But has Herr Grün even succeeded in copying correctly what he has taken over from Hess and others? Has he even incorporated the necessary material in the outline which he has taken over lock, stock and barrel in the most uncritical fashion? Has he given a correct and complete exposition of the individual socialist authors according to the sources? Surely this is the least one could ask of the man from whom the North Americans, the French, the English and the Belgians have to learn, the man who was the tutor of Proudhon and who perpetually brandishes his German thoroughness before the eyes of the superficial Frenchmen.

SAINT-SIMONISM

Herr Grün has no first-hand knowledge of a single Saint-Simonian book. His main sources are: primarily, the much despised Lorenz Stein; furthermore, Stein’s chief source, L. Reybaud (in return for which he proposes to make an example of Herr Reybaud and calls him a philistine, p. 260; on the same page he pretends that he only came across Reybaud’s book by chance long after he had settled with the Saint-Simonists); and occasionally Louis Blanc. We shall give direct proofs.

First let us see what Herr Grün writes about Saint-Simon’s life.

The main sources for Saint-Simon’s life are the fragments of his autobiography in the Œuvres de Saint-Simon, published by Olinde Rodrigues, and the Organisateur of May 19th, 1830. We have, therefore, all the documents here before us: 1) The original sources; 2) Reybaud, who summarised them; 3) Stein, who utilised Reybaud; 4) Herr Grün’s belletristic edition.

Herr Grün:

“Saint-Simon took part in the American struggle for independence without having any particular interest in the war itself; it occurred to him that there was a possibility of linking the two great oceans” (p. 84).

Stein, page 143:

“First he entered military service ... and went to America with Bouillé.... In this war, the significance of which he, of course, realised.... The war, as such, he said, did not interest me, only the purpose of this war, etc.”... “After he had vainly tried to interest the Viceroy of Mexico in a plan to build a great canal linking the two oceans.”

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a Louis Reybaud, Études sur les réformateurs ou socialistes modernes. What edition the authors used is unknown.—Ed.
b Louis Blanc, Histoire de dix ans.—Ed.
c “Vie de Saint-Simon écrite par lui-même.”—Ed.
d “À un Catholique. Sur la vie et le caractère de Saint-Simon.”—Ed.
Reybaud, page 77:

“Soldat de l’indépendance américaine, il servait sous Washington... la guerre, en elle-même, ne m’intéressait pas, dit-il; mais le seul but de la guerre m’intéressait vivement, et cet intérêt m’en faisait supporter les travaux sans répugnance.”

Herr Grün only copies the fact that Saint-Simon had “no particular interest in the war itself”; he omits the whole point—his interest in the object of the war.

Herr Grün further omits to state that Saint-Simon wanted to win the Viceroy’s support for his plan and thus turns the plan into a mere “idea”. He likewise omits to mention that Saint-Simon did this only “à la paix”, the reason being that Stein indicates this merely by giving the date.

Herr Grün proceeds without a break:

“Later” (when?) “he drafted a plan for a Franco-Dutch expedition to the British Indies” (Ibid.).

Stein:

“He travelled to Holland in 1785, to draft a plan for a joint Franco-Dutch expedition against the British colonies in India” (p. 143).

Stein is incorrect here and Grün copies him faithfully. According to Saint-Simon, the Duc de la Vauguyon had induced the States-General to undertake a joint expedition with France to the British colonies in India. Concerning himself, he merely says that he “worked” (poursuivi) “for the execution of this plan for a year”.

Herr Grün:

“When in Spain, he wished to dig a canal from Madrid to the sea” (ibid.).

Saint-Simon wished to dig a canal? What nonsense! Previously, it occurred to him to do something, now he wishes to do something. Grün gets his facts wrong this time not because he copies Stein too faithfully as he did before, but because he copies him too superficially.

Stein, page 144:

“Having returned to France in 1786, he visited Spain the very next year to present to the Government a plan for the completion of a canal from Madrid to the sea.”

Herr Grün could derive the foregoing sentence skimming through Stein, for with Stein it seems at least as if the plan of construction and

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a “A fighter for American independence, he served under Washington.... The war in itself did not interest me, he said, but I was keenly interested in the object of the war and this interest induced me to endure its hardships without demur.”—Ed.

b After peace had been made.—Ed.
the idea of the whole project originated with Saint-Simon. As a matter of fact, Saint-Simon merely drew up a plan to overcome the financial difficulties besetting the building of the canal, the construction of which had been started long ago.

Reybaud:

"Six ans plus tard il proposa au gouvernement espagnol un plan de canal qui devait établir une ligne navigable de Madrid à la mer" (p. 78).

The same mistake as that made by Stein.

Saint-Simon, page XVII:

"Le gouvernement espagnol avait entrepris un canal qui devait faire communiquer Madrid à la mer; cette entreprise languissait parce que ce gouvernement manquait d'ouvriers et d'argent; je me concertai avec M. le comte de Cabarrus, aujourd'hui ministre des finances, et nous présentâmes au gouvernement le projet suivant" etc.

Herr Grün:

"In France he speculate on national domains."

Stein first of all sketches Saint-Simon's attitude during the revolution and then passes to his speculation in national domains, p. 144 et seq. But where Herr Grün has got the nonsensical expression: "to speculate on national domains", instead of in national domains, we can likewise explain by offering the reader the original:

Reybaud, page 78:

"Revenu à Paris, il tourna son activité vers des spéculations, et trafiqua sur les domaines nationaux."

