmann, [c.1948]), p.408, 14. Cited hereafter as Stadelmann, Revolution. Veit Valentin, Geschichte der deutschen Revolution von 1848-49 (2 vols.; Berlin: Verlag Ullstein, c.1930), p.293-99. Cited hereafter as Valentin, Revolution. Donald G. Rohr, The Origins of Social Liberalism in Germany (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), p.10, 76-77. Cited hereafter as Rohr, Social Liberalism.

²¹This tendency is reflected in the currency of the extreme subjective individualism of Max Stirner. Hook, Hegel to Marx, p.177-78.

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academic career. They found a suitable alternative in the profession of journalism. While promising some regular income, it provided engagement and an outlet for one's ideas. A heartening development at this juncture was the Censorship Instruction of 24 December 1841 in which Friedrich Wilhelm IV openly acknowledged the right of the people to free expression

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of their interests. Prussia now took the lead in the development of an opposition press, the outstanding example of which was the Rheinische Zeitung. This organ of the Rhenish bourgeoisie relied heavily upon the talents of Young Hegelians. Moses Hess was one of the original contributors and in January 1842 Adolf Rutenberg, a Young Hegelian who had worked on the Hallische Jahrbücher, became chief editor. Under his direction the paper began to solicit articles from a considerable number of the philosophical radicals, including Eduard Meyen, Bruno Bauer, Karl Heinzen, Andreas Gottschalk, Heinrich Bürgers, Hermann Püttmann, Karl D'Ester and Karl Marx, who, in October 1842, replaced Rutenberg as editor.

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²² Franz Mehring, Karl Marx: The Story of His Life, trans. Edward Fitzgerald (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962), p.32. Cited hereafter as Mehring, Marx.

²³ Joseph Hansen (ed.), Rheinische Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte der politischen Bewegung 1830-1850 ("Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde," vol. XXXVI, 2 vols.; Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1919), I, 307-09. Cited hereafter as Hansen, Rheinische Briefe.

²⁴ Koszyk, Presse, p.88, 97-98.

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Under Marx the Rheinische Zeitung reached an impressive circulation of 3400.²⁵ Other journals, notably the Mannheim Abendzeitung and the Trierische Zeitung, recognized this advantage of subscribing the services of the young radicals. Even the established Kölnische Zeitung entered the competition.²⁶

The political activation of the German press strained the governments' capacity for toleration. A greatly increased readership was being exposed to an unprecedented critical discussion of political and social conditions. An official reaction set in. Beginning in Prussia with an order of 12 October 1842, the government tightened censorship, suppressed publications, confiscated books and instituted proceedings against publishers.²⁷ Pressure was applied to tame the Abendzeitung in October of 1842, and at the end of the year the Prussian government forced the Rheinische

²⁵Karl Obermann, Deutschland von 1815 bis 1849 (Von der Gründung des Deutschen Bundes bis zur bürgerlich-demokratischen Revolution) ("Lehrbuch der deutschen Geschichte (Beiträge)," ed. A. Meusel and R.F. Schmiedt vol. VI; Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1963), p.138. Cited hereafter as Obermann, Deutschland.

²⁶Koszyk, Presse, p.100. Becker, "Presse," p.7-8, 11. Hansen, Rheinische Briefe, I, 507. Hess contributed to the Abendzeitung and the Kölnische Zeitung, and possibly also to the Trierische Zeitung. Edmund Silberner, The Works of Moses Hess, An Inventory of His Signed and Anonymous Publications, Manuscripts, and Correspondence, sponsored by the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1958), p.9, 11. Cited hereafter as Silberner, Hess Inventory. Silberner, Hess, p.195.

²⁷Koszyk, Presse, p.88. Heinrich Treitschke, Treitschke's History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (7 vols.; New York: McBride, 1915-1919), V, 194. Cited hereafter as Treitschke, Germany. Hansen, Rheinische Briefe, I, 507.

Zeitung to suspend publication. Other journals served as an alternative outlet, particularly the Kölnische Zeitung, the Trierische Zeitung, the Sprecher oder rheinisch-westphälischer Anzeiger, and somewhat later the Westphälische Dampfboot and the Gesellschaftsspiegel.²⁹ The atmosphere remained restrictive, however, and these publications experienced continual harrassment from the censor.³⁰

If he intended to continue using the German press, the progressive journalist needed to exercise all of his powers of caution, restraint and indirection. If he would not make such a compromise, the only recourse was to emigrate. Hence it was that

²⁸ Koszyk, Presse, p.98, 100. Bridenthal, "Grün," p.22-23. The Trierische Zeitung began to complain of a tightened censorship in February 1843. "†† Trier, im Februar. - Die deutsche Presse," TZ, 16 February 1843, 17 February 1843.

²⁹ Koszyk, Presse, p.100-01. Mainz report April 1843, from the loosely edited collection of reports of the Metternich secret information service, Karl Glossy (ed.), Literarische Geheimgeschichte aus dem Vormärz ("Jahrbücher der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft," Jg. XXI-XXIII, 2 vols. in 1; Vienna: Carl Konegen, 1912), II, 70. Cited hereafter as Glossy, Geheimgeschichte. Hansjürgen Schierbaum, Die politischen Wahlen in den Eifel- und Moselkreisen des Regierungsbezirks Trier, 1849-1867 ("Beiträge Zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien," ed. Der Kommission für Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, vol. XVII; Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1960), p.31. Cited hereafter as Schierbaum, Trier. The last three journals were published in Westphalia. The Abendzeitung may also be included; with the Prussian government reluctant to arouse further criticism, the paper remained relatively progressive. Minister des Innern von Arnim to Minister des auswärtigen Angelegenheiten von Bülow, Berlin 29 March 1843; "Die Censur und der Debit des Mannheimer Journals und der Mannheimer Abendzeitung, 15. Dezember 1842-1848," Deutsches Zentralarchiv, Abteilung Merseburg, Rep.77, Lit.M, Nr.51, Bl.30-33. Cited hereafter as DZAM, "Abendzeitung."

³⁰ Koszyk, Presse, p.103-04.

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Marx and Ruge met in Paris in October 1843 to edit a new journal, the Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher, to bring together the most advanced thought of France and Germany.³¹

Circumstances favored the formation of an alliance of intellectuals devoted to the translation of the most advanced ideas into political and social reality. Others began to join the 'party' in exile, Engels, Hess, the revolutionary poet Freiligrath, Heinrich Bürgers, a Cologne journalist, Grün and C.L. Bernays, a writer from the Abendzeitung.³² Through the physician Hermann Ewerbeck and German Mäurer contact was made with the League of the Just.³³ Most important to Marx's plans was the association with the French social radicals which Paris had to offer; he was particularly interested in developing a close association with Proudhon, whom he regarded as the founder of scientific socialism.³⁴

Matters did not go well. The failure of Feuerbach and Proudhon to offer contributions for the Deutsch-Französische

³¹ Ibid., p.104. Mehring, Marx, p.57.

³² Mehring, Marx, p.86. Moses Hess, Philosophische und sozialistische Schriften, 1837-1850. Eine Auswahl, ed. Auguste Cornu and Wolfgang Mönke (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), ix1. Cited hereafter as Hess, Schriften. Grün to Hess, Paris 1 September 1845; Moses Hess: Briefwechsel, ed. Edmund Silberner and Werner Blumenberg (vol. II of "Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der deutschen und österreichischen Arbeiterbewegung," ed. A.J.C. Rüter, Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam; 'S-Gravenhage: Mouton Co., 1959), p.138. Cited hereafter as Hess, Briefwechsel. Vorwärts! Pariser Deutsche Zeitschrift, 10 August 1844. Cited hereafter as Vorwärts.

³³ Schieder, Auslandsvereine, p.58.

³⁴ Mehring, Marx, p.78.

Jahrbücher was a grave disappointment.³⁵ Financial troubles and the confiscation of shipments of the journal smuggled into Prussia forced cancellation of the project after the first two issues. The two editors subsequently quarreled, and finally parted.³⁶ Ruge had found Marx personally difficult, and also disturbingly radical, for the theory and political strategy of revolution toward which Marx advanced was already discernible.³⁷ An additional setback was Marx's expulsion from Paris in February 1845 at the instance of the Prussian government.³⁸

The falling-out with Ruge was not an isolated incident. In the process of his own theoretical development Marx undertook a rearguard offensive against all of his intellectual rivals. The list of casualties included Bruno Bauer, Max Stirner, Feuerbach, Karl Heinzen, Weitling, Hermann Kriege, Grün, Hess,

³⁵ Ibid., p.57-58.

³⁶ Mehring, Marx, p.62-64. Marx took final leave of Ruge in a letter of 26 March 1844. Wolfgang Mönke, "Über die Mitarbeit von Moses Hess an der 'Deutschen Ideologie'," Istituto Giangiacomo Feltrinelli: Annali, vol. VI (Milan: Feltrinelli Editori, 1964), p.481. Cited hereafter as Mönke, "Deutsche Ideologie."

³⁷ George Lichtheim, Marxism: An Historical and Critical Study (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1961), p.53-54. Cited hereafter as Lichtheim, Marxism. Mehring, Marx, p.62-64, 67.

³⁸ Mehring, Marx, p.86.

and finally even Proudhon. It did not seem to matter that a number of these men had been at one time close to Marx.

Intellectually he was in debt to Bruno Bauer, companion of his student days, and to the very loyal Hess.⁴⁰ Up to the day of reckoning he honored Proudhon and Weitling as great minds.⁴¹

Nonetheless he proceeded against all of them with a vehemence that verged at times on fanaticism. Countless pages of refutation charged with sarcasm and ridicule were expended upon

Bauer.⁴² Hess was criticized publicly at the same time as he was tolerated as a hanger-on.⁴³ The treatment of Weitling was surprisingly brutal.⁴⁴

³⁹ Die Heilige Familie and Die Deutsche Ideologie dealt with Bauer, Stirner and Feuerbach. Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Werke, ed. Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus beim ZK der SED (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1962 -?), II, 3-224 and III, 5-532. Cited hereafter as MEW. The dispute with Heinen is documented by articles of Marx and Engels published in MEW, IV, 309-24 and 331-60. Their "Zirkular gegen Kriege" was issued in 1846 (MEW, IV, 3-17). Weitling was dispatched in a series of encounters in March 1846. Förder, Marx und Engels, p.52-74.

⁴⁰ Mehring, Marx, p.21-25. Silberner, Hess, p.654.

⁴¹ Mehring, Marx, p.84, 78.

⁴² MEW, II, 82.

⁴³ Hess, Schriften, lxi.

⁴⁴ Carl Wittke, The Utopian Communist: A Biography of Wilhelm Weitling, Nineteenth-Century Reformer (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, c.1950), p.68. Cited hereafter as Wittke, Weitling. Arnold Künzli, Karl Marx, eine Psychographie (Vienna, Frankfurt, Zürich: Europa Verlag, 1966), p.342-44, 354. Cited hereafter as Künzli, Marx.

Ostensibly Marx intended these purges to cleanse the communist movement, which he and Engels were struggling to organize, of theoretical infirmities.⁴⁵ The purges have also been regarded as a necessary part of Marx's own theoretical progress.⁴⁶ What he gained in clarification of his own position was offset by the antagonisms created. The enemies Marx and Engels chose to make were men of influence, able to cause measurable trouble for the communists. Without overlooking the very real difficulties of enlisting the services of such a disparate group of humanitarian, idealist intellectuals in a cause so defined and explicitly revolutionary, one may ask whether greater patience and tact would have been a less costly course. This argument would seem least applicable to Karl Grün, for Marx and Engels designated him the least of their opponents. Was that in fact the case?

⁴⁵Karl Obermann, "Zur Geschichte des Kommunistischen Korrespondenzkomitees im Jahre 1846, insbesondere im Rheinland und in Westfalen," Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung, Sonderheft: Beiträge der Marx-Engels-Forschung in der DDR, Jg. IV (1962), p.116-17. Cited hereafter as Obermann, "Korrespondenzkomitee."

⁴⁶G.D.H. Cole, A History of Socialist Thought, vol. I: Socialist Thought: The Forerunners, 1789-1850 (London: Macmillan & Co., New York: St. Martin's Press, 1955), p.238. Cited hereafter as Cole, Forerunners.

CHAPTER I

GRÜN IN SEARCH OF A CAUSE

What is remarkable about the personality of Karl Grün is his abiding aspiration for notoriety. At the age of twenty-two he confessed in the introduction to his first book, a Buch der Wanderungen, to a strong desire to be famous, asserting that he would scorn no honorable means to that end. In the same breath he pledged his whole life to the literary and social development of Germany.¹ Both ambitions remained with him throughout his career.² Not once does he seem to have suspected that these two aims might be anything but compatible.

¹[Karl Grün], Buch der Wanderungen. Ostsee und Rhein. Von Ernst von der Haide. Herausgegeben von Karl Grün (Cassel and Leipzig: Theodor Fischer, 1839), p.42. Cited hereafter as [Grün], Wanderungen.

²In a letter of April 1847 to Luise Dittmar, which he published somewhat later, Grün made the admission, only half in jest, "Do you indeed know that in this moment I wished to be a great man?" The occasion was his promenade in Ostend after having been expelled from France in spring 1847. Karl Grün, "Ein Rückzug aus Frankreich. Briefe an Fräulein Luise Dittmar zu Darmstadt... An der Mosel, Anfangs Juli 1848," Amphitheater für Unterhaltung, Kunst und Kritik. Beiblatt zur Trier'schen Zeitung, nos. 1-10 (1848). Cited hereafter as Grün, "Rückzug," and Amphitheater. The first in this series of ten letters bears the date Ostende, den 8. April 1847.

The circumstances of Grün's upbringing were not particularly auspicious. He was born 30 September 1817, one of seven children, to a family of small means. His father, Johann Samuel Grün, was a school teacher in Lüdenscheid, Westphalia. The family had, however, some sense of social importance. A maternal ancestor was the great seventeenth-century jurist Hugo Grotius. The grandfather de Groote had enjoyed access to the best society as a royal physician in Wetzlar.³ Apparently, it was he who tended to the intellectual upbringing of the young Karl as he came to Wetzlar to attend the Gymnasium. Impressed by the boy's memory and a certain gift of speech, the old man decided that his grandson should be a minister.⁴

Grün began his studies in theology at the University in Bonn in October 1835. Besides the regular religious studies, which he pursued diligently, he heard the lectures of Prof. Fichte on the philosophical systems of Kant, Hegel and Herbart.⁵ In his free time he took part in the proceedings of a Poets Club, associating with Karl Biedermann, Marx, Bernays and an older friend, Moriz Carriere, the last two members of a sister

³Karl Grün (ed.), Bausteine. Zusammengetragen und mit einem Sendschreiben an seine Osnabrücker Freunde begleitet (Darmstadt: C.W. Leske, 1844), p.100-01. Cited hereafter as Grün, Bausteine.

⁴The fullest account of Grün's background and early life is Bridenthal, "Grün," p.17-20.

⁵Herbart (b.1776) was an Idealist philosopher who considered himself a successor to Kant. Harald Höffding, A History of Modern Philosophy: A Sketch of the History of Philosophy from the Close of the Renaissance to Our Own Day, trans. B.E. Meyer (2 vols.; New York: Dover Publications, 1955), II, 248.

organization in Göttingen.⁶ He may also have known Moses Hess, the brilliant young Jewish intellectual who was to lead the way to modern communism and Zionism.⁷ His relationship with Marx may have been fairly close.⁸ In any case, when Marx transferred to Berlin in the fall of 1836, Grün followed not long after. He matriculated at the Humboldt University 22 April 1837.⁹

At neither institution did he commit any breach of discipline and, so far as was known, did not participate in any forbidden organizations. Nor do the records give any indication of his conversion to philosophy, for he continued through his

⁶Bridenthal, "Grün," p.19. Biedermann was an important social liberal of mid-century Germany (Rohr, Social Liberalism, p.147-53). He wrote for the Hallesche Jahrbücher. Arnold Ruge's Briefwechsel und Tagebuchblätter aus den Jahren 1825-1880, ed. Paul Nerrlich (2 vols.; Berlin: Widmannsche Buchhandlung, 1886), I, 116. Cited hereafter as Ruge, Briefwechsel. Carriere was a student of philosophy and aesthetics (Bridenthal, "Grün," p.33). Bernays, a friend of Marx and Engels, made a career of journalism (MEW, XXVII, 707).

⁷Silberner (Hess, p.158-59) has found no evidence for such a meeting, but Mönke notes that both attended the lectures of the historian of philosophy C.A. Brandis. Wolfgang Mönke, Neue Quellen zur Hess-Forschung. Mit Auszügen aus einem Tagebuch, aus Manuskripten und Briefen aus der Korrespondenz mit Marx, Engels, Weitling, Ewerbeck u.a. ("Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin," no. I, Jg. 1964; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964), p.20, 22. Cited hereafter as Mönke, Hess-Forschung.

⁸Marx was an old "university friend," according to Grün's letter to Hess, Paris 1 September 1845; Hess, Briefwechsel, p.138.

⁹I cannot confirm the report (Bridenthal, "Grün," p.19) that he studied in Leipzig. Grün may have been confused here with his younger brother Albert.

fifth and last semester to concentrate on theological studies. But there is no question about his enthusiasm for Hegel, whose final logic made his heart "tremble," as he put it. With Marx and Eduard Meyen, the latter one of his most loyal friends, he joined the Young Hegelian circle of Die Freien headed by Bruno Bauer. Grün was also intellectually attached to the Young German author, Karl Gutzkow, whom he had sought out in Frankfurt in 1837. He aspired to become worthy of joining Gutzkow in "taking part in the questions of the century."

II

Grün was rapidly coming to the conclusion that the academic life kept one too far removed from the real affairs of the world. His impatience was intensified by involvement with a girl named Martha. The threat of induction may have been

¹⁰Grün's student records were courteously provided by the archives of the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Bonn and the Humboldt-Universität Berlin. They do not show a change of curriculum to philosophy and philology, as is maintained by Ludwig Fränkel, "Grün," Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, ILIX (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1904), p.583.

¹¹[Grün], Wanderungen, p.13.

¹²Edmund Silberner, "Beiträge zur literarischen und politischen Tätigkeit von Moses Hess, 1841-1843," Istituto Giangiacomo Feltrinelli: Annali, vol. VI (Milan: Feltrinelli Editori, 1964), p.404. Cited hereafter as Silberner, "Hess, 1841-1843." MEW, XXVII, 400. Mehring, Marx, p.45-46. Meyen wrote steadily for the Trierische Zeitung, the Mannheim Abendzeitung and also the Rheinische Zeitung. Report [n.p.] of 19 February 1847; Glossy, Geheimgeschichte, A 92. Silberner, Hess, p.106.

¹³Grün, Wanderungen, vii, viii, ix.

¹⁴Details of these happenings are revealed in K.G., "Werth und Würde," Philanthrop, no.47 (1846).

another consideration. In 1838 he fled the university, apparently before completing his degree, married, and took a position as instructor in the German language and literature at the Collège of Colmar in Alsace.

To supplement his income Grün wrote articles for the literary Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände and produced a book of impressions entitled "Elsass, Vergangenheit, Gegenwart, Zukunft." He could not find a publisher for the book, but the Morgenblatt articles proved to be the beginning of a journalistic career.

Although he did not advance from this journal to the Augsburg Allgemeine, a normal route of promotion within the rising Cotta publishing empire, he expanded his connections to include the Abendzeitung in Dresden. He had been asked to help revitalize the paper, one of the older, established journals that had begun to feel the pressure of competition from numerous new publications.

¹⁵The final date on his records is 21 March 1838. Although he probably did not receive his doctorate, as Sauerländer has remarked, contrary to Schulte ("Grün") he frequently used the title. Wilhelm Sauerländer, Karl Theodor Ferdinand Grün und der wahre Sozialismus ("Lüdenscheider Beiträge," vol. V; Lüdenscheid: n.p., 1958), p.10. Cited hereafter as Sauerländer, Grün. Military disability was not granted until 19 July 1841. Regierungs-Präsident Gerlach to Minister des Innern von Arnim, Köln 19 December 1843; "Acta betr. die Ausweisung des Dr. Grün aus dem Badenschen und deren Besprechung in öffentlichen Blättern, v. 9 Dezbr. 1842," DZAM, Rep. 77, Tit.6, Lit.G, Nr.135, Bl.37-38. Cited hereafter as DZAM, "Grün."

¹⁶Grün to Hermann Hauff, Strassburg 8 December 1838 and Mannheim 31 March 1842; Cotta Archiv, Schillermuseum, Marbach a/N. Cited hereafter as Cotta Archiv. Grün to Arnold Ruge, Bonn 14 May 1842; Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden, Msor. Dresd. h 46, Bd.1, Nr.135. Cited hereafter as SLB.

¹⁷Koszyk, Presse, p.276-77, 297-98.

He advised that editorial policy should allow the freest possible discussion of the issues of the day.¹⁸

In the meantime Colmar was only tolerably comfortable for Grün. He enjoyed lecturing on German literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but the atmosphere of suspicion generated by German Francophobia disturbed him. His increasing journalistic commitments and the general political awakening that accompanied the accession of Friedrich Wilhelm IV made him think of returning to Germany. He planned first to settle in Halle, where he would teach French and English and write for a living, while gradually qualifying for a university position. His main purpose, judging from a letter of 14 May 1841 to Arnold Ruge, was to join the circle of intellectuals involved in the Deutsche Jahrbücher project. He explained to Ruge that his attempt to bring to the Young Germany movement an appreciation of philosophy had received no recognition. He had therefore gone over to the side of the new philosophy, placing all of his faith in Ruge.¹⁹ Ruge was not favorably impressed.²⁰

Receiving no response, Grün abandoned the plan and accepted instead an editorial position with the Abendzeitung in

¹⁸Grün to Hofrath Ritter Wixler (Dresden), Strassbourg 23 January 1839; SLB, Schwender Nachlass, Mscr. Dresd. h 29^e, Nr. 117-18. Grün began sending contributions in January 1839.

¹⁹Grün to Ruge, Bonn 14 May 1841, SLB, Mscr. Dresd. h 46, Bd. 1, Nr. 135.

²⁰He found Grün's letter obsequious and noted that his impetuous solicitor had forgotten to give a return address. Ruge to Moriz Carrière, Dresden 3 March 1842; Ruge, Briefwechsel, I, 264-65.

Mannheim. Under Grün's direction, which began in 1842, the paper acquired a distinctly liberal editorial program. Grün, now a convinced consitutional monarchist, called for peaceful conquest of basic liberal aims such as legal equality, abolition of privilege, trial by jury, academic freedom, local self-government, and ministerial responsibility. Most of all he emphasized the role of a free press in the evolutionary struggle against absolutism.

This was a profitable approach - circulation of the paper doubled - but at the same time self-defeating, for it aroused official disapproval. Following an editorial praising the Prussian Estates' insistence upon a genuine national representation, on 5 October 1842 Grün received a three-day notice to leave the country.

²¹Grün to Hermann Hauff, Mannheim 31 March 1842; Cotta Archiv. Hauff, previously editor of the Frankfurter Journal, sought new talent to dispel the general conservative atmosphere of the German press. H. Hauff to Alexander Weill, Stuttgart 17 April 1838; Alexander Weill (ed.), Briefe hervorragender verstorbener Männer Deutschlands an Alexander Weill (Zürich; J. Schabelitz, 1889), p.55-56.

²²Karl Grün (ed.), Neue Anekdoten (Darmstadt: C.W. Leske, 1845), p.283-84. Cited hereafter as Grün, Anekdoten. Karl Grün, Meine Ausweisung aus Baden, meine gewaltsame Ausführung aus Rheinbayern und meine Rechtfertigung vor dem deutschen Volke (Zürich and Winterthur: Literarisches Comptoir, 1843), p.14. Cited hereafter as Grün, Ausweisung. [Grün], "Die öffentliche Meinung," Mannheim Abendzeitung, 22 September 1842. Cited hereafter as MAZ. [Grün], "Was ist besser, uneingeschränkte Censur oder Ermässigung derselben?" MAZ, 19 October 1842. [Grün], "Beruf der deutschen Zeitungs-Presse," MAZ, 24 September 1842.

²³Grün's appeal to the Prussian government for redress was rejected 30 January 1843. Bridenthal, "Grün," p.23.

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III

Grün made the best of his misfortune. Although Bavarian authorities frustrated his attempt to carry on from across the Rhine in Ludwigshafen, he was able to continue directing the paper from Mainz until the end of the year.²⁴ There he composed a detailed account of the episode, portraying himself as a martyr in the cause of political liberty.²⁵ Although Meine Ausweisung aus Baden did not appear until around May 1843,²⁶ the affair had already been aired widely in the press.²⁷ Almost overnight he became a national celebrity.²⁸ He was feted with champagne in Mainz and invited to appear at gatherings of the liberal intelligentsia in Frankfurt.²⁹ A subscription was taken, with contributions coming from as far as Chemnitz and from

²⁴ Bridenthal, "Grün," p.23. Karl Buchheim, Die Geschichte der Kölnischen Zeitung. Ihrer Besitzer und Mitarbeiter; Von den Anfängen Joseph Dumonts bis zum Ausgang der deutschen bürgerlichen Revolution, 1831-1850 (2 vols.; Cologne: M. Dumont Schauberg, 1930), I, 328. Cited hereafter as Buchheim, Kölnische Zeitung. Mönke, "Hess-Forschung," p.22.

²⁵ Grün, Ausweisung, p.159-61.

²⁶ Frankfurt report 10 October 1843; Glossy, Geheimgeschichte, II, 133-34. "∞ Vom Rhein, 22. Mai," MAZ, 24 May 1844.

²⁷ This caused the Prussian government real discomfort. Minister des Innern von Arnim to Minister der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten von Bülow, Berlin 9 December 1842; DZAM, "Grün," Bl.37-38.

²⁸ Silberner, "Hess 1841-1843," p.416.

²⁹ F.C. Bernays to Marx, postmarked Sarcelles 13 June 1846; International Institute for Social History (cited hereafter as IISG), MS D 309. Frankfurt report 11 December 1843; Glossy, Geheimgeschichte, I, 359.

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across the French border.

Trading on his newly acquired prominence, Grün offered his services and reputation to a number of publications in Prussia. His application to the liberal Neue Zeitung of Hamburg was rejected on the confidential advice of his 'friend' Karl Gutzkow, who had forewarned the editor that Grün was a writer of no significance whose fame was unmerited.³¹ Other opportunities soon materialized, however. A Westphalian publication, Der Sprecher,³² showed an interest in hiring him. He continued writing anonymously for the Abendzeitung and his articles were accepted by the Neue Würzburger Zeitung.³³ Having contributed for some time to the Rheinische Zeitung, he was considered in the latter part of 1842 for a position on the editorial staff.³⁴ What is more important, he was able to join the emigration of journalists to the Kölnische Zeitung and Trierische Zeitung

³⁰C.A. Scholenbach, "Dr. Grün und Deutschland," Der Sprecher oder rheinisch-westphälischer Anzeiger, 14 January 1843. Cited hereafter as Sprecher. Leipzig report 20 January and 14 March 1843; Glossy, Geheimgeschichte, II, 56. The contribution from Chemnitz of 27 Taler was reported in the Sprecher (15 March 1843) with an appeal for Westphalian support.

³¹Frankfurt report 21 May 1843; Glossy, Geheimgeschichte, II, 88.

³²It was hoped that Grün would bring the paper new life and a better circulation. Frankfurt report 21 May 1843; Ibid.

³³Frankfurt report 18 March and 21 May 1843; Glossy, Geheimgeschichte, II, 58-59, 88. Cologne articles identified ∞ (MAZ, nos. 42, 50, 63, 66, 70, 96, 97 and especially 102 and 123) should be considered. Very definitely Grün's work is "† Mannheim," MAZ, 1 February 1843.

³⁴The reason why he was not accepted has not been found. Frankfurt report 11 December 1842; Glossy, Geheimgeschichte, I, 357. Silberner, Hess, p.158.

which followed the proscription of the Rheinische Zeitung. Major contributions by Grün began to appear in the two papers during the summer of 1843.³⁵

Drawn northward by these new occupations he took up residence in Cologne in June, where he received a residence permit on 6 August.³⁶ In November he undertook a series of lectures on Schiller and Shakespeare. The local authorities did not welcome this endeavor to enter the public life of the city. They obliged him to agree to avoid all discussion of politics.³⁷ The lectures continued into the spring of the following year. Among his audiences were a number of notable persons, including a member of the Dumont family, owners of the Kölnische Zeitung, Dagobert Oppenheim, former editor of the Rheinische Zeitung, Georg Jung, a friend of Hess and a principal founder of the Rheinische Zeitung, the politically active physician D'Ester, Heinrich Bürgers, a close collaborator of Hess and Marx, and the

³⁵ Buchheim, Kölnische Zeitung, p.328. Becker ("Presse," p.18) dates the appearance of Grün's correspondence in the Trierische Zeitung June 1843; closer investigation may set the date farther back; see the Mainz correspondence in March 1843.

³⁶ Regierungs-Präsident Gerlach to Minister des Innern von Arnim, Köln 19 December 1843; DZAM, "Grün," Bl.37-38. Application for the Cologne Bürgerrecht was made 27 June. Buchheim, Kölnische Zeitung, p.328.

³⁷]: [Köln, 6. Februar," MAZ, 11 February 1844. Minister des Innern von Arnim to Regierungs-Präsident Gerlach, Berlin 20 November 1843; DZAM, "Grün," Bl.9. Von Arnim was highly irritated that Grün had been granted a residence permit. Von Arnim to Gerlach, Berlin 12 January 1844; Ibid., Bl.39-41.

radical democrat Karl Heinzen. ³⁸ With heavy publicity, ³⁹

after a slow start attendance built from less than forty to ⁴⁰ ninety. At the climax, the tenth lecture on 28 March 1844,

Grün held forth on Julius Caesar for the benefit of the poor weavers of Silesia. Assisted by a concert, the affair netted ⁴¹ 138 Taler, which Grün handed over to Ober-Präsident von Schaper.

Buoyed by his success in Cologne, Grün announced that the lectures ⁴² would be repeated in Düsseldorf.

In the meantime, other developments were attracting Grün toward Westphalia. He had officially taken over the Sprecher ⁴³ on 1 July 1843, but actually his connection with the paper

³⁸ Polizei-Direktor Heister to Regierungs-Präsident Gerlach, Cologne 1 December 1843; Ibid., Bl.44. The majority were women and officers, according to Heister.

³⁹ "Köln, 3. Januar. (D.Z.)," TZ, 7 January 1844. "J. Köln, 17. November," Kölnische Zeitung, 17 November 1843. Cited hereafter as KZ. "D. Karl Grün, Köln, 23. März 1844: Aufforderung und Einladung," KZ, 24 March 1844. "K. Köln, 17. November," KZ, 19 November 1843. Grün studies of Schiller, beginning with Karl Grün, "Schiller als Politiker," MAZ, 30 September, 31 September, 3 October, 4 October, 5 October and 6 October 1842, reached final form in Karl Grün, K. Friedrich Schiller als Mensch, Geschichtschreiber, Denker und Dichter. Ein gedrängter Kommentar zu Schiller's sämtlichen Werken (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1844); Schiller is here considered from a socialist standpoint.

⁴⁰ Full details are found in the Gerlach-von Arnim correspondence, 6 December 1843 to 10 January 1844; DZAM, "Grün," Bl.14-36.

⁴¹ Regierungs-Präsident Gerlach to Minister des Innern von Arnim, Cologne 29 March 1844; Ibid., Bl.52. KZ, 19 April 1844. MAZ, 10 April 1844.

⁴² KZ, 5 April 1844.

⁴³ Schulte, "Grün."

commenced much earlier in the year. ⁴⁴ On 1 April the paper announced the enlistment of important new talent. ⁴⁵ A few issues later Grün was introduced to the readers as the hero of the expulsion from Baden in a panegyric entitled "Dr. Grün und Deutschland." ⁴⁶ A similar article by the Westphalian journalist Friedrich Steinmann, who had also been connected with the Cotta chain of papers, gave a detailed account of that perfidious event, portraying Grün as confidant of Bassermann and the other leading Baden liberals. ⁴⁷ Personal appearances completed the introduction. Grün gave talks on Schiller in Osnabrück, which were then incorporated in an essay serialized in the Sprecher. ⁴⁸ Although he left the province for Cologne in June, he had committed himself to the task of rejuvenating the Sprecher to take the place of the Rheinische Zeitung as an outlet for contemporary thought. In order to devote more time to this

⁴⁴Mainz report 18 April 1843; Glossy, Geheimgeschichte, II, 71-72. "[N.p.] 23 April [from the TZ]," MAZ, 29 April 1843. "Vom Niederrhein, 16. Mai," TZ, 19 May 1843.

⁴⁵Sprecher, 1 April 1843.

⁴⁶Sprecher, 14 January 1843. The author was C.A. Schloenbach.

⁴⁷Schulte, Westfalen, p.434. Steinman's essay was entitled "Karl Grün und Deutschland im neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Politische Silhouette..." Sprecher, 24 June, 28 June 1843. Cited hereafter as Steinman, "Grün."

⁴⁸Karl Grün, "Schiller als Dramatiker," Sprecher, 18 October, 20 October, 25 October 1843. This was chapter thirty of his book on Schiller. Bridenthal, "Grün," p.27.

project, later in the year he terminated his series of lead articles for the Kölnische Zeitung.⁴⁹

In a matter of months, clever and witty evasion of the censor had made the Sprecher the second journal in the province.⁵⁰ Its reputation as one of the leading progressive organs extended far beyond the borders of Westphalia,⁵¹ and Grün could claim that it was read in the Communist Club of the League of the Just in London.⁵²

The Westphalian project opened up fresh opportunities that presented an alluring contrast to the restrictive conditions experienced in Cologne. On the invitation of Otto Lüning, a physician in Rheda dedicated to political and social reform,⁵³ he cancelled the Düsseldorf engagement to make a speaking tour in Westphalia, where, free from supervision, he could address himself to more practical issues, the problems of state and

⁴⁹ Buchheim, Kölnische Zeitung, p.328. MAZ, 30 June 1843 (from a Frankfurter Journal report dated 26 June). Grün resumed regular contributions in November 1845 (Buchheim, Kölnische Zeitung, p.329-30). One of the reasons for returning to Cologne was to attend to his Judenfrage, which was nearing the publication stage (TZ, 19 June 1843).

⁵⁰ The Westfälischer Merkur (Münster) was the main journal in the province. Bridenthal, "Grün," p.25.

⁵¹ MAZ, 29 June 1844. "Aus dem Wuppertale, Ende April. (Sprecher.)," Vorwärts, 11 May 1844.