Herr Grün makes the foregoing statement without giving any explanation. He does not indicate why Saint-Simon should have speculated in national domains and why this fact, trivial in itself, should be of importance in his life. For Herr Grün finds it unnecessary to copy from Stein and Reybaud the fact that Saint-Simon wished to found a scientific school and a great industrial undertaking by way of experiment, and that he intended to raise the necessary capital by these speculations. These are the reasons which Saint-Simon himself gives for his speculations. (Œuvres, p. xix.)

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*a* "Six years later, he put before the Spanish Government a plan for the construction of a canal with the object of establishing a navigable route from Madrid to the sea."—Ed.

*b* "The Spanish Government had undertaken the construction of a canal which was to link Madrid with the sea; the scheme came to a standstill since the Government lacked labour and funds; I joined forces with M. le Comte de Cabarrus, now Finance Minister, and we presented the following plan to the Government."—Ed.

*c* "Having returned to Paris, he turned his attention to speculation and dealt in national domains" (sur les domaines nationaux literally translated means "on national domains").—Ed.
Herr Grün:

"He marries so that he may be able to act as the host of science, to investigate the lives of men and exploit them psychologically" (ibid.).

Herr Grün here suddenly skips one of the most important periods of Saint-Simon's life—the period during which he studied natural science and travelled for that purpose. What is the meaning of marrying to be the host of science? What is the meaning of marrying in order to exploit men (whom one does not marry) psychologically, etc.? The whole point is this: Saint-Simon married so that he could hold a salon and study there among others the men of learning.

Stein puts it in this way, page 149:

"He marries in 1801.... I made use of my married life to study the men of learning" (cf. Saint-Simon, p. 23).

Since we have now collated it with the original, we are in a position to understand and explain Herr Grün's nonsense.

The "psychological exploitation of men" amounts in Stein and in Saint-Simon himself merely to the observation of men of learning in their social life. It was in conformity with his socialist outlook that Saint-Simon should wish to acquaint himself with the influence of science upon the personality of men of learning and upon their behaviour in ordinary life. For Herr Grün this wish turns into a senseless, vague romantic whim.

Herr Grün:

"He becomes poor" (how, in what way?), "he works as a clerk in a pawnshop at a salary of a thousand francs a year—he, a count, a scion of Charlemagne; then" (when and why?) "he lives on the bounty of a former servant of his; later" (when and why?) "he tries to shoot himself, is rescued and begins a new life of study and propaganda. Only now does he write his two chief works."

"He becomes"—"then"—"later"—"now"—such phrases in the work of Herr Grün are to serve as substitutes for the chronological order and the connecting links between the various phases of Saint-Simon's life.

Stein, pages 156, 157:

"Moreover, there appeared a new and a fearful enemy—actual poverty, which became more and more oppressive.... After a distressing wait of six months... he obtained a position—" (Herr Grün gets even the dash from Stein, but he is cunning enough to insert it after the pawnshop) "as clerk in the pawnshop" (not, as Herr Grün artfully writes, "in a pawnshop", since it is well known that in Paris there is only one such establishment, and that a public one) "at a salary of a thousand francs a year. How his fortune fluctuated in those days! The grandson of Louis XIV's famous courtier, the heir to a ducal coronet and to an immense fortune, by birth a peer of France and a Grandee of Spain, a clerk in a pawnshop!"

Now we see the source of Herr Grün's mistake regarding the pawnshop: here, in Stein, the expression is appropriate. To
accentuate his difference from Stein, Grün only calls Saint-Simon a “count” and a “scion of Charlemagne”. He has the last fact from Stein (p. 142) and Reybaud (p. 77), but they are wise enough to say that it was Saint-Simon himself who used to trace his descent from Charlemagne. Whereas Stein offers positive facts which make Saint-Simon’s poverty seem surprising under the Restoration, Herr Grün only expresses his astonishment that a count and an alleged scion of Charlemagne can possibly find himself in reduced circumstances.

Stein:

“He lived two more years” (after his attempted suicide) “and perhaps achieved more during them than during any two decades earlier in his life. The Catéchisme des industriels was completed” (Herr Grün transforms this completion of a work which had long been in preparation into: “Only now did he write”, etc.) “and the Nouveau christianisme, etc.” (pp. 164, 165).

On page 169 Stein calls these two books “the two chief works of his life”.

Herr Grün has, therefore, not merely copied the errors of Stein but has also produced new errors on the basis of obscure passages of Stein. To conceal his plagiarism, he selects only the outstanding facts; but he robs them of their factual character by tearing them out of their chronological context and omitting not only the motives governing them, but even the most vital connecting links. What we have given above is, literally, all that Herr Grün has to relate about the life of Saint-Simon. In his version, the dynamic, active life of Saint-Simon becomes a mere succession of ideas and events which are of less interest than the life of any peasant or speculator who lived through those stormy times in one of the French provinces. After dashing off this piece of biographical hack-work, he exclaims: “this whole, truly civilised life!” He does not even shrink from saying (p. 85): “Saint-Simon’s life is the mirror of Saint-Simonism itself”—as if Grün’s “life” of Saint-Simon were the mirror of anything except Herr Grün’s method of patching together a book.