⁵² Grün, Anekdoten, v.

⁵³ Schulte, Westfalen, p.624.

society.⁵⁴ Part of his time, during March and April 1844, was spent at Schloss Holte, the country house of Julius Meyer. Meyer, the proprietor of an iron works, patronized political dissidents of the reputation of Georg Herwegh, Robert Blum, Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Karl Heinzen, Wilhelm Weitling, Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx.⁵⁵ From here Grün, assisted by

Lüning and Hermann Kriege, undertook to propagandize the surrounding area.⁵⁶ On 28 April he delivered an address in

Bielefeld entitled "Wahre Bildung," which he then repeated in several small places nearby.⁵⁷ Proceeds from collections taken

⁵⁴The most thorough accounts of Lüning are found in Schulte, Westfalen, p.62-63, 73-74, 241-43, and Kurt Koszyk, "Das 'Dampfboot' und der Rhedaer Kreis; Die erste politische Zeitschrift Westfalens als Spiegel der Presse im Vormärz," Dortmunder Beiträge zur Zeitungsforschung, published by the Westfälisch-Niederrheinischen Institut für Zeitungsforschung der Stadt Dortmund, vol. II (Dortmund: Fr. Wilh. Ruhfus, 1958), p.29-37. Cited hereafter as Koszyk, "Dampfboot." Lüning was practically a partner in the Sprecher enterprise, considering the frequency of his contributions (Sprecher, 1844, nos. 23,28,30,31, 32,67, and also 1843 articles signed "L." in nos. 1,2,5,6,7,11,12, 13,14,20,30,37).

⁵⁵The list included also Dr. Andreas Gottschalk, Hermann Püttmann, Hermann Schauenburg, Otto Lüning, Joseph Weydemeyer, Hermann Kriege, and Grün's close friend Moriz Carriere. Wilhelm Schulte, "Der Holter Kreis," Der Minden-Ravensberger (1965). Grün may have met Meyer at the university in Berlin (Schulte, "Holter Kreis"). He also stayed at the estate of Bernhard von Bruchhausen, whose son Wilhelm he had met in Cologne (Schulte, Westfalen, p.625).

⁵⁶Kriege was "the soul of all political movement in Bielefeld," according to Ober-Präsident von Vincke (to Minister des Innern von Arnim, Münster 22 July 1844; DZAM, "Grün," Bl.71).

⁵⁷"§§ Bielefeld, 29. April," MAZ, 5 May 1844.

on these occasions went to a fund for the relief of the poor spinners of the depressed Ravensberg region.⁵⁸

The Bielefeld speech on "true education" marked a conversion from constitutional liberalism to socialism that occurred during the year spent in Cologne.⁵⁹ Grün's interest in socialism dated from as early as 1831 when he discovered Fourier,⁶⁰ but it was under the influence of his Cologne friends, above all Hess, that he became a professed socialist.⁶¹ Appropriating the philosophical socialism of Hess, Grün gave it a special ethical and aesthetic emphasis. Socialism, according to his simple equation, was "true education," or, in other words, that ideal condition in which the "free individuality" might develop most fully.⁶² This Feuerbachian idealism did not cause Grün to

⁵⁸ Grün spoke also in Tatenhausen, St. Vit, and Lünig's home town of Rheda, among other places. Landrath Trzebiatowski to Regierungs-Chef Richter in Minden, Wiedenbrück 28 May 1844; "Acta betr. die sozialistischen Uatriebe der Dr. Grün, Stud. H. Kriege, Dr. Lünig, 1843-57," Staatsarchiv Münster, OP 690, Bl. 16-17. Cited hereafter as StAM, "Grün."

⁵⁹ Grün's Judenfrage, written in Mainz early in 1843, represents his previous position. Mönke, "Hess-Forschung," p.23.

⁶⁰ Grün, Ausweisung, p.10. Grün claimed that he had always been a socialist, even during the political diversion that began in 1840 (Bausteine, xxx-xxx1).

⁶¹ Silberner, Hess, p.159. Theodor Zlocisti, Moses Hess, der Vorkämpfer des Sozialismus und Zionismus (2d ed. rev.; Berlin: Weltverlag, 1921), p.36. Mönke, "Hess-Forschung," p.22, 24.

⁶² Karl Grün, Über wahre Bildung, eine Vorlesung gehalten am 28. April 1844 zu Bielefeld zum Besten der armen Spinner im Ravensbergischen von Karl Grün (Bielefeld: August Helmich, 1844), p.2. Cited hereafter as Grün, Wahre Bildung.

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abandon altogether liberal reform; but it forced him to recognize that no purely political movement could eradicate poverty and vanquish crime.⁶³ It could only improve conditions; it could not undertake the "organization of labor" which alone promised to guarantee for every man the full realization of his potential.⁶⁴

Here and there in the pages of the Sprecher appeared further information on how the social transformation was to be accomplished. Reformation of the human condition would not follow the French example, for the Revolution of 1789 had produced military despotism, the opposite of what the enlightened idealists had intended. Nonetheless, the transition from a condition of poverty, ignorance and oppression to one of freedom, intellectual attainment and prosperity necessarily involved ferment. Unsettlement was the unavoidable by-product of the primary requisite of reform: the awakening in the people of a consciousness of their own condition.⁶⁵ This became the purpose of the Sprecher, which published critical investigations of a wide range of current social phenomena: the educational system, confessional controversies, the Jewish question, tax reform,

⁶³ Grün, Wahre Bildung, p.19-21. Grün's continuing, though qualified, attachment to liberalism reflects closely the attitude of Moses Hess (Silberner, "Hess 1841-1843," p.415). I doubt that this was accidental.

⁶⁴ Grün, Wahre Bildung, p.24.

⁶⁵ "Aphorismen," Sprecher, 23 March 1844.

the emancipation of women, freedom of the press, capital punishment, duelling, the democratization of credit and the social structure.⁶⁶

The program of the Sprecher was propagandistic and educational. The exposure of social misery and inequity, contrasted with the socialist ideal of a fulfilled society, was intended to create a social consciousness, while free public education would equip the proletariat for emancipation.⁶⁷ How that emancipation was to be accomplished was left more or less undecided, for Grün did not develop his concept of the "organization of labor."⁶⁸ It would be another two years before he would begin to arrive at more definite proposals for the actual reorganization of society.

⁶⁶ "Die Reform des Universitätswesens," Sprecher, 18 May 1844. Karl Grün, "Die rationellen Extreme des deutschen Protestantismus," Sprecher, 6 January 1844. "Zur Juden-Emanzipationsfrage," Sprecher, 20 July 1844. K.R. im Februar 1843, "Etwas über Besteuerung...", Sprecher, 1 March 1843. "Ueber die Theilnahme des Weibes an öffentlichen Dingen," Sprecher, 18 May 1844. "Die Oppositionspresse," Sprecher, 22 May 1844. Karl Grün, "Todesstrafe oder Blendung," Sprecher, 17 January 1844. "Die hierarchisch-aristokratische Oligarchie als Hemniss der menschheitlichen Entwicklung," Sprecher, 27 July 1844.

⁶⁷ "Die Nothwendigkeit einer Gesellschaftsreform," Sprecher, 12 June 1844. Karl Grün, "Die wahre Schule. Eine Skizze," Weser Dampfboot, December 1844. Cited hereafter as WD. "Mannigfaltiges," Sprecher, 24 January 1844. "Pauperismus," Sprecher, 15 May 1844.

⁶⁸ The purpose of organization was proletarian consciousness and self-improvement. Grün proposed only incidentally that the worker be given cheap credit. "Mannigfaltiges," Sprecher, 8 May 1844, 8 May 1843.

The Westphalian venture met with limited success. Among the educated who heard or read the address on "true education," some "liberals" showed a sympathetic interest, but their number was probably small.⁶⁹ A partisan agreed with one of Grün's detractors that only eight or ten Bielefelder had gotten anything out of the talk.⁷⁰ The intellectual cast of Grün's approach was ill-calculated to affect the thinking of the uneducated; there were few workers in his audiences.⁷¹ In general the community was outraged at his radical communism and particularly incensed over his Feuerbachian atheism.⁷² Leading the "uproar" which followed his appearance was an irate clergy; they denounced the Godless radical from the pulpit.⁷³ The Wahre Bildung sold well when published and received considerable attention in the local press.⁷⁴ But in the main, the campaign

⁶⁹Grün himself had no illusion about the number of the elite who appreciated his ideas, but was heartened by the response of the womenfolk. Grün, Anekdoten, p.176.

⁷⁰"9 Bielefeld, 4. Juli 1844," WD, 13 July 1844.

⁷¹Schulte, "Grün."

⁷²Schulte, Westfalen, p.240-41. Grün attempted to tone down religious controversy ("† Köln, 22. Mai," TZ, 25 May 1845); his lack of success is indicated by the article, N."Der 6. August 1843. Allen Sünder wird vergeben," Sprecher, 16 September 1843.

⁷³† * Bielefeld, den 8. Mai," Sprecher, 15 May 1844.
* .† Bielefeld, den 30. Mai," Sprecher, 5 June 1844.

⁷⁴"Preussische Staatszeitung. (N.234, v.23. August.) Provinz Westphalen," Vorwärts, 31 August 1844. " * Von der Mosel, im Juni," TZ, 11 June 1844. R. "Bielefeld im Mai," WD, 22 May 1844. N. "Bielefeld im Mai," WD, 25 May 1844. "Vorläufiges über Grüns Vorlesung in Bielefeld," WD, 22 May 1844.

to propagate socialism only aroused great popular hostility and attracted the attention of the authorities. Fearing for his own personal safety, Grün left for Lüdenscheid where he visited his parents on 31 July 1844 before continuing on to Cologne. There he remained until October.⁷⁵

Although it was recognized that Grün had won few converts, the local authorities agreed that he ought to be silenced.⁷⁶ The order came from Berlin where Grün's past record put the case in a yet more serious light. Taking note of a lottery in Bielefeld for benefit of the persecuted Königsberg democrat Joel Jacoby and the report of a plan to found a new monthly journal, the "Bielefelder Monatsschrift," Minister of Interior von Arnim ordered Westphalian Ober-Präsident von Vincke to tighten censorship of the Sprecher and conduct an investigation of Grün to determine whether he could be expelled on financial grounds.⁷⁷ On 30 June a certain Stempel assumed the censorship of the Sprecher, ending the mild treatment enjoyed

⁷⁵Landrath Trzebiatowski to Ober-Präsident von Schaper in Münster, Wiedenbrück 31 December 1845; StAM, "Grün," Bl.135-37. Report of a Lüdenscheid magistrate to Regierungs-Rath von Holzbrinn, 25 July 1844; StAM, "Grün," Bl.53.

⁷⁶According to a Bielefeld Landrath, although they received the support of the local "liberals," Grün and his party had alienated all moderate elements by their "extravagances." Report to Ober-Präsident von Vincke, Bielefeld 13 July 1844; StAM, "Grün," Bl.21.

⁷⁷Minister des Innern von Arnim to Ober-Präsident von Vincke, Berlin 19 May 1844; StAM, "Grün," Bl. 46-47, 62, 14-15, 68. The journal, planned to open on 1 July, was originally to be called the "Westphälische Monatsschrift." "[. . .] Aus Westfalen, 6. Mai," MAZ, 12 May 1844.

by its editor for almost a year and a half. ⁷⁸ Protests that Stempel lacked the required educational background had no

effect. ⁷⁹ Enough pressure was put on the paper's owner, Herr Bagel, to persuade him to dissociate himself from his editor and on 30 September 1844 Grün was fired. ⁸⁰

Efforts to salvage the "Bielefelder Monatsschrift" also failed. ⁸¹ Grün had reached an important juncture. Having made himself persona non grata in Baden, Bavaria and Hanover, watched by the Metternich information service, and under investigation in Prussia, he could no longer operate freely within Germany. ⁸² He decided to emigrate. The idea seems

⁷⁸ Bürgermeister Luck had been censor for the past year; he had succeeded the equally liberal Fiedler in July 1843. "Wesel, den 6. Juli," Sprecher, 10 July 1844. "Mannigfaltiges," Sprecher, 6 May 1843.

⁷⁹ * † "Vom Niederrhein, Mitte Juli," TZ, 24 July 1844. "* † Vom Niederrhein, 4. August," TZ, 9 August 1844. "Die Censur und der Debit der in der Stadt Wesel erscheinenden Zeitschriften, 1843-46," DZAM, rep.77, Lit.10, Nr.43, Bl.95-98. Cited hereafter as DZAM, "Wesel Zeitschriften."

⁸⁰ Regierungs-Präsident von Spiegel to Minister des Innern von Arnim, Düsseldorf 1 November 1844; Hansen, Rheinische Briefe, I, 676. "Antrag auf Verwarnung des Sprechers, from Abt. IV: Concessionsentziehungen;" DZAM, Rep.101, Tit.2, Abt.4, Nr.25, Bl.20-23. Cited hereafter as DZAM, "Sprecher."

⁸¹ * † "Aus Westphalen, im Juli," MAZ, 30 July 1844. "S † Aus Westphalen, 3. August," MAZ, 7 August 1844, "† Köln, 22. Mai," TZ, 25 May 1845.

⁸² Grün to Hess, Paris 6 August 1845; Hess, Briefwechsel, p.131. Prussian officials were determined to silence the propaganda of "radical communist" Grün. Ober-Präsident von Schapper to Staatsanwalt von Lüderitz, Coblenz 19 May 1845; "Acta des Staats-Anwalts beim Königlichen Ober-Censur-Gericht betreffend die Debits-Verbote von Schriften," DZAM, Rep.101, Abt.2, Nr.8, Vol.2, Jg.1845, Bl.360. Cited hereafter as DZAM, "Debits-Verbote."

to have been growing since early in the year. Perhaps he was influenced by Marx's having settled in Paris. Together with Marx he could pursue the cause to which he had dedicated himself in the very capitol of the socialist world.

⁸³Grün's growing interest in France shows in "§ Vom Rhein, den 7. Februar," Sprecher, 10 February 1844. Grün began writing Paris correspondence for the Trierische Zeitung months before leaving Germany (consider "*t* Paris, 30. Jan.," TZ, 4 February 1844), a fact that did not go unnoticed ("§§ Paris, 18. Juli," MAZ, 24 July 1844).

CHAPTER II

GRÜN AND THE 'PARTY'

By the time Grün left for Paris in the middle of October 1844, a socialist movement had begun to develop in Germany. Still in a rudimentary, formative stage, it lacked definition of membership and structure. Intellectual allegiances shared between Feuerbach, Hess and Marx took the place of an actual leadership.¹ Nonetheless, they called themselves a party,² with an enthusiastic sense of identity and mission that is strikingly expressed in Lüning's poem "Partei." "Arise, arise, my people! The tyrants shudder in dread, for the Party calls forth the deed.... And our battle cry shall remain the Party!... The people awaken.... Long Live the Party!"³

¹Stirner and Bauer also retained influence. Mönke, "Deutsche Ideologie," p.454.

²Engels discussed the activities of the atheistic and republican "party" of Young Hegelians in "Fortschritte der Sozialreform auf dem Kontinent," The New Moral World, 18 November 1843; MEW, I, 493.

³Gedichte von O. Lüning (Schaffhausen: Brodlnann'sche Buchhandlung, 1844); cited "Dr. medic. Heinrich Otto Lüning zu Rheda, vom 13. Juni 1844," DZAM, Rep.77, Tit.6, Lit.L, Nr.127, Bl.92-94. Cited hereafter as DZAM, "Lüning."

Grün's identification with the fledgling 'party' seems at times to have been overshadowed by his assumed relation to the whole world of the political and philosophical opposition. In actual deed, however, he was associated with Hess and Lüning, while intellectually he was gravitating toward Marx, whom he extolled publicly as the most advanced of German thinkers. Marx had drawn the final consequences of Hess' Philosophie der Tat, thereby bridging the gap between theory and reality. While thus crediting Marx with the founding of German socialism, he suggested that he himself had been approaching independently the same standpoint. This was in reference to his pamphlet Die Judenfrage (1844) with which he had joined Marx and Hess in the attack upon the quiescent philosophical idealism of Bruno Bauer.

⁴The Sprecher was filled with references to Ludwig Walesrode (19 April, 22 April 1843), Hoffmann von Fallersleben (16 March, 16 October 1844), Joel Jacoby (5 October 1844, 25 February 1843), Ferdinand Freiligrath (7 February 1844), Herwegh (20 January 1844, 6 May 1843), Heinzen (1 July 1843, 15 February 1844), Jordan (14 October 1843), Weitling (10 July, 31 August 1844, 30 September 1843), Lüning (2 October 1844), Eugene Sue (4 October 1843), Proudhon (6 July 1844), Engels (20 December 1843), and others. Much was made of Grün's contacts with the political opposition in Baden (Steinmann, "Grün").

⁵Grün, Bausteine, xvii-xvix, xxx-xxxi. Grün, Anekdoten, p.288.

⁶Hook, Hegel to Marx, p.112. Mönke, "Hess-Forschung," p.23-24. Karl Grün, Die Judenfrage, gegen Bruno Bauer (Darmstadt: C.W. Leske, 1844). Cited hereafter as Grün, Judenfrage. An Abendzeitung article advertizing the work connected Grün by implication with Marx and Ruge ("Vom Mittelrhein, 26. März," MAZ, 29 March 1844).

In turn, Grün was received relatively well by the 'party'. He enjoyed a close relationship with Hess, who had written a major essay, "Über die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland," for the "Bielefelder Monatsschrift."⁷ Hess confided his impressions of Grün to Marx in a letter of 3 July 1844: "Karl Grün, who gets better and better, has done much for the advertisement of our cause in the German press. He is tireless. We live here [in Cologne] together and daily fire new breaches in the rotten structure of our conditions."⁸

Marx received a less unequivocal report from Georg Jung, who described Grün as having been "somewhat superficial and arrogant." Now, however, he had developed a "surprising talent" for adapting his discussions of all the current developments, and especially socialism, to the ordinary intelligence.⁹ "Who would have thought that the tedious, unsystematic and for the most part entirely superficial scribblings of Grün etc. would have more effect, as I believe, than the Rheinische Zeitung?"¹⁰

⁷It ended up in the Anekdoten (Silberner, Hess Inventory, p.12). Two other articles by Hess were placed in the Sprecher: M.H., "Bestimmung des Menschen" (22 June 1844) and "Entwicklung und Fortschritt" (20 July 1844), the later taken from the TZ.

⁸Mönke, "Hess-Forschung," p.93.

⁹According to report, the Sprecher was widely read by Rhineland workers ("† Köln, 22. Mai," TZ, 25 May 1845).

¹⁰Georg Jung to Marx, Cologne 26 June 1844; Mönke, "Hess-Forschung," p.23. Weydemeyer and Heinrich Bürgers may also have made reports; they visited Marx in Paris during the summer and fall of 1844. Karl Obermann, "Die soziale Frage in den Anfängen der sozialistischen und kommunistischen Bewegung in Deutschland, 1843-1845," Istituto Giangiacomo Feltrinelli: Annali, vol. VI (Milan: Feltrinelli Editori, 1964), p.225. Cited hereafter as Obermann, "Soziale Frage."

A similarly high estimate of Grün's effectiveness was made by Engels in an article of November 1844 written for the Owenite journal The New Moral World. In reporting the existence of a German press as "radically socialist" as circumstances would permit, he singled out the Trierische Zeitung and the Sprecher. Listing the most active German socialists, he placed Grün third after Marx and Hess.¹¹ In a letter to Marx he expressed astonishment at the "enormous propaganda" activity he had witnessed in Cologne, further details of which Marx would learn at first hand from Grün.¹²

II

With these recommendations Grün left Cologne 12 October 1844 to take part in the regrouping of the 'party' in Paris.¹³ Besides this, however, he had other purposes. He wished to arrive in the world of French socialism and, like others before him, he felt a calling to acquaint the French socialists with the

¹¹[Engels], "Rascher Fortschritt des Kommunismus in Deutschland" MEW, II, 590, 512.

¹²Engels to Marx, [Barmen 8-10 October 1844 (Obermann, Deutschland, p.158)]; MEW, XXVII, 5. Engels to Marx, B[armen] 19 November 1844; MEW, XXVII, 9. It was probably during visits to Cologne after his return from England that Engels first met Grün (MEW, II, 508).

¹³Grün arrived in Verviers by train on this date. Karl Grün, Die soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien. Briefe und Studien (Darmstadt: C.W. Leske, 1845), p.3-5. Cited hereafter as Grün, Soziale Bewegung. His pass was dated Cologne 27 September. He registered with the authorities in Brussels on 15 October (Registration des étrangers, commencé le 11 Août 1844, Hôtel de Ville, Brussels).

accomplishments of German theory. It was to help bring about a merger of French and German thought that he proposed to restudy the history of French socialism, using the critical tools of the latest German theories in order to establish exactly the real merits of French socialist thought. By virtue of this polemical approach and also because of its expansion to include Belgian socialism, the new study would supercede the history of Lorenz von Stein.

The main point of the book was the superiority of Proudhon, whom Grün, like most of his fellow German socialists, greatly admired. According to the thesis of his Soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien, the inadequacy of French social theories, which derived from the absence in them of a leavening humanism, had been rectified by a Frenchman indebted to German philosophy, by Proudhon whom Grün considered the heir to Hegel and Feuerbach.

Grün took credit for Proudhon's knowledge of Feuerbach's philosophical genius; the Frenchman's understanding of Hegel

¹⁴Ruge experienced a similar urge. Ruge, Briefwechsel, I, 217-19, 323.

¹⁵Grün, Soziale Bewegung, p.404.

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derived from Marx. In Feuerbach, Grün explained, the external powers guiding human development - the God of religion, the Absolute Spirit of Hegel - were replaced by man himself. From the destruction of these forms of alienation a truer concept of human nature emerged. The end of man became, as it were, internalized and universal. Man pursued his own self-realization without falling into a self-seeking egoism, for the fulfillment of individual human potential harmonized with the purpose of the whole species.

17

There remained, however, another barrier to man's identification with his own true nature: property. Property, an analog of religion, constituted the alienation of man's labor. Through the instrument of money, wealth was amassed in the hands of a few and the expropriated worker reduced to dependence upon an artificial wage. In pronouncing this to be theft, Proudhon became the French Feuerbach.

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¹⁶Ibid. George Woodcock, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, A Biography (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956), p.87-89. Cited hereafter as Woodcock, Proudhon. Sole credit has been claimed for Bakunin. E.H. Carr, Michael Bakunin (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), p.137-38. Cited hereafter as Carr, Bakunin. Actually Proudhon's knowledge of German philosophy was in good part his own work. G. Gurvitch, Pour le centenaire de la mort de Pierre-Joseph Proudhon; Proudhon et Marx: Une confrontation (Cours public 1963-64) (Paris: Centre de Documentation Universitaire, 1963), p.9. Cited hereafter as Gurvitch, Proudhon et Marx.

¹⁷Bridenthal, "Grün," p.37-39.

¹⁸Grün, Soziale Bewegung, p.404. Bridenthal, "Grün," p.39-40.

The dedication to Proudhon professed so unreservedly in the Soziale Bewegung remained central to Grün's thought. His intellectual wanderings were at an end. Not only had he discovered a man whose genius commanded his total respect, but a friend as well.¹⁹ Proudhon received him without the second thoughts which Grün's presumptuous bearing usually evoked.²⁰ With an exceptional tolerance Proudhon accepted Grün's eccentricities and made him feel like a partner. Together they studied economics. Grün sometimes dissented; he disagreed, for example, with the proposal to equalize wages. In the fulfilled society wages would disappear altogether, he thought; simple love of work should be the incentive, with compensation based upon need.²¹

It is doubtful that Grün exercised any major influence on Proudhon's thinking. However much the latter appreciated learning about Feuerbach, for example, he continued to entertain the concept of God.²² Grün's role was rather that of publicist

¹⁹The friendship wore well; the two were reunited again during 1858-59 in Brussels. Woodcock, Proudhon, p.220.

²⁰The relationship was favored by Proudhon's special affinity for Germans and his desire for a "holy alliance" between French and German intellectuals. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Carnets de P.-J. Proudhon: Texte inédit et intégral, établi sur les manuscrits autographes avec annotations et appareil critique de Pierre Hauptmann (2 vols.; Paris: M Rivière et Cie, 1960), I, 300.

²¹Grün, Soziale Bewegung, p.433.

²²Ibid., p.466-69. Henri de Lubac, S.J., The Drama of Atheist Humanism, trans. Edith M. Riley (Cleveland: Meridian Books, c.1950), p.7.

for Proudhon. Beginning as early as July 1844, when a translation of Proudhon's essay on "The Nature of the True Society" appeared in the Sprecher,²³ Grün took every opportunity to bring his friend's name to the attention of the public.

Grün sought to carry Proudhon's ideas to the German artisan community. Hermann Ewerbeck, a leading figure in the League of the Just, introduced him to this important worker organization. Little is known about his activities, but a description of a meeting in July 1846 unmistakably indicates his presence. On that occasion the workers discussed the virtues of freedom of the press and were urged, no doubt by Grün, to the conclusion that free expression could not by itself offer any final guarantee of progress.²⁴ In contrast, during the previous winter, with the help of Ewerbeck, Grün had persuaded the workers to issue a petition praising the stand which Walthr, the editor of the Trierische Zeitung, had taken against the censorship.²⁵

Grün's normal field of operation, however, was probably much broader and much more public. An ideal setting for him was the Sunday gathering at the Barrière des amandietes. Not content with just singing, drinking and dancing, the more serious Germans

²³Sprecher, 6 July 1844.

²⁴"* * Paris, 23. Juli," TZ, 27 July 1846. This was one of Grün's regular ciphers.

²⁵Engels to Marx, [Paris] 18 September 1846; MEW, XXVII, 51.

read the papers and discussed matters such as the social question, the organization of labor, wages and competition. Occasionally they heard a speaker, an intellectual responding to the widespread desire of the artisans for 'self-improvement,' or sometimes even one of the workers. Some hostility toward the "so-called 'intellectual'" manifested itself, but it was mixed with a certain reverence for the literary man. ²⁶ Grün may well have been one of the intellectuals who came forward, and the Trierische Zeitung, with Grün's regular reports from Paris, ²⁷ circulated at the Barrière.

III

Primarily, Grün remained a writer, an extremely active one. Besides the Soziale Bewegung and a study of Goethe from a "human," that is, socialist, standpoint, he produced several essays for the Deutsches Bürgerbuch, the Rheinische Jahrbücher, and his own publication, Neue Anekdoten, the last a collection

²⁶Scherzer to the editor, Paris, 2 August 1846, TZ, 7 August 1846. [Grün?], "Ein deutscher 'Gelehrter' to the editor, Paris, 10. August 1846," TZ, 16 August 1846. Other particulars on the Barrière scene are from "X Paris, 13. April," DBZ, 18 April 1847; " * * Paris, 15. März," MAZ, 22 March 1847; " X Paris, 30. Mai," TZ, 2 June 1847.

²⁷The lectures mentioned by Bridenthal ("Grün," p.63) were actually the ones given by Grün in Cologne. Grün attempted to found a literary club in 1846, but was denied permission. The police file on Grün was destroyed in the fire of 1871 (Schieder, Auslandsvereine, p.329), but it could not have been very substantial, judging from the resume found in the Archives de l'Etat of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg under date of 10 April 1858 (information most courteously provided by M Antoine May of the Archives de l'Etat).

of articles originally intended for the Sprecher and the
"Bielefelder Monatsschrift."²⁸

This accounts for only half of his output; in addition
he turned out a constant flow of newspaper articles.²⁹ Relations
with the Kölnische Zeitung became somewhat troubled in the spring
of 1846. In mid-April a note appended to an article by Grün on
the French press informed the reader of a difference of view
between the editor and his Paris correspondent.³⁰ This gentle
suggestion was followed shortly afterward by an open rebuke
criticizing Grün's overly theoretical approach. The editor
preferred to hear of practical matters such as French parliamen-
tary reform, the school question or the tariff, rather than
Cabet's Icaria or Fourierist communities. The policy of the

²⁸Karl Grün, Ueber Göthe vom menschlichen Standpunkte
(Darmstadt: C.W. Leske, 1846). Cited hereafter as Grün, Göthe.
For the first two collections he wrote "Feuerbach und die
Sozialisten" and "Politik und Sozialismus"; the Anekdoten carried
his reviews of Theodor Mundt's Geschichte der Gesellschaft,
Theodor Oelckers' Die Bewegung des Sozialismus und Kommunismus and
Stein's history of French socialism.

²⁹He continued to write for the Sprecher ("† Köln, 22.
Mai," TZ, 25 May 1845). In the new year's keynote article for
1845 he announced a forthcoming novella, "Zwei Weiber," which
would be serialized in the paper ("Zum neuen Jahre 1845," Sprech-
er, 1 January 1845). An invitation to write for Die Werkstatt;
Eine Monatsschrift für Handwerker (Hamburg) resulted in an
exchange with the editor, Georg Schirges, over Grün's atheism
and communist connections. Werkstatt (1846), II, 57-60, 124-25,
226-32. Grün may have co-edited with Mäurer the small periodi-
cal, Blätter der Zukunft (Schieder, Auslandsvereine, p.303).
Applications to the Institute for Marxism-Leninism in Moscow for
information regarding the Blätter were not answered.

³⁰"Die französische Presse, Paris, im April 1846," KZ,
15 April 1846.

paper, as correspondents had been reminded "definitely enough," was to work upon "the concrete present" to effect a positive, gradual improvement of political and social conditions.

31

Nonetheless, Grün's status with the paper does not seem to have been greatly affected by this criticism. His reports continued to appear regularly, and in the following year he contributed several major reviews and a novella, "Eine Handwerker-geschichte."

32

More serious trouble developed with the Trierische Zeitung, as will be seen, but it did not affect Grün's access to the paper. According to a somewhat exaggerated report, he sometimes filled almost the entire paper, corresponding from all corners of the globe.

33

This deceptive practice, the source of much difficulty for the bibliographer, was first noticed by a critic in the Mannheim Abendzeitung, who protested that the Paris correspondences in the Trierische Zeitung during 1844 originated on the Rhine and were, he suspected, the work of an old "friend." The point of the complaint, however, was Grün's

31 Anmerkung der Redaktion, "X.X Paris, 14. Mai," KZ, 19 May 1846.

32 During 1847 he reviewed Lamartine's History of the Girondistes and Proudhon's Philosophy of Misery. KZ, 30 March, 31 March 1847; KZ, 8 October to 30 October 1847. Karl Brüggemann, editor of the paper since 1 November 1845, sympathized with Grün's socialist views (Buchheim, Kölnische Zeitung, p.329).

33 J. Weydemeyer, "(Hamm, im November.) (Ad Nro. 311 der 'Trierschen Zeitung' Paris, 3. November.)," WD (1847), p.735.

suspiciously hasty conversion to socialism, and especially his repudiation of the constitutional course of reform.³⁴

This critic had struck the principal theme of Grün's journalistic efforts: the futility of liberal constitutionalism. At the beginning of November 1844 he opened his Paris column in the Trierische Zeitung with the announcement that he was out on a hunt for rabbits and foxes, that is, he explained, the bourgeoisie and the liberal opposition. The masses, with fresh air in their lungs, would bring new vitality to politics, demolishing the traditions of "constitutional and absolutist" government.³⁵

Reporting the to and fro of French politics served the single purpose of bringing home to the people the lesson that they could not depend upon a constitutional system for social reform.³⁶

Grün's sober purpose was not well supported by his manner of writing, which remained for the most part belletristic and subjective, with serious discussion almost inevitably tinged with aesthetic and moralistic overtones. For example, the appearance of Fanny Elsler's childrens' ballet was the

³⁴"SS Paris, 18. Juli," MAZ, 24 July, 25 July 1844. Grün evaded the first complaint in his reply, "[!] Paris, 8. August," TZ, 12 August 1844. The bogus correspondence in question was likely the "*" Paris articles in TZ, nos. 187, 198, 203, 225. Grün adopted a new cipher, \surd , once actually arrived in Paris.

³⁵" \surd Paris, 3. Nov.," TZ, 8 November 1844.

³⁶" \surd Paris, 23. November," TZ, 28 November 1844.

occasion for comments upon the misuse of child labor and for the remark that the fine dancing of Fanny Elsler was far preferable to an unlovely book on the state of the German Bund by the constitutionalist Welcker.³⁷ Underlying his approach to economics was the very ethical premise that the whole past history of the world was characterized by the domination of money, an alienation of human nature which would be corrected only when "worth" had been substituted for "value."³⁸

This casual and loose, sometimes gossipy style made Grün a popular writer. Quite conscious of his success, he sought to enhance his reputation further by advertising his connections with prominent figures of the caliber of Proudhon and Heinrich Heine.³⁹ In the public eye he appeared as a member of a German socialist directorate, usually mentioned in second or third place

³⁷ "V Paris, 19. Jan.," TZ, 24 January 1845.

³⁸ "V Paris, 11. Febr.," TZ, 15 February 1845.

³⁹ Personal reference to Heine occurs frequently in his Paris column. "V Paris, 15 Dec.," TZ, 20 December 1844; "V Paris, 17. Jan.," TZ, 21 January 1845; "V Paris, 26. Febr.," TZ, 3 March 1845. Grün apparently sought Heine out as soon as he arrived in Paris (Grün, Soziale Bewegung, p.117). Heine's correspondence indicates that they were on amicable terms. Heine to Grün, [Paris 17 January 1845]; Heine to Ferdinand Lassale, Paris 10 February 1846; Heinrich Heine, Werke und Briefe, ed. Hans Kaufmann (10 vols.; Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1962), IX, 195, 221. Cited hereafter as Heine, Werke.

alongside Hess, Engels and Marx. His participation in several joint literary undertakings of the 'party' supported this belief.⁴¹

With a plan to edit a multi-volume series on the history of socialism Grün went a step farther. He delegated to Engels the task of writing the volume on German socialism; he also asked Hess for a contribution.⁴² The Soziale Bewegung may have been intended as the lead volume. Grün's interpretation of Goethe belonged to the body of the project.⁴³

IV

The initiative was not accepted. Instead Engels and Hess announced their own plan to publish a "library of the most

⁴⁰The Saxon socialist Emil Weller and Ewerbeck were sometimes included in the list. Karl Biedermann, Vorlesungen über Sozialismus und soziale Fragen (Leipzig: Biedermann, 1847), p.124, 170, 210-11. Cited hereafter as Biedermann, Vorlesungen. " * * Paris, 19. Oct.," TZ, 23 October 1846. Ruge to Karl Nauwerck, Paris 21 December 1844; Ruge, Briefwechsel, I, 389-90. " § Vom Mittelrhein, 26. März," MAZ, 29 March 1844.