We have spent some time discussing this biography because it is a classical example of the way in which Herr Grün deals thoroughly with the French socialists. Just as in this case, to conceal his borrowings, Herr Grün dashes off passages with an air of nonchalance, omits facts, falsifies and transposes, we shall watch him later developing 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, being ignorant of the original, when quoting from his predecessors; free invention and embellishment in the form of phrases of indefinite
meaning; treacherous attacks upon the very persons whom he is copying. Herr Grün is indeed so hasty and so precipitous in his plagiarism that he frequently refers to matters which he has never mentioned to his readers but which he, as a reader of Stein, carts round in his own head.

We shall now pass to Grün's exposition of the doctrine of Saint-Simon.

1. LETTRES D'UN HABITANT DE GENÈVE À SES CONTEMPORAINS

Herr Grün did not gather clearly from Stein the connection between the plan for supporting the men of learning, outlined in the work quoted above, and the fantastic appendix to the brochure. He speaks of this work as if it treated mainly of a new organisation of society, and ends as follows:

“The spiritual power in the hands of the men of learning, the temporal power in the hands of the property-owners, the franchise for all” (p. 85, cf. Stein, p. 151, Reybaud, p. 83).

The sentence: “le pouvoir de nommer les individus appelés à remplir les fonctions des chefs de l'humanité entre les mains de tout le monde”, which Reybaud quotes from Saint-Simon (p. 47) and which Stein translates in the clumsiest fashion, is reduced by Herr Grün to “the franchise for all”, which robs it of all meaning. Saint-Simon is referring to the election of the Newton Council,a Herr Grün is referring to elections in general.

Long after dismissing the Lettres in four or five sentences copied from Stein and Reybaud, and having already spoken of the Nouveau christianisme, Herr Grün suddenly returns to the Lettres.

“But it is certainly not to be achieved by abstract learning.” (Still less by concrete ignorance, as we observe.) “For from the standpoint of abstract science, there was still a cleavage between the 'property-owners' and 'everyone'” (p. 87).

Herr Grün forgets that so far he has only mentioned the “franchise for all” and has not mentioned “everyone”. But since he finds “tout le monde” in Stein and Reybaud, he puts “everyone” in inverted commas. He forgets, moreover, that he has not quoted the following passage from Stein's book, that is the passage which would justify the “for” in his own sentence:

“He” (Saint-Simon) “makes a distinction, apart from the sages or the men of learning, between the propriétaires and tout le monde. It is true that as yet there is no

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[a] Letters of an Inhabitant of Geneva to his Contemporaries.—Ed.
[b] “The power of nominating the persons who are to act as leaders of humanity should be in the hands of everyone.”—Ed.
clearly marked boundary between these two groups ... but nevertheless, there lies in
that indefinite idea of 'tout le monde' the germ of that class towards the understanding
and uplifting of which his theory was later directed, i.e. the classe la plus nombreuse et la
plus pauvre, and in reality, too, this section of the people was at that time only
potentially present" (p. 154).

Stein stresses the fact that Saint-Simon already makes a distinction between propriétaires and tout le monde, but as yet a very vague one. Herr Grün twists this so that it gives the impression that Saint-Simon still makes this distinction. This is naturally a great mistake on the part of Saint-Simon and is only to be explained by the fact that his standpoint in the Lettres is that of abstract science. But unfortunately, in the passage in question, Saint-Simon speaks by no means about differences in a future order of society, as Herr Grün thinks. He appeals for subscriptions to mankind as a whole, which, as he finds it, appears to him to be divided into three classes; not, as Stein believes, into savants, propriétaires and tout le monde; but 1) savants and artistes and all people of liberal ideas; 2) the opponents of innovation, i.e., the propriétaires, insofar as they do not join the first class; 3) the surplus de l'humanité qui se rallie au mot: Egalité. These three classes form tout le monde. Cf. Saint-Simon, Lettres, pp. 21, 22. Since moreover Saint-Simon says later that he considers his distribution of power advantageous to all classes, we may take it that in the place where he speaks of this distribution, p. 47, tout le monde obviously corresponds to the surplus which rallies around the slogan “equality”, without, however, excluding the other classes. Stein is roughly correct, although he pays no attention to the passage on pages 21 and 22. Herr Grün, who knows nothing of the original, clutches at Stein’s slight error and succeeds in making sheer nonsense of his argument.

We soon come across an even more striking example. We learn unexpectedly on page 94, where Herr Grün is no longer speaking of Saint-Simon but of his school:

“In one of his books, Saint-Simon utters the mysterious words: ‘Women will be
admitted, they may even be nominated.’ From this almost barren seed, the whole
gigantic uproar of the emancipation of women has sprung up.”

Of course, if in some work or other Saint-Simon had spoken of admitting and nominating women to some unknown position, these would indeed be “mysterious words”. But the mystery exists only in the mind of Herr Grün. “One of Saint-Simon’s books” is none other than the Lettres d’un habitant de Genève. In this work, after stating that

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a The most numerous and poorest class.—Ed.
b Rest of humanity which rallies around the slogan: Equality.—Ed.
c This sentence is omitted in the Westphälische Dampfboot.—Ed.
everyone is eligible to subscribe to the Newton Council or its
departments, he continues: "Les femmes seront admises à souscrire,
elles pourront être nommées"—that is, to a position in this Council or
its departments, of course. Stein, as was fitting, quotes this passage in
the course of his discussion of the book itself and makes the
following comment:

Here, etc., “are to be found the germs of his later opinions and even those of his
school; and even the first idea of the emancipation of women” (p. 152).