⁴¹Bridenthal, "Grün," p.63-64.

⁴²Luise Dittmar, an early German feminist, wrote Hess 24 July 1845 about a certain "plan" of Grün's, mentioning that Hess' collaboration was expected to be most influential (Mönke, Hess-Forschung, p.98).

⁴³Grün to Hess, Paris 6 August 1845; Hess, Briefwechsel, p.131. Resentment over Grün's attempt to play the "mediator" is expressed in R. Daniels' letter to Marx, 17 July 1846. Bert Andréas and Wolfgang Mönke, Neue Daten zur 'Deutschen Ideologie': Mit einem unbekanntem Brief von Karl Marx und anderen Dokumenten, specially printed from Archiv für Sozialgeschichte (1968), vol. VIII (Hannover: Verlag für Literatur und Zeitgeschehen GmbH, 1968), p.83-84. Cited hereafter as Andréas and Mönke, Deutsche Ideologie.

excellent foreign socialist writers." ⁴⁴ Engels explained many years later that the purpose was to counter the "driveling" interpretations of the subject by Lorenz von Stein, Grün and others. ⁴⁵ This was not an accurate recollection, considering that the Soziale Bewegung came out after the plan of the "library" project. ⁴⁶ But Engels had indeed seen Grün's review of Stein's work in the Neue Anekdoten, which appeared February 1845. Dissatisfied by the sentimentality and the fantasy of German socialists and communists in general, he intended his Condition of the Working Classes in England as a counterweight ⁴⁷ to the abstract approach of these students of Feuerbach.

Not until after he had joined Marx in Brussels early in April did his criticism begin to focus upon Grün. ⁴⁸ It was then that he ceased to use the two terms 'socialism' and 'communism' interchangeably, as he had done in the preface to his book on English conditions. He explained that this distinction was necessary in order to separate the socialists from the communists because of the socialists' confused thinking and their inability

⁴⁴ Engels to Marx, Barmen 22-26 February [and 7 March] 1845; MEW, XXVII, 22.

⁴⁵ Engels to August Bebel, 25 October 1888; cited in Mönke, "Deutsche Ideologie," p.440.

⁴⁶ Grün's book was in press in the latter part of May, according to "† Köln, 22. Mai," TZ, 25 May 1845.

⁴⁷ MEW, II, 229, 232-34.

⁴⁸ This refines somewhat the dating of the initiative against Grün. Obermann, "Soziale Frage," p.279.

to adapt themselves to common positive action. Engels' first recognizable reference to Grün appeared in his introduction to Fourier's essay on trade, in which he complained of certain speculative-minded Germans for corrupting the "communist movement" with their "true German theory," which they proclaimed to be superior to the classical French and English socialist systems. Significantly, they ignored Wilhelm Weitling, "the one German who has really done anything." Lost in their theoretical nonsense, how did they expect to get the masses in motion and "revolutionize Germany?"⁵⁰

Engels' reaction to the philosophical True Socialism of Grün thus resulted in an important adjustment in terminology. 'Communism,' a new and imprecise term used mainly to distinguish the communauté socialism of Etienne Cabet, now began to denote political revolution.⁵¹

⁴⁹ [Engels], "Rascher Fortschritt des Kommunismus in Deutschland, III," The New Moral World, 10 May 1845; MEW, II, 519. Even here, however, he recommended Grün's Anekdoten and the Rheinische Jahrbücher. The undefined state of the ~~terms~~ is noticed also in the case of Proudhon. David Cauter, The Left in Europe since 1789 (London: World University Library, c.1966), p.131. Cited hereafter as Cauter, The Left.

⁵⁰ [Engels], "Ein Fragment Fouriers über den Handel," Deutsches Bürgerbuch für 1846, ed. Hermann Püttmann (Mannheim; Heinrich Hoff, 1846); MEW, II, 604-05, 609.

⁵¹ Cole, Forerunners, p.7-8.

Marx and Engels compared notes in Brussels and decided that Grün was a harmful influence in the 'party.' Using his reputation as a man of letters he had shouldered his way, uninvited, into the socialist movement. Lacking all talent for originality he offered only a vague and flamboyant version of Hess' ethical social theories, a caricature fittingly called True Socialism.⁵² Ignorant of economics, blind to political realities, Grün brought only confusion and discredit to the cause.

The rejection of Grün was part of a larger decision which Marx and Engels began to implement in the spring of 1845. They would convert a loose association, their so-called 'party,' into a closely organized movement, equipped with the necessary defined program of goals and strategy. This required the fashioning of a basic organizational discipline. By selectivizing membership, weeding out those who would not accept the fundamental postulates of the new communist science, they would create a far more effective, closed organization. Those intellectuals who realized the necessity of a political revolution of the masses and understood the economic factors underlying that necessity were to be drawn together in a correspondence

⁵² Marx and Engels, Die Deutsche Ideologie; MEW, III, 475-78, 519. Grün should be considered the author of the term because of his constant use of the adjective "true," a synonym in his vocabulary for "human." Koszyk ("Dampfboot," p.16) believes that the name derived from the Wahre Bildung address. Grün himself used the term very deliberately to describe his position ("Zur Literatur," KZ, 17 October 1847).

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network covering all western Europe. At the center of the movement stood the Communist Correspondence-Committee in Brussels.⁵³

Holding court in Brussels, Marx and Engels initiated the disciplining procedures that accompanied this internal revolution by expelling first Weitling and Kriege in March and May 1846. The action drew strong protests, but no unmanageable difficulties arose. Weitling, broken in spirit, could not strike back. Kriege had left for New York.⁵⁴ In Grün's case the process proved much longer and far more involved.

Grün himself provided the first opportunity to reduce his influence by designating as his replacement on the Trierische Zeitung staff Joseph Weydemeyer, a man whose sympathies lay very definitely with Marx and Engels. For almost the whole of 1845 Weydemeyer controlled the editorial policy of the paper, moving as close to the communist position as Walthr and an alert censor would permit. Already in April Walthr had begun to caution him about his plans to expand the staff of correspondents; in July he took open exception to Weydemeyer's radical communist associates, referring to a "little clique of a certain color."⁵⁵

⁵³ Obermann, "Soziale Frage," p.252. Förder, Marx und Engels, p.41-42.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 41-125.

⁵⁵ Weydemeyer's work on the Trierische Zeitung began 6 November 1844. Time permitted only very hasty examination of the Weydemeyer-Walthr correspondence held by the IISG,

This was approximately the point at which Grün began to get wind of gathering troubles. He wrote to Hess on 6 August to complain about false and unfair rumors circulating in the Rhineland concerning his behavior before leaving Prussia. Unfriendly voices accused him of having attempted to exploit his former host, Julius Meyer. He was even supposed to have tried to quarter his poor father-in-law at Schloss Holte to live off the largesse of Meyer. Grün expected that the "party" would stand by him in this matter just as they had supported Marx in his equally personal differences with Ruge.⁵⁶

A second letter on the matter indicates that Hess replied most directly.⁵⁷ Grün appeared surprised at reference to his "'quarrels'" with the "Brüsseler." "I met Engels in Cologne through you, and as you saw, got to like him. With Marx and Bürgers, as far as I know, I was on a good footing here; I did what I could for Marx, namely in the papers and concerning his publications. Now I am to learn afterwards that this good impression was strictly one-sided, that I have been harshly and, as you say, 'reprovingly' spoken out against." As an "old

but one may rely upon Prof. Karl Obermann's excellent biography, Joseph Weydemeyer, ein Lebensbild, 1818-1866 (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1968), p.13ff.

⁵⁶Grün to Hess, Paris 6 August 1845; Hess, Briefwechsel, p.130-34.

⁵⁷Grün to Hess, Paris 1 September 1845; Ibid., p.138-40.

university friend" Marx could at least have given him a "friendly hint" about his objections. Grün was sorry if he had done something wrong; but he could not accept the insults - dilettante, literary opportunist, aesthete, and so on. In his own defense he maintained that to write in a popular fashion was not necessarily egotistical. The "party" needed a writer who could attract "the people" to new and unfamiliar ideas. Cleverly he reminded Hess of his own previous "mystical philosophizing."

Grün found Weydemeyer's part in the affair even more disturbing than the censure from Brussels. Feeling betrayed, he had already delivered to Weydemeyer "a 'last word'."⁵⁸ During the following four months Walthr placed increasing pressure upon the editor, until finally at the end of the year Weydemeyer withdrew from the paper.⁵⁹ Grün had succeeded in countering the most direct threat to his position. Early in 1846 he took the Trierische Zeitung into his own hands, setting the editorial line of the paper with a series of articles, datelined Trier, entitled "Wissenschaft und Leben."⁶⁰ Plans to remodel the paper by introducing a feuilleton having been blocked by state

⁵⁸Weitling [Weydemeyer] to Hess, Trier 2 September 1845; Hess, Briefwechsel, p.142.

⁵⁹Obermann, "Soziale Frage," p.285. The local censor Rudolph reported 3 October 1845 that Weydemeyer seemed to be completely out of favor with Walthr (Koszyk, "Dampfboot," p.38).

⁶⁰"Wissenschaft und Leben. - Trier, im April," TZ, 26 April 1846.

authorities, he used the Trierische Zeitung supplement, Der Philanthrop,⁶¹ to deliver major statements of his views.

V

This was a setback for Marx. Deprived of a position on the one socialist daily newspaper in Germany, he was left with practically no access to the press. On 18 January 1846 he made the best of a bad situation by sending to the Trierische Zeitung a statement that he considered the "bourgeois, philanthropic, by no means communist" policy of the Trier paper "thoroughly foreign."⁶²

To the informed reader this amounted to an open repudiation of Grün. In an article entitled "Aus der Gegenwart," which appeared in June 1846 in the Philanthrop, Grün responded with an appeal to the basic ideological harmony of German socialism. Taking an "excellent" passage from Marx's Kritik der hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie, he sought to justify himself by citing Marx in support of his own views. Marx had declared that the proletariat received its spiritual weapons in philosophy (and vice versa), and once the new ideas had taken root, the emancipation of the people would take place. The

⁶¹The subject of a feuilleton was raised in "V Paris, 17. Jan.," TZ, 21 January 1845.

⁶²Karl Marx, "Erklärung, Brüssel, den 18. Januar 1846," TZ, 26 January 1846. The ostensible occasion for the statement was the report in the Rheinische Beobachter that Marx was writing for the Trierische Zeitung (MEW, II, 625).

realization of philosophy and the abolition of the proletariat were mutually interdependent. Such a transformation of thought and attitude would take many years, Grün believed, requiring a moral rearming of men with the new humanist atheism. The end result would be a man liberated from the strictures of external necessity, "a true, a free man."⁶³

What had the appearance of a claim to intellectual solidarity with Marx was at the same time a demonstration of Marx's intellectual infidelity. Grün could hardly have been unaware of the real differences between himself and the communists. In his "Wissenschaft und Leben" he spoke in May 1846 of "men of destructive tendencies, the levellers" who stood in the post-Hegelian tradition of socialism alongside the atheists and the humanists.⁶⁴ To quote from the Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher essay on Hegel was to show how Marx had strayed from the true humanist socialism while Grün remained faithful to the original ideals of the 'party.'

Marx and Engels had in the meantime resolved on further steps against Grün. A Cologne correspondent of the Trierische Zeitung announced 13 January 1846 a plan by Engels to issue a history of socialism in France and England that was intended to clarify the many misconceptions of socialism. This referred,

⁶³ Philanthrop, no.48 (1846).

⁶⁴ " * Trier, im Mai," TZ, 3 May 1846.

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of course, to the very popular Soziale Bewegung. The work did not materialize; instead Marx and Engels undertook the revision of the Deutsche Ideologie, their massive reckoning with Bauer, Stirner and Feuerbach. They proposed to add a second volume dealing with the phenomenon of True Socialism. Marx prepared a critique of the Soziale Bewegung, while Engels contributed a review of Ueber Göthe vom menschlichen Standpunkte.⁶⁶

These efforts were hindered by chronic publication difficulties. Until a press could be found, they could work against Grün only through direct contact.⁶⁷ Weydemeyer had left Trier in October 1845 to arouse opposition to Grün in Cologne and Westphalia.⁶⁸ He also saw to the publication of Marx's critique in the Westphälische Dampfboot.⁶⁹

⁶⁵"Z Köln, 13. Jan.," TZ, 17 January 1846. On the success of the Soziale Bewegung see: "i + : Darmstadt, 13. Okt.," MAZ, 21 October 1845; "x Berlin, 16. Nov.," MAZ, 21 November 1845; M. "Paris, 13. April," TZ, 17 April 1847.

⁶⁶Mönke, "Deutsche Ideologie," p.445-46. Marx's contribution was written ca. April or May 1845, Engels' essay ca. winter 1846-1847 (Ibid., p.458-60).

⁶⁷Besides the instances described below, Marx exchanged notes on Grün with Roland Daniels of Cologne (Obermann, "Korrespondenzkomitee," p.136-37). 22 June 1846 the Committee sent an order to combat True Socialism to the League of the Just in London (Förder, Marx und Engels, p.112).

⁶⁸Obermann, "Soziale Frage," p.283. Koszyk, "Dampfboot," p.39. Obermann, "Korrespondenzkomitee," p.138, 124. Förder, Marx und Engels, p.119.

⁶⁹Franz Mehring, "Westphälisches Dampfboot," Gesammelte Schriften, IV, 196-97. Cited hereafter as Mehring, "Dampfboot."

Hess, too, played a part. He had arrived in Brussels early in September 1845 and without much difficulty Marx managed to make the founder of True Socialism a direct participant in the Deutsche Ideologie project. In an essay on Kuhlmann, an eccentric adventurer who attempted to exploit the socialist cause, Hess announced that other "prophets" would come under fire in the near future.⁷⁰ The expulsion of Weitling in March 1846 suddenly changed his mind about working with Marx and Engels. The cruelty with which the unfortunate man had been handled disgusted him. "You have driven him completely crazy and then wonder now that he is so. I want nothing more to do with the whole business; it makes me vomit. Scheisse nach allen Dimensionen. If the party can or will not take an interest in its writers, then it must try to do its best to help at least those whom it abandons."⁷¹ "Adieu Partei!" Within a matter of weeks Hess had returned to the fold; but it seems unlikely that he had much stomach left for the punitive intraparty tactics of his leaders.⁷² To the last he had tried to win Grün over to the ideas of Marx; failing this he parted with Grün for reasons that were political rather than personal.⁷³ As he turned to

⁷⁰Mönke, "Deutsche Ideologie," p.442-45, 459.

⁷¹Hess to Marx, Verviers 20 May 1846; Hess, Briefwechsel, p.155-56.

⁷²Hess to Marx, Cologne 28 July 1846; Ibid., p.163-65. Förder, Marx und Engels, p.74. Hess had apologized to Marx by July. Georg Weerth to Marx, [Verviers, July 1846]; Weerth, Sämtliche Werke, ed. Bruno Kaiser (5 vols.; Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1957), V, 224. Cited hereafter as Weerth, Werke.

⁷³Silberner, Hess, p.254.

his studies of history and economics he could not help but feel distressed that "his disciples" were still propagating the aberrant True Socialism that he had fathered.⁷⁴

To influence opinion in Paris, Marx and Engels turned to Hermann Ewerbeck, whom they began to warn against Grün as early as August 1845.⁷⁵ In late spring of the following year they asked both Ewerbeck and Bernays to draw up full reports on Grün, which were probably intended for circulation by the Correspondence-Committee.⁷⁶ Bernays complied most willingly, volunteering much very unpleasant information about the "literary swindler," Grün. While in prison for his connection with the Vorwärts Bernays had allowed Grün to talk him into letting him use his apartment. Grün then sublet his own place, charging for the use of the furniture, and moved in with his "dirty wife" and children who had just arrived from Cologne. He burned up a small fortune in fuel, ruined the furniture, sold a number of Bernays' belongings, and when his host returned wondered where Bernays expected to stay! Bernays was obviously delighted to see Grün "taken care of," though he advised that the "miserable chap"

⁷⁴Weerth to Marx, [Verviers, July 1846]; Weerth, Werke, V, 224.

⁷⁵Förder, Marx und Engels, p.118-19.

⁷⁶Bernays was Grün's successor on the Mannheim Abendzeitung (Mainz report 18 April 1843; Glossy, Geheimgeschichte, II, 71-72); he then joined Marx in editing the Vorwärts in Paris. Engels tried, unsuccessfully, to bring him into the Correspondence-Committee (Engels to Marx, [Paris] 9 March [1847]; MEW, XXVII, 78-79.

was not worth going to too much trouble. On the other hand, he warned: "...he is afraid of you and Engels. So he will blacken your names before you can expose him." ⁷⁷

Bernays' letter brings out the shadowy side of the affair. Although a final assessment of the reasons for the expulsion of Grün would be premature at this point, it is already evident that personal considerations played a role. Besides being a frequently careless and unrealistic thinker, Grün had an unpleasant personality calculated to bring out the worst in his acquaintances. He was terribly self-important, overly-reliant, in a demanding way, upon the generosity of friends, and at times seemingly incapable of genuine gratitude. ⁷⁸

Ewerbeck was less helpful to Marx and Engels than Bernays. He adopted a conciliatory attitude, pleading for party unity. ⁷⁹ Assuringly he described Proudhon as "highly anxious"

⁷⁷ Bernays to Marx, postmarked Sarcelles 13 June 1846; IISG MS D 309. Hess to Marx, Cologne 17 January 1845; Hess, Briefwechsel, p.108. Bernays neglected to mention that Grün had organized a collection for him during his imprisonment (Heine to Grün, [Paris, 17 January 1845]; Heine, Werke, IX, 195). Nor did he acknowledge Grün's attempts to arouse sympathy for him in the press ("V Paris, 27. November," TZ, 2 December 1844; "V Paris, 17. Febr.," TZ, 22 February 1845; "V Paris, 27. Febr.," TZ, 4 March 1845; "V Paris, 13. März," TZ, 18 March 1845).

⁷⁸ Grün's unpleasant traits are reflected in reports of Westphalian officials (Schulte, Westfalen, p.456) and also in Lüning's letter to Marx, 16 July 1847 (Mehring, "Dampfboot," p.196-97).

⁷⁹ Engels to Marx, [Paris] 19 August 1846; M EW, XXVII, 32. In one of the Δ correspondences in the Trierische Zeitung - this may have been Ewerbeck's cipher - high praise was given to both Grün's Göthe and the writings of Marx (" Δ Paris, 24. Juni," TZ, 29 June 1846).

to see Marx's new work on national economy; this was after the celebrated exchange of letters in which occurred the dramatic separation of the two great socialist leaders.⁸⁰

Marx and Engels had reached an important juncture in their effort to organize a communist movement. Ewerbeck's hesitation and the break with Proudhon reduced considerably the prospect of successfully establishing the communist movement in Paris. An even greater obstacle was the influence of Grün. Only direct action could drive Grün away from the League of the Just and place the organization in the hands of the communists. Hence, Engels would go to Paris and confront Grün in person.

⁸⁰ Mönke, Hess-Forschung, p.101.

CHAPTER III

THE CONFRONTATION

The immediate occasion of Engels' mission to Paris in the fall of 1846 was an incident, which occurred several months earlier, that brought the differences between Grün and Marx to a head. On 5 May 1846 Marx sent to Proudhon an invitation to join the Correspondence-Committee, certain that he had selected the most desirable contact with the French socialist leadership.¹ The purpose of the organization, he explained, was to provide a fruitful exchange of ideas and to enable the various socialist and communist camps to coordinate their efforts "at the moment of action." At the end of this friendly and flattering letter he appended a very deliberate postscript that began: "PS. I herewith warn you about Herrn Grün in Paris...." Grün, he went on to explain, was a "charlatan" and a "swindler" who trafficked in modern ideas, hiding a total ignorance of such matters in

¹Proudhon was definitely Marx's primary choice. Hence the indifference of other French socialists counted little in the matter, contrary to the impression given in George Woodcock's Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., c.1962), p.110. Cited hereafter as Woodcock, Anarchism.

clouds of inflated speech. Moreover, he was a "dangerous" charlatan because of his habit of exploiting men of prominence to enhance his own reputation. He had already succeeded in making Proudhon look ridiculous in Germany with the Soziale Bewegung, in which he made fun of Proudhon's writings and dared to claim that he had been Proudhon's "Privatdozent" or teacher. "Guard yourself against this parasite," Marx declared at the end.²

He received a startling answer. Proudhon in effect rejected his offer, on the grounds that he could not cooperate with doctrinaire revolutionaries. He himself had abandoned "revolutionary action" for economic reform, preferring, as he said, "...to burn Property by a slow fire, rather than give it new strength by making a St. Bartholomew's night of the proprietors." One must not, he added, offer the workers blood to drink when they were thirsting for knowledge. No less directly he revealed his disbelief in Marx's promise of a free exchange of ideas, implying that Marx was trying instead to impose his doctrines upon others.

....Let us not, because we are at the head of a movement, make ourselves the leaders of a new intolerance, let us not pose as the apostles of a new religion, even if it be the religion of logic, the religion of reason. Let us gather together and encourage all protests, let us condemn all exclusiveness, all mysticism; let us never regard a question as exhausted, and when we have used our last argument, let

²MEW, XXVII, 443.

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us begin again, if necessary, with eloquence and irony. On that condition, I will gladly enter into your association. Otherwise - no!

Concerning Grün, Proudhon could forgive the man's small eccentricities and he urged Marx, for the sake of prudence, to retract a judgment reached in a "moment of irritation." Making a special point of Grün's financial distress he asked Marx to help promote the sale of Grün's German edition of the Systeme.³

Taken as a whole, the implication of the letter was that Proudhon repudiated the offer of collaboration because of Marx's intolerance, an attitude exemplified by the case of Grün. He would not join the Correspondence-Committee unless guaranteed that the discussion would remain open. The request that Marx swallow his private prejudices and accept Grün seemed to be a practical corollary of Proudhon's condition. Marx's reaction is not recorded, but it can be easily imagined that in his anger he blamed Grün for turning Proudhon against him.⁴ There was thus probably an element of retaliation in the subsequent decision to challenge Grün directly in Paris.

³Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Lettres de Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, ed. Daniel Halévy and Louis Guilloux (Paris: B. Grasset, 1929), p.71-76.

⁴This was what Mehring supposed, although he had not seen Marx's letter and so did not know how closely Proudhon followed Marx's own statements in making his criticisms. Franz Mehring, Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie (Gesammelte Schriften, vols. I-II), I, 288. Cited hereafter as Mehring, Sozialdemokratie.

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II

Engels arrived in Paris on Saturday 15 August to find the situation very promising. Ewerbeck, whom he described in his first report as "fidel" and "tractable," was already at odds with Grün over some matter which Engels left unexplained in writing to Marx. Engels evidently thought it important to mention also that Ewerbeck entertained no illusions about Moses Hess, for whom he had "not the slightest sympathy."⁵ Having aligned his principal ally, Engels was now in a position to move on to the artisans.

Of the ten thousand itinerant apprentices who wandered out of the Germanies in the eighteen thirties and eighteen forties, perhaps a tenth at most belonged to political organizations. Using an estimate for an earlier date, one may safely suppose that the figure for Paris at mid-decade stood near one or two hundred at the most. This included a small percentage of intellectuals, whose importance as leaders far exceeded their numbers.⁶ Engels' attempt to acquaint himself with the German worker colony led him into a corner of the Paris scene occupied by one quite small group of artisans. The smiths he could not locate; he had expected the tanners to be promising, but they

⁵Engels to Marx, [Paris] 19 August 1846; MEW, XXVII, 32. Ewerbeck himself confirmed Engels' report in a letter to Marx of 20 August (Förder, Marx und Engels, p.121).

⁶Schieder, Auslandsvereine, p.124-26.

seem to have been forgotten somewhere along the line.⁷ The tailors, backbone of the worker community, had to be excepted because most of them were supporters of Weitling.⁸ Engels settled on the Schreiner, the cabinet-makers, of whom some twelve to twenty attended weekly meetings directed by Ewerbeck and Grün. These were tedious affairs, according to Engels' description. The group was literally on the verge of falling asleep, thanks to the perpetual repetition of "Grünisch humanistic phrases and begrüened Proudhon."⁹

Thus it appears that what Engels actually located was Grün's audience and not the League of the Just itself.¹⁰ Here he hoped to make a small beginning by eradicating the influence of Grün and enlisting for the Correspondence-Committee a few of the leading members, particularly a level-headed young artisan by the name of Adolph Junge. The reckoning with Grün would be simple. Challenged to appear before the group, he would be put

⁷Engels to the Communist Correspondence-Committee in Brussels, Committee Letter No.1, [Paris] 19 August 1846; MEW, XXVII, 36. Engels, Committee Letter No.3, Paris 23 October 1846; MEW, XXVII, 62.

⁸Engels, Committee Letter No.1, [Paris] 19 August 1846; MEW, XXVII, 36. Engels, Committee Letter No.2, [Paris] 16 September 1846; MEW, XXVII, 40.

⁹Engels, Committee Letter No.2, [Paris] 16 September 1846; MEW, XXVII, 40-41.

¹⁰He described the small circle of Schreiner as "to a degree rudder of the League of the Just;" he did not mention the tailors at all. Engels, Committee Letter No.3, Paris 23 October 1846; MEW, XXVII, 62.

on trial, as it were, accused in person by Ewerbeck, Engels and also Bernays. The most damaging charge involved Grün's collection of three hundred francs from the workers to publish a pamphlet on Prussian politics, the profits of which Grün pocketed for himself. Five minutes of such disclosures and he would be finished.¹¹

Before the plan could be put into operation - it had to await the return of Junge, who had disappeared - Grün managed a counter-stroke by sending his most devoted follower, the joiner Eisermann, to the Schreiner with the long-awaited "plan of association."¹² A pilot association of some twenty thousand workers would be formed for the exchange of goods and services on the basis of a 'natural' value representing the cost of materials and labor only. Sale of the surplus on the open market would swell the capital accumulated by the associated workers, furnishing credit for more such mutualist enterprises.

As Engels saw it, they intended to "buy up the whole of France."¹³ On the serious side, however, he had to admit that the artisans took the "plan of association" very earnestly,

¹¹Engels, Committee Letter No.2, [Paris] 16 September 1846; MEW, XXVII, 41-42. Grün's pamphlet appeared anonymously in Switzerland as Die preussische Landtagsabschiede (Birwinken, 1846).

¹²Engels, Committee Letter No.2, [Paris] 16 September 1846; MEW, XXVII, 42.

¹³Ibid. Engels to Marx, [Paris] 18 September 1846; MEW, XXVII, 50.

and, worse than that, Ewerbeck was becoming extremely confused, unable to remember coherently the counter-arguments that he tried to learn from Engels. The need for a showdown was now more urgent than before. If he could not discredit Grün by accusing him of embezzlement - which proved to be the case - then Engels would have to attack on the broader level of basic principles.¹⁴

The crucial event took place on 18 October, a Sunday. "With this," Engels claimed in his report written five days later, "we have finally a tabula rasa, and one can now begin to make something out of the boys. Grün...is now very much out of favor with the majority and a part of his [own] following, and in spite of all his intrigues and experiments...has fallen through with his shining Proudhonian society."¹⁵ The climax had been building over a period of approximately two weeks. First there were three evenings in the week of 4 October devoted to discussion of Proudhon, Engels scoring the Proudhonian "panacea" as "anti-proletarian, petty bourgeois, straubingerisch." Growing impatient with the simple, happy-go-lucky Schwabs, whom he called contemptuously "Straubinger," he suddenly began to criticize the workers. This had the effect of drawing out the

¹⁴Engels to Marx, [Paris] 18 September 1846; MEW, XXVII, 50-51. Engels, Committee Letter No.3, Paris 23 October 1846; MEW, XXVII, 62.

¹⁵Engels, Committee Letter No.3, Paris 23 October 1846; MEW, XXVII, 62.

enemy, first Eisermann, who made "an open attack on communism," and then Grün himself, who came forth on the following Sunday, 11 October, to denounce communism before a group of eight or ten.

This was a "boundless stupidity" in Engels' mind, for by thus accepting his terms of debate they provided the "handhold" he needed to press the issue to a conclusion. He told the workers that either they meet as communists, or continue to gather as "just any old individuals...to discuss just any old thing...," in which case he would not bother to come again. In the confusion that followed, with the supporters of Grün appealing to the "good of mankind" and condemning narrow-minded "system-making," someone called for a definition, "in 2 or 3 words," of communism. In what must have been the most dramatic moment Engels complied with a terse, radical
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three-part statement of the communist aims.

1. To achieve the interests of the proletariat in opposition to those of the bourgeoisie.
2. To accomplish this through the abolition of private property, and the substitution of common ownership.
3. To recognize violent democratic revolution as the only means of accomplishing these ends.

During the next two evenings of debate, on 17 and 18 October, Grün's following began to evaporate. After each session a band of confused Schreiner sought him out to be rearmed with arguments for the next encounter, while during the week Grün made the rounds of the workshops trying to stir up opposition

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Engels, Committee Letter No.3, Paris 23 October 1846;
MEW, XXVII, 60-62.

to Engels. It was a poor defense. One may wonder how he managed to justify remaining thus on the sidelines. Left on their own, the artisans were no match for the quick mind and caustic tongue of Engels. Three of them converted on the second night, starting a landslide that ended in a vote of thirteen to two in favor of communism. In the optimistic afterglow of this success Engels dreamt of the prospect of a large communist organization in Paris numbering over a hundred members among the Schreiner alone.¹⁷

III

Engels' jubilation was premature and short-lived. Less than a week after the victory of 18 October he cautioned Marx that the Paris Straubinger must not see the latest circular against Kriege lest they become unsure about Grün. "Boundless confusion" reigned among the Schreiner, their heads still filled with the vague and belletristic phrases Grün had taught them. He was also responsible for their almost superstitious fear of what he termed "spoon communism."¹⁸

By December Engels was ready to give up. In a letter to Marx written in that month he expressed utter disgust at the "...nonchalance [with which] the Straubinger trumpet around for

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Engels to Marx, [Paris ca. 23 October 1846]; MEW, XXVII, 65-66.

the whole world to hear and discuss all over the place who is right, Grün or I. I was tired of the crap; the boys were just not to be improved...."¹⁹ The appearance of the police, deliberately attracted by Grün, he believed, offered a most welcome opportunity to drop out.²⁰ It was now unsafe to continue operating in public and at the same time far more rewarding to go looking for pretty women.²¹

Engels' disillusionment must have been most thorough, considering that, contrary to Lenin's belief that he had just laid the foundation stone of the German social democratic workers party,²² his mission to Paris was in fact an almost total failure. His claim to have accomplished the main purpose, "the triumph over Grün," does not ring true if the workers

¹⁹Engels to Marx, [Paris December 1846]; MEW, XXVII, 68-69.

²⁰Engels reckoned that, since Grün must have known the barrière to be a favorite haunt of police informers, his open attack on communism there amounted to a calculated betrayal. The occasion referred to may have been the Sunday of 18 October. Actually Eisermann had done the talking, with Grün coaching at his elbow. Engels, Committee Letter No.3; MEW, XXVII, 64. Engels to Marx, [Paris December 1846]; MEW, XXVII, 68-69.

²¹Engels to Marx, [Paris December 1846]; MEW, XXVII, 68-69. Engels to Marx, [Paris] 9 March [1847]; MEW, XXVII, 80.

²²Förder, Marx und Engels, p.125.

still wondered who was right.²³ The destruction of Grün seems instead to have been postponed until his translation of Proudhon's new book had appeared - "then we have him" Engels²⁴ assured Marx.

Nor is the more modest interpretation that he had succeeded in establishing a communist cell in Paris any nearer the mark.²⁵ He had come to the conclusion that nothing could be done with the Straubinger until a real movement had developed in Germany, for at present they lacked all class consciousness and were thus vulnerable to the reformist message of humanity and conciliation.²⁶

The seemingly more tangible aim of setting up a branch of the Correspondence-Committee in Paris proved no less elusive.²⁷ Likeable though he was, Ewerbeck could not be relied on. Engels ruled out Bernays on account of his inability to see that his tirades in the press against the bourgeoisie and

²³ Engels to Marx, [Paris December 1846]; MEW, XXVII, 68-69.

²⁴ Engels to Marx, [Paris ca. 23 October 1846]; MEW, XXVII, 65.

²⁵ Editor's note, MEW, XXVII, 622-23.

²⁶ Engels to Marx, [Paris December 1846]; MEW, XXVII, 69, 70-71. Engels to Marx, [Paris] 18 September 1846; MEW, XXVII, 48.

²⁷ Engels to Marx, [Paris] 18 September 1846; MEW, XXVII, 51. As late as March 1847 he was telling Marx of the difficulty of keeping Ewerbeck away from Grün (Engels to Marx, [Paris] 9 March [1847]; MEW, XXVII, 77).

liberal institutions played into the hands of the Reaction. Hess, who arrived early in January, wanted to align himself with Engels against Grün; but Engels only snubbed him, unable to forgive him for the troubles he and his "disciples" had caused with his True Socialist philosophy. His one friendly gesture toward the "Kommunistenpapa" was to advise him on how to deal with a venereal infection.²⁹

On balance it must be said that while Engels' Paris mission met defeat, Grün's plans suffered as well. Although evidence from a later date shows, as will be noticed, that he retained a following in Paris, for the moment he expressed strong pessimism about his prospects there. Thanks to Engels, he wrote to Proudhon on 26 September 1846, his influence in Paris had been ruined. But, he reminded his friend, they had supporters elsewhere in France, in Germany and in Switzerland to work with.³⁰ Momentary resignation gave way to renewed confidence and determination. Just as his plans began to materialize, however, events took another unexpected bad turn.

²⁸ Engels to Marx, [Paris] 15 January 1847; MEW, XXVII, 73. Engels to Marx, [Paris] 9 March [1847]; MEW, XXVII, 78. Engels to Marx, [Paris] 18 September 1846; MEW, XXVII, 52.

²⁹ Silberner, Hess, p.267-68. Engels to Marx, [Paris] 15 January 1847; MEW, XXVII, 74.

³⁰ Förder, Marx und Engels, p.137. Engels to Marx, Paris 23 October 1846; MEW, XXVII, 64.

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IV

In the early days of spring 1847 the police activity that Grün himself had helped to stir up began to come uncomfortably close. During March the authorities made a concerted effort to disperse the dissident elements still remaining in the German sections of Paris.³¹ On 14 March they staged a raid at the Barrière des amandières in Belleville. The police interrupted a song fest in one of the inns to interrogate those present about the existence of a supposed radical society.³² Obtaining no satisfaction by this method, the authorities began to close in upon several individuals on their list of suspects, among them Adolph Junge, Engels and Grün. The first two managed to evade the search that was undertaken, but Grün was less fortunate.³³

Considering that he had withdrawn from his earlier activities among the workers to devote himself to private pursuits it seems odd at first that Grün should have received primary attention during the persecution. The editor of the

³¹Engels to Marx, [Paris] 9 March [1847]; MEW, XXVII, 79-80.

³²*** Paris, 15. März," MAZ, 22 March 1847. ** Paris, 5. April," TZ, 8 April 1847.

³³Weerth, Werke, V, 251. Engels to Marx, [Paris] 9 March [1847]; MEW, XXVII, 79-80. Berliner Zeitungshalle, 8 April 1847.

Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung, von Bornstedt, accused the Prussian government of having instigated the move to get rid of Grün.³⁴

It is true that the authorities in Berlin were concerned about the activities of the German emigrés and believed in the existence of an international revolutionary organization.

Ambassador von Arnim had reported from Paris that Grün was party to such a cause, citing his "very close" association with the principal French revolutionaries.³⁵ However, official government correspondence places responsibility entirely with the French, citing their reaction to Grün's writings on French politics.³⁶

Concern about Grün's activities among the workers was only a secondary motive.³⁷

³⁴"(X) Pariser Polizeiskandal," DBZ, 18 April 1847. The article is anonymous, but is supplemented by a lengthy note signed "A.v.B."

³⁵Criminal-Procédur gegen Dr. C. Grün und 22 Genossen, wegen Hochverrath resp. Plünderung des Zeughauses zu Prüm. Verhandelt vor den Assisen zu Trier im Januar 1850 (Trier: Fr. Lintz, 1850), p.69. Cited hereafter as Criminal-Procédur. Prussian authorities were on guard against an attempt by Grün to return to Germany to spread his seditious principles in the Rhineland (Minister des Innern von Bodelschwingh to Ober-Präsident Eichmann, Berlin 21 March 1847; DZAM, "Grün," Bl.89-90).

³⁶Minister des Innern von Bodelschwingh to Minister der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten von Canitz, Berlin 17 April 1847; Canitz to Bodelschwingh, Berlin 22 April 1847; Canitz to Bodelschwingh, Berlin 4 May 1847; DZAM, "Grün," Bl. 96, 97, 98-99.

³⁷Karl Grün, "Zur Beruhigung meiner Freunde - und Abfertigung des Hrn. A. Weill in Paris. Ostende, den 10. April 1847," TZ, 23 April 1847. Cited hereafter as Grün, "Zur Beruhigung."

That articles hostile to the French government could be considered cause for expulsion when they were written in German is substantiated by a similar case that occurred several weeks later. A German writer who styled himself as a thorough "ultra" was summoned before the police for the same offense and there reminded of the fate of Grün. Although he had the audacity to say that he regarded the articles in question as having been far too moderate he was dismissed.³⁸ Grün might have gotten off too if it were not for faulty communications between separate branches of the French administration.³⁹ Finally, the official reason for the expulsion is more than adequately confirmed by the proscription in Paris of the Trierische Zeitung in early May.⁴⁰

The first intimation of the impending trouble came with the rejection of an application for permission to lecture. Next there were "lying denunciations," whereupon suddenly a "whole race of secret police agents" seemed to materialize from nowhere.⁴¹ Eviction was ordered early in March, shortly before the raid at the Barrière, but then stayed upon appeal to the Minister of Interior Duchâtel.⁴² When the order was repeated

³⁸The articles appeared in Die Grenzboten (Leipzig). "N Paris, 8. Mai," TZ, 12 May 1847.

³⁹This interpretation Grün made public immediately after the event. "X X Paris, 9. April," KZ, 12 April 1847. Grün, "Zur Beruhigung."

⁴⁰"N Paris, 8. Mai," TZ, 12 May 1847.

⁴¹"X X Paris, 9. April," KZ, 12 April 1847. Criminal-
Procedur, p.70.

⁴²"X X Paris, 9. April," KZ, 12 April 1847.

on 26 March friends of Grün persuaded him to resist once more,⁴³ this time assisted by several politically influential persons. For a while he hid out with his old friend Moriz Carrière. Yet nothing, not even assurance from Duchâtel that the case was being reviewed and that in the meantime no action would be taken, availed to halt the autonomous operation of the police machinery. He spent the night of 6 April in jail and the next morning was released, given three hours to pack, and then set⁴⁴ aboard a Brussels-bound train by two plain-clothesmen.

V

Once again Grün found himself a political outcast. And, as before, he sought consolation by taking his complaint to the public. The senseless injustice of the affair was taken up by the Kölnische Zeitung, the Trierische Zeitung, the Berliner Zeitungshalle, the Allgemeine Preussische Zeitung and the Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung. Two of these reports originated with Grün, who also promised to write a full account of the expulsion in a brochure. By the time this work was ready for the press, however, he had become too involved with other matters

⁴³These included the Deputy from Doubs, A. Demesmay and Prince Czartoryski, leader of the party of Polish aristocrats in Paris. Grün, "Zur Beruhigung."

⁴⁴"KZ Paris, 9. April," KZ, 12 April 1847.

to carry out his plan.⁴⁵ Perhaps he intended to repeat the sensation of the Ausweisung aus Baden, but he was probably also anxious to demonstrate his innocence so that no misconstruction of the matter would affect his chances of returning to Germany.⁴⁶ He needed, in particular, to correct the accusation, made in the Berliner Zeitungshalle by Alexander Weill, editor of the Paris Corsaire-Satan,⁴⁷ that he presided over a "communist society."

No amount of sympathetic publicity, however, could really compensate for the hardship caused by the expulsion. Grün did not halt in Brussels, but continued on to the resort town of Ostend in order to recover from the strain of recent

⁴⁵ Grün's accounts are cited above in the notes. Von Bornstedt appealed to the French press to protest the affair as had been done in the case of his own expulsion in 1845 ("(X) Pariser Polizeiskandal," DBZ, 18 April 1847). Very partisan in Grün's behalf was "†† Berlin, 6. April," TZ, 13 April 1847. The other reports are cited in Grün, "Zur Beruhigung," and DZAM, "Grün," Bl.93.

⁴⁶ Grün to Minister des Innern von Bodelschwingh, Lüttich 25 September 1847; DZAM, "Grün," Bl.122. It seems likely that the work referred to was actually published as Grün, "Rückzug aus Frankreich" in the Amphitheater early in 1848. These letters to a woman - a form used in the Soziale Bewegung - were written upon Grün's arrival in Belgium.

⁴⁷ He accused Weill, whom he called "matador of the Paris mouchards," of having betrayed him to the police. Grün, "Zur Beruhigung." Heine tried after the event to get Weill to share in his sympathy for the "poor devil" Grün (Heine to Weill, [1847]; Weill, Briefe, p.115).

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events. His work interrupted, wife and two children left behind in Paris, and finances in doubt, the situation was most unhappy. In a public apology he expressed his embarrassment at having to continue the Paris columns from Brussels.⁴⁹ An agent of the Metternich information service reported that he had received employment from von Bornstedt; but, if so, he probably worked only as a typesetter, a trade in which he is found occupied in March 1848.⁵⁰ Concerning his own literary work he was at loose ends, playing with a number of ideas, a history of German socialism, a reinterpretation of modern history from an economic standpoint, or perhaps a study of the "perspectives of the German future."⁵¹

In the meantime he was burdened with a piece of unfinished business concerning the Hatzfeldt divorce case. By agreement with Ferdinand Lassalle, champion of Countess

⁴⁸Grün, "Rückzug," Amphitheater, no.2 (1848). That the stay in Ostend was not brief is indicated in Grün's letter to Lassalle, Brussels 11 May [1847]. Ferdinand Lassalle, Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften, ed. Gustav Mayer ("Deutsche Geschichtsquellen des 19. Jahrhunderts," vols. IV-VIII, XVII; Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1921-1925), IV, 319. Cited hereafter as Lassalle, Briefe.

⁴⁹"~~X~~ Paris, 9. April," KZ, 12 April 1847.

⁵⁰Glossy, Geheimgeschichte, II, 277. "✓ Paris, 18. März," TZ, 23 March 1848. A careful search of the Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung revealed nothing clearly identifiable as Grün's work. Grün may have met von Bornstedt before the latter was expelled from Paris early in 1845. He later referred to Bornstedt's paper as a "spittoon," but excepted the editor from the insult, which was aimed at Marx ("✓ Paris, 30. März," TZ, 6 April 1848).

⁵¹Grün, "Rückzug," Amphitheater, no.3 (1848).

sophie Hatzfeldt in her celebrated attempt to obtain a divorce, Grün had undertaken to supply the German and French papers with propaganda against Count Hatzfeldt. The task became increasingly disagreeable to him. He was too weary and discouraged to work effectively and the imperious Lassalle grew progressively harder to please. Relations between the two finally came to ruin after the disclosure of an attempt by Grün's brother Albert to blackmail the Countess. A bitter enmity developed out of these experiences that survived until as late as 1863 when Grün tried to block Lassalle's rise to power as head of the Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein.⁵²

Beside the disappointments experienced in the months after August 1846 there were also reasons for optimism. The embarrassment suffered at the hands of Engels was compensated by the knowledge that the latter had made no headway in Paris. The Brussels communists had actually lost ground by alienating Proudhon, and Grün could reflect with pleasure on his part in the affair. By rejecting Marx out of consideration for his friend Grün - inasmuch as that was the immediate issue - Proudhon became Grün's ally against the communists. Grün's role in this partnership consisted in helping Proudhon to attain what he

⁵²Grün's connections with Lassalle belong more properly in a separate essay. The basic facts are found in Lassalle, Briefe, IV, 240-41, 273-76, 286-90, 309-11, 317, 320-21, 327-33, and V, 210-13. There is some reference to these events in the David Footman biography, Lassalle (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), but Grün's part in the Hatzfeldt affair is overlooked in Hermann Onken's Lassalle: Zwischen Marx und Bismarck (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, c.1966).

considered a natural preeminence over all other socialist thinkers, including especially Karl Marx. He derived his greatest satisfaction from translating Proudhon's major work, Système des Contradictions économiques ou Philosophie de la Misère.

CHAPTER IV

THE CAMPAIGN FOR PROUDHON

The Philosophie der Staats-Oekonomie oder Nothwendigkeit des Glends, Grün's translation of the Système, issued from the press of Mannheim publisher Leske in March 1847.¹ The event marked the culmination of an extensive effort to obtain for Proudhon a hearing in Germany. This purpose was already very evident in the Soziale Bewegung, the popular introduction to foreign socialism which ranked all other French socialists inferior to the "French Feuerbach." For more than two years Grün used every opportunity in his Paris correspondence for German papers to build expectation of a new dispensation from Proudhon. Presumably he was no less energetic in working through personal contact. Several other journalists, notably his friend Meyen and the anonymous Paris correspondent M.,² joined the effort. Karl Schurz later recalled long discussions

¹Proudhon, Philosophie, lvi. The original French edition reached the market in late October 1846.

²Other partisans included Meyen and correspondents in Darmstadt, Antwerp and Mainz ("!? Darmstadt, 19. März," MAZ, 24 March 1847; "† Antwerpen, 8. Mai," TZ, 13 May 1847; "† Vom Main, 27. Mai," TZ, 2 June 1847.

with Grün over the respective merits of Proudhon and Charles
 Fourier.³

Grün's dedication to this work reflected a genuine belief that the fate of European society hung in the balance. Convinced that the Continent stood on the verge of revolution, he looked to the adoption of a new science of society as the only salvation.⁴ He hoped for the creation of a powerful movement based upon the philosophy and practical theories of Proudhon to counteract the present dangerous trend. While Proudhon imagined himself as founder of "...the greatest, the most radical, the most decisive revolutionary movement that has been seen in the world,"⁵ Grün entertained the prospect of the new doctrine of true value and equal exchange taking hold in the minds of idealistic youth on the other side of the Rhine.⁶

II

The campaign was taken first to the German artisans in Paris, with, as has been noticed, modest success. In May 1846 Grün moved farther afield with a trip to Bordeaux and Switzerland. Possibly he joined Proudhon in Lyon, for it was from Lyon that the latter sent the fateful reply to Marx of 17 May.⁷

³"Aus einem Briefe von Karl Schurz," TZ, 31 January 1851.

⁴Grün to Proudhon, 10 July 1846; cited in Förder, Marx und Engels, p.120.

⁵Proudhon to Paul Ackermann, July 1846; cited in Woodcock, Proudhon, p.96.

⁶"◇ Paris, 17. Novbr.," TZ, 22 November 1846.

⁷"* Auch eine Dorfgeschichte," Philanthrop, no.38 (1846).

Not very much more is known about the rest of the journey. He visited Lucerne and discussed the "newest results of the German philosophy," emphasizing the need to replace subjective philosophical reasoning with a practical approach to the social question.⁸ The followers of Proudhon that he encountered in Switzerland were evidently mostly Germans who had been converted in Paris.⁹ Unfortunately they are not identified further and it is virtually impossible to determine their number.

When circumstances permitted, as during the Revolution of 1848, Grün proved a most effective popular agitator;¹⁰ but for the present his role remained primarily that of publicist. In this capacity he commanded major resources, including the popular style that Marx complained about and ready access to the press. In particular, he enjoyed free disposal of the columns of the Trierische Zeitung. In remodelling the paper at the beginning of 1846 he intended to establish a major journal of socio-economics, the official policy unmistakably dominated by the theories of Proudhon.¹¹ Relations with the Kölnische Zeitung improved during 1847, possibly as a result of

⁸* "Auch eine Dorfgeschichte," Philanthrop, no.38 (1846).

⁹* "Trier, 22. Jan. (Schluss aus Nr.15)," TZ, 24 January 1847.

¹⁰Zenz, "Grün," p.50.

¹¹* "Trier, am ersten Januar 1847," TZ, 1 January 1847.

* "Ueber die Concurrenz," Philanthrop, nos. 29 and 30 (1847).

a trip to Cologne in January which offered an opportunity for
 conversations between Grün and editor Karl Brüggemann.¹² The
 latter welcomed discussion of the social question as a matter of
 policy. Accordingly, the paper published a very lengthy review
 of the Systeme during October 1847.¹³ The space put at Grün's
 disposal more than compensated for the delay in the appearance of
 the review, which had been first announced eleven months
 earlier.¹⁴

Practically any subject that Grün took up in his Paris
 columns - the money scarcity, agricultural problems, misery in
 the streets of Paris, even a murder case - betrayed a Proudhonian
 frame of reference. In maintaining that the solution of social
 and economic problems lay in the resolving of opposed interests
 in their positive aspect, he appealed to the concept most basic
 to Proudhon's way of thinking, the harmonizing of antinomies.¹⁵

¹²Grün's pass specified travel to Cologne via Aachen; it was stamped at the border 12 January. Becker, "Presse," p.21.

¹³K.G., "Zur Literatur. Systeme des Contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la Misère; par P.J. Proudhon. 2 Tomes. Paris, chez Guillaumin et Cpgie., 1847. Philosophie der Staats-Oekonomie oder Nothwendigkeit des Elends. Von P.J. Proudhon. Deutsch bearbeitet von Karl Grün. 2 Bände. Darmst., Leske, 1847," KZ, 8 October, 12 October, 17 October, 21 October, 27 October, 28 October, 30 October 1847. In the installment of 30 October Grün praised the Kölnische Zeitung for urging open discussion of the social question.

¹⁴"X.X. Paris, 5. Nov.," KZ, 8 November 1846.

¹⁵"X.X. Paris, 25. März," KZ, 28 March 1847. "X.X. Paris, 23. März," KZ, 26 March 1847. "X. Paris, 20. Febr.," TZ, 24 February 1847. Cole, Forerunners, p.208.

When he called for a "man of ideas" to lead the economists of France toward this equilibrium of social and economic forces, he meant only Proudhon.¹⁶

A favorite technique, one already noticeable in the Soziale Bewegung, was to represent Proudhon as having supplanted everyone else in the field of social and economic enquiry. Thus, according to Grün, the "dogmatic socialism" of a Leroux or a Cabet had no future; their minor sectarian cliques barely clung to life.¹⁷ The bankruptcy of Cabet, in particular, showed in his decision to leave France with his utopian expectations to preach in the "desert" of Texas.¹⁸ Although he had only a "microscopic" following, Louis Blanc was taken somewhat more seriously, judging from the greater amount of attention that he received. Grün went to considerable trouble to brand him as an authoritarian enemy of individual freedom.¹⁹ For good measure he pointed out that Blanc was also a poor writer and a bad historian. Grün took pleasure in reporting that Lamartine's history of the French Revolution outsold Blanc's two to one.²⁰

¹⁶"X Paris, 20. Febr.," TZ, 24 February 1847.

¹⁷"* Paris, 4. April," TZ, 8 April 1846.

¹⁸"X Paris, 12. Juni," TZ, 16 June 1847. "X Paris, 12. Juli," TZ, 17 July 1847.

¹⁹Karl Grün, "X X Zwei neue Geschichten der französischen Revolution. Geschichte der französischen Revolution von Louis Blanc. 1. Band. Geschichte der französischen Revolution von J. Michelet. 1. Band. Paris, den 24. Febr. 1847," KZ, 12 March, 13 March 1847. Cited hereafter as Grün, "Zwei Geschichten."

"X X Paris, 14. Juni," KZ, 17 June 1847.

²⁰"X X Paris, 14. Juni," KZ, 17 June 1847.

The prediction that Blanc's journal, La Réforme, would be driven out of circulation by Proudhon's Le Peuple had embarrassing repercussions. A reply appeared in the French press protesting that Proudhon and Blanc were not antagonists; in fact, Blanc had been invited to contribute to Le Peuple. Grün could only respond, a bit lamely, that Blanc's paper meant nothing to him. He placed all his hope with Le Peuple.²¹ There, he alerted the reader, Proudhon would soon present "...practical instruction for immediate peaceful, legal, inviolable association..." thereby consolidating the final breakthrough in the social question.²²

III

After more than a year of intensive advertisement, Germans were finally given the great "new manifesto" in translation. They had been led to expect a work so erudite as to put all politicians, jurists and economists to shame, and yet so basically intelligible that the entire general public could not fail to comprehend its lessons.²³

The long introduction which Grün provided for the book was contrastingly unremarkable for its clarity. In pages of conceptual intricacies he sought to explain the course of

21. "X X Paris, 16. Juni," KZ, 20 June 1847.

22. Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 21 October 1847.

23. " * Paris, 4. April," TZ, 8 April 1846.

modern philosophy, at the end of which he placed Proudhon. The French Feuerbach had outstripped his German counterpart, for the latter had suddenly ceased to progress. Instead of carrying his critical analysis farther, into the world of real alienation, Feuerbach remained in the realm of abstraction, turning from his concentration on man in terms of the species to an equally abstract concept of the Individual.²⁵ More simply, he had failed to become a true socialist and remained instead merely a disengaged philosopher. Thus it was left to another to inaugurate the "final phase of theoretical socialism," one versed in modern German speculation and at the same time acquainted with the science of economics.

The attempt to baptize Proudhon by claiming him for German philosophy was one of the salient features of the propaganda written by Grün and his colleagues. They evidently intended thereby to make Proudhon more accessible and attractive to German intellectuals. Such an approach, however, had disadvantages. An idealist interpretation distorted the ideas of Proudhon, who did not abandon his concept of antinomies held in equilibrium or stabilized conflict for the Hegelian notion of dialectical progression.²⁶ The portrayal of Proudhon

²⁴Proudhon, Philosophie, xviii.

²⁵Ibid., xv.

²⁶"† Berlin, 31. Januar," TZ, 5 February 1847. Cole, Forerunners, p.208. Woodcock, Proudhon, p.89.

as a philosopher in the Hegelian tradition aggravated the Idealist handicap under which the German intellectual labored in his approach to the real world of social and economic problems. Overemphasis upon the purely philosophical aspect of the Systeme detracted from its practical analysis. The anonymous correspondent M. thus learned from Proudhon's work to consider all social and economic phenomena as essentially "...the application of highly abstract economic laws...." He regarded double bookkeeping, for example, as a necessary meta-²⁷physical consequence.

The problem came to Proudhon's attention in 1848 - if not earlier - when he read the preface which Grün had prepared for the second French edition of the Systeme. In a letter to his publisher he rejected Grün's "metaphysical dissertation" as excellent perhaps for the Germans, but scarcely intelligible to the French.²⁸

Aware himself of the mystification and general confusion generated by the philosophical interpretation of Proudhon, Grün sought to compensate by presenting also the practical

²⁷M. " * Ueber Idealismus und Materialismus," Philanthrop, no.26 (1847). The Idealist proposition that historical development proceeds from the unfolding Spirit finds clear expression in M. "Paris, 8. März (TZ, 9 March 1847) and also in a confused attempt by an Antwerp correspondent to apply Proudhon's principles to the problem of emigration ("*† Antwerpen, 8. Mai," TZ, 13 May 1847).

²⁸Proudhon to MM Garnier Frères, Concierge 20 July 1848; Correspondance de P.-J. Proudhon (14 vols.; Paris: A. Lacroix et Cie, 1875), III, 27.

applications of the new social science. In the extensive review for the Kölnische Zeitung he explained at length the theory of value and discussed the effects of various concrete economic factors, such as the introduction of machinery, the division of labor and free trade. For the resolution of the "contradictions" embodied in economic phenomena of this kind he promised final answers in Proudhon's forthcoming "Solution of All Economic Contradictions."²⁹ Here and in the pages of Le Peuple the "speculative darkness" that still clouded the Systeme would be dispelled.³⁰

IV

Despite the apology for his own obscurantism, Grün evidently felt satisfied that he had fulfilled his intention of acquainting his countrymen with Proudhon's revolutionary theories. How well he in fact succeeded defies any exact estimation. One enthusiastic reviewer credited Grün - and, presumably, Proudhon - with having provided at last a firm basis for the "realization of socialism."³¹ Another anonymous commentator confessed that his previous low regard for socialism disappeared upon reading what he considered to be the first truly "scientific" presentation of the subject.³²

(1848).²⁹The published title was Solution du problème social
³⁰Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 21 October 1847.
³¹"(X) Darmstadt, 12. Febr.," MAZ, 4 March 1847.
³²"† Vom Main, 27. Mai," TZ, 2 June 1847.

Some criticism also appeared. The socialist Wilhelm Lafaurie complained that Proudhon had abandoned philosophy, and Karl Biedermann harshly epitomized Proudhon's attempts at constructive proposals as "unclear and insincere."³³ The most negative reaction originated in Brussels and was consequently as partisan as any of the favorable commentaries in the Trierische Zeitung. The Misère de la Philosophie, published in July 1847, characterized the Systeme as "a Bible" filled with "mysteries" and "secrets torn from the bosom of God."³⁴ Marx perhaps best expressed his attitude in the title that he gave to the second half of his critique: "The Metaphysics of Political Economy."³⁵ Proudhon, an unsuccessful Hegelian, knew even less about economics than he did about philosophy. Moreover, he missed completely the political aspect of social progress. So long as society remained divided into classes, Marx insisted, there could be no peaceful evolution. The political reality of class conflict made revolution inevitable. He hammered home the point with a vehement passage from George Sand: "Struggle or death; bloody war or Nothing. Thus is the question inexorably put."³⁶

³³M., "Paris, 8. März," TZ, 9 March 1847. Biedermann, Vorlesungen, p.152.

³⁴Misère de la Philosophie. Réponse a la Philosophie de la Misère de M. Proudhon. Par Karl Marx (Paris: A. Frank, and Brussels: C.G. Vogler, 1847); MEW, IV, 66.

³⁵Ibid., IV, 125.

³⁶Ibid., IV, 182.

Marx's polemic, published in French and unpalatably radical for most tastes, probably did little to diminish German interest in Proudhon. How great that interest was may be suggested by the almost simultaneous appearance of a second translation, published in a series of works on French and English economists under the editorship of Max Stirner.³⁷ Hermann Ewerbeck, attending the Democratic Congress in Berlin in late October 1848, observed that the Systeme was widely distributed.³⁸ As these facts indicate, a number of men engaged in the promotion of Proudhon's theories. Meyen conducted discussions of the Systeme among workers and friends in Berlin.³⁹ Heinrich Oppenheim drew praise from Grün for the "intelligent love" with which he spoke out for Proudhon at the risk of a prison sentence.⁴⁰ Another journalist, Ludwig Pfau, who may also have known Grün, later translated De la Justice dans la Révolution et

³⁷P.-J. Proudhon, Die Widersprüche der National-Ökonomie oder die Philosophie der Noth, Deutsch von Wilhelm Jordan (vols. IX-X of "Die National-Ökonomen der Franzosen und Engländer," ed. Max Stirner; Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1847).

³⁸Ewerbeck, "Le Socialisme allemand," Le Peuple, 25 December 1848.

³⁹"Berlin, 20. März," TZ, 18 March 1847.

⁴⁰Proudhon, Philosophie, xlvii. An article by Oppenheim entitled "P.J. Proudhon's Philosophie der Gesellschaft" is cited by "X Heidelberg, im August," MAZ, 9 September 1846.

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dans l'Eglise. In his popular Revolutionäre Studien the novelist Alfred Meissner dwelt at great length upon the details of Proudhon's "revolutionary" scheme for establishing a "people's bank" to democratize credit.

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While some took particular satisfaction in the philosophical aspect of Proudhon's thought, others, perhaps the majority of his German readers, looked primarily for practical notions. Ludwig Bamberger, who later became a prominent National Liberal leader, provides a good illustration of this interest. During 1847 he discussed Proudhon's theories at length in the Mainzer Zeitung and subsequently produced a translation of the Banque du Peuple.

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Above all he prized the "positive spirit," the distinctly non-utopian quality of Proudhon's thinking. By

⁴¹p.-J. Proudhon, Die Gerechtigkeit in der Revolution und in der Kirche. Neue Principien praktischer Philosophie, trans. L. Pfau (Hamburg: Otto Meissner, 1858, Zürich: Meyer und Zeller, 1860). Pfau may have met Grün in Paris. 1867-72 he wrote for the Frankfurter Zeitung, a paper to which Grün was attached in the early 1860s. Ludwig Pfau, Politisches und Polemisches aus den nachgelassenen Schriften von Ludwig Pfau (Stuttgart: Dr. Foerster & Cie, [ca.1895]), viii-ix. Frankfurter Zeitung Verlag (ed.), Geschichte der Frankfurter Zeitung, 1856 bis 1906 (Frankfurt: A. Osterrieth, 1906), p.45.

⁴²Alfred Meissner, Revolutionäre Studien aus Paris (2 vols.; Frankfurt: n.n., 1849, I, 117, 123. Meissner was a student of Hess. Frolinde Balsler, Sozial-Demokratie 1848/49-1863: Die erste deutsche Arbeiterorganisation "Allgemeine Arbeiterverbrüderung" nach der Revolution ("Industrielle Welt. Schriftenreihe des Arbeitskreises für moderne Sozialgeschichte," ed. Werner Conze, vol. II; Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1962), p.146. Cited hereafter as Balsler, Arbeiterverbrüderung. Engels categorized Meissner as a True Socialist (MEW, IV, 269-70).

⁴³Bamberger's writing in the Mainzer Zeitung began in 1847 and ended in the issue of 7 May 1849. During 1849 he wrote a series of five articles on Proudhon's credit plan. Ludwig Bamberger, Erinnerungen, ed. Paul Nathan (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1899), p.177, 164. Cited hereafter as Bamberger, Erinnerungen.

the time Grün saw him again in 1848 - they had first met in 1843 - Bamberger had begun to entertain reservations about the feasibility of Proudhon's schemes. This may have been partly the result of an encounter with Marxism in the person of the "cold-blooded" communist Dr. Gottschalk of Cologne. ⁴⁴ Whatever the case, he kept his conviction of the need for social reform and years later still held in high regard "the most extreme of the communists," ⁴⁵ Proudhon.

What men like Bamberger found in Proudhon was not a final program for the solution of social inequity, but rather food for reflection and confirmation of values already held. Proudhon's evolutionary approach coincided with the general conviction that a normal, that is, non-revolutionary solution to society's problems was not only possible but imperative. The message of the Systeme confirmed the reformism that characterized virtually all variations of early German socialism. The founder of the German cooperative movement, Schulze-Delitzsch, shared with Proudhon, whose work he knew, a special

⁴⁴ Ibid., p.135, 109, 21-23, 113. "V Frankfurt, 15. Juni," TZ, 18 June 1848. Gottschalk, too, professed publicly his admiration for Proudhon, in a speech in Bonn 20 March 1849. Georg Herwegh, 1848: Briefe von und an Georg Herwegh, ed. Marcel Herwegh (Paris, Leipzig, Munich: Albert Langen, 1896), p.319. Cited hereafter as Herwegh, 1848.

⁴⁵ Bamberger, Erinnerungen, p.137-38, 164.

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interest in the reform of credit institutions. The claim that Rodbertus anticipated Proudhon in discovering the concept of "constituent value"⁴⁷ is beside the point in view of the basic affinity between the two economists. It was not an accident that Grün developed a close relationship with Rodbertus after 1848.⁴⁸

The campaign also reached the ordinary worker. Besides Grün's activities in Paris and the propaganda conducted by Meyen, similar work was done in Switzerland by the Young Hegelian socialist Wilhelm Marr, whose intellectual allegiance showed in his defense of Proudhon against the attacks of Marx and Hess.⁴⁹

⁴⁶The one mention of Proudhon in Schulze-Delitzsch's collected writings is enough to establish his knowledge of Proudhon and the similarity of their social philosophies. Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch's Schriften und Reden, ed. F. Thorwart (5 vols.; Berlin: J. Guttentag, 1910), II, 264. The presentation of Schulze-Delitzsch by Conze shows a remarkable affinity between him and Proudhon. Werner Conze, Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der liberalen Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland: Das Beispiel Schulze-Delitzschs ("Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften," treatise II, 1965; Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1965), p.14-15, 21.

⁴⁷Heinrich Dietzel, Karl Rodbertus, Darstellung seines Lebens (2 vols.; Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1886, 1888), II, 41.

⁴⁸The point is perhaps best illustrated by Engels' attempt to apply the Misery of Philosophy to Rodbertus in his introduction to the first German edition (MEW, IV, 558).

⁴⁹Wilhelm Marr, Das Junge Deutschland in der Schweiz. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der geheimen Verbindungen unserer Tage (Leipzig: Wilhelm Jurany, 1846), p.271, 222, 120. Grün discussed the writings of Marr without showing any sign of recognizing him ("X.X. Paris, 1. April," KZ, 4 April 1847). Marr was active in Switzerland through the 1840s; by February 1847 he had established himself in Hamburg. "Acta betr. den Communisten W. Marr, in der Schweiz als Verfasser revolutionairer Schriften. v.19. Septbr. 1845. 1853," DZAM, Rep. 77, Tit.6, Spec. Lit. M., Nr.238, Bl.12.

several years later, in 1850, Grün managed to use Prometheus, the journal of the Arbeiterverbrüderung, the first national German labor organization, as a platform for Proudhon's ideas, publishing, among other things, translated excerpts from Le Droit au Travail.⁵⁰ But the publication survived only a short time, while its predecessor, Die Verbrüderung, had made a direct attack upon Proudhon's theories.⁵¹ The sources record a few instances of artisans converting to Proudhon,⁵² but generally speaking the propaganda effort led by Grün was not calculated to appeal to the worker. It suited rather the conceptual milieu of the educated German.

V

One of the last issues of Prometheus carried a sharp denunciation of communism, which, to judge from the Arbeiterverbrüderung's conspicuous avoidance of the revolutionary theories of the Communist Manifesto, may well have meant

⁵⁰Balser, Arbeiterverbrüderung, p.150, 702. I could locate only part of an article entitled "P.J. Proudhon. (Schluss.)," Prometheus, 20 July 1850.

⁵¹Mehring, Sozialdemokratie, I, 541.

⁵²H.P.G. Quack, De Socialisten, Personen en Stelsels (5 vols.; Amsterdam: P.N. Van Kampen & Zoon, 1888), III, 877. Werner Blumenberg, "Zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten: Die Aussagen des Peter Gerhardt Röser," International Review of Social History, IX (1964), 100.

Marxian communism.⁵³ Considering the ideological preference of the journal, it may also have referred to some competition between Proudhon and Marx. Indications of such a contest have already been noticed in the cases of Bamberger and Marr. Or one may cite the resistance of the Russian socialist Alexander Herzen to Hess' arguments on the superiority of Marx's theory over the system of Proudhon.⁵⁴

This division of opinion was not accidental. Marx intended to provoke direct controversy with his Misère de la Philosophie, while Grün, on the other side, proclaimed that communism would never recover from the critical analysis undergone in the Systeme. In his review he recapitulated a ten-point critique of communism, laying particular stress upon Proudhon's condemnation of the "subterranean" communism that sought to achieve its ends by force.⁵⁵ The name of Marx did not appear in either the review or the introduction to the Systeme. Marx and Engels had by this time deliberately identified themselves as communists, and furthermore, it sufficed to let Proudhon's book have its effect without indulging in personal attack.

⁵³Mehring, Sozialdemokratie, I, 541. Balser, Arbeiter-verbrüderung, p.150.

⁵⁴Hess to Alexander Herzen, [n.p., ca. April 1850]; Hess, Briefwechsel, p.258-63. Martin Malia, Alexander Herzen and the Birth of Russian Socialism (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1965), p.322-25.

⁵⁵Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 21 October 1847.

Just as Engels had supposed that Marx's refutation of the Système would work the final destruction of their enemy Grün, the latter believed the Système to be the perfect antidote to the heresy of communism. This assurance gained strength from the many evidences of the success of the campaign to propagate the new science in Germany. Grün's optimism reached its height during the opening weeks of the Revolution of 1848. His enthusiastic reports of the reception of Proudhon's thought in the Rhineland caused the Frenchman to consider, at least momentarily, the advantage of leaving his homeland for Germany.⁵⁶ It seemed to Grün inevitable that the superior message of Proudhon would automatically drive out the evil doctrines of the communists. "Dogmatic communism" was negated by the concept of social change as a composite of both conservation and progress. "It is out of present actuality that the future develops itself, and indeed today through the power of Thought, which becomes Interest without revolution and bloody catastrophe."⁵⁷ With this introduction Grün offered Proudhon in Marx's stead as the "greatest revolutionary on earth."⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Proudhon to Maurice, Paris 9 April 1848; Proudhon, Correspondance, II, 312.