In a note Stein points out quite rightly that for polemical reasons
Olinde Rodrigues printed this passage in large type in his 1832
edition, since it was the only reference to the emancipation of women
in Saint-Simon's work. To hide his plagiarism, Grün shifts the
passage from the book to which it belongs to his discussion of the
school, makes the above nonsense of it, changes Stein's “germ” into a
“seed” and childishly imagines that this passage is the origin of the
doctrine of the emancipation of women.

Herr Grün ventures an opinion on the contradiction which, he
believes, exists between the Lettres and the Catéchisme des industriels; it
consists in the fact that in the Catéchisme the rights of the travailleurs
are asserted. He was bound to discover this difference, of course,
because he derived his knowledge of the Lettres from Stein and
Reybaud, and his knowledge of the Catéchisme similarly. Had he read
Saint-Simon himself, he would have found in the Lettres not this
contradiction, but a “seed” of the point of view developed among
others in the Catéchisme. For example:

"Tous les hommes travailleront" (Lettres, p. 60). "Si sa cervelle" (the rich man's)
"ne sera pas propre au travail, il sera bien obligé de faire travailler ses bras; car
Newton ne laissera sûrement pas sur cette planète ... des ouvriers volontairement
inutiles dans l'atelier" (p. 64).

2. CATÉCHISME POLITIQUE DES INDUSTRIELSD

As Stein usually quotes this work as the Catéchisme des industriels,
Herr Grün knows of no other title. But since he only devotes ten
lines to this work when he comes to speak of it ex officio, one might
have at least expected him to give its correct title.

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a "Women will be allowed to subscribe, it will be possible to nominate them."—Ed.
b "All men will work."—Ed.
c "If his brain" ... "is not fitted for labour, he will be compelled to work with his
hands; for Newton will assuredly not permit on this planet ... workers who,
intentionally, remain idle in the workshops."—Ed.
d Political Catechism of the Industrialists.—Ed.
Having copied from Stein the fact that in this work Saint-Simon wants labour to govern, he continues:

“He now divides the world into idlers and industrialists” (p. 85).

Herr Grün is wrong here. He attributes to the *Catéchisme* a distinction which he finds set out in Stein much later, in connection with the school of Saint-Simon.

Stein, page 206:

“Society consists at present only of idlers and workers” (Enfantin).

Instead of this alleged division, there is in the *Catéchisme* a division into three classes, the *classes féodale, intermédiaire et industrielle*; naturally, Herr Grün could not enlarge upon this without recourse to Stein, since he was not familiar with the *Catéchisme* itself.

Herr Grün then repeats once more that the content of the *Catéchisme* is the rule of labour and concludes his account of the work as follows:

“Just as republicanism proclaims: Everything for the people, everything through the people, Saint-Simon proclaims: Everything for industry, everything through industry” (ibid.).

Stein, page 165:

“Since industry is the source of everything, everything must serve industry.”

Stein rightly states (page 160, note) that Saint-Simon’s work *L’industrie*, printed as early as 1817, bears the motto: *Tout par l’industrie, tout pour elle.* In his account of the *Catéchisme*, Herr Grün, therefore, not only commits the error mentioned above but also misquotes the motto of a much earlier work of which he has no knowledge whatever.

German thoroughness has in this way given an adequate criticism of the *Catéchisme politique des industriels*. We find however scattered throughout Grün’s *omnium gatherum* isolated glosses which belong properly to this section. Chuckling over his own slyness, Herr Grün distributes the material which he finds in Stein’s account of the work and elaborates it with commendable courage.

Herr Grün, page 87:

“Free competition was an impure and confused concept, a concept which contained in itself a new world of conflict and misery, the struggle between capital and labour and the misery of the worker who has no capital. Saint-Simon purified the concept of industry; he reduced it to the concept of the workers, he formulated the rights and grievances of the fourth estate, of the proletariat. He was forced to abolish the right of inheritance, since it had become an injustice towards the worker, towards the industrialist. This is the significance of his *Catéchisme des industriels*.”

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*Everything through industry, everything for industry.—Ed.*
Herr Grün found the following observation in Stein’s book (p. 169) with regard to the *Catéchisme*:

“It is, therefore, the true significance of Saint-Simon that he foresaw the inevitability of this contradiction” (between bourgeoisie and *peuple*).

This is the source of Herr Grün’s idea of the “significance” of the *Catéchisme*.

Stein:

“He” (Saint-Simon in the *Catéchisme*) “begins with the concept of the industrial worker.”

Herr Grün turns this into complete nonsense by asserting that Saint-Simon, who found free competition as an “impure concept”, “purified the concept of industry and reduced it to the concept of the workers”. Herr Grün shows everywhere that his concept of free competition and industry is a very “impure” and a very “confused” one indeed.

Not satisfied with this nonsense, Herr Grün risks a direct falsehood and states that Saint-Simon demanded the abolition of the right of inheritance.

On page 88 he tells us, still relying on his interpretation of Stein’s version of the *Catéchisme*:

“Saint-Simon established the rights of the proletariat. He already formulated the new watchword: the industrialists, the workers, shall be raised to a position of supreme power. This was one-sided, but every struggle involves one-sidedness; he who is not one-sided cannot wage a struggle.”

Despite his rhetorical maxim about one-sidedness, Herr Grün himself commits the one-sided error of understanding Stein to say that Saint-Simon wished to “raise” the real workers, the proletarians, “to a position of supreme power”. Cf. page 102, where he says of Michel Chevalier:

“M. Chevalier still refers with great sympathy to the industrialists.... But to the disciple, the industrialists are no longer, as they were for his master, the proletarians; he includes capitalists, entrepreneurs and workers in one concept, that is to say, he includes the idlers in a category which should only embrace the poorest and most numerous class.”

Saint-Simon numbers among the industrialists not only the workers, but also the *fabricants*, the *négociants*, in short, *all* industrial capitalists; indeed, he addresses himself primarily to them. Herr Grün could have found this on the very first page of the *Catéchisme*. But this shows how, without ever having seen the work, he concocts from hearsay fine phrases about it.

Discussing the *Catéchisme*, Stein says:
"After ... Saint-Simon comes to a history of industry in its relation to state authority ... he is the first to be conscious that in the science of industry there lies hidden a political factor.... It is undeniable that he succeeded in giving an important stimulus. For France possesses a histoire de l'économie politique only since Saint-Simon", etc. (pp. 165, 170).

Stein himself is extremely vague when he speaks of a "political factor" in "the science of industry". But he shows that he is on the right track by adding that the history of the state is intimately connected with the history of national economy.

Let us see how Herr Grün later, in his discussion of the school of Saint-Simon, appropriates this fragment of Stein:

"Saint-Simon had attempted a history of industry in his Catéchisme des industriels stressing the political element in it. The master himself paved the way, therefore, for political economy” (p. 99).

Herr Grün "therefore" transforms the "political factor" of Stein into a "political element" and turns it into a meaningless phrase by omitting the details given by Stein. This "stone which the builders have rejected" has indeed become for Herr Grün the "cornerstone" of his Briefe und Studien. But it has also become for him a stumbling-block. But that is not all. Whereas Stein says that Saint-Simon paved the way for a history of political economy by stressing the political factor in the science of industry, Herr Grün makes him the pioneer of political economy itself. Herr Grün argues something after this fashion: Economics existed already before Saint-Simon; but, as Stein relates, Saint-Simon stressed the political factor in industry, therefore he made economics political—political economics=political economy—hence Saint-Simon paved the way for political economy. In his conjectures Herr Grün undoubtedly displays a very genial spirit.

Just as he makes Saint-Simon the pioneer of political economy, he makes him the pioneer of scientific socialism:

"It" (Saint-Simonism) "contains ... scientific socialism, for Saint-Simon spent his whole life searching for the new science”! (p. 82).

3. NOUVEAU CHRISTIANISME

With his customary brilliance, Herr Grün continues to give us extracts of extracts by Stein and Reybaud, to which he adds literary

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\textsuperscript{a} Cf. 1 Peter 2: 7.—Ed.

\textsuperscript{b} Letters and Studies is the sub-title of Grün's book, Die soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien.—Ed.

\textsuperscript{c} A pun on the words Stein, which in German means stone, Eckstein—cornerstone, and Stein des Anstosses—stumbling-block.—Ed.

\textsuperscript{d} New Christianity.—Ed.
embellishments and which he dismembers in the most pitiless fashion. One example will suffice to show that he has never looked at the original of this work either.

"For Saint-Simon it was a question of establishing a unified view of life, such as is suitable to organic periods of history, which he expressly opposes to the critical periods. According to him, we have been living since Luther in a critical period; he thought to initiate a new organic period. Hence the New Christianity" (p. 88).

At no time and in no place did Saint-Simon oppose organic to critical periods of history. This is a downright falsehood on the part of Herr Grün. Bazard was the first to make this distinction. Herr Grün discovered from Stein and Reybaud that in Nouveau christianisme Saint-Simon commends the criticism of Luther, but finds his positive, dogmatic doctrine faulty. Herr Grün lumps that with what he remembers was said in the same sources about the school of Saint-Simon, and out of this he fabricates the above assertion.

After some florid comments on Saint-Simon's life and works produced by Herr Grün in the manner described earlier and based exclusively on Stein and the latter's primer, Reybaud, Herr Grün concludes by exclaiming:

"And those moral philistines, Herr Reybaud and the whole band of German parrots, thought that they had to defend Saint-Simon, by pronouncing with their usual wisdom that such a man, such a life, must not be measured by ordinary standards!—Tell me, are your standards made of wood? Tell the truth! We shall be quite pleased if they are made of good solid oak. Hand them over! We shall gratefully accept them as a precious gift. We shall not burn them, God forbid! We shall use them to measure the backs of the philistines" (p. 89).

It is by affected bluster of this kind that Herr Grün attempts to prove his superiority over the men whom he has copied.

4. THE SCHOOL OF SAINT-SIMON

Since Herr Grün has read just as much of the school of Saint-Simon as he read of Saint-Simon himself, that is nothing whatsoever, he should at least have made a proper summary of Stein and Reybaud, he should have observed the chronological order, he should have given a connected account of the course of the events and he should have mentioned the essential points. He does the contrary. Led astray by his bad conscience, he mixes everything up as far as possible, omits the most essential matters and produces a confusion even greater than that which we saw in his exposition of Saint-Simon. We must be still more concise here, for it would take a volume as thick as Herr Grün's to record every plagiarism and every blunder.