⁵⁷ "X. Paris, 5. Nov.," KZ, 8 November 1846.

⁵⁸ Proudhon, Philosophie, xlvi.

CHAPTER V

AGAINST COMMUNISM

As the references to communism in the introduction to the Systeme and the Kölnische Zeitung review indicate, Grün's assurance that the superior ideas of Proudhon would preempt the whole field of social science, displacing in particular the doctrines of Marx, did not keep him from continuing to discuss what had been for several years a favorite topic. Quite conceivably he also sought satisfaction for the injury he had suffered at the hands of Marx and Engels. In that case, however, he avoided naming his adversaries, insisting that he would not descend to personal quarrel.¹ This claim of objectivity receives support from the fact that Grün took a stand against communism quite some time before he became an opponent of Marx.

¹* V Paris, 30. März," TZ, 6 April 1848.

Grün himself was identified as a communist because of his connection with the socialists grouped around Moses Hess.² Accordingly, when he first began to criticize communism, in the Soziale Bewegung, he made an essential distinction by addressing himself not to communism per se, but to French communism. German communism escaped criticism because of its philosophical aspect.³ The humanism of Feuerbach, Hess and Marx preserved the all-important principles of organic development and the inner freedom of the individual. Lacking these values, French socialist thought degenerated into elaborate utopian constructs. Such positive systems violated the premise that action proceeds from thought, for in these systems thought became artificial abstraction, putting an end to intellectual progress and binding men to fixed solutions.⁴ Proudhon was exempt from this criticism, however, as he united the best of the two worlds, the practical sense of the French and German metaphysical speculation.⁵

²Ruge to Karl Nauwerck, December 1844; Ruge, Briefwechsel, I, 389-90. N. "Der Hamburger Telegraph," WD (1845), p.475. Heinzen, "Ein 'Repräsentant' der Kommunisten," DBZ, 21 October 1847. DZAM, "Debits-Verbote," Bl. 360. Glossy, Geheimgeschichte, II, 237.

³Even Weitling, who knew nothing of German philosophical socialism, was acceptable on account of his instinctive love of humanity, a quality that summed up for Grün the essence of German philosophy. Grün, Soziale Bewegung, p.373-75.

⁴Ibid., p.353-54. Marx noted that Grün drew heavily upon Hess in writing the Soziale Bewegung (MEW, III, 479-80); the latter, however, was much more positive in his appreciation of French socialism (Hess, "Über die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland," Neue Anekdoten, ed. Karl Grün; Hess, Schriften, p. 303-06).

⁵Grün, Soziale Bewegung, p.403-04.

From the beginning of his critique, Grün faced the problem of distinguishing between communism and socialism, terms which at that time were commonly used interchangeably.⁶ Grün did the same,⁷ but tended to limit the extension of the latter term. Communism meant, most literally, the equal distribution of property.⁸ More generally, it represented the artificial manipulation of society to the detriment of human freedom and culture. Taking an example from the Enlightenment, it made sense to him that the philosopher Mably, who committed the "stupidity" of advocating a radical distribution of property, envisioned a very barren society, stripped of all luxury and art. Such a society, maintainable only by force, Grün looked upon as a "dog's world."⁹

During this opening phase in the eighteenth century, communism remained predominantly theoretical. Philosophers like Mably and Morelly could not fully accept the consequences of their ideas, while those who did, like Babeuf and to a certain extent Mirabeau and Robespierre, became casualties of the French Revolution.¹⁰ The next generation of social thinkers,

⁶Engels, Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England; MEW, II, 233. Schulte, Westfalen, p.233. Caste, The Left, p.130-31.

⁷Grün, Soziale Bewegung, p.265, 277.

⁸Ibid., p.286-87, 292-93.

⁹Ibid., p.291, 288, 279-80.

¹⁰Ibid., p.291, 301-02, 286-87.

led by Saint-Simon, tended at times toward communism. Fourier, for instance, tampered with the natural institution of the family by proposing to deprive parents of their right to rear their own children.¹¹ But by and large they remained essentially socialists.¹² Not until the eighteen-thirties did communism at last become an actual movement. Responding to a vast increase in poverty, the French instinctively turned to the past for inspiration, exhuming the radical ideas current during the Revolution. Credit for the restoration of the tradition of "radical communism" went in the first place to Etienne Cabet.¹³

Grün betrayed a certain admiration for the author of the Voyage to Icaria. Cabet worked tirelessly to indoctrinate and instruct the working masses with a success that Grün respected. He considered it a positive achievement that Cabet taught the workers to rely upon themselves, acquiring a new consciousness that would preserve them from being "duped" by the July regime.¹⁴ On the other hand, there was much about Cabet that he could not take seriously, the ridiculous "sugar-sweet idealizings," the man's exaggerated vanity, even his appearance.¹⁵

¹¹Ibid., p.200.

¹²Cabet is the only French socialist of the period whom Grün considered radical enough to call a communist. Ibid., p.333-34, 82, 303.

¹³Ibid., p.333-34.

¹⁴Ibid., p.335-36.

¹⁵Ibid., p.366, 378.

At the same time, behind the "human-friendly, butter-¹⁶soft" presence Grün detected a dictator. With his over-developed feeling and imagination, and slight capacity for reason and reflection, this man was a potential Robespierre. Once their mission had reached the practical stage, according to the testimony of history, "...heroes of this sort have always made their way over slaves and bodies...."¹⁷ During an interview with Cabet, Grün found himself thinking that if Cabet knew what he was writing about him he would probably have him hanged.¹⁸

Cabet in Icaria was a despot ruling over a state that resembled a prison. The Icarians, it was true, produced their own laws in assembly; but the dissenting minority had to conform.¹⁹ Regimentation of personal life extended to the disposition of property, to education, even to the marital state. Whether hungry or not, all had to eat at the specified meal-times.²⁰ This barracks-like existence violated the law unto oneself that directed a man from within in the unfolding of the personality.²¹ "The free will, the self-determination of the individual has disappeared; an other side dominates, a dogma."

¹⁶Ibid., p.378.
¹⁷Ibid., p.379.
¹⁸Ibid., p.382.
¹⁹Ibid., p.358-59.
²⁰Ibid., p.361.
²¹Ibid., p.376.

the [external] law.²² Blind to the eternal differences between men so essential to the "deeper development of individuality," communism defined man in terms of the ordinary appetites, measured his needs in Bratwurst and bottles of wine.²³ It treated all men as equal, regimenting them at will like sheep or ants.²⁴ Grün reduced his critique of communism to the principle of freedom versus equality.

What chance was there that Icaria would actually materialize? If it did, Grün intended to go there and start a revolution. A few well-placed speeches and the Icarians would pull Cabet's utopia to pieces.²⁵ At one point he remarked in reference to Cabet that "these agitators...are dangerous because they are narrow-minded, perhaps because they have to be narrow-minded."²⁶ Yet it is doubtful that he really believed that Cabet and his movement posed an actual threat. This avowedly pacific man persuaded, educated and enticed the workers to his cause; he did not preach revolution.²⁷ On

²²Ibid., p.360.

²³Ibid., p.245.

²⁴Ibid., p.34, 382.

²⁵Grün ridiculed Cabet's claim to have 100,000 communist followers. Ibid., p.335, 362.

²⁶Ibid., p.382.

²⁷Ibid., p.344, 336, 338. At one point Grün even praised Cabet for having stilled the "fermenting spirit of insurgence."
Ibid., p.336.

learning that one of his workers' clubs had been closed down, Cabet expressed sympathy for the police, explaining to Grün that he had told his followers repeatedly that they must conduct their affairs peaceably.²⁸

Grün did address himself to the question of revolution in the Soziale Bewegung, but his approach remained primarily academic. He warned against the danger of expecting revolution to benefit the classes of poor, pointing out that the benevolent intention did not survive the resultant violence. Revolution tended to become an end in itself, at the cost of freedom.²⁹ But these observations referred to the eighteenth-century communists. The two principal socialists after that time, Saint-Simon and Fourier, detested revolutionary upheaval.³⁰ Of the 'professional' revolutionary Louis-Auguste Blanqui he apparently knew nothing.³¹ Hence, the communism that Grün understood when he wrote the Soziale Bewegung was revolutionary in content, not in its political method.

²⁸ Ibid., p.74-75.

²⁹ Ibid., p.74-75.

³⁰ Frank E. Manuel, The Prophets of Paris (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p.112, 181, 197, 212. Grün, Soziale Bewegung, p.306.

³¹ I have not encountered reference to Blanqui in any of Grün's writings.

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II

Beginning in autumn 1846 Grün's utterances on the subject of communism began to assume an urgency not found in his earlier reflections.³² Suddenly, in two articles dated 5 November, communism was no longer merely a French doctrine which the intelligent man would discard or ignore; it had become a threat, something negative, destructive and bloody, presaging the rapine, the murder, the whole "cannibalism of revolutions."³³ What inspired this outburst is easy to surmise. Only a few weeks before in Paris Engels had demanded the acceptance of "violent democratic revolution" as the only means of attaining the desired abolition of private property.³⁴

In a keynote New Year's essay for the Trierische Zeitung Grün returned to an attack upon the new communism that lasted into the opening months of the Revolution of 1848. He began with a brief review of the history of German socialism. When the "social idea" emerged in Germany in the year 1844, he recalled, "whoever was bold" accepted the designation 'communist.' Even the more hesitant did not feel compelled to repudiate the name. Then arose the question of what would replace that which the social critics had condemned and rejected. Here for the first

³²Reference to communism is very infrequent in Grün's writing during the earlier months of 1846.

³³"X. Paris, 5. Nov.," KZ, 8 November 1846. " * : Paris, am Hubertustage," TZ, 8 November 1846.

³⁴Engels, Committee Letter No. 3, Paris 23 October 1846; MEW, XXVII, 61.

time opinions diverged. A "real, formulated" communism emerged that had no place in Germany, an artificial carry-over of the ideas of Owen and Cabet, which should have been left to die a natural death. When compared with the positive socialism based upon "German philosophy and science" this new doctrine appeared unredeemably nihilistic. After obliterating the "uncompleted organism of today" it proposed to subject society to an extreme materialistic egalitarianism enforced by a dictatorial state. The German communists disgraced the profession of social criticism with their "bare and hollow negation" and Grün wished to "...put on record our own negation that we are not communists."

The article closed on a personal note with a provocation aimed at Marx and Engels: "...in the new year may our enemies be, if possible, less stupid and behave themselves a bit more decently."³⁵ To judge from the bitter sniping that continued to break out in Grün's articles during the next three months, the enemy did not behave. Repeatedly he alerted his readers to the menace of a new religion of blind passion, a "politics of despair" that threatened "the most shameless despotism." Communism would depersonalize property by seizing the means of production and by placing all power in the hands of the state, which would then proceed to reduce the people to a subhuman, serf-like existence.³⁶

³⁵ * Trier, am ersten Januar 1847," TZ, 1 January 1847.

³⁶ Ibid. "X.X. Paris, 23. März," KZ, 26 March 1847.

While calling for full exposure of communism by the press, he attempted at the same time to discredit the communists by minimizing their success. The "communist propagandists," he observed, deceived even themselves in overestimating the number of their converts, for most of the latter remained in fact true to the normal course of social reform.³⁷

The assault lifted abruptly after March. One reason for this, already suggested, was the appearance of the Systeme in German. Grün's expulsion may also have been a factor; perhaps he was cowed by the proximity of his adversaries during the next eleven months. Nonetheless, his silence appears remarkable in view of Marx's continued aggressiveness during this time.

Besides the Misère de la Philosophie, published in July, he printed a damning review of the Soziale Bewegung in the August issue of the Westphälische Dampfboot.³⁸ In the meantime the communists made alarming advances; by October they had gained control of the Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung and a strong voice in the London League of the Just.³⁹

When he resumed the attack in the opening months of 1848 Grün complained that he wished he could ignore the Brussels "prophets" and concentrate upon more positive work. This was impossible, he explained, when the excesses of the communists

³⁷Proudhon, Philosophie, 111.

³⁸Förder, Marx und Engels, p.138.

³⁹Ibid., p.189, 223, 135.

compromised more worthy efforts. The thought that "the Minister [Bodelschwingh]...surely considers us to be the most inveterate socialists...[that is, in this context, communists]" made him uncomfortable. By criticizing extremism and at the same time playing down the importance of the new German communism he sought to defend legitimate social enquiry against indiscriminate condemnation by both the government and the general public. "...If I am no communist," he insisted, "that does not mean that the social question is not the issue of all issues...." Exposure to the open air of sober investigation, he assured his readers, would bankrupt the communists.⁴⁰

The language that he used against Marx and Engels, however, did not lose its urgency. These "prophets of a new insanity" threatened to unleash the "murder, bludgeoning [and] destruction" of revolution, fashioning out of this "eruption of instincts" a new Paraguay, an extreme version of Blanc's dictatorial state.⁴¹ All the protests to the contrary notwithstanding, he feared the communists and perhaps hated them even more.⁴² His feelings showed most clearly in an article of 6 April in response to Marx's Forderungen der Kommunistischen Partei in

⁴⁰** Trier, 6. Febr.," TZ, 9 February 1848. " * Trier, 21. Febr.," TZ, 23 February 1848. "When the reader comes face to face with a certain paper he will be unable to restrain a strong sense of cheerfulness," he volunteered in reference to the forthcoming Neue Rheinische Zeitung. "✓ Paris, 26. März," TZ, 1 April 1848.

⁴¹** Trier, 1. Januar," TZ, 1 January 1848. " ✓ Paris 26. März," TZ, 1 April 1848.

⁴²* Paris, 1. April," TZ, 6 April 1848.

Deutschland. Copies of these Demands were handed out to workers returning to Germany and the program had even reached the pages of the Trierische Zeitung.⁴³ Grün arrived in Trier from Paris in time to intercept this piece of propaganda along with an accompanying article that advertized a German workers' organization capable, because of its broad connections throughout Europe,⁴⁴ of challenging the "ruling classes" in Germany. Incensed, Grün delivered his most vehement and severe condemnation of the communists. Their claims, he said, were lies, their methods a betrayal of the true interest of the people. By stealth and deceit they strove to force upon society a set of artificial, doctrinaire postulates calculated to produce a police state. "Comprehend freedom, comprehend above all equality!" he demanded. "And if we are then to have the slightest trust in you, then give up your insulting, disgraceful system of slander and injury, associate yourselves with something besides the spread of lies which you yourself do not believe and to which no man of honor owes you the slightest answer."⁴⁵ Unscrupulous, lying, conniving and reckless - that was Grün's verdict on Marx and Engels at the height of his polemic against communism.

⁴³The Forderungen appeared in the Mannheim Abendzeitung and other papers as well. MEW, V, 505.

⁴⁴"° Paris, 24. März," TZ, 29 March 1848.

⁴⁵"V Paris, 30. März," TZ, 6 April 1848. "† Paris, 1. April," TZ, 6 April 1848.

III

Grün was hailed by his friends as "...the first for Germany...to refute communism..."⁴⁶ By no means an isolated achievement, it coincided with a general shift in public opinion. Progressive intellectuals were fashioning a new adjectival vocabulary for communism. In the writings of such diverse personalities as Karl Gutzkow, social liberals Friedrich Harkort and Karl Mathy, political radicals Arnold Ruge and Karl Heinzen, the socialist journalist Georg Schirges, the minor publicist Friedrich Steinmann and leading publisher of radical writings Julius Fröbel the terms "one-sided," "abstract," "materialistic," "fantastic" and "extreme" became standard qualities predicated of communism.⁴⁷ By 1845 this attitude was all the more unexceptional considering the tenor of public opinion in general, for

⁴⁶ "†† Berlin, 6. April," TZ, 13 April 1847. A similar claim is made in "*** Aus dem Westphälischen, im November," TZ, 9 December 1847.

⁴⁷ Gutzkow referred mainly to French socialism (Briefe aus Paris, 1842), but also knew the communism of Weitling. Hess, Briefwechsel, p.168. "() Die Weserzeitung über Kommunismus," WD (1846), p.316-19. For social liberal views see Rohr, Social Liberalism, p.134, 137, 138, 152. Mathy sympathized with socialism, but considered communism "too radical." " * Mannheim, 5. Februar," MAZ, 8 February 1846. Ruge and Heinzen are discussed below. Schirges followed Gutzkow. J. Weydemeyer, "Die Werkstatt; redigirt von Georg Schirges," WD (1846), p.409, 411. N. "Nochmals in Sachen des Telegraphen," WD (1846), p.92-93. Steinmann displayed an outright horror of communism in his 1846 brochure, Pauperismus und Kommunismus. "Ein westphälischer Literat. Bonn, im Dezember," WD (1847), p.25-29. Fröbel, with Marx in mind, cited the "metaphysical abracadabra" of "social alchemists" who set the artificial Gattungsmensch in place of the real individual. Ernst Feuz, Julius Fröbel: Seine politische Entwicklung bis 1849 (Bern, Leipzig: Akademische Buchhandlung, 1932), p.116.

communism had become in ordinary parlance a "Schreckwort," a bogey. "The slightest tendency toward [communist ideas could] bring a person into bad repute."⁴⁸ In 1846 when the Prussian government applied the category to the worst enemies of the state and proceeded to persecute socialist intellectuals like Lünig, Dronke and Meyen it became dangerous as well as unpopular to be known as a communist.⁴⁹

Grün updated the critique of communism by directing attention to the doctrines of Marx and Engels. Here again he was not alone, for several other men had undergone a similar reaction to the ideas and also the personality of Marx. Already

⁴⁸ Illustrierte Zeitung, cited in Kurt Koszyk, "Die Bedeutung des Jahres 1845 für den Sozialismus in Deutschland," Istituto Giangiacomo Feltrinelli: Annali, vol. VI (Milan: Feltrinelli Editori, 1964), p.516. An example of the general popular conception of communism was the commotion caused by the discovery of a communist society in Münster. F.S. "Korrespondenzen. (Münster, den 22. Februar.) Der Kommunismus in Münster," WD (1847), p.146-51. "△ Münster, 2. März," TZ, 7 March 1847. N. "Ein entschiedener Gegner des Communismus," WD (1845), p.316. Communism, Lünig wrote in October 1844, is a word that causes "panicked terror." "Die Gesellschaft," WD, 2 October 1844. Hess noted in November 1847 that Germany's political radicals were held back by the "specter of communism." M.H., "Die Folgen einer Revolution des Proletariats;" Hess, Schriften, p.440-41.

⁴⁹ The Prussian Censurgericht declared all social criticism to be an outgrowth of communism. " * Trier, am ersten Januar 1848," TZ, 1 January 1847. In action taken in the case of Lünig's reply to Heinzen's attacks on communism the Obercensurgericht decided that communist ideas were a threat to "existing state and social institutions." Förder, Marx und Engels, p.89. Proceedings against the Leske press in Mannheim cited an "illegal league of writers," who as communists were enemies of all that exists. Oberstaatsanwalt von Lüderitz to Ober-Censur-Gericht, Berlin 9 December 1845, "Antrag auf Verwarnung der C.W. Leske'schen Buchhandlung zu Darmstadt," DZAM, Rep. 101, Tit.II, Abt. VI, Bl.6-26.

vulnerable for having made a reality of the dominant myth that communism sought to destroy the whole existing order, Marx added an extra impediment to the work of establishing a communist movement by creating outspoken enemies.⁵⁰ One of the first to turn against him had been Arnold Ruge.⁵¹ Although intellectual incompatibility played a part, Grün considered the affair primarily a personal quarrel.⁵² It was Marx who, in the summer of 1844, forced these differences into the open.⁵³ Ruge took revenge by persuading Julius Fröbel not to accept any of Marx's writings for publication by the Literarische Comptoir, the main outlet at that time for radical literature, and by exposing the "madness" of Marx's ideas in Zwei Jahren in Paris, which appeared near the end of 1845.⁵⁴ To his friends he described Marx as a fanatic who would free all men by converting them into menial wage laborers.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Carl Landauer, "The Origin of Socialist Reformism in France," International Review of Social History, XI (1967), 83-84.

⁵¹ The first was Bruno Bauer, the issues predominantly philosophical. Ruge, appalled by the abuse heaped on Bauer in Die Heilige Familie, remarked the fact that Bauer had been a "most intimate friend" of Marx. Ruge to H. Fleischer, Zürich 27 May 1845; Ruge, Briefwechsel, I, 395.

⁵² Mehring, Marx, p.62-64. Grün to Hess, Paris 6 August 1845; Hess, Briefwechsel, p.133.

⁵³ Mönke, "Deutsche Ideologie," p.482.

⁵⁴ Ruge to Fröbel, [Paris November 1844]; Ruge, Briefwechsel, I, 379.

⁵⁵ Ruge to Fröbel, Paris 6 December 1844; Ruge to Nauwerck, Paris 21 December 1844; Ruge to H. Fleischer, Zürich bei Erni 27 May 1845; Ruge, Briefwechsel, I, 381, 389-90, 396.

Next Ruge infected the political radical Karl Heinzen with his hatred of communism, playing upon a dislike of Marx that originated during Heinzen's stay in Brussels in early 1845.⁵⁶ The two of them published in summer 1846 a collection of essays under the title Die Opposition, to which Ruge contributed "der teutsche Kommunismus" and Heinzen "Gegen die Communisten." A similar contribution came from the pen of the obscure writer Christian Abt.⁵⁷ Heinzen pursued the subject further in his Deutscher Tribun and in a flock of pamphlets gathered together in Teutsche Revolution, both published in 1847.⁵⁸

The initial response to these attacks came not from Brussels, but from True Socialists, Hess, Lüning, Püttmann and the Leipzig publicist Emil Weller.⁵⁹ This reflected the curious fact that Heinzen's accusations tended to describe the errors of Grün rather than the position of Marx. Engels pointed out that it was Grün, not Marx, who, as Heinzen charged, played into the hands of the reactionary elements by writing against the political opposition.⁶⁰ In spite of this confusion and Heinzen's ignorance of Marx's 'scientific' theories, he none-

⁵⁶Förder, Marx und Engels, p.217-18. Carl Wittke, Against the Current: The Life of Karl Heinzen (1809-80) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, [1945]), p.236-37. Cited hereafter as Wittke, Heinzen.

⁵⁷"X Heidelberg, im August" (MAZ, 9 September 1846) reviews the work.

⁵⁸Förder, Marx und Engels, p.221.

⁵⁹Ibid., p.219-22.

⁶⁰F. Engels, "Die Kommunisten und Karl Heinzen. Brüssel, den 3. Oktober 1847," MEW, IV, 318. Cited hereafter as Engels, "Heinzen."

theless knew Marx the man. He recognized a characteristic authoritarianism, for example, in the treatment accorded Grün. What right had Marx or Engels to pose as "guardian and high priest of the holy sanctuary?"⁶¹ These men lacked all "human morality and will," values which they did not begin to comprehend.⁶² In time the feelings which inspired this kind of personal and moral analysis degenerated into futile hatred. He later described Marx publicly as dirty in appearance and person, thick-lipped, a lying sophist who reminded him of "a cross between a cat and an ape."⁶³

An isolated notice in the Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung of 12 September 1847 warned Heinzen that he was making a serious mistake in attacking communism. The note appeared without the knowledge of the editor. Bornstedt decided at this juncture to open his paper to Heinzen's cause and two weeks later published a vehement anticommunist tirade by Heinzen.⁶⁴ Failing in an attempt to prevent Engels from replying, Bornstedt tried at least to give Heinzen the advantage of having the last word in a second savage article. Late in

⁶¹Heinzen, "Ein 'Repräsentant' der Kommunisten," DBZ, 21 October 1847.

⁶²Heinzen, Die Helden des deutschen Kommunismus (1848); cited in G. Plekhanov, The Development of the Monist View of History (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1956), p.293-94.

⁶³Wittke, Heinzen, p.239-40.

⁶⁴The extant files of the Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung (IISG and Hotel de Ville, Brussels) lack the issue (26 September 1847) in which the article appeared.

October Marx took a turn at trading insults with Heinzen in an essay with the characteristic title of "Die moralisierende Kritik und die kritisierende Moral."⁶⁵ Pressured by Marx and Engels, and disgusted no doubt to find himself included in Heinzen's criticisms, Bornstedt finally cut off the exchange in mid-November. Heinzen had to publish his rejoinder to Marx in a pamphlet, Die Helden des deutschen Kommunismus, which appeared in 1848.⁶⁶ He emigrated to the United States in autumn 1850, where for twenty years he carried on the fight against the doctrines of Marx in his Cincinnati paper, Der Pionier, and also in lectures to American audiences.⁶⁷

IV

The behavior of Bornstedt points to the development of opposition to Marx in the centers of organized socialist activity, notably those which the communists determined to capture for their organization. In London, leaders of the League of the Just, hoping to revitalize the association by bringing it closer to the new communism, appealed to Marx and Engels in January 1847 to join the League and help in its reorganization. An immediate problem was the continuing influence of

⁶⁵"Die moralisierende Kritik und die kritisierende Moral. Beitrag zur Deutschen Kulturgeschichte. Gegen Karl Heinzen von Karl Marx," MEW, IV, 331-60. Cited hereafter as Marx, "Gegen Heinzen."

⁶⁶Förder, Marx und Engels, p.224.

⁶⁷Wittke, Heinzen, p.238-39, 242.

Hermann Kriege, an avowed enemy of Marx. ⁶⁸ At first Marx and Engels hesitated when they considered "the constant jealousy against us as 'intellectuals'," but finally decided that the opportunity to extend their influence outweighed the disadvantage of becoming embroiled in quarrels with their opponents

⁶⁹ in London. An address issued by the Central Authority of the League in February 1847 demonstrated a determination to come to grips with the "Liebesduselei" within the ranks, the sentimental nonsense of True Socialism. ⁷⁰ The congress which the League held in June produced formal gains for Brussels, for instance in the substitution of "Proletarians of all countries unite!" for the old True Socialist device, "All men are brothers." ⁷¹

Such statutory evidence, however, offers an inadequate index of the sense of the organization. While formally moving toward 'scientific' communism, the League hesitated to commit itself definitely to the leadership of Marx. Taking a position in response to Heinzen's Philippic against Marx, the League's Kommunistische Zeitschrift actually endorsed Heinzen's democratic

⁶⁸Engels, Committee Letter No. 3, Paris 23 October 1846; MEW, XXVII, 63. Förder, Marx und Engels, p.110, 112.

⁶⁹Engels to Marx, [Paris December 1846]; MEW, XXVII, 69-70. Förder, Marx und Engels, p.131-32.

⁷⁰Förder, Marx und Engels, p.132.

⁷¹MEW, XXVII, 631. Engels to Marx, [Paris December 1846]; MEW, XXVII, 69-71. Förder, Marx und Engels, p.132.

program and advised the two combatants to join hands and cooperate in their mutual cause! The probable author of this article, Karl Schapper, later led a revolt against the course which Marx dictated in 1850, producing a major schism in the London organization.

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A sign of trouble much closer to home appeared in a footnote in the Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung to a short commentary on the Misère de la Philosophie. Very cautiously the editor criticized Marx's work on aesthetic grounds and promised a more extensive "analysis and critique" in the near future. The promised review did not materialize. Bornstedt was under pressure. During the following several weeks friends of Heinzen taunted him for allowing himself to be used by Marx and Engels. As a result Bornstedt joined a "coalition" of Germans determined to destroy Marx and Engels' influence in Brussels. The issue was joined when he refused to publish Engels' article against Heinzen. With the help of Moses Hess, Engels succeeded in putting the distraught editor in his place, only to face almost immediately new insurgence. Toward the end of the year

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72 "Proletarier!" Kommunistische Zeitschrift [September] 1847; cited in Förder, Marx und Engels, p.221-22. In the "statutes of the League of Communists, London 8. December 1847" (MEGA, I, 6:641) one encounters the suggestive condition that members not "participate in any political or national anticommunist organization...."

73 He praised Marx's "nervous and pregnant" style, but found his French euphonically dissatisfying. NB. der Red. der D.-B.-Z., DBZ, 11 July 1847.

74 Engels to Marx, [Brussels] 28[-30] September 1847; MEW, XXVII, 87-89.

the Belgian socialist Adolphe Bartels, editor of the Brussels Debat Social, began a "slander campaign" against the "revolutionary emigrants," charging them with behaving like "school masters" in the Democratic Society which they sought to control. He dismissed their theories as "filthy and barbaric."⁷⁵

In the meantime Hess, too, had begun once again to experience serious misgivings about working with Marx and Engels. The latter closed the Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung to him in October because of his insistence that the coming revolution would be proletarian, as opposed to their own formula for a two-stage revolution beginning with a liberal movement supported by a proletarian uprising. They would not tolerate such deviation, principally, it would seem, because Hess refused to capitulate to their views.⁷⁶

The purging of Hess added an important name to the list of contenders that Marx and Engels had to face as they entered the critical period of the Revolution. To their surprise, Hess appeared "friendlier than ever" toward them;⁷⁷ in actuality, however, he had become an active competitor. In April 1848 he launched an attempt to revive the Rheinische Zeitung in full knowledge that Marx and Engels had similar plans. Those who

⁷⁵MEW, IV, 644. Marx, [Bemerkungen zum Artikel von Herrn Adolph Bartels] DBZ, 16 December 1847; MEW, IV, 419-20.

⁷⁶Silberner, Hess, p.279-82.

⁷⁷Engels to Marx, Brussels [18 March 1848]; MEW, XXVII, 122.

answered invitations to write for the "democratic" organ expressed an awareness of the rivalry implicit in Hess' action. Ewerbeck consented to correspond from Paris, but asked that his collaboration be divulged to no one.⁷⁸ The invitation to Louis Heilberg, a German journalist who had joined the Correspondence-Committee in Brussels, drew the pointed reminder that Hess' differences with Marx were of a personal nature. For the sake of party solidarity he insisted that Hess endorse Marx's Demands of the Communist Party in Germany. He also questioned the selection of Friedrich Anneke as co-editor because of his association with the republican Deutscher Zuschauer of Fröbel and Ruge.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, Heilberg, who had private reservations of his own about Marx and Engels, agreed to cooperate in the venture.⁸⁰

Hess expected further contributions from Marx's friend Stephan Born, a prominent labor organizer in Berlin, and from Friedrich Schnacke, Hess' partner in the Gesellschaftsspiegel.⁸¹ A remark by Engels about the latter suggests that he and Marx

⁷⁸August Hermann Ewerbeck to Hess, [Paris?] 16 April [1848]; Hess, Briefwechsel, p.186-87.

⁷⁹Friedrich Anneke (1817-1872), a former Prussian artillery officer, entered the communist circle in Cologne, but was received with some hesitancy. Andreas Gottschalk to Hess, Cologne 26 March 1848; Hess, Briefwechsel, p.176-77.

⁸⁰Louis Heilberg to Hess, London 17 April 1848; Hess, Briefwechsel, p.187-91. Heilberg had witnessed the proceedings against Weitling.

⁸¹Silberner, Hess, p.284-85.

knew of the challenge to their leadership. "Moses' agent Schnaake [sic] was here last week, appears also to have slandered us," he informed Marx.

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Hess' plan failed in the face of the successful founding by Marx and Engels of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Finding the atmosphere in Cologne uncomfortable, he moved to Paris. He left behind an extremely contentious situation, with Marx and Engels struggling vainly to outmaneuver the physician Andreas Gottschalk, the real leader of the city's organized workers. For espousing an independent worker movement and rejecting cooperation with the bourgeois liberal opposition prescribed by Marx, Gottschalk earned the designation in official communist literature of "...an especially crass representative of

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'True Socialism'." In his Zeitung des Arbeitervereines zu Köln, which appeared irregularly, Gottschalk attacked the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, accusing its editor of, among other things, unfair labor practices. The sweatshop wages paid its typesetters, he charged, made the paper an "oppressor...of the proletariat"!

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⁸²Engels, "Die wahren Sozialisten"; MEW, IV, 257. Engels to Marx, [Barmen] 25 April 1848; MEW, XXVII, 125.

⁸³Gerhard Becker, "Die propagandistische Tätigkeit der Kommunisten im Kölner Arbeiterverein 1848-1849," Aus der Frühgeschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung ("Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften des Instituts für Geschichte, Reihe I: Allgemeine und deutsche Geschichte," vol. I; Berlin: Akademis-Verlag, 1964), p.202, 203. Obermann, Deutschland, p.291-92. Förder, Marx und Engels, p.308.

⁸⁴Silberner, Hess, p.286.

The hostility and the confusion which met Marx and Engels in Cologne rendered virtually impossible the achievement of real organizational progress. The alienation of Hess and Gottschalk would have its effect elsewhere. A close collaborator of Gottschalk, August Willich, joined Schapper in the London schism of 1850.

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V

The difficulties Marx and Engels encountered in Paris are of particular importance to this study. Marx did not seem to share Engels' hopes for establishing a following there. He had little faith in the men who would assume the leadership in the branch organization Engels tried to set up in the fall of 1846. It disgusted him to learn, in the summer of 1847, that Bernays and Ewerbeck were interpreting the unaccustomed friendliness which he had recently shown the poet Herwegh to mean that he wanted something of him. Marx presented to Engels a letter of explanation from Herwegh "...to be able to show [him] in black and white the nature of petty-bourgeois German gossip in Paris. I assure you," he continued to Herwegh,

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⁸⁵The issue in London was Marx's refusal to countenance a continuation of revolutionary action; an additional element was the usual reaction to the "abominable arrogance" of the strong-willed "doctrinaire." Testimony of an anonymous letter writer who lived in the same house in London as Heinzen; cited in Balsler, Arbeiterverbrüderung, p. 221.

⁸⁶Marx to Herwegh, Brussels 27 July [1847]; MEW, XXVII, 465.

"that since my removal from Paris and in spite of all my precautionary measures to make myself unfindable and inaccessible, these old women have pursued me perpetually with that kind of triviality. Only by the most extreme crudeness can one hold off these fools."⁸⁷

Engels does not seem to have been greatly affected by these revelations. In October 1847 he returned to Paris with the purpose in mind of gaining acceptance of the platform which the communists were preparing as part of their move to take over the League of the Just.⁸⁸ A special occasion for the trip was the recent "dangerous" resurgence of followers of Weitling and Grün in the Paris section.⁸⁹ Upon arriving in Paris he learned that the last of the "Grünianer" had been ejected shortly before,⁹⁰ leaving the organization with "only" thirty members. As he proceeded to mold this remnant to his wishes, he encountered so much reluctance and obstinacy that he had to abandon all but a

⁸⁷Marx to Herwegh, Brussels 8 August [1847]; MEW, XXVII, 466. Earlier Engels had found Bernays and Ewerbeck thinking that the Westphalian socialists Meyer and Rempel, who were to finance publishing for Marx and Engels, had been shabbily mistreated by the two communists. Engels to Marx, [Paris] 19 August 1846; MEW, XXVII, 32.