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a See Doctrine de Saint-Simon. Exposition. Première année.—Ed.
We are given no information about the period from the death of Saint-Simon to the July Revolution—a period which covers part of the most important theoretical development of Saint-Simonism. And accordingly the Saint-Simonian criticism of existing conditions, the most important aspect of Saint-Simonism, is entirely omitted by Herr Grün. It is indeed hardly possible to say anything about it without a knowledge of the sources, and in particular of the newspapers.

Herr Grün opens his discourse on the Saint-Simonists with these words:

"To each according to his capacity, to each capacity according to its works: that is the practical dogma of the Saint-Simonists."

Like Reybaud (p. 96), Herr Grün presents this sentence as a transition from Saint-Simon to the Saint-Simonists and continues:

"It derives directly from the last words of Saint-Simon: all men must be assured the freest development of their faculties."

In this case Herr Grün wished to be different from Reybaud, who links the "practical dogma" with the Nouveau christianisme. Herr Grün believes this to be an invention of Reybaud's and unceremoniously substitutes the last words of Saint-Simon for the Nouveau christianisme. He did not realise that Reybaud was only giving a literal extract from the Doctrine de Saint-Simon. Exposition. Première année, p. 70.

Herr Grün cannot understand why Reybaud, after giving several extracts concerning the religious hierarchy of Saint-Simonism, should suddenly introduce the "practical dogma". Herr Grün imagines that the hierarchy follows directly from this proposition. But in fact, the proposition can refer to a new hierarchy only when taken in conjunction with the religious ideas of the Nouveau christianisme, whereas apart from these ideas, it can demand at most a purely secular classification of society. He observes on page 91:

"To each according to his capacity means to make the Catholic hierarchy the law of the social order. To each capacity according to its works means moreover to turn the workshop into a sacristy and the whole of civil life into a priestly preserve."

For in the above-mentioned extract from the Exposition quoted by Reybaud Herr Grün finds the following:

"L’église vraiment universelle va paraître... l’église universelle gouverne le temporel comme le spirituel... la science est sainte, l’industrie est sainte... et tout bien est bien d’église et toute profession est une fonction religieuse, un grade dans la hiérarchie sociale.—À chacun selon sa capacité, à chaque capacité selon ses œuvres."\(^b\)

\(^a\) 1830.—Ed.
\(^b\) "The truly universal Church shall appear... the universal Church shall govern temporal as well as spiritual matters... science shall be sacred, industry shall be sacred... and all property shall be the property of the Church, every profession a religious function, a step in the social hierarchy.—To each according to his capacity, to each capacity according to its works."—Ed.
To produce his own quite incomprehensible statement, Herr Grün had only to invert this passage and change the preceding sentences into conclusions of the final sentence.

Grün's interpretation of Saint-Simonism assumes "so confused and tangled a form" that on page 90 he first derives a "spiritual proletariat" from the "practical dogma", then from the spiritual proletariat he produces a "hierarchy of minds". Finally, out of the hierarchy of minds he produces the apex of the hierarchy. Had he read even only the Exposition, he would have seen that the religious approach of the *Nouveau christianisme*, together with the problem of how to determine *capacité*, necessitates the hierarchy and its apex.

Herr Grün concludes his discussion and criticism of the Exposition of 1828-29 with the single sentence: "À chacun selon sa capacité, à chaque capacité selon ses œuvres." Apart from this he hardly even mentions the *Producteur* and the *Organisateur*. He glances at Reybaud and finds in the section "Third Epoch of Saint-Simonism", p. 126 (Stein, p. 205):

"...et les jours suivants le *Globe* parut avec le sous-titre de *Journal de la doctrine de Saint-Simon*, laquelle était résumée ainsi sur la première page:

Religion

Science

Industrie

Association universelle."^a

Herr Grün passes from the above to the year 1831, without a break, and improves upon Reybaud in the following terms (p. 91):

"The Saint-Simonists put forward the following outline of their system; the formulation was largely the work of Bazard:

Religion

Science

Universal Association.

Industry

Herr Grün leaves out three sentences which are also to be found on the title-page of the *Globe* and which all relate to practical social reforms. They are given by both Stein and Reybaud. This enables him to change what is, so to speak, the mere window-dressing of a journal into an "outline" of the system. He conceals the fact that it appeared on the title-page of the *Globe* and so can criticise the whole of Saint-Simonism, as contained in the mutilated title of this

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^a "... and during the following days the *Globe* appeared with the subtitle: *Journal of the Saint-Simonian Doctrine*, which was summarised as follows on the first page:

Religion

Science

Universal Association." — Ed.
newspaper, with the clever comment that religion has pride of place. He could moreover have discovered from Stein that this is by no means true of the Globe. The Globe contains the most detailed and valuable criticism of existing conditions and particularly of economic conditions—a fact however which Herr Grün could not know.

It is difficult to say from where Herr Grün has obtained the new but important piece of information that the “formulation of the outline”, four words in length, “was largely the work of Bazard”.

Herr Grün now jumps from January 1831 back to October 1830:

“Shortly after the July Revolution, during the Bazard period” (where does this period come from?), “the Saint-Simonists addressed a short but comprehensive statement of their beliefs to the Chamber of Deputies, after Messrs. Dupin and Mauguin had accused them from the tribune of preaching community of goods and wives.”

The Address follows, with the comment by Herr Grün:

“How reasonable and measured it all is still! The Address presented to the Chamber was edited by Bazard” (pp. 92-94).

To begin with the concluding remark, Stein says, p. 205:

“Judging from its form and its attitude, we should not hesitate to ascribe it” (the document), “as does Reybaud, to Bazard more than to Enfantin.”

And Reybaud says, p. 123:

“Aux formes, aux prétentions assez modérées de cet écrit il est facile de voir qu’il provenait plutôt de l’impulsion de M. Bazard que de celle de son collègue.”

With characteristic ingenuity and audacity, Herr Grün turns Reybaud’s conjecture that Bazard rather than Enfantin was behind the Address into the certainty that he edited it in its entirety. The passage introducing the Address is translated from Reybaud, p. 122:

“MM. Dupin et Mauguin signalèrent du haut de la tribune une secte qui prêchait la communauté des biens et la communauté des femmes.”

Herr Grün merely leaves out the date given by Reybaud and writes instead: “shortly after the July Revolution”. Altogether, chronology does not suit Herr Grün’s method of emancipating himself from those who have trodden the ground before him. In contradistinction to Stein he inserts in the text what Stein relegates to a note, he omits the introduction to the Address, he translates fonds de production (productive capital) as “basic capital” and classement social des individus (social classification of individuals) as “social order of individuals”.

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a “From the form and the very moderate demands of this document, one can clearly see that it owes more to the initiative of M. Bazard than to that of his colleague.”—Ed.

b “Messrs. Dupin and Mauguin drew attention from the tribune to a sect which was preaching community of goods and community of wives.”—Ed.
Some slipshod notes follow on the history of the school of Saint-Simon; they have been patched together from fragments of Stein, Reybaud and Louis Blanc with that artistic skill which we noticed in Grün's life of Saint-Simon. We leave it to the reader to look them up in the book for himself.

The reader now has before him all that Herr Grün has to say of the Bazard period of Saint-Simonism, i.e., the period from the death of Saint-Simon to the first schism. Grün is now in a position to play an elegantly critical trump, and call Bazard a "poor dialectician". Then he continues:

"But so are the republicans. They only know how to die, Cato as much as Bazard; if they do not stab themselves to death, they die of a broken heart" (p. 95).

"A few months after this quarrel, his" (Bazard's) "heart was broken" (Stein, p. 210).

Such republicans as Levasseur, Carnot, Barère, Billaud-Varennes, Buonarroti, Teste, d'Argenson, etc., etc., show how correct Herr Grün's assertion is.

We are now offered a few commonplaces about Enfantin. Attention need only be drawn to the following discovery made by Herr Grün:

"Does this historical phenomenon not make it finally clear that religion is nothing but sensualism, that materialism can boldly claim the same origin as the sacred dogma itself?" (p. 97).

Herr Grün looks complacently about him: "Has anyone else ever thought of that?" He would never have "thought of that" if the Hallische Jahrbücher had not already "thought of it" in connection with the Romantics. One would have expected Herr Grün to have made some little intellectual progress since then.

We have seen that Herr Grün knows nothing of the whole economic criticism of the Saint-Simonists. Nevertheless, he manages to say something, with the help of Enfantin, about the economic consequences of Saint-Simon's theory, to which he has already made some airy references earlier. He finds in Reybaud (p. 129 et seq.) and in Stein (p. 206) extracts from Enfantin's Political Economy but in this case, too, he falsifies the original; for the abolition of taxes on the most essential necessaries of life, which is correctly shown by Reybaud and Stein (who base their statements on Enfantin) to be a consequence of the proposals concerning the right of inheritance, is turned by Grün into an irrelevant, independent measure in addition to these proposals. He gives further proof of his originality by

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*a This refers to Karl Rosenkranz's article "Ludwig Tieck und die romantische Schule". — Ed.

b Barthélemy-Prosper Enfantin, Economie politique et Politique. — Ed.
falsifying the chronological order; he refers first to the priest Enfantin and Ménilmontant and then to the economist Enfantin, whereas his predecessors deal with Enfantin's political economy during the Bazard period when they are discussing the *Globe*, for which it was written.\(^{137}\) Just as here he includes the Bazard period in the Ménilmontant period so later, when referring to economics and to M. Chevalier, he brings in the Ménilmontant period. The occasion for this is the *Livre nouveau*,\(^{138}\) and as usual he turns Reybaud's conjecture that M. Chevalier was the author of this work into a categorical assertion.

Herr Grün has now described Saint-Simonism "in its totality" (p. 82). He has kept the promise he made "not to subject its literature to a critical scrutiny" (ibid.) and has therefore got mixed up, most uncritically, in quite a different "literature", that of Stein and Reybaud. He gives us by way of compensation a few particulars about M. Chevalier's economic lectures of 1841-42,\(^a\) a time when the latter had long ceased to be a Saint-Simonist. For while writing about Saint-Simonism, Herr Grün had in front of him a review of these lectures in the *Revue des deux Mondes*. He has made use of it in the same way as he utilised Stein and Reybaud. Here is a sample of his critical acumen:

"In it he asserts that not enough is being produced. That is a statement worthy of the old economic school with its rusty prejudices.... As long as political economy does not understand that production is dependent upon consumption, this so-called science will not make any headway" (p. 102).