⁸⁸The draft platform which Hess had brought out of the Paris club was unsatisfactory. Engels arrived ca. 20 October to enlist adherence to a stronger version. Förder, Marx und Engels, p. 273.

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Engels to Marx, Paris 26 October 1847; MEW, XXVII, 98.

bare semblance of democratic process. In desperation, he devised, on his own initiative, a communist "catechism" to take to London in the name of the Paris community. The Parisians never saw 'their' program.

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As he prepared to leave for London, he wrote Marx that the Paris branch of the League was in "miserable" shape. The individuals that one had to work with were "totally unusable"; half were pure Straubinger, the rest petty bourgeois. "Weitlingerei and Proudhonistere are really the most complete expression of the way of life of these asses, and so nothing is to be done." He told Marx he would make one more attempt to bring them to their senses, and if that failed, he would "...withdraw from this kind of propaganda."

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The outbreak of revolution in February 1848 brought Marx and Engels back to Paris in the following month. This, their third effort to create a communist center in the city, succeeded no better than the earlier attempts. Only a very small faction held to Marx; most preferred to align themselves with his rival Hess. The latter revealed his attitude toward Marx by proposing that the Darmstadt Neue Deutsche Zeitung edited by Otto Luning be adopted as the official publication of the Paris

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91 Engels to Marx, Paris [25-]26 October 1847; MEW, XXVII, 107.
98. Engels to Marx, [Paris 23-24 November 1847]; MEW, XXVII, 107.
92 Engels to Marx, Paris 14 January 1848; MEW, XXVII, 111.
93 August Hermann Ewerbeck and others to Hess, Paris 5 June 1848; Hess, Briefwechsel, p.196.

Deutscher Verein, thereby plainly bypassing the Neue Rheinische Zeitung.⁹⁴ Although closely associated with Hess, Ewerbeck, the leading spirit of the Deutscher Verein, chose to avoid outright differences with Marx. He was less reserved about expressing his opinion of Engels. While visiting Cologne in October, Ewerbeck undertook, at the instance of D'Ester, to warn Marx that his "sympathies" for Engels were "dangerous."⁹⁵ Reporting the sequel in a letter written during a night's work with Marx on the Neue Rheinische Zeitung he informed Hess in ironic tones that Marx "...enthusiastically supports Engels, whom he describes as 'intellectually, morally and in character' a superior person. This Engels," Ewerbeck added, "is in Switzerland, for the good cause, Marx says."⁹⁶

In a circular of 1850 Marx finally conceded defeat in rather suggestive terms, reporting that:

In Paris, League member Ewerbeck, who was previously at the head of the Gemeinde there, has announced his retirement from the League, because he considers his literary activity more important. The connection is thus for the moment broken and in restoring it, all the more caution must be exercised as

⁹⁴Otto Lüning to Hess, Darmstadt 25 October 1848; Hess, Briefwechsel, p.204.

⁹⁵August Hermann Ewerbeck to Hess, Berlin 1 November 1848; Ibid., p.207.

⁹⁶Ewerbeck to Hess, Cologne 14 November 1848; Ibid., p.209.

the Parisian [communists] have taken in a number of people who are completely unusable and earlier even stood in direct enmity to the league.⁹⁷

The weakness of the Paris section is evident in that it was virtually dissolved when its leader retired to "more important" work. In the first place, its very existence as a branch of the Communist League seems contradictory, considering that "member" Ewerbeck had closer ties with Marx' enemies than with Marx. Besides his friendship with Hess, he wrote for Proudhon's Le Peuple in 1848 and 1849.⁹⁸ In 1852 he sent Marx twelve copies of L'Allemagne et les Allemands, a short work in which he maintained, among other things annoying to Marx, that Ruge was the founder of German social science.⁹⁹

The main grievance, however, was that Ewerbeck had brought enemies of the League into his Paris organization. Who were these men who had opposed Marx's Communist League? The term "earlier" excludes the partisans of Willich and Schapper

⁹⁷Herwig Förder and Gerhard Ziese, "Zur Geschichte der 'Ansprache der Zentralbehörde an den Bund vom Juni 1850' und zur Tätigkeit der Mitglieder des Bundes der Kommunisten in Leipzig (1850/51)," Aus der Frühgeschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung ("Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften des Instituts für Geschichte, Reihe I: Allgemeine und deutsche Geschichte," vol. I; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964), p.284.

⁹⁸Alongside Ewerbeck's regular signed reports, "Le Socialisme allemande" and "La Révolution allemande," is to be found news concerning "our friend Ch. Grün." "Nouvelles étrangères. Allemagne," Le Peuple, 5 April 1849. Grün's arrest in Trier is reported in "La Révolution allemande," Le Peuple, 30 May 1849.

⁹⁹Marx to Engels, [London] 23 February [1852]; M.E.W., XXVIII, 29.

who agitated in Paris for a more revolutionary policy until as late as 1852.¹⁰⁰ Was Marx then referring to the "dangerous revival" of the followers of Weitling, Proudhon and Grün that occurred in the latter part of 1847?

This possibility is reinforced by Grün's reference, in the Trierische Zeitung of 6 April 1848, to "a 'deutscher Verein' of already 80 active members which meets twice weekly to discuss economic-social questions, without being communist, without believing in state initiative...." He invited those interested to contact master tailors, Delfs and Enders, for further information.¹⁰¹ Grün corresponded with these two men and they served on several occasions as his liaison with Proudhon.¹⁰²

Apparently this organization is not to be confused with the Deutscher Verein headed by Ewerbeck and his associates if the latter society was founded in the summer of 1848.¹⁰³ Members of

¹⁰⁰Ewerbeck to Marx, February 1852; cited in "Die Berliner Wochenberichte für das Ausland; Berichte über die politischen Verhältnisse, insbesondere über die demokratische und kommunistische Bewegung," vol. II; Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv, Potsdam, Lit. W, Nr.188 (14009-14014), Bl.148-52.

¹⁰¹"✓ Paris, 30. März," TZ, 6 April 1848.

¹⁰²Grün's correspondents in Paris included also E. Heydecker and P. Bley. "Acta betreffend: die zur Ermittlung der Absichten und Pläne der Revolutionairs in Deutschland getroffenen Einleitungen, und die Beaufsichtigung revolutionairer Umtriebe verdächtiger Personen; desgleichen revolutionaire Umtriebe in und mit dem Auslande," DZAM, Rep.4., Sec.I, Nr.2063, Bd.22, Bl.333-38.

¹⁰³This is the date cited by Silberner (Hess, p.294).

the first Deutscher Verein could, however, easily merge with the second, considering Ewerbeck's interest in Proudhon and his relative independence of Marx and Engels. Such being the case, which seems probable, the resistance to Marxian communism which Grün created during his last months in Paris eventually came to play a significant part in denying Marx a foothold in one of the main centers of the German emigration.

VI

An account of the opposition to Marx and Engels in the half decade preceding the Revolution necessarily presents a confused spectacle. The political and personal differences between Marx's critics made impossible the creation of a united front. Hess shared to an extent Grün's admiration of Proudhon, but this offered slight basis for agreement considering that he continued to pay tribute to the rightness of Marx's ideas.¹⁰⁴ Heinzen and Ruge had serious differences with both Hess and Grün during these years.¹⁰⁵ Ruge's friendship with Eduard Meyen did not extend to Grün. The bad impression which the latter made on him in 1841 was reinforced by Grün's association with Hess and Marx.¹⁰⁶ An understanding between the two developed only much

¹⁰⁴Hess to Alexander Herzen, [end of March or early April 1850]; Hess, Briefwechsel, p.256-58. Hess to Herzen, [ca. April 1850]; Ibid., p.259.

¹⁰⁵Silberner, Hess, p.242-45. Engels, "Heinzen"; MEW, IV, 318.

¹⁰⁶Ruge to Nauwerck, December 1844; Ruge to H. Fleischer, Zürich 27 May 1845; Ruge, Briefwechsel, I, 389-90, 396.

later toward the end of the eighteen-fifties. Christian Abt, who joined the attack on communism in 1846, appears on close reading of his Deutsche Zeitung ohne Zensur to have been an admirer of Grün; but no real connection between the two has been recorded.¹⁰⁸

The opposition was nonetheless united by basic similarities. Common to them all was a determination to preserve individualism against an abstract doctrine that submerged individuality in a barren, materialistic uniformity. By this they meant more than the speculative end product of communism, the "barracks-state" so frequently referred to. More immediately they were anxious, in confronting Marx, to maintain their own individuality. All had experienced, usually very directly, Marx's high intolerance. Without disguising a genuine respect for his intellectual superiority, they had offered to cooperate with him in the common cause only to learn that Marx required total submission. The term "dogmatic" takes on a special, a personal significance in their criticisms of communism. It represented a general aversion to the closed character of the

¹⁰⁷Grün was invited to contribute to Das Jahrhundert, edited by Ruge in the later 1850s. In his reply Grün referred to the earlier effort to contain "dogmatic communism." Grün to Ruge, Brussels 24 April 1857; Ruge, Briefwechsel, II, 188-89. Ruge recommended his "friend" Karl Grün to Freiligrath in a letter of 11 June 1868; ibid., II, 331.

¹⁰⁸In the concluding essay substitute "Grün" for "Der Sprecher." [Christian Abt, ed.], Deutsche Zeitung ohne Zensur (Mannheim: Heinrich Hoff, 1846). Förder, Marx und Engels, p.219-20.

movement which Marx strove to create. According to Grün, in his response to the Forderungen, many of the proposals of the communists outlined in that document might come to pass as a result of the conflict then in progress. But to dictate such changes was unnatural, or as he put it, "aristocratic." These postulates were deprived of any "universal character" simply because they were the "decoction of a School" and not the "reflex of the public attitude."¹⁰⁹ More than anything else it was Marx's method that provoked the hail of criticism which plagued his efforts in the years 1844 to 1848.

Direct evidence for evaluating the effect of Grün's opposition remains incomplete. One may point out the volume of Grün's attacks upon communism, along with the wide circulation of the Trierische Zeitung, and the suggestive particulars of the situation in Paris.¹¹⁰ For a more definite indication, one must examine the response which Grün drew from his adversaries.

¹⁰⁹"† Paris, 1. April," TZ, 6 April 1848.

¹¹⁰Concerning the Trierische Zeitung see Förder, Marx und Engels, p.44, 145. In contrast, there are contemporary reports that probably exaggerate somewhat the paper's success. "✓ Paris, 15. März," TZ, 21 March 1845. "✓ Paris, 31. Dec.," TZ, 4 January 1845. "† Antwerpen, 8. Mai," TZ, 13 May 1847.

CHAPTER VI

RESPONSE FROM BRUSSELS

To measure Grün's accomplishment by the response that he evoked in Brussels, one may note at the outset that Marx and Engels cannot have been expected to brook any opposition. They were resolved that in pursuing their goal of a strong proletarian party "...not only must all alien [elements] be excluded, but whoever in any way stood against them was to be relentlessly prosecuted."¹

That in doing so they remained strictly "Verstandes-²menschen," men of reason, however, was not a likely claim. Quite the contrary, their response to criticism was invariably most vehemently personal.³ A pertinent case in point was their hypersensitive reaction to the Systeme. "Bad..., not worth the 15 francs that it costs," Engels wrote upon first opening the

¹This was reported by Gustav Techow, an admirer of Marx, and cited indirectly by Ludwig Bamberger, Deutschland und der Socialismus (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1878), p.7.

²Ibid.

³Woodcock, Anarchism, p.112.

4
book. Marx agreed: "...in general bad, yes very bad." 5 His
reply in the Misère de la Philosophie reduced Proudhon to a
petty-bourgeois reformist who had failed pathetically to under-
stand either the bourgeois economics, the philosophy of Hegel,
or the theories of socialism. "Monsieur Proudhon flatters
himself that he has criticized both economics and communism, but
in reality he has remained far below either of them...." His
mind occupied with moralizing and metaphysics, Proudhon saw in
misery only misery; lacking the necessary insight and the courage
he was incapable of recognizing "...the revolutionary side of
misery which will overthrow the old society." The final passage
of the Misère, the quotation from George Sand cited earlier,
reflected Proudhon's accusation in the celebrated letter of May
1846 that Marx would give the workers blood where they needed
6
ideas.

4 Engels to Marx, [Paris December 1846]; MEW, XXVII, 72.

5 Marx to Pawel Wassiljewitsch Annenkow, Brussels 28
December [1846]; MEW, XXVII, 451. Similarly Proudhon found the
Misère "...a tissue of crudeness, slander, falsification and
plagiarism." Proudhon to Guillaumin, 19 September 1847; cited
in Karl Diehl, P.J. Proudhon, Seine Lehre und sein Leben
(3 vols.; Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1888, 1890, 1896), III, 18-19.

6 Marx, Das Elend der Philosophie; Antwort auf Proudhon's
'Philosophie des Elends,' trans. E. Bernstein and K. Kautsky;
MEW, IV, 182. Once they realized that by communism Proudhon
had meant Cabet and Blanc and was therefore not their enemy,
Marx and Engels began to speak almost approvingly of Proudhon.
Refer to their correspondence in August 1851 (MEW, XXVII,
306-18).

The bad feeling expressed in the Misère one would expect to carry over to Grün, their declared opponent and the man who had poisoned Proudhon against them. The reckoning with Grün, however, appeared on the surface an almost casual and incidental undertaking, as if Grün were scarcely worth the effort. On closer investigation this seeming indifference takes on an entirely different aspect.

II

Marx made a formal declaration of his attitude toward Grün in a signed statement dated Brussels, 3 April 1847 which he sent to the Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung and the Trierische Zeitung. This was occasioned by a personal indictment that had appeared in the latter paper under the heading "† Berlin, 20. März" accusing him of jealous resentment toward Grün because the latter had preempted his plan to publish in German a new study of foreign socialism. Marx suspected Grün to be the author, although probably it was Eduard Meyen.⁷

To this accusation Marx rejoined caustically that if he were to have a competitor or predecessor, he preferred Grün. The seriousness of his concern over the Soziale Bewegung could be measured by his having left the review, which he had written a year previously, in manuscript "to sleep the sleep of the just." Nothing hindered the separate publication of the review

⁷"† Berlin, 20. [sic] März," TZ, 18 March 1847. This was Meyen's regular cipher.

"....save for the small obstacle that one did not consider this book worthy of any special attack and only in a description of the whole [insipid and tasteless]⁸ literature of German socialism did reference to Herrn Grün seem unavoidable." The review was to be added as "an appendix" to the Deutsche Ideologie, a "critique of the most recent German philosophy....and of the German socialism in its various prophets." Marx mentioned that this larger work, co-authored with Engels, had proven difficult to publish. That had nothing to do, however, according to Marx's explanation, with the decision to extract the review and send it to the Westphälische Dampfboot. Rather, as he explained twice, the action was necessitated by the provocation of his detractor in Berlin. "However, now that the Berliner friend has spoken up, the special printing of this recension acquires the more or less humorous significance of showing the manner in which 'the German world acquaints itself with the results of foreign socialism'....,"⁹ that is, by reading the Soziale Bewegung.

Almost immediately Marx's statement was challenged by a second defender of Grün, the Paris correspondent M., who accused Marx of trying to "annihilate" the intellectual "value" created by Proudhon and Grün. What right had Marx, himself so unproductive, to play the customs officer passing judgment on those who

⁸These words were deleted in the Trierische Zeitung version. MEGA, I, 6:259-61.

⁹TZ, 9 April 1847.

would enter the republic of the intellect? The sales records of the publisher Leske indicated impressively enough the importance of the Soziale Bewegung to the German public. Its value certainly did not depend upon the attention given to it by Marx.

At this point the thought occurred to M. that he was "...perhaps not correct in commenting on Marx when I said that he has not thought Grün's book worth a special attack, since he has indeed made this special attack....[and will produce the] review which, as he assures, has lain in his blood for years...." Reversing the terms of Marx's argument, it seemed more likely that the decision not to publish the review followed from the premise that no publisher had been willing to accept it. "...Hr. Marx," M. concluded, "is one of those contradictions that are best left to resolve themselves."¹⁰

Marx found the article "truly disgusting," once again suspecting the author to be Grün. He wished that Engels, who spotted it first, had issued an appropriate brief answer in the same "trashy" paper.¹¹ No such statement materialized; Marx and Engels did not again give these opponents the satisfaction of a direct reply. In the meantime, accusations concerning their treatment of Grün were heard again. Later in the year Heinzen

¹⁰M. "Paris, 13. April," TZ, 17 April 1847.

¹¹Marx to Engels, [Brussels] 15 May [1847]; MEW, XXVII,

informed the public that Engels at one time planned to produce a study of French socialism, only to discover that after Grün's Soziale Bewegung no publisher would handle his "boring repetition."¹²

The truth of these matters lies somewhere between the charges and their disavowal. Marx's explanation that the essay on Grün was not published separately because it formed part of a larger conception, a study of the whole phenomenon of German socialism, made sense. That the review of Grün's book served as merely an "appendix" offering further "humorous" illustrations of the literary follies of True Socialism, did not stand to reason. The second volume of the Ideologie gave more attention to Grün than to any other German socialist. Excluding articles contributed by Hess and Bernays, 72 of the remaining 164 pages were devoted to Grün, leaving his closest competitors, the minor authors Hermann Semmig and Karl Beck, with about fifteen

pages apiece.¹³ Perhaps the plainest evidence of the precedence given to Grün was that the only parts of the volume to reach print were Marx's review of the Soziale Bewegung and the essay by Engels on Grün's Göthe vom menschlichen Standpunkte, which was published in 1846.

¹²Marx, "Gegen Heinzen," MEGA, I, 6:326.

¹³Then came Rudolph Matthäi with 14 pages, Alfred Meissner 11, Lüning 8, Ernst Dronke 4, Weydemeyer 3, Ewerbeck 2, Kriege 2. These figures are approximate. Marx and Engels, Die deutsche Ideologie; MEW, III, 441-530, and IV, 207-90.

The publication history of the essays on German socialism is not at once altogether clear. Marx wrote some twelve years later that in the summer of 1846 the whole Deutsche Ideologie had been abandoned to the "criticism of the mice," employing a phrase reminiscent of the expression "sleep of the just" used in reference to the review of the Soziale Bewegung.¹⁴ The same note of waning interest occurs in a letter from Engels written in March 1847, advising that it was "...urgently necessary that either your book or our manuscript [the Misère or the Ideologie] appear as quickly as possible." But, he continued, "...should the placing of our manuscripts collide with the placing of your book, then in the devil's name chuck the manuscripts into a corner, for it is much more important that your book appear. The two of us don't bite off much in our joint effort." He also observed that it was more important to publish the first volume than the second.¹⁵

The meaning of these remarks becomes more evident when one considers that the main concern was to bring Marx's matured philosophy before the public in order to halt the misrepresentation of his ideas. Thus in August 1846 he explained to the publisher Leske that he had abandoned a previous study of

¹⁴"Excerpt from A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, Karl Marx," Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy, ed. Lewis S. Feuer (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor, 1959), p.45.

¹⁵Engels to Marx, [Paris] 9 March [1847]; MEW, XXVII, 78, 79.

economics in favor of the Deutsche Ideologie because it had become "far more important to present my positive development over against the German philosophy and the subsequent German socialism."¹⁶ The need increased greatly with the attacks of Grün and the appearance of the work - the Systeme - that was hailed as the definitive refutation of communism.¹⁷

The suggestion to abandon the Ideologie, or, if not, to publish only the first volume was a very practical consideration. In their financial embarrassment Marx and Engels were most conscious of the sale value of, in particular, the volume dealing with the philosophers.¹⁸ The second part, a patchy collection of laborious, if occasionally entertaining, polemics, stood much less chance of succeeding, as Engels indeed recognized. Moreover, and this was the ultimate factor, the attempt to

¹⁶ Marx to Karl Wilhelm Leske, [Brussels] 1 August [1846]; MEW, XXVII, 448-49.

¹⁷ This is reflected obliquely in the parting statement of the "Erklärung" of 3 April: "One more word about 'my pretension to have climbed to the highest level of human wisdom.' Who else could have innoculated me with this sickness than Herr Grün who discovered in my explications in the 'Deutsch-französischen Jahrbüchern' the solution to the last enigma..., just as now in Proudhon's Oekonomie; as he now celebrates in Proudhon the true standpoint, [before] he insisted that I had 'risen above the constitutional and radical standpoint.' Herr Grün first poisons me, so that afterward the claim might be flung at me; the poison has worked!"

¹⁸ Engels to Marx, [Paris] 9 March [1847]; MEW, XXVII, 78. In this same letter Engels pointed out that "these manuscripts lose with every month that they are kept in reserve 5-10 fr. per sheet in exchangeable [sic] value." How much Marx depended on the profits from the Ideologie is revealed in his letter to Annenkow, London 9 December [1847]; MEW, XXVII, 472.

locate a publisher had failed completely. Marx explained the situation in the following manner: "You cannot imagine what difficulties one runs into in publishing such a work in Germany, from the police on the one hand, and on the other from the publishers, who themselves are interested parties to all of the tendencies which I attack. And as far as our own party is concerned, not only is it poor, but a strong group within the German communist party holds it against me that I oppose their utopias and declamations."¹⁹

In spite of these troubles, the second part of the Ideologie continued to receive serious attention well into the summer of 1847. Engels followed up a proposal he had made in January to rewrite his critique of Grün's Göthe and to revise extensively the section dealing with True Socialism in general.²⁰ The latter, which became a separate chapter entitled "Die wahren Sozialisten," occupied him until as late as July, judging from references to the Trierische Zeitung.²¹ In the meantime the effort to obtain a publisher continued; at the last, Marx hoped to establish his own press with contributions from friends. When it no longer seemed possible to publish the Ideologie, he at least had the satisfaction of seeing part of the work in print.

¹⁹Marx to P.W. Annenkow, Brussels 28 December [1846]; MEW, XXVII, 462.

²⁰Engels to Marx, [Paris] 15 January 1847; MEW, XXVII, 75.

²¹Mönke, "Deutsche Ideologie," p.461.

As he explained in a letter of 9 December: "The German manuscripts are not being published in full. The parts that are published I give gratis just to send them into the world."²²

Here once again Marx played down his interest in Grün. Gottschalk expressed a much more definite idea of the matter at stake; the late attempt to create an outlet for Marx would, as he understood it, enable the party "...to counteract the machinations of the Ruge-Grün clique...."²³ Marx, in contrast, avoided showing his concern over Grün. More precisely, he chose to make a point of ignoring him, invariably striking the air of contemptuous disconcern that he used instinctively with his enemies. In the Communist Manifesto he dismissed all of his opponents with the casual statement: "The accusations against communism from a religious, a philosophical, and, generally, from an ideological standpoint, are not deserving of serious examination."²⁴

²²Marx to P.W. Annenkov, London 9 December [1847]; MEW, XXVII, 472.

²³Cited in Karl Obermann, "Karl D'Estér, Arzt und Revolutionär; seine Tätigkeit in den Jahren 1842-1849," Aus der Frühgeschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung ("Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften des Instituts für Geschichte, Reihe I: Allgemeine und deutsche Geschichte," vol. I; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964), p.131. Cited hereafter as Obermann, "D'Estér."

²⁴Marx and Engels, Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei; MEW, IV, 479. Cited hereafter as Marx and Engels, Manifest. This aspect of Marx's behavior is observed by Künzli (Marx, p. 372). Marx's advice to Engels on how to handle Heinzen and Ruge followed the same pattern. Marx to Engels, [London] 31 July 1851; MEW, XXVII, 293.

As the journalist M. noticed, Marx protested too much. The attention that he gave to Grün belied his insistence that Grün was of no consequence to him. On the contrary, for over a year he and Engels worked continuously, in the face of repeated frustrations, to publish an indictment of German socialism that focused primarily upon Grün. Not just one, but two savage reviews of Grün's writings reached print. Nor was this the full extent, as will be seen, of their effort to deal with their troublesome adversary.

III

Marx did not send his review directly to the Dampfboot; it went instead to friends in Cologne, who understood that they were to try to get it published as a brochure.²⁵ The intention may have been to put it in a form that would be more easily distributed. Or perhaps Marx's failure to communicate with Lüning before announcing the decision to publish the review in his paper had raised difficulties with the editor.²⁶ In a terse comment in the June issue of the Dampfboot, Lüning gave notice that he had not decided whether he would accept the article. Although the trouble was cleared up through the agency of Lüning's future son-in-law Weydemeyer in time for the review to appear in the August and September issues, Lüning did not hesitate to

²⁵Roland Daniels to Marx, 28 June 1847; cited in Obermann, "D'Ester," p.130. At one point the manuscript was sent to a publisher in Leipzig. Andréas and Mönke, Deutsche Ideologie, p.35-36.

²⁶Mehring, "Dampfboot," p.195.

express firm disapproval of the attack on Grün. In a letter of 16 July 1847 he told Marx that, much as he felt inclined toward Marx' ideas and therefore welcomed his contributions to the Dampfboot, he regarded Marx's indiscriminate use of the purge tactic as damaging to the interests of the party. "Much as I agree with your well-known views on our conditions, I cannot approve of the manner of your polemic. You strike out at all who in any way depart from your views, and then frequently treat these [men] as though they were henceforth entirely unusable and must as quickly as possible be cast out of the ranks of the men of progress." Lüning had no illusions about Grün, knowing as well as anyone else the man's faults, "...his empty phraseology, his gift for exploitation, etc. etc." But one still had to recognize his talents, especially his gifted writing, and the contribution that he had made by awakening interest in the ideas of socialism. He had become something of a public figure in Westphalia and to challenge his reputation would hurt a party that was "so little consolidated."

Lüning went so far as to maintain that Grün still had a useful role to perform; no matter how many mistakes he made, the general public could nonetheless "learn much from him." Thus he placed the burden of responsibility on Marx, with the implication that Marx had been misled by his personal feelings in handling Grün "so shabbily." "One may criticize and reprimand, but what is the purpose of polemicizing with a club when a

person works halfway in the same direction, even if he follows the same course only for a period of time?" Lüning intended to prevent this injustice by "tempering" the offending passages. Remarkably enough, he delivered this lesson to Marx without having seen the article, an indication that he already knew well enough Marx's political style.²⁷

The lesson may have had some effect, for at about this point Engels broke off work on "Die wahren Sozialisten" in which he had expended several pages of ridicule on Weydemeyer and Lüning.²⁸ Such irreverent behavior became quite senseless when Lüning invited Marx to use the Dampfboot. The review of the Soziale Bewegung, however, appeared as written, processed by Weydemeyer before Lüning got home from a trip to Zürich.²⁹

Marx found very little in the Soziale Bewegung that merited earnest examination; he devoted the bulk of his essay to uncovering evidence of the author's pretentiousness, ignorance, lack of originality, and intellectual dishonesty. He invited his readers to share his disgust over Grün's attitude of arrogant superiority toward the French socialists whom he met, pointing out the reference to Blanc as "his swarthy young friend" and the claim to be "...the tutor of the man [Proudhon] whose acumen

²⁷Lüning to Marx, Schoren bei Zürich 16 July 1847; cited, with deletions, by Mehring, "Dampfboot," p.196-97.

²⁸MEW, IV, 249ff.

²⁹Lüning did not return until late in August. Obermann, Weydemeyer, p.105-07.

has perhaps not been surpassed since Lessing and Kant." He noticed in these moments a penchant for using great men as "....a pedestal for Herr Grün...."³⁰

Here and there in the book Marx found patches of social criticism and theorizing.³¹ For the most part these were corrupted versions of theories borrowed from Feuerbach and Hess. Using their ideological approach, which to Marx constituted a futile preoccupation with "Man's consciousness of himself," Grün tested the French socialists on their understanding of "Man" or human essence and found them wanting. This irritated Marx in the extreme, for it detracted from the appreciation of the real contribution made by the French socialists, obscuring for example Fourier's very positive analysis of actual conditions in agriculture and industry.³²

Marx noted that although Grün dabbled occasionally in economics, he failed altogether to escape his vague aesthetic and philosophical approach and deal with reality. Thus when he spoke of the relationship between production and consumption he missed the exploitation involved in the existing capitalist system. Where the realist investigated the conditions of

³⁰Karl Marx, "Karl Grün: 'Die soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien' (Darmstadt 1845) oder die Geschichtschreibung des wahren Sozialismus," WD (August-September 1847), p.439-63, 505-25; MEW, III, 473-520. Cited hereafter as Marx, "Grün."

³¹Ibid., III, 475.

³²Ibid., 498-503.

production to discover the inequities borne by the worker, Grün talked about consumption to make the rather idle point that consumption ought to be "human." All this mystification about "humanity" obscured what Marx regarded as basically "...an apology for existing conditions."³³

Analysis of Grün's ideas appears almost incidental, however, to the purpose of exposing his weaknesses as a scholar. The bulk of the review dealt with the Soziale Bewegung as a wholesale plagiarization of work by Hess, Cabet and particularly von Stein, to mention only a few.³⁴ Perhaps worst of all, he copied from Marx as well. Marx described this literary misbehavior in a brilliant and telling bit of analysis.

"....[Grün] developes all the symptoms of a plagiarist consumed by inward uneasiness: artificial confusion, to make comparison difficult; omission of sentences and words which he does not quite understand when citing indirectly; poetic elaboration in the form of phrases of indefinite meaning; treacherous attacks upon the very persons whom he is copying."³⁵

³³ Marx, "Grün"; MEW, III, 504.

³⁴ Ibid., 478-81, 509-16.

³⁵ Ibid., 485.

The pain which Marx took to expose Grün as a fake and an intellectual parasite renders quite credible the accusation that he intended to "destroy" Grün.³⁶ He drove the point home with an amazingly sustained vehemence as he dismantled the Soziale Bewegung almost page by page. Notable also is his refusal to take up one of the main points of Grün's book by offering a defense of communism. Marx wished to put an end to Grün, but in doing so he would not be drawn into a debate on the latter's terms.

Marx had composed his essay in April 1846.³⁷ Engels' contribution to the disparagement of Grün, "Karl Grün: 'Über Goethe vom menschlichen Standpunkte'. Darmstadt, 1846," brought the subject more up to date. Thus he wished to demonstrate that in spite of the claim to have emancipated himself from philosophy,³⁸ the new Grün remained the same old philosopher, addicted to abstractions like "Being" and "humanist Man," and

³⁶ The accusation appeared first in the Rhein- und Mosel-zeitung (Mehring, "Dampfboot," p.195); it was repeated by M. "Paris, 13. April," TZ, 17 April 1847. Marx's criticism could have been worse (Andreas and Mönke, Deutsche Ideologie, p.113), but more personal revelations were hardly printable.

³⁷ The date, taken from Marx's "Erklärung," may be only approximate.

³⁸ Karl Grün, Göthe, vii.

only recently seen praying at the altar of Hegel.³⁹ Grün had the audacity to transfer his abstractions to Goethe, a grave distortion considering that, in his best moments at least, Goethe was "very non-philosophical." Engels referred to the earlier Goethe, the man of "the practical life" who could disdain German society and the transience of the world. As the years grew on him, the Goethe that Engels admired disappeared, giving up the struggle to retreat behind his desk as a petty bureaucrat in Weimar.⁴⁰ This was the Goethe whom Grün extolled as so triumphantly "human," a telling indication, Engels thought, of the petty-bourgeois character of Grün himself.

This interpretation of Goethe, out of which would come the standard communist reading of the subject, did not originate with Engels. Only slightly familiar with Goethe and not especially appreciative of what he had read, he simply took over the analysis fashioned by the Young German literary critic Ludolf Wienbarg.⁴¹ There is irony, then, in his repeating the accusation that Grün plagiarized Hess and Marx.⁴²

³⁹[Engels], "Deutscher Sozialismus in Versen und Prosa. [Ch.] 1: Karl Beck: 'Lieder vom armen Mann,' oder die Poesie des wahren Sozialismus, [Ch.] 2: Karl Grün: 'Über Goethe vom menschlichen Standpunkte'. Darmstadt, 1846," Deutsche Ideologie; DBZ, 12 September to 9 December 1847; MEW, IV, 229. Cited hereafter as Engels, "Deutscher Sozialismus."

⁴⁰Engels, "Grün"; MEW, IV, 231-32.

⁴¹Peter Demetz, Marx, Engels und die Dichter. Zur Grundlagenforschung des Marxismus (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, c.1959), p.221-22.

⁴²Engels, "Grün"; MEW, IV, 228-30.

There was some justice in his characterization of Grün as a settled and complacent man of the lower middle class who did not want to see the present order disturbed and feared revolution. Armed with autobiographical excerpts from Grün's Goethe he portrayed the author as a man content to "...tarry in the limited," to take his satisfaction in the domestic life and in his modest possessions, his house, his garden.⁴³ "He has made himself right comfortable [as he settles back to write about Goethe]. 'Roses and camellias I had placed in the room, mignonettes and violets in the open window...' 'And above all no commentaries!... But rather here on the table the collected writings and the scent of roses and mignonettes in the room! We will see how far we get with it....'"⁴⁴ To conclude, however, that Grün, the professed socialist, was in reality a reactionary, an enemy of all that held a threat to the old feudal order, distorted the facts.⁴⁵ Contrary to Engels' assertion, he was not a monarchist.⁴⁶ Engels misconstrued his expression of admiration for Goethe's prince Karl August for helping the "proletarians" improve their lot.⁴⁷ Furthermore, Grün's idealization of the quiet life turns out, upon examining the context, to be an argument against excessive nationalism.⁴⁸

⁴³Engels, "Grün"; MEW, IV, 242.

⁴⁴Ibid., p.222.

⁴⁵Ibid., p.240-41.

⁴⁶Ibid., p.243.

⁴⁷Grün, Goethe, p.129.

⁴⁸Ibid., p.32.

Engels played carelessly with his subject because it suited his purpose of discrediting Grün, but also out of personal animus. His feelings showed through especially in his concluding remarks. Grün had attempted to rescue Goethe from the charge of libertinage by offering the distinction that while there might be reason to tolerate a bit of promiscuity before marriage (the most dissolute youth might make the best husband), adultery was something else. Engels thought this the height of bourgeois hypocrisy. With hand on heart Grün declared himself innocent of all frivolity. "Der Mensch is right," Engels jibed. "He is not made for gallant adventures with pretty girls, he has never speculated in seduction and adultery; he is rather a man of conscience, an honorable and virtuous German Philistine."⁴⁹

Quite possibly these lines were written in the winter of 1846-1847 when Engels had to abandon his attempt to wean away Grün's following and turned instead to the pleasures which Paris

⁵⁰ offered. Perhaps he also reflected that the work he was dissecting had originally been planned as the first volume in a series on German socialism to which he and Hess had been asked to contribute.⁵¹

⁴⁹Engels, "Grün"; MEW, IV, 246.

⁵⁰The last section, beginning with "Es bleibt uns nur noch eine Bemerkung zu machen...." (Ibid., p.247), sounds as though it were appended, perhaps in a revision of the original. What follows is the argument which Engels intended to underscore in rewriting the essay (Engels to Marx, [Paris] 15 January 1847; MEW, XXVII, 76).

⁵¹Grün to Hess, Paris 6 August 1845; Hess, Briefwechsel, p.131.

IV

The two essays by Marx and Engels comprise only a part of the literature produced in reaction to Grün. During the last half of 1847 several reviews of the Systeme appeared under the auspices of the communist circle. A considerable portion of this writing served the special purpose of making known in German the substance of the Misère, which had appeared only in French. A number of Marx's followers expressed concern that he had not answered Proudhon in German, to which Marx replied simply that he had to deal with the work of a French author.⁵² He might also have pointed out the virtue of making an impression in the world of French socialism.⁵³ Perhaps these reasons would have proven less valid if he had been able to publish in German. The attempt at a later date to issue a German translation indicates a real need that was frustrated.⁵⁴ The best that could be done under the circumstances was to have the Misère reviewed in the periodical press.

To be precise, these reviews responded to Grün's translated edition of the Systeme, for in addition to straightforward criticism of Proudhon's ideas from Marx's point of view they

⁵²Marx to Georg Herwegh, Brussels 8 August [1847]; MEW, XXVII, 467. Marx to P.W. Annenkow, Brussels 28 December [1846]; MEW, XXVII, 462.

⁵³This purpose is evident in Engels' letter to Marx, Paris [21 January 1848]; MEW, XXVII, 113-14.

⁵⁴Marx discussed the prospect of publishing the translation done by a certain Wilhelm Pieper in a letter to Hermann Becker, London 2 December [1850]; MEW, XXVII, 540. A German translation did not appear until 1885 (MEW, IV, 621).

contained contrastingly unsober remarks about his translator. After concluding that Proudhon's reputed mammoth scientific erudition had been "struck down" by Marx, an anonymous critic in the Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung added that the Misère would also "...drive into the dust, whence they were destined from birth, those who attached themselves to Proudhon's supposed salvation of man and who, in their widely recognized charlatanry, enveloped the new Messiah and above all themselves with an everlasting aura of sanctity."⁵⁵

A similar effort was produced for the Dampfboot by Emil Weller, whose attraction to Marx may have been due to the influence of Hess.⁵⁶ He took it upon himself to defend what he called "true communism" against the accusation that it depersonalized man and robbed him of his freedom. On the contrary, he replied, it was Proudhon's system that posed a threat to freedom by binding man to the present bourgeois society. If, however, Proudhon established the practical program of association that he promised, Weller would allow him into the company of the revered French emancipators, Rousseau, Helvetius and Fourier. The criticism of Grün underwent no such qualification. Weller hated the pretence of "philosophical propheticism" in Grün's claim that the Systeme was the final stage of

⁵⁵* Q Misère de la Philosophie. Réponse à la Philosophie de la Misère de Mr. Proudhon par Karl Marx. Paris bei A. Frank und Brüssel bei C.G. Vogler. 1847, DBZ, 11 July 1847.

⁵⁶Weller was in contact with Hess as early as August 1846. Hess, Briefwechsel, p.165-67.

"theory," and as such was bound automatically to realize itself in fact. "There we have it!" Weller exclaimed. "Socialism will now become actuality; Hr. Grün predicts it for us, so it must come about." Grün's falseness showed also in his raising the "spectre" of communism in its crudest form. Having "strolled all the way through communism," he knew better than to reduce the thought of the most advanced German socialists to the vulgar formula of "Theilungskommunismus." This to Weller was a typical cheap device of the hack writer.⁵⁷

The most substantial review, written by Ferdinand Wolff, one of Marx's closest supporters, treated Grün more seriously and with a measure of fairness most uncharacteristic among the Marxist group. In the first place, unlike the other critics, he assigned to Grün a major role in the development and the distribution of Proudhon's ideas. Grün had infected the French socialist with a bastardized form of German philosophy, with the result that the Systeme took on a certain religious character derived from the moralizing approach of German philosophical socialism. This new "super socialism" then returned to Germany in Grün's translation, advertised deceptively as a new discovery and acclaimed as a divinely inspired world-solution. "...One is not sure," Wolff remarked, "whether to be more surprised at

⁵⁷E. Weller, "Die Philosophie des Elends," WD (1847), p. 574-82. Weller also reproduced concluding passages of Marx's Misère in his Demokratisches Taschenbuch für 1848 (Leipzig: E. Weller, 1849).

the shamelessness of the smuggler or the ignorance of the hawker, the naivete of the prophet or the activity of his apostle."⁵⁸

He did not mention Grün by name, however, until later in the review when commenting on the literary merits of the translation, and here he was more lenient. Grün had made a bad job of it, but that was due to his inability to cope with Proudhon's extremely free use of terms and ultimately to the inadequacy of the German language.⁵⁹

Hess intended to take part in the criticism of the German version of the Systeme, but the critique that he wrote remained in manuscript. The work contained only minor references to Grün as Proudhon's translator and "apostle."⁶⁰ A few months later, however, he took direct issue with the opponents of communism in an essay entitled "Consequences of a Revolution of the Proletariat" which appeared in the Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung in October and November 1847.⁶¹ To those who alarmed the public by raising the "spectre of communism" he replied that communism

⁵⁸Ferdinand Wolff, "Marx gegen Proudhon," WD (January-February 1848), p.9.

⁵⁹Ibid., p.12.

⁶⁰Hess, Schriften, p.398, 400. The review, uncompleted and left without a title, was composed in the summer of 1847 (Ibid., p.509).

⁶¹Moses Hess, "Die Folgen einer Revolution des Proletariats," DBZ, 14 October, 31 October, 7 November, 11 November 1847; Hess, Schriften, p.425-44.

did not controvert freedom, right and "healthy common sense," as they claimed. The division of property did not mean its destruction; on the contrary, communism would raise consumption and liberate production, thereby multiplying property. To the objection that communism implied "tyranny," "dictatorship" and "terrorism" he admitted most candidly that a revolution of the proletariat would certainly have its "difficulties and dark aspects." As St. Just said, revolutions were not made with rose water. The principles that the "idealist opponents of the communist movement" defended in the name of individual freedom were in reality historical abstractions. What they understood by equality, for example, was not a true universal; it meant only equality before the law. Such bourgeois principles would indeed be affected by the communist revolution.

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Hess did not name his adversary. His criticisms described almost equally well both Heinzen and Grün, and probably were meant to include both. He addressed himself to the bourgeois democrat and, more generally, to the "ideologue" in terms that applied to the True Socialist.

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⁶²Hess, Schriften, p.440-43.

⁶³Ibid., p.442. In a sense the work was a piece of self-criticism (Silberner, Hess, p.275). His repeated use of the term "healthy common sense" suggests Grün, whose favorite expression this was; but it was also singled out by Marx in his characterization of Heinzen, "Gegen Heinzen"; MEW, IV, 331-32, 339, 349.

Some of the language in these two essays bears a resemblance to the writings of the other defenders of Marxian communism. The characterization of Grün as an "apostle" and the talk of "Geisterseher" who feared the "Gespenst des Communismus" occur also in the review by Weller.⁶⁴ Both men also concluded with a note on Fourier, evidently following the lead of Marx, who at the end of his first systematic criticism of Proudhon's work, in a letter of December 1846, judged Fourier superior to his critic, Proudhon.⁶⁵ These similarities raise the very plausible suggestion that the several reviews of Grün's translation constituted a coordinated effort.

The final attack upon Grün was also undertaken by a junior member of the communist circle, in this case Weydemeyer. It came in response to a Trierische Zeitung article dated "†† Paris, 3. Nov.,"⁶⁶ which dealt with Marx's review of the Soziale Bewegung. Grün had not failed to appreciate the value of economics, the anonymous writer maintained; anyone who came into contact with Proudhon, including Heine, inevitably developed a determination to know the subject. But, at the same time one needed a background in philosophy to escape the "dogma of the community" and to develop an appreciation for the principle of

⁶⁴Weller, "Die Philosophie des Elends," WD (1847), p.578.

⁶⁵Marx to P.W. Annenkow, Brussels 28 December [1846]; MEW, IV, 556. As has been noted, he also defended Fourier against Grün at great length in his review of the Soziale Bewegung (MEW, III, 498-507).

⁶⁶TZ, 7 November 1847.

"the free personality." Grün performed a great service for Proudhon by introducing him to the great post-Hegelian philosophers. Contrary to what Marx had said, he did not assume the role of Proudhon's mentor, but rather made the modest contribution of acquainting the Frenchman with works that were unavailable in translation. Proudhon certainly took no offense; the two men remained fast friends.

Aside from the vague reference to communism in the expression "dogma of the community," the article dealt with Marx on an almost exclusively personal basis. What right had this "most comical figure" to criticize Grün when he himself had produced virtually nothing. It suited his position as a mere observer to drop this fruitless personal bickering and employ his talents more appropriately by writing a history of German socialism. More likely he would end up being the one to write the critique of such a work two years after its publication.

Weydemeyer had no doubts about the origin of the article. In his reply from "Hann, im November" he exposed the author as Karl Grün, noting from direct experience Grün's habit of using datelines to suit his own convenience. Grün wrote from all ends of the world, at times filling up half the paper by himself. Nor did reference to the "characteristic (!) freshness" of the Soziale Bewegung and to the "almost universal (?) recognition" (the editing was Weydemeyer's) that it had found, present any

difficulty in establishing the paternity of the article. This was fully typical of Grün, and furthermore he had no other recourse when faced with Marx's documented accusations. Unable to defend himself, he automatically responded with a heavy dose of self-praise, abuse of his critics and an appeal to the general public's fear of communism.

With this fresh evidence of Grün's duplicity and repetition of the charge of "common plagiarism" Weydemeyer sought to put a finishing touch to the destruction of Grün's reputation. He observed rightly the difficulty that Grün had in answering his enemies. For instance, it was quite beside the point that Grün may not have been the author of the article from Paris; the accusation was damaging even without definite evidence. Worst of all, perhaps, Weydemeyer's letter went unanswered.⁶⁷

V

The communists too appeared affected by the encounter with their critics. On the one hand they proceeded most boldly to embrace the "Schreckwort" of communism and advocate without equivocation a revolution of the proletariat, declaring: "It is high time that communists should openly in the face of the whole world publish their views, their aims, their tendencies, and

⁶⁷J. Weydemeyer, "(Hamm, im November.) (Ad Nro. 311 der 'Trierschen Zeitung' Paris, 3. November.)," WD (1847), p.734-35. The article could have been written by Grün, I suppose; note, however, similarities in content and phrasing between this essay and the article by M. "Paris, 13. April," TZ, 17 April 1847.

meet this nursery tale of the Spectre of Communism with a
 Manifesto of the party...⁶⁸ At the same time, however, other
 utterances carry a defensive note that indicates a real
 sensitivity to criticism. Several statements which Marx decided
 at the last to strike out of an essay on "Der Kommunismus des
 'Rheinischen Beobachters'" sound peculiarly apologetic.
 Communism, he said, meant social justice; it would commence with
 an income tax to prepare the way for numerous further social
 reforms; it meant revolution only in the sense that it involved
 a "re-forming of social relationships and the removal of
 boundless misery" (this last phrase was published). This attempt
 to temper the image of communism culminated in a statement
 suggesting that communism fulfilled the social promise of
 Christianity!⁶⁹

There is a similarly apologetic side to the great
Manifesto, a reflection of the defensive situation in which its
 authors found themselves. The original version, the "Fundamentals

⁶⁸ Marx and Engels, Manifest; MEW, IV, 461.

⁶⁹ [Marx], "Der Kommunismus des 'Rheinischen Beobachters'.
 'Brüssel, 5. September,'" DBZ, 12 September 1847; MEW, IV, 191-
 203. Reference here is mainly to the original manuscript
 version in MEGA, I, 6:624. Note also Engels' defense of commun-
 ism, against charges too ridiculous to bother with, in "Die
 'Réforme' und der 'National'," DBZ, 30 December 1847; MEW, IV,
 423-25. The same peremptory dismissal of the arguments of critics
 of communism, in this case Lamartine's criticism of Cabet, is
 encountered for a third time in [Marx], "Lamartine und der
 Kommunismus," DBZ, 26 December 1847; MEW, IV, 421-22.

of Communism" written by Engels in Paris late in October 1847, registered the doubts of the German workers, who remained far from compliant even after the influence of Weitling, Grün and Proudhon had been eliminated. He had to deal with a number of popular misconceptions about communism concerning the marital state, the family, property and religion. He assured the doubters that communism did not mean wife-sharing and that the family would be preserved. But he also managed to make the very radical-sounding proposition that children be reared in common to relieve the dependence of woman upon husband and children upon parents. No record remains of what he said about religion.

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These issues carried over into the Manifesto, although in general the latter work was far more assertive; it fielded such charges with defiance. Concluding the section devoted to "bourgeois" objections raised against communism was the statement encountered earlier that ideological criticisms did not deserve serious consideration.

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Nonetheless, Marx did not neglect his philosophical enemies. The outline adopted for his discussion of the various currents of socialism gave the impression that True Socialism was merely one aspect of something larger and more significant:

⁷⁰MEW, IV, 640.

⁷¹MEW, IV, 641.

⁷²Marx and Engels, Manifesto; MEW, IV, 477-82.

⁷³Ibid., IV, 479.

1. Reactionary Socialism
 - a. Feudal Socialism
 - b. Petty-Bourgeois Socialism
 - c. German, or "True," Socialism
2. Conservative, or bourgeois, Socialism
3. Critical-Utopian Socialism and Communism.

But this is misleading. In the first place, the author's primary interest was the German situation.⁷⁴ Secondly, they spent twice as much attention on True Socialism as on any of the other subjects, with the exception of the slightly shorter section on classical socialism and its aftermath.⁷⁵ The paragraphs concerning "Conservative, or bourgeois, Socialism" applied to the Grün variety of True Socialist insofar as it related to Proudhon, whom they cited under the category of "hole-and-corner reformers of every imaginable kind."⁷⁶ Grün was not identified until Engels explained in a footnote to the 1890 German edition that "the chief representative and classical type of this tendency is Herr Karl Grün."⁷⁷ The informed German reader of 1848 needed no such clarification.

Under the heading "German, or 'True,' Socialism" the Manifesto argued that the "German philosophers, would-be philosophers, and beaux esprits," took the French socialism and "profaned" it by their failure to recognize its unsuitability

⁷⁴Ibid., IV, 493.

⁷⁵"Critical-Utopian Socialism and Communism" is the title of the section. Ibid., IV, 489-92.

⁷⁶Ibid., IV, 488.

⁷⁷Ibid.

to German conditions. They transposed these imported ideas into their own language and called the result a "Philosophy of Action." Having emasculated French socialism and communism by obscuring the basic message of class struggle, the German socialist felt that he had overcome "French one-sidedness" to emerge as a champion of, not the proletariat, but of man, Human Nature, Truth.

This initial innocent phase came to an end when the rise of the liberal movement presented the German socialists with their first challenge. Failing to see the positive nature of this movement and the necessity of liberal political institutions they treated the liberals as an enemy of social progress. In doing so the True Socialist played into the hands of the governments in their effort to suppress the opposition and thereby preserve the old reactionary order.

Thus far the description fitted Hess more than anyone else, although generally applicable also to Grün.⁷⁸ As Marx became more involved and less objective, the figure of Grün began to predominate. "[German socialism] proclaimed the German nation to be the model nation, and the German petty Philistine to be the typical Man. Every low characteristic of this model Man was given a hidden, a higher, socialistic interpretation that was exactly the opposite of the truth." This message spread like an epidemic. "The robe of speculative cobwebs, embroidered

⁷⁸ Silberner, Hess, p.281.

with flowers of rhetoric, steeped in the dew of sickly sentiment - this transcendental robe in which the German Socialists wrapped their sorry 'eternal truths'... - only increased the sale of their goods amongst [the] public." Suddenly Marx reached the crux of the matter. "[German Socialism] went to the extreme length of directly opposing the 'brutally destructive' tendency of communism, and of proclaiming its supreme and impartial contempt for all class struggles."⁷⁹

Here in this section of the Manifesto defense yielded to aggression as Marx poured out his resentment against Grün. In a sense it was a triumph for the latter, for he had succeeded in forcing Marx to abandon again the silence of contempt which was his strongest weapon in dealing with Grün. This last eruption of feeling confirmed again the accusation that Marx bore a deep personal hatred for Grün. More than that, it testified also to real grievances: the destruction of Marx's relationship with Proudhon, the attempt to gain for the latter the leadership of German socialism under the captaincy of his self-appointed executor, and in conjunction with this the attempt to discredit the communist movement. Out from behind the calculated indifference toward Grün emerged a response that in its continuity and depth provides the most impressive gauge of the success of Grün's effort to combat the new German communism.

⁷⁹Marx and Engels, Manifesto; MEW, IV, 488.

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL AND INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

The man whom Marx and Engels condemned in 1847 and 1848 was an earlier Grün, the author of the Soziale Bewegung and Göthe vom menschlichen Standpunkte. Their conclusions bore little relevance to the political activist and potential revolutionary of 1848. To gain a truer and more positive understanding of Grün it is necessary to study his intellectual and political development during the years that he spent in Paris and Brussels.

One thing had not changed: Grün continued to offend against his own standard of "healthy common sense" with inflated imagery and philosophical vagaries. His use of that expression, however, was significant, for it represented to him the point at which philosophy began to realize itself. In Feuerbach and Proudhon philosophy and theoretical criticism had been brought to a state of completion where the subjective and the objective were finally made one. In simpler terms, and applied to Grün, this meant that in his generation thought had come to correspond

with reality, making it possible for the theoretician to begin his contribution to the building of the new "temple" of humanity.¹

He did not repudiate his intellectual past, for he still considered philosophy a superior and even a necessary method of development.² Thus he preferred to say that "the present-day philosopher is one who has philosophized himself out," in place of the less positive expression: "to have triumphed over philosophy."³ According to Grün, ideas contained within themselves a necessity for realization and one had only to pursue "absolute logic" all the way to Lands End to find oneself projecting a "thick orchestral bass" into the world of things.⁴

Suddenly the theorizing lay behind; the whole world was becoming practical.⁵ It was time to produce, to repudiate the old philosophical hairsplitting and instead to bring science (theory) into the struggle of society.⁶ The hungry proletariat

¹"(X) Darmstadt, 12. Feb.," MAZ, 4 March 1847. "X Paris, 12. März," TZ, 11 March 1847.

²"* Ueber Volksaufklärung und Volksschriften," Philanthrop, no.18 (1847). Cited hereafter as "* Ueber Volksaufklärung."

³"X Paris, 12. März," TZ, 11 March 1847.

⁴Ibid.

⁵"* Wissenschaft und Leben. Trier, im Mai, II," TZ, 3 May 1846. "How practical this world is becoming, how conscious is the fact becoming that the time of empty theories is inescapably past and the period of Praxis upon us! In the facts of labor and production, in the order of the world of economics rests the whole riddle of the present." "X Paris, 25. März," KZ, 28 March 1847.

⁶Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 30 October 1847.

bore witness to the ancient dualism of thought alienated from reality; that dualism had to be broken to release the power of thought into the real world of social and economic contradictions.⁷

Grün's desire to become involved in the world of real affairs, to "put a hand to the wheel," as he put it, was evidently sincere.⁸ How far he would realize this ambition, however, depended in part upon his ability to escape the idealism that remained in his thinking. At times he seemed to regard thought as the real source of historical change, as, for example, when he observed that "one does not even have to make history, because the rational, once it becomes generally recognized, becomes by itself practical."⁹ To a degree this was the attitude of the passive observer, content in the knowledge of why all that happened was inevitable. It reminds one of the anti-political idealism of Bruno Bauer.¹⁰

Unlike Bauer, however, Grün did believe in active involvement, with the qualification that one must guard against

⁷"[!] Vom Rhein, 26. Jan.," TZ, 31 January 1847. "X Paris, 12. Juli," TZ, 17 July 1847.

⁸"X Paris, 17. Juli," TZ, 21 July 1847.

⁹"X Paris, 12. März," TZ, 11 March 1847. Similar statements are found in "* Trier, Anfang Februar. (Schluss aus Nr. 39.)," TZ, 10 February 1847. "* Ueber Volksaufklärung," Philanthrop, no.18 (1847). "* Trier, 4. Januar," TZ, 5 January 1847.

¹⁰Hook, Hegel to Marx, p.109-10. Koigen, Vorgeschichte, p.211-12.

"the instinctive deed."¹¹ Action, he insisted, must become conscious, or to put it in common sense terms, the act must be prepared by thought in much the same way as a German would study chemistry before attempting to remove a spot of grease.¹²

Grün recognized a second danger in the pseudo-realism that claimed to liberate man from the wrongs of history in the name of some abstract formulation of the nature of man. History was the record of civilization and civilization in turn meant complexity, error and corruption.¹³ One could not expect by a single act to raise man out of this real context as the philosophes had done by means of "philosophical illusions" like the Rights of Man or Democracy. The failure to take man as he is had a destructive potential.¹⁴ "...The only real man, considered in and with things, not man-without-things, not things-without-man, in a single word, man as acting and enjoying being, man as worker, as reproductive consumer, this man escaped

11. "X. X. Zwei Geschichten," KZ, 13 March 1847.

12. "Trier, Anfangs Februar. (Fortsetzung.)," TZ, 8 February 1847.

13. "X Paris, 7. Mai," TZ, 11 May 1847. "X Paris, 12. Juni," TZ, 16 June 1847.

14. "Geschichte der Girondisten," KZ, 16 July 1847.
"Ueber Volksaufklärung," Philanthrop, no. 18 (1847). "Although absolute truth and complete virtue is the goal and idea of us all, it will not be tomorrow or the next day that we arrive at this goal and realize this ideal. Thus too in the existing social arrangements there is nothing absolutely bad and reprehensible...." "Zur Literatur," KZ, 12 October 1847.

the Enlightenment, the Enlightenment knew this man not, this man we have to actualize."¹⁵

A direct connection existed in Grün's thinking between the Enlightenment and the Terror. He had been reading widely on the French Revolution, drawing lessons from this subject that tended to reinforce his conservatism, but also his sense of realism.¹⁶ What he disliked most about this literature was the tendency to romanticize or idealize the Revolution. He considered Louis Blanc's interpretation of the Terror as the triumph of the idea of brotherhood a travesty because of its sanctification of sheer excess and cruelty. To Grün this was like turning logarithms into poetry. The Revolution did not raise man to a new, higher level of existence - by ending the reign of bourgeois individualism, as Blanc maintained. It merely served to further complicate or corrupt the human situation. There was nothing ultimate about the gains that were made.¹⁷ The administrative responsibility brought in by the French Revolution, for example, offered no automatic guarantee against inequity, particularly when the laws themselves remained unjust. Thinking of his own

¹⁵" * Ueber Volksaufklärung," Philanthrop, no.18 (1847).

¹⁶He studied closely the histories of Lamartine, Michelet and Blanc. " ** Zwei Geschichten," KZ, 13 March 1847. " ~~XX~~ Geschichte der Girondisten," KZ, 16 July 1847. " ~~XX~~ Paris, 14. Juni," KZ, 17 June 1847.

¹⁷" ~~XX~~ Zwei Geschichten," KZ, 12 March 1847. " * Wissenschaft und Leben. - Trier, im April," TZ, 27 April 1846.

experience at the hands of Minister Duchâtel, Grün concluded that "there is nothing more evil in the world than governments that issue out of revolutions."¹⁸

Grün did not write dispassionately on this subject. He feared, especially in the summer of 1847, the imminence of an outbreak of violence by the despairing, enraged masses that would exceed the bounds of what one ordinarily called revolution. He described the atmosphere as "not revolutionary, but pyromaniacal."¹⁹ Hence the urgency of his criticism of the revolutionary tradition and the zeal with which he posed the system of Proudhon against the revolutionary doctrine of Marx.

The alternative that Grün proposed, resting upon the premise that "political revolution" could no longer deal adequately with the problems of society, was the eminently rational and pacific course presented in Proudhon's Systeme des Contradictions économiques.²⁰ Change was to be gradual, the

¹⁸"Ein Rückzug," Amphitheater, no.2 (1848). "X Paris, 12. Juni," TZ, 16 June 1847. "XXZwei Geschichten," KZ, 12 March 1847.

¹⁹"X Paris, 7. Juni," TZ, 12 June 1847. Grün was not certain that the outcome of present affairs would be violent ("X Paris, 26. Mai," KZ, 28 May 1847; "X Paris, 17. Juli," TZ, 21 July 1847), but he seems generally to have expected the worst (Grün to Proudhon, 10 July 1846, cited in Förder, Marx und Engels, p.120; "X Paris, 8. März," KZ, 12 March 1847; "XX Paris, 1. April," KZ, 4 April 1847; "X Paris, 17. Juli," TZ, 19 July 1847).

²⁰"Zur Literatur," KZ, 8 October 1847. "XX Paris, 5. Nov.," KZ, 8 November 1847. "Trier, am ersten Januar 1847," TZ, 1 January 1847.

result of economic insight and the attendant increased efficiency²¹ in achieving the desired ends. In contrast to the revolutionary approach, it was precisely this tempering of the "wine of enthusiasm" by sober study and increased "consciousness" that²² guaranteed for mankind a "monstrous step forward."

Grün had several names for the new method: "true economy or true socialism," "social science," or "social economy."²³ The difficulty lay in finding a term to represent the fusion of socialism and economics. He could not accept these two approaches to the social problem separately. The former, "political economy," tended to beatify egoism; the economist lacked a social sense, a poverty demonstrated by Malthus.²⁴ But at least Political Economy had the strength of realism; socialism, when divested of its positive elements, mainly borrowings from the economists, remained largely a composite of "illusion, idealizing, steam and shadows."²⁵ The difference between the two showed in their approach to the problem of labor. The economist said that

²¹Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 8 October, 12 October 1847.

²²"* Trier, Anfang Februar. (Schluss aus Nr. 39.)," TZ, 10 February 1847. Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 27 October 1847.

²³Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 17 October 1847.

²⁴Ibid., 17 October, 27 October 1847.

²⁵Ibid., 17 October 1847.

labor was organized, the socialist that it must be organized. Proudhon, the social economist, would observe that "labor is organizing itself."²⁶

The superior realism claimed for Proudhon rested upon an objective appreciation of the "contradictions" present in all social and economic phenomena. There was a double aspect to such economic factors as the division of labor, the introduction of machines, competition, tariffs and free trade. Essentially they were creative forces, but their misuse or imbalance caused damage to society.²⁷ Machinery and the division of labor dulled the worker's intelligence and placed him in a servile status;²⁸ but they also greatly increased industrial output. Competition, when monopolized by a minority of the stronger commercial interests, brought about the "murder of small capital." Yet it had the capacity to spur incentive and productivity,²⁹ and to lower prices.

To regard only the negative side involved a retrogression. One could not just condemn the new forms of production and advocate a return to artisan production. No less pointless

²⁶Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 17 October 1847.

²⁷Ibid., 27 October, 28 October 1847.

²⁸Ibid., 27 October 1847. The unemployment caused by the introduction of machines was not absorbed by an increase in jobs created as the economy expanded, Grün maintained, because the introduction of new labor-saving machines was an endless process (Ibid.)

²⁹"* Ueber die Concurrenz," Philanthrop, no.29 (1847). Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 27 October 1847.

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would be the destruction of machines. The social economist, avoiding all moralizing, sought instead for an adjustment that would unleash the full productive potential of these great forces.³¹

The nearest thing to a villain in Proudhon's system was Monopoly. The term summarized practically the whole error of the existing order.³² Concentration of economic power made it possible for a privileged few to expropriate the value created by the real producer, the worker, leaving him with merely a wage, which might or might not suffice for his basic needs.³³ The consequence was underconsumption, a more accurate term than overproduction; the consuming masses did not have the means to absorb the immense volume of goods made possible by the new means of production.³⁴

³⁰ Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 27 October 1847.

³¹ It was the belief that social injustice was not so much the product of willful misdoing as of error that gave hope for a better society, for men act according to their degree of enlightenment and error is susceptible to knowledge. "...Insight is the high directress of society, and mankind acts in matters great and general always according to the degree of its insight," Grün held (Ibid., 12 October 1847). A graphic explanation of the origin of social evil is given in "X Paris, 10. Aug.," TZ, 15 August 1847.

³² * Trier, 4. Januar, " TZ, 5 January 1847.

³³ Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 5 January 1847.

³⁴ * Trier, am ersten Januar 1847, " TZ, 1 January 1847.

Production needed to be released from this dilemma by restoring the elements of economy to their natural state. Proudhon and Grün believed that value depended upon the labor put into a product, and that exchange could and ought to be based upon this natural value.³⁵ This would be accomplished by a democratization of credit that would allow all to compete, thus breaking the monopoly of capital and forcing prices down to a level where goods were exchanged at their true value. With the consuming potential of the masses thereby liberated, no limit remained to realizing the productive capacities of society.³⁶

The formula for achieving all this was relatively simple. The idea would practically realize itself, once the common sense truths of social economy had captured the public mind. Credit banks would be established on a huge scale to marshall the composite capital of the whole working class, which would be turned into new enterprises.³⁷ Grün envisioned a tenfold increase in the number of millers, shoemakers and tailors, "...each out to outdo the other and in this way producing wholesale and ever cheaper...."³⁸

³⁵* Ziel und Zweck der wahren Oeconomie. (Aus dem zweiten Bande der 'Philosophie der Staatsöconomie oder Nothwendigkeit des Elends von P.J. Proudhon. Deutsch bearbeitet von Karl Grün.' Darmstadt, Leske 1847.), "Philanthrop, no.75 (1847).

³⁶* Ueber die Concurrenz," Philanthrop, no.30 (1847).
" * Trier, am ersten Januar 1847," TZ, 1 January 1847. Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 21 October 1847.

³⁷* Die Agrarfrage....von Peter Franz Reichensperger....," TZ, 1 November 1847. Cited hereafter as Grün, "Agrarfrage."

" * Ueber die Concurrenz, Philanthrop, no.29 (1847).

³⁸Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 8 October 1847.

One may debate whether such a plan had, in this particular form, a chance of succeeding. Historians have often reflected on the prospects of this or that so-called utopian scheme or economic cure-all. But the point here, in reference to Grün, is that his adoption of Proudhon's theories of social economy marks an important advance in his intellectual development. He certainly did not develop an appreciation of the requirements of an industrial society, a fact apparent in his aversion to centralization and most graphically evident in his vision of economic progress in terms of multiplying thousands of shoemakers and tailors. Nonetheless, he had abandoned the philosophizing "free self-conscious" of earlier days, because he had managed to acquire some understanding of economics and practical reform. His quite conscious dependence upon Proudhon³⁹ and the imprecision and frequent confusion that he brought to his explication of Proudhon's system are secondary considerations.

The new science might also have been called social democracy. Social economy presupposed the historical fact of a democratizing process, discernible in the growing self-awareness of the masses of the working population, as well as in the

³⁹That Grün felt a need to assert his own independence may be implied from the remark that Proudhon's contribution was limited and that Grün would rectify this with a "history of modern economy" since the seventeenth century ("Zur Literatur," KZ, 21 October 1847). He also attempted to contribute to the application of the new science with a study of the agricultural problem in Germany ("* Die Agrarfrage," TZ, 31 October 1847).

equalizing effect of the new methods of production. It aimed to abet this process by providing analyses of the problems of establishing equal opportunity in credit, production and the distribution of wealth. It would educate the worker in these matters, giving him a whole new concept of labor as he learned the principles whereby property, united with intelligence,⁴¹ allowed him the freedom to use his faculties to capacity. He was to be inspired with the discovery that, with the democratization of capital, society would no longer belong to the stronger, that production and competition would then take place upon the field of equality.⁴²

This process seemed to transcend for Grün the actual politics of the day. The transactions of a parliament or a liberal regime, the perpetual maneuverings of the parties and the schemes of sectarian reforms lost relevance beside the needs, the growing consciousness and the power of "the people." This attitude was reinforced by the example of the July Monarchy, a main subject for more than three years in his correspondences to the Kölnische Zeitung and the Trierische Zeitung. He was struck by the corruption in government, the selfish behavior of

⁴⁰ * Trier, 7. Decbr.," TZ, 9 December 1847. Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 28 October 1847. " * Trier, 9. Jan.," TZ, 10 January 1847.

⁴¹ * Ueber Volksaufklärung," Philanthrop, no.18 (1847).

⁴² * Ueber die Concurrenz. (Schluss.)," Philanthrop, no.30 (1847).

the privileged classes, the whole "tomfoolery" of French politics. The French bourgeoisie, sheltered by the July Monarchy, was "mouldering," secure and incapable of true initiative. ⁴³ The eight ministries for public welfare then in existence symbolized the impotence of the regime in the face of the great social injustice and misery that characterized France in the Hungry Forties. ⁴⁴

The reason for this failure was not merely lack of good will. The basic cause was an ingrained reliance upon authority. Order established from above was a fixation of the Frenchman, whether he be the devotee of Blanc's "Board of Welfare" socialism, the Caesarist hoping for a new Napoleon, or even the ordinary constitutionalist. ⁴⁵ All were victimized by their belief that man could "let himself be represented" - by a legislature, a dictator, a corps of administrators, by Capital or an Academy of Sciences. ⁴⁶ They separated the individual from the direction of his own interests, alienating

⁴³ "Trier, 7. Januar," TZ, 8 January 1847.

⁴⁴ "X Paris, 30. Oct.," KZ, 2 November 1847. "X Paris, 20. Febr.," TZ, 24 February 1847.

⁴⁵ "X Paris, 2. October," TZ, 6 October 1847. "X Zwei Geschichten," KZ, 12 March 1847. Even when Blanc had been invited to contribute to Le Peuple Grün would have nothing to do with what he considered the abstract, "fruitless" stance of Blanc. "X Paris, 16. Juni," KZ, 20 July 1847.

⁴⁶ "X Paris, 15. Juli [?]," TZ, 19 July 1847. Grün, "Rückzug," Amphitheater, no. 6 (1848). Grün found even Lamartine guilty of the "detestable idea of Staats-Allmacht" ("X Paris, 30. Oct.," KZ, 2 November 1847).

authority from its true source and thereby violating the basic sovereignty of the people. "Whatever favors be distributed, spiritual or material," Grün protested, "as soon as they are distributed from above we are then in the presence of power, under whose ever rougher fist a last sigh of death is pressed out - a sigh of freedom."⁴⁷

The same convictions governed Grün's conception of the nature of the party. It pleased him to see the whole "party-crystalization" of France in dissolution. He opposed what he considered closed political "coteries" formed around limited and "abstract" propositions such as electoral reforms or systems for the organization of labor.⁴⁸ To Grün the ideal political party was an open affair best described as a forum. His substitution of the term "Proudhonist publicum" for Proudhonist party" was appropriate, for, with no visible organization and no subsidiary institutions except for a press, it was hardly

⁴⁷ "XX Zwei Geschichten," KZ, 12 March 1847. "XX Paris, 25. März," KZ, 28 March 1847.

⁴⁸ "XX Paris, 8. Juni," KZ, 12 June 1847. "X Paris, 12. Juli," TZ, 17 July 1847. "V Paris, 6. Januar," TZ, 10 February 1845. "Paris, 23. Januar," TZ, 28 January 1845. Dismayed by the dogmatic infighting between the various democratic sects that made impossible the pursuit of the common purpose ("XX Paris, 5. Oct.," KZ, 9 October 1846), Grün felt that "there was something infinitely full of significance, something privileged in [Proudhon's] position above and outside of all parties, above and outside of the current slogans...." ("XX Paris, 30. Oct.," KZ, 2 November 1847).

a party at all.⁴⁹ Its purpose was to provide a rallying place for democrats of "all nuances" and to send out "agitators" who would carry the common sense truths of social economy to the public.⁵⁰ Grün most likely cast himself in the role of the "mighty strong Volksvertreter," the representative of the people who brought their needs directly to the attention of the whole society.⁵¹

Where and how was this representation to take place if, as frequently seemed the case, Grün rejected the constitutional state?⁵² Did Marx judge correctly when he characterized Grün in the Manifesto as a hopelessly apolitical moralist who opposed the liberal opposition in Germany and therefore sided with the

⁴⁹ "X.X. Paris, 8. Juni," KZ, 12 June 1847. Opposed to party politics, Proudhon wished to "....base politics exclusively upon economics and to extend the concept of value to the working classes." "X.X. Paris, 8. Juni," KZ, 12 June 1847.

⁵⁰ "X Paris, 12. Juli," TZ, 17 July 1847. "....The role of agitator...is the most timely, as well as the most distinguished, the most real" ("X.X. Paris, 30. Oct.," KZ, 2 November 1847).

⁵¹ " * Danksagung des Schlossermeisters Busch," Philanthrop, no. 61 (1847). " * Offener Brief an Herrn Schlossermeister Busch zu Hameln. Vom Ufer der Maas, Anfang Juli 1847," Philanthrop, no. 54 (1847).

⁵² Citing Malouet, the moderate monarchist of the Constituent Assembly, Grün declared that one must not be deceived by "the mechanism of a political society," one must rather envision its eventual dissolution ("** Geschichte der Girondisten," KZ, 16 July 1847). On another occasion he remarked that the July constitution was already seventeen centuries out of date ("X Paris, 2. October," TZ, 6 October 1847). Disparaging remarks about constitutional government are common ("X Paris, 12. März," TZ, 11 March 1847; "X Paris, 20. Febr.," TZ, 24 February 1847; "X Paris, 15 Juli [?]," TZ, 19 July 1847).

reactionary forces? The issue became critical in 1847 when Frederick Wilhelm IV finally called a meeting of the United Diet. The response of the liberals and the determination they showed in opposing Crown policy and defending their own interests, inspired Marx and Engels to believe that the German bourgeoisie could, with the help of the masses, accomplish a revolution. They urged their followers to support the liberal movement and condemned those who, like Grün, could not extinguish their hatred of bourgeois liberalism.

Grün appears to have remained consistently opposed to a constitution. Late in 1847 he wrote of the Prussian United Diet that "the constitution, in the year 1847, is not at all the vital question of the people, and not the way to solution of the vital questions, but rather the pure aftereffect of the struggle of old antitheses, which indeed do not displace the new antitheses, but...in the meantime, before the new forces come to the fore, tumble around a bit in the arena."⁵³ This resembles a much earlier statement: "Who in Prussia wants a constitution? The liberals." "Does this handful of owners with their literary hacks constitute the people? No. Does the people desire a constitution? Not in its dreams...."⁵⁴

⁵³ "Trier, 7. Decbr.," TZ, 9 December 1847.

⁵⁴ "Politik und Sozialismus," Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform (May 1845), I, 98-144; cited in Hook, Hegel to Marx, p.201.

And yet, Grün subscribed to a program of the Westphälische Dampfboot which advocated a median course of definite political involvement. "We are no idealists and do not believe that we can with a single leap pass from our circumstance into any other that we might wish," though it might be possible to hasten the course of political development that had already occurred in other countries. "We are therefore far removed from that sovereign disregard for political institutions, for the transforming of the state to a constitutional and a truly democratic institution, as was previously the case with an idealist fraction of socialists." The socialists were to join hands with the constitutionalists and the democrats, with the qualification, however, that "....their aims [are the] means to our goal...."⁵⁵

Accordingly Grün greeted enthusiastically the summoning of the Diet by royal patent of February 3. He felt that this act had put an end to the philosophizing of the German "free self-conscious," that Prussia was entering a period of "....extremely consequential development"⁵⁶ that would astonish the rest of Europe. The Diet proceeded to occupy itself with what he considered very essential issues, taxation, trade policy, the state of agriculture and business.⁵⁷ Furthermore, he approved of liberal aims such as free communal government, habeas corpus,

⁵⁵"XX Aus dem Westphälischen, im Januar," TZ, 4 February 1847.

⁵⁶"* Trier, 17. Febr.," TZ, 18 February 1847. "K.K. Paris, 29. April," KZ, 2 May 1847.

⁵⁷Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 8 October 1847.

right of association and freedom of the press.⁵⁸ To this he added two other "extremely purposeful" objectives, equalization of taxation and the abolition of patrimonial justice.⁵⁹ On occasion in the following months he favored prominent liberal leaders with praise.⁶⁰ The Prussian opposition understood how to achieve reform with a controlled efficiency that kept human cost at a minimum; this reasonable and, especially, peaceful course earned them the title of "party of theory."⁶¹ His approval of the editorial policy of the country's main liberal organ was unqualified when the Kölnische Zeitung urged Prussian statesmen to attend to the social question.⁶² Grün began to wonder whether capitalism was the inevitable counterpart of constitutionalism.⁶³

Grün thus opposed not so much constitutionalism or any of the other aims of the German liberals; rather, he objected to the narrowness of the liberal program, its identification with the interests of one class. That the promise of February 3 was not realized he blamed upon the liberals' failure to develop

⁵⁸"X Paris, 13. März," TZ, 12 March 1847.

⁵⁹"* Die Agrarfrage," TZ, 1 November 1847.

⁶⁰The "most celebrated and able" of the liberals in the Landtag was Hansemann of Aachen, whom Grün admired for his modest bearing and practical sense. "* Ueber das Heldenthum," Philanthrop, no. 64 (1847).

⁶¹Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 8 October 1847.

⁶²"* Trier, Anfang Februar," TZ, 7 February 1847.

⁶³"△ Paris, 5. Juni," TZ, 9 June 1846.

a definite social outlook. They thereby lost their claim to
represent the people.⁶⁴ Although they made verbal advances to
the working classes to gain support for their legalistic program,
in return they offered only vague promises that things would be
better.⁶⁵ A true representative took his stand upon the "boldest
proposals [Schritte]" of his constituents. Proof of the liberal
failure lay in the absence of any real popular enthusiasm over
deliberations in the Diet.⁶⁶

As Grün analyzed it, the failure was also partly
institutional. The centralized constitution of the Diet
rendered impossible the representation of local interests.
Deputies were not able to present petitions of individuals or
associations. The absence of a connection with the communal or
Kreis assemblies isolated the Diet from the country as a whole.⁶⁷
Because of this decisive gap, the Diet lacked the capacity to
provide revenues for the state. In its present form it could not
operate as "...an energetic member of the organism of the
state...", which the represented masses could regard as "...their
lawful and authorized mediator."⁶⁸

⁶⁴"* Trier, 4. Decbr.," TZ, 9 December 1847. " * Trier,
Anfang Februar," TZ, 7 February 1847.

⁶⁵" * Trier, 7. Decbr.," TZ, 9 December 1847.

⁶⁶"* Trier, 4. Decbr.," TZ, 9 December 1847. " * Trier,
7. Decbr.," TZ, 9 December 1847.

⁶⁷" * Trier, 17. Febr.," TZ, 18 February 1847.

⁶⁸Ibid.

Thus, in spite of his misgivings, Grün did believe in the evolutionary potential of liberal constitutional institutions.⁶⁹ This is underscored by his persistence, to the last, in urging the liberals to action. "....We must call upon moderate liberalism to consider seriously once more the things of the present, to cast a searching and honest glance at the faint-heartedness of their ways....," he wrote as late as December 1847.⁷⁰ He continued to hope that individually liberals would separate themselves from narrow class interest and become involved in the problems of the whole society.⁷¹

The presence of true "representatives of the people" would gradually transform the basis of a German parliament from an artificial electoral system to a truly democratic representation of real, constituted "interests." As a necessary complement to popular sovereignty Grün expected these Volks-

⁶⁹"...There is no power and no force in the universe that would be in a position to cut down a German popular representation once it was in earnest....," Grün declared in a criticism of "abstract political liberalism" ("* Trier, Anfang Februar," TZ, 7 February 1847). Similarly he noted that the English Parliament had begun to occupy itself with questions of industry and trade. France too, with her constitution secured, was in a position to make an "attack upon economic conditions." "X X Paris, 20. Mai," KZ, 23 May 1847.

⁷⁰"* Trier, 7. Decbr.," TZ, 9 December 1847. "* Trier, 4. Decbr.," TZ, 9 December 1847. "* Trier, Anfang Februar," TZ, 7 February 1847.

⁷¹"* Trier, 7. Decbr.," TZ, 9 December 1847. Grün wished to make common cause with the progressive "moderates" and "gradualists" among the liberals who accepted the priority of social and economic considerations. "* Die Agrarfrage," TZ, 31 October 1847.

vertreter to be expert in the social dimension of the science of economics.⁷² The end result would be a scientifically socialist, democratic parliamentary state, operating on the principles of social economy.⁷³ With the old politics of class interest - "the old antitheses" - supplanted by the deliberations of objective, informed social democrats, society would at last be able to pursue its "free self-development."⁷⁴

The gap between this view of the ideal future constitution of society and his critical appraisal of the Prussian liberal movement of 1847 illustrates the difficulty that Grün experienced in devising a program. Loyalty to the total solution of the system of Proudhon made him hypercritical of the specific proposals for social and economic reform that he encountered. He showed a definite interest in a variety of particular reforms, tariff reform, land reform, constitutional revisions, extension of the suffrage, abolition of censorship, economies in administration, progressive taxation, charities, socialized insurance, universal education and the organization

⁷²"* Trier, 4. Decbr.," TZ, 9 December 1847. "* Trier, Anfang Februar," TZ, 7 February 1847. "X Paris, 12. Juli," TZ, 17 July 1847.

⁷³The "great commission of economists" that Grün envisioned for France provides an idea of the nature of his democratic German parliament. "X Paris, 20. Febr.," TZ, 24 February 1847.

⁷⁴"* Trier, 4. Decbr.," TZ, 9 December 1847. "X Paris, 8. Juni," KZ, 12 June 1847.

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of labor. But in most cases he finally discarded the proposition as inadequate. The plan of the social liberal, Robert von Mohl, to extend capital and training to individual workers Grün dismissed off-handedly as too limited. Such a system had to be placed on a universal - by which Grün meant Proudhonian - basis, so that "not just some, nor many, but all"

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would benefit. In another instance he seemed to approve the suggestion of a German economist that the evil effects arising from the division of labor be offset by shifting workers from one position to another, advancing them to progressively more complex tasks. But he failed to commit himself, remarking only that generally the proposals of the economists were either

⁷⁵Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 17 October 1847. The tariff was the cardinal practical question of "true economic theory," according to Grün ("* Trier, Anfang Februar, (Schluss aus Nr. 39.)," TZ, 10 February 1847). "* Die Agrarfrage," TZ, 1 November 1847. "* Trier, 17. Febr.," TZ, 18 February 1847. "* Trier, Anfang Februar," TZ, 7 February 1848. "~~XX~~ Paris, 29. April," KZ, 2 May 1847. "~~XX~~ Paris, 30. Oct.," KZ, 2 November 1847. While agreeing with Adam Smith that the wealthy should pay more than the average share according to a progressive system of taxation, Grün feared that excessive taxation would only discourage enterprise and result in a rise in prices (Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 28 October 1847). In 1848 he came to place great emphasis upon a graduated income tax ("Uebersicht der Sitzung vom 11. Oktober," Demokratische Flugblätter (Trier), 21 October 1848. "△ Paris, 6. Juni," TZ, 11 June 1846. "△ Paris, 5. Juni," TZ, 9 June 1846). The fortune of the society based upon Proudhonian economics was to be enhanced by a "grand system" of public education (Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 30 October 1847).

⁷⁶* "Die Agrarfrage," TZ, 1 November 1847. Grün's reaction is surprising considering the similarity of Mohl's proposals with major points in the program of Proudhon. Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 30 October 1847.

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inadequate or plainly impossible. To Lamartine's appeal in October 1847 for a full program of social charity, including a lowering of taxes on foodstuffs and the establishment of workshops for the able-bodied poor, he answered that the government would be unable to finance such a project.⁷⁸ He understood better the advantages of cooperative associations as an answer to the problem of the small farmer, for he could relate the implementation of such a system to Proudhon's ideas on credit.⁷⁹ But it remained only an incidental suggestion; Grün's foray into the field of agricultural economics consisted mainly in a criticism of existing theories on the subject. Here as elsewhere the reformist in him was constrained by the higher vision of the completed social democracy that he drew from Proudhon's philosophy of economy.

A more significant test of Grün's capacity for involvement was his position with regard to the organization of labor. He envisioned an eventual confederation of all worker societies, following upon the dissolution of the archaic guild system.⁸⁰ For the present, however, the natural first step was to prepare

⁷⁷Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 27 October 1847. "X X Paris, 30. Oct.," KZ, 2 November 1847. "V Paris, 21. Juli," TZ, 25 July 1845.

⁷⁸"X X Paris, 30. Oct.," KZ, 2 November 1847.

⁷⁹"* Die Agrarfrage," TZ, 1 November 1847.

⁸⁰Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 27 October 1847. Karl Grün, "Offenes Schreiben an Herrn Georg Schirges, Redacteur der 'Werkstatt', Paris, Sylvester 1845," Die Werkstatt. Eine Monatsschrift für Handwerker, ed. Georg Schirges (Hamburg: Verlags Comptoir, 1845), p. 58-59.

the way by discussion of the "spirit and purpose" of the association, by which he meant education in the principles of economics.⁸¹ The organization that Grün himself used was appropriately a kind of discussion club, a platform for lectures on literature, philosophy and economics intended to give the worker a greater sense of identity and improve his grasp of practical affairs. He expressly ruled out organization to marshall power for the sake of extracting immediate gains. He considered a strike for higher wages pointless, explaining that profit margins did not permit any such increase.⁸² This indirectness of approach resulted partly from Grün's reluctance to resort to force, but he also believed that labor was already in the process of "organizing itself."⁸³ If this were true, enlightenment and education took precedence over political leadership.

The true function of leadership was to assist the "natural self-forming of our conditions" by means of propaganda and education.⁸⁴ In part, this involved the creation of a new literature, adapted to the understanding of the masses and atuned

81 "K. X. Paris, 17. Mai," KZ, 21 May 1847. Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 21 October 1847.

82 Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 27 October, 17 October 1847.

83 Ibid., 17 October 1847. "Trier, Anfang Februar. (Schluss aus Nr. 39.)," TZ, 10 February 1847. On the other hand, Grün approved of general demonstrations, recognizing the right of the worker to "disturb" society. "V. Paris, 27. August," TZ, 30 August 1845.

84 "Aus der Gegenwart," Philanthrop, no.9 (1847).

to "the unspeakable torment of existence." Contemporary art must proceed from the premise that the present times had as yet "no content."⁸⁶ The new art could then engage in the "process of the present" to produce a new "arithmetic" couched in the language most suited to the "human self-consciousness," namely the language of "science."⁸⁷ Grün thought of himself as a Volksschriftsteller, a popular writer, in company with the French novelist, Eugene Sue, and also Heinrich Heine, whom he considered to be the father of the new literature.⁸⁸ He wrote several novellas in the style of Sue, whom he greatly admired.⁸⁹ One of these appeared in the Philanthrop, a publication which served as an outlet for this new literary genre.⁹⁰ He prefaced

85. * Die Kirche der Zukunft," Philanthrop, no.56 (1847).

86. "Ein Wort über Kunst," Philanthrop, no.3 (1847).

87. "Ein Wort über Kunst," Philanthrop, no.1 (1847). What has somewhat the sound of Marxist socialist realism is actually a theory of art that grew out of romantic involvement with the folk life of the country. With Sand, Balzac, Meissner, Karl Beck and most of all Sue, the Dorfgeschichte gave way to impressions of city folk (Martini, Deutsche Literatur, p.13-17).

88. * Die Kirche der Zukunft," Philanthrop, no.56 (1847). "Ein Wort über Kunst," Philanthrop, no.3 (1847).

89. A Sue novel, "Die Mysterien des Volkes....," was serialized in Amphitheater beginning in no.4 (1850). Grün reviewed Sue's The Eternal Jew in Philanthrop, no.18 (1846).

90. "Ein Wort über Kunst," Philanthrop, no.3 (1847). "△ Ein Schuss. Novelle," Philanthrop, no.1 (1847), etc. See also "Eine Handwerker-geschichte," KZ, 10 October 1847, etc. Grün was formally commissioned to produce feuilletons for the Amphitheater (no.1 (1848)). "Zwei Weiber," a novella serialized in Der Sprecher, was probably written by Grün ("Zum neuen Jahre 1845," Sprecher, 1 January 1845).

the story with the explanation that the reader would not encounter scenes from the elegant or the official world, but rather he would discover the common man, the proletarian.⁹¹ Evidently Grün intended to prepare the public psychologically to receive the "science" of Proudhon, which he thought could and must be made accessible to the masses.⁹² He assigned to the publicist a "high and holy duty."⁹³ "Let us preach these economic insights to all who will listen; go into the streets and the countryside until this enlightenment has produced a sun of material fortune and welfare."⁹⁴

Grün's relative indifference to politics stemmed only partly from this conviction that the movement of history embodied in the enlightenment of the whole of society transcended the history made by politicians and dogmatic social reformers. The disappointing outcome of political developments in 1847 was evidently the deciding factor, when one considers that the events of spring 1848 abruptly dispelled the apolitical attitudes of the previous year.⁹⁵ That he had become fully involved again

91 "△ Ein Schuss. Novelle," Philanthrop, no.1 (1847).
 92 A "gradual preparation," slowly bringing into the open old errors and contradictions, was required to make the new way of thinking a common property of the general public.. "Die Kirche der Zukunft," Philanthrop, no.56 (1847).
 93 Grün, "Zur Literatur," KZ, 8 October 1847.
 94 Ibid.
 95 Huber, Verfassungsgeschichte, II, 496-97. Konrad Repgen, Märzbewegung und Maiwahlen des Revolutionsjahres 1848 im Rheinland ("Bonner Historische Forschungen," ed. Max Braubach, vol. IV; Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag, 1955), p.4.

in the political process, shows in his analysis of the events in Prussia of March 1848. Popular demonstrations, he maintained, had reduced the monarch to a mere "general lieutenant" of the kingdom. The society of estates had disintegrated, leaving only citizens. He believed it essential at this point that the gains won by the people at the barricades not be lost. Complete freedom of press and association had to be exacted from the government. The Arnim-Schwerin ministry must be replaced by one that would enjoy the public confidence. He considered intolerable and illegal the proposal to call the United Diet; the people would accept only a "constituent assembly" based upon universal suffrage. He proposed to send delegates from the state assemblies to a "German National Assembly" which would preside over a united federal democratic state. Under such a constitution new men would come forth out of the ranks of the people, the worker finally propelled onto the stage of public affairs to "theorize" upon the "realization of equality."⁹⁶

Subsequent events thus proved Grün fully capable of embracing a definite political program. He went on to become prominent in the politics of the Mosel region, holding mass public meetings throughout the area and publishing his views in the Trierische Zeitung.⁹⁷ He was elected to the Prussian National Assembly in October 1848; there he attained some

⁹⁶ "Trier, 30. März," TZ, 31 March 1848.

⁹⁷ Schierbaum, Trier, p.23 ff. Zenz, "Grün," p.48.

prominence by advocating Prussian support of the Viennese revolution, abolition of the nobility, and tax evasion to protest the royal assault upon the Assembly in November. When he returned to Berlin after his reelection 5 February 1849 he joined the party of the left that opposed the constitution that had been handed down by Frederick Wilhelm IV in early December.⁹⁸ With the parliamentary resistance broken by the king, Grün became involved in the revolutionary uprising in the Mosel region in May 1849.⁹⁹ Although he proved a somewhat faint-hearted insurgent,¹⁰⁰ the fact remains that he had advanced far beyond his apolitical position of earlier years. These developments of 1847, 1848 and 1849 caution against applying the term 'anarchist' to Grün. Furthermore they reveal the inaccuracy and unfairness of Marx and Engels' criticism of Grün as a friend of the old order.

In the trial held seven months after the uprising, Grün, ably defended by the politically prominent economist, Rodbertus,¹⁰¹ was acquitted. The event was registered in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue as an act of

⁹⁸Zenz, "Grün," p.50-53.

⁹⁹Ibid., p.54-55. Schierbaum, Trier, p.62-63.

¹⁰⁰Zenz, "Grün," p.58. A co-conspirator remarked that Grün "....could speak well, but was too cowardly to act."
Criminal-Procedur, p.31.

¹⁰¹Criminal-Procedur, p.145-47.

"betrayal" of the Revolution. This was the last time that Marx and Engels expressed in public their feelings toward Grün. The revolutionaries had dispersed, Marx and Engels to London, Grün to Belgium; their paths did not cross again.

102 "Gottfried Kinkel," Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Politischökonomische Revue, ed. Karl Bittel (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1955), p.218. This article is from Heft 4 (April 1850).

CONCLUSION

The Marxist interpretation, which continues to dominate the general view of Karl Grün, reflected only too patently the authors' overwhelming contempt for a man they regarded as a self-seeking exploiter of the socialist movement. At the close of the nineteenth century, in the midst of the debate on revisionism, Franz Mehring attempted to modify the exaggeratedly critical view of the True Socialists. He objected to the use of Marx and Engels' criticism of the True Socialists to discredit the aesthetic and moralistic thinking of certain socialist intellectuals in the eighteen-nineties.¹ He considered this unjustified on the grounds that Marx had been wrong. Marx had to expose the weaknesses of True Socialism, especially the principal one, their irrepressible hatred of liberalism. Yet while the True Socialists failed to recognize the revolutionary character of the liberal movement, Marx himself erred in the other direction, defending the liberals when they were actually reactionary. Most mistaken was the accusation that the True

¹Förder, Marx und Engels, p.209-15. Mehring, "Nochmals Marx," p.204, 207-08.

Socialists aided the old regime in its struggle against the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, the True Socialists exhibited an abiding concern for the plight of the working classes and an unshakeable desire to be revolutionary. Marx and Engels must have recognized these virtues when they contributed to True Socialist journals and when they accepted the services of Moses Hess.²

Mehring found it less easy to restore the reputation of Grün, who embodied the worst in True Socialism, as he thought, the aestheticism, the habitual philosophizing, the inability to understand the significance of economics, the implacable opposition to liberalism.³ In Mehring's view Grün was a utopian. He believed, Mehring noted,⁴ that in the ideal future work would be taken over by children. Turning his back upon such real issues as wages, competition and constitutions, he preached the realization of socialism through the fulfillment of the philosophy of Feuerbach.⁵ Although attracted to Proudhon, he

²Mehring, Sozialdemokratie, I, 311-12, 245. Mehring, Marx, p.114.

³Mehring, "Rheinische Jahrbücher," Gesammelte Schriften, IV, 182; Mehring, "Deutsches Bürgerbuch," Ibid., IV, 185. Cited hereafter as Mehring, "Rheinische Jahrbücher," and "Deutsches Bürgerbuch." Mehring, Sozialdemokratie, I, 248.

⁴Mehring, Sozialdemokratie, I, 244. No source is given for this very Fourierist notion.

⁵Mehring, "Deutsches Bürgerbuch," p.185.

neglected the economic insights of the French thinker for the philosophical misconceptions. In turn, he exercised a "disastrous" influence upon Proudhon.⁶ Mehring used the similarly severe term "dangerous" to describe Grün's denunciations of the liberals on the issue of the constitution.⁷ In summary, he observed that it required a Grün to convince Marx and Engels that True Socialism was unredeemable.⁸

Nonetheless, Mehring did try to restore Grün to some limited favor. Though empty, vain and pompous, a "poor philosopher and bad socialist," Grün was at the same time, in his own "belletristic" way, a faithful democrat. He sat on the left in the Prussian National Assembly and as late as the eighteen-seventies contributed zealously to Der Wage, still loyal at least to "bourgeois democracy."⁹

These qualifications rest for the most part on consideration of Grün's later career. For the period before the Revolution of 1848 Mehring depended upon Marx and Engels, with the result that he did not explicitly include Grün in his general defense of the True Socialists. Since these sources refer to earlier writings of Grün, Mehring knew nothing of Grün's political position in 1847. That is why he contrasted Grün with Lüning

⁶ Mehring, Sozialdemokratie, I, 244. Mehring, Marx, p.113.

⁷ Mehring, "Rheinische Jahrbücher," p.182.

⁸ Mehring, "Deutsches Bürgerbuch," p.185.

⁹ Mehring, "Nochmals Marx," p.204-05. Mehring, Sozialdemokratie, I, 311.

as the "biggest sinner" when it came to attacking Liberalism.¹⁰
 With no access to the Trierische Zeitung he missed Grün's
 approval of the program of the Westphälische Dampfboot in 1847.¹¹

II

In the study by Herwig Förder of Marx and Engels on the eve of the Revolution of 1848 the communist interpretation of Grün returned almost completely to its original condition, with the qualifications made by Mehring for the most part discarded. Grün became once more the hopeless philosophizing "anarchist" who served the forces of reaction by his unflagging opposition to liberalism. Equipped with the feudal guild mentality of the self-satisfied petty burgher, he rejected any "revolutionary-democratic movement" and reacted in fear to "energetic social action" by the masses.¹²

Some of the True Socialists did develop an "elemental" democratic sense, Förder observed, but it was a limited conversion, made only at the expense of their True Socialist principles. These "petty-bourgeois democrats" lacked the capacity to achieve any clear position. They sided not with the proletariat during the revolution, but with the petty bourgeoisie and continued to oppose the liberals. They had no connection with the actual worker movement.¹³ This quite negative view

¹⁰Mehring, "Dampfboot," p.188. Mehring, Marx, p.114.

¹¹Mehring, "Nochmals Marx," p.201-02.

¹²Förder, Marx und Engels, p.142-44, 172.

¹³Ibid., p.44, 143-45.

leaves in doubt whether the True Socialist was in fact a revolutionary or a democrat in 1848. The implication seems to be that he was neither.

Förder did not include Grün in this category of the progressive True Socialist. He incorporated neither Mehring's sketch of Grün's service in the cause of democracy, nor the facts of his activities in Trier. Further study of Grün's career after 1848 would have shown that, in spite of his "petty-bourgeois" qualities, he nonetheless had real democratic leanings, that he did make contact with worker organizations, that he pursued defined political aims in cooperation with prominent liberal leaders and that he took part in a revolutionary uprising. Even then, however, Förder would have found it difficult to classify Grün as one of the progressive socialists because of the great disparity between the later political activist and the sentimental, philosophizing anarchist that Marx and Engels portrayed in 1847.

The source of the difficulty must be traced again to neglect of the sources for the period after 1845 and to dependence upon Marx and Engels. The only work by Grün that Förder

¹⁴This subject remains unresearched. Attention should be directed to the Trierisches Volksblatt, 1848-1850, a paper aimed at the worker, which carried contributions by Grün. Emil Zenz, Trierische Zeitungen: Ein Beitrag zur Trierer Zeitungsgeschichte (Trier: Paulinus-Druckerei GMBH, n.d.), p.40-41.

examined thoroughly, the essay "Politik und Sozialismus," dated from 1845.¹⁵ Grün's writing in the Trierische Zeitung remained inaccessible.¹⁶ Therefore he borrowed his analysis of Grün from Marx and Engels. An example of the consequence of this dependence is the evident difficulty he had in assimilating the observation, cited indirectly, that toward the end of 1847 the Trierische Zeitung came around to the position that the transition to the constitutional state was a necessity. While appearing to accept this statement, Förder proceeded to describe the Trierische Zeitung as a typically True Socialist organ, as if the change noted by Becker were merely incidental. Except for freedom of person, association and press, he emphasized, the paper rejected all of the democratic demands of the opposition, incapable to the end of offering any kind of "consequent political program."¹⁷

The consequence of these same procedural faults is reflected more generally in Förder's hesitation to assign real importance to Grün. On the one hand he regarded Grün as a serious problem because of his part in the polemic against liberalism, his interference in the artisan community in Paris, his contribution to the True Socialist monopoly of the press, his relationship with Proudhon, and, in general, the bad image which

¹⁵Förder, Marx und Engels, p.147, 171-72.

¹⁶Ibid., p.145.

¹⁷Ibid., p.147-48.

he gave to the socialist movement.¹⁸ But at the same time, by portraying all the weaknesses of Grün, Förder made him appear an exceptionally minor contender.¹⁹

Förder resolved the difficulty with the distinction that the problem of Grün was a temporary one, one which Marx and Engels had taken care of by 1847. First Engels had accomplished his "complete triumph" in Paris during the autumn of 1846; the complete collapse of the "organizational" plans of Proudhon and Grün followed.²⁰ Marx and Engels subsequently experienced some concern over Grün's publicistic efforts in behalf of Proudhon, but not with good reason. The translation of the Systeme evoked scant response in Germany and whatever effect it may have had was counteracted by the Misère de la Philosophie.²¹ Förder took note of the declaration in the Kölnische Zeitung that Proudhon's new book was calculated to bury communism, but otherwise he knew little of the real extent of Grün's involvement in the polemic against Marx.²² He saw no reason to question Marx's declaration of disinterest in Grün made in the "Statement" of 3 April 1847.²³ Thus misled by Marx's unwillingness to

¹⁸Ibid., p.44, 52, 51, 116, 137, 142.

¹⁹Ibid., p.50, 117-19.

²⁰Ibid., p.124-25, 137.

²¹Förder did not follow up his observation that at the beginning of 1847 True Socialism became increasingly "dangerous" by virtue of its reactionary activity. He offers little in the way of particulars on the nature of Grün's "extremely feverish activity." Ibid., p.137, 141.

²²Ibid., p.137.

²³Ibid., p.138.

acknowledge Grün as a serious contender, Förder brought his discussion of Grün to a premature close at precisely the point where it should have become all the more earnest.

III

In reassessing the case of Grün the historian must go beyond the simple and misleading answers inherited from Marx and Engels. Once their exaggerated, intensely personal judgments are recognized for what they were, it is then possible to make a more positive assessment of Grün's career during the eighteen-forties.

One may begin with the normal assumption that time and shifting circumstances worked changes in Grün's thinking. The contrast between the apolitical, moralizing philosopher of 1845 and the politician of 1848 indicates an important qualitative change. Grün succeeded in his struggle to understand more surely the reality of the European world at mid-century. His powers of comprehension had limits and the habit of vague abstraction continued to plague his writing; nevertheless he made the conversion from theology and philosophy to social economy, and he learned to appreciate the necessity of an accommodation with the liberal movement. Aware of the limitations of liberalism, he developed the rudiments of a program which looked beyond the constitutional state to a social democracy

that would more genuinely represent the real economic interests of the whole of society. This goal he placed at the end of a long period of evolutionary progress.

Where Grün and his mentor Proudhon proposed to resolve conflict, Marx and Engels sought to drive the antinomies of class interest to the point of explosion. They called for "bloody war or nothing." The two parties immediately separated over the question of revolution, forming radically opposed factions that competed for attention and sought to destroy each other. In the ensuing contest Grün enjoyed significant advantages over his opponents. Where they found it practically impossible to publish their writings, Grün's unlimited access to the press and especially his control of the Trierische Zeitung allowed him to press his attack at will. Moreover, he possessed a style of writing and speech that had an unmistakable appeal. As Engels discovered by his missions to Paris, Grün's popularity proved very tenacious, a fact attested to also by Lüning in his description of the condition of the 'party' in Westphalia. Another major advantage was his identification with Proudhon; it provided him with a stature that he could never have attained alone. Proudhon's reputation in Germany, which Grün did much to promote, remained highly favorable, largely untouched, one would assume, by Marx's Misère.

The deciding factor in this contest, however, was the content of the two opposed philosophies. As the occasionally apologetic aspect of their writings indicates, Marx and Engels' message of naked revolutionism did not find a receptive German audience. Far more calculated to win a wide general response was the optimistic doctrine presented by Grün, who represented himself as a humanist devoted to a full transformation of society, a fundamental opponent of both absolutism and the selfish bourgeois order, and a friend of the "exploited proletariat." He offered as much as the communists, without setting a price in blood and destruction.

Especially when considered in the light of Marx and Engels' protests of diffidence toward Grün, their constant, deliberate effort to defeat him testifies to a very real concern. Furthermore, the view of Grün at the forefront of a whole chorus of opponents seriously qualifies the common presentation of German socialism in the eighteen-forties as primarily the record of Marxian communist achievement. In fact, the communists were placed on the defensive. What has been interpreted as a one-sided act of repulsion has therefore taken on the dimensions of a sustained political confrontation between the idealist and realist factions of emergent German socialism.

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APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by J. Strassmaier has been read and approved by three members of the Department of History.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the dissertation is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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