One can see that with these phrases about consumption and production which he has inherited from true socialism, Herr Grün is far superior to any economic work. Apart from the fact that any economist would tell him that supply also depends on demand, i.e., that production depends on consumption, there is actually in France a special economic school, that of Sismondi, which desires to make production dependent on consumption in a form different from that which obtains under free competition; it stands in sharp opposition to the economists attacked by Herr Grün. Not till later, however, do we see Herr Grün speculating successfully with the talent\(^b\) entrusted to him—the unity of production and consumption.

To compensate the reader for the boredom he has suffered from these sketchy extracts from Stein and Reybaud, which are moreover falsified and adulterated with phrases, Herr Grün offers him the

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\(^a\) Michel Chevalier, *Cours d'Economie politique fait au Collège de France*.—*Ed.*

following Young-German firework display, glowing with humanism and socialism:

"Saint-Simonism in its entirety as a social system was nothing more than a cascade of thoughts, showered by a beneficent cloud upon the soil of France" (earlier, pp. 82, 83, it was described as "a mass of light, but still a chaos of light" (!), "not yet an orderly illumination"!). "It was both an overwhelming and a most amusing display. The author died before the show was put on, one producer died during the performance, the remaining producers and all the actors discarded their costumes, slipped into their civilian clothes, went home and behaved as if nothing had happened. It was a spectacle, an interesting spectacle, if somewhat confused towards the finale; a few of the performers overacted—and that was all" (p. 104).

How right was Heine when he said about his imitators: "I have sown dragon's teeth and harvested fleas."

FOURIERISM

Apart from the translation of a few passages from the *Quatre mouvements* on the subject of love, there is nothing here that cannot be found in a more complete form in Stein. Herr Grün dismisses morality in a sentence which a hundred other writers had uttered long before Fourier:

"Morality is, according to Fourier, nothing but the systematic endeavour to repress the human passions" (p. 147).

That is how Christian morality has always defined itself. Herr Grün makes no attempt to examine Fourier's criticism of present-day agriculture and industry and, as far as trade is concerned, he merely translates a few general remarks from the Introduction to a section of the *Quatre mouvements* ("Origine de l'économie politique et de la controverse mercantile", pp. 332, 334 of the *Quatre mouvements*). Then come a few extracts from the *Quatre mouvements* and one from the *Traité de l'association*, on the French Revolution, together with the tables on civilisation, which are already known from Stein. The critical side of Fourier, his most important contribution, is thus dismissed in the most hasty and superficial fashion in twenty-eight pages of literal translation; and in these, with very few exceptions, only the most general and abstract matters are discussed, the trivial and the important being thrown together in the most haphazard way.

Herr Grün now gives us an exposition of Fourier's system. Churoa¹, whose work is quoted by Stein, long ago gave us a better and more complete version. Although Herr Grün considers it "vitaly

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¹ Charles Fourier, *Théorie des quatre mouvements et des destinées générales.*—Ed.
² August Ludwig Churoa, *Kritische Darstellung der Socialtheorie Fourier's.*—Ed.
necessary” to offer a profound interpretation of Fourier’s series, he can think of nothing better than to quote literally from Fourier himself and then, as we shall see later, to coin a few fine phrases about numbers. He does not attempt to show how Fourier came to deal with series, and how he and his disciples constructed them; he reveals nothing whatever about the inner construction of the series. It is only possible to criticise such constructions (and this applies also to the Hegelian method) by demonstrating how they are made and thereby proving oneself master of them.

Lastly, Herr Grün neglects almost entirely a matter which Stein at any rate emphasises in some measure, the opposition of travail répugnant and travail attrayant.

The most important aspect of the whole exposition is Herr Grün’s criticism of Fourier. The reader may recollect what was said above concerning the sources of Grün’s criticism. He will now see from the few examples which follow that Herr Grün first of all accepts the postulates of true socialism and then sets about exaggerating and distorting them. It need hardly be mentioned that Fourier’s distinction between capital, talent and labour offers a magnificent opportunity for a display of pretentious cleverness; one can talk at length about the impracticability and the injustice of the distinction, about the introduction of wage-labour, etc., without criticising this distinction by reference to the real relationship of labour and capital. Proudhon has already said all this infinitely better than Herr Grün, but he failed to touch upon the real issue.

Herr Grün bases his criticism of Fourier’s psychology—as indeed all his criticism—on the “essence of man”:

“Fourier, too, appeals to this human essence and in his own way reveals to us its inner core” (!) “in his tabulation of the twelve passions: like all honest and reasonable people, he, too, desires to make man’s inner essence a reality, a practical reality. That which is within must also be without, and thus the distinction between the internal and the external must be altogether abolished. The history of mankind teems with socialists, if this is to be their distinguishing feature.... The important thing about everyone is what he understands by the essence of man” (p. 190).

Or rather the important thing for the true socialists is to foist upon everyone thoughts about human essence and to transform the different stages of socialism into different philosophies of human essence. This unhistorical abstraction induces Herr Grün to proclaim the abolition of all distinction between the internal and the external, which would even put a stop to the propagation of human essence. But in any case, why should the Germans brag so loudly of their knowledge of human essence, since their knowledge does not go beyond the three general attributes, intellect, emotion and will.
which have been fairly universally recognised since the days of Aristotle and the Stoics. It is from the same standpoint that Herr Grün reproaches Fourier with having “cleft” man into twelve passions.

“I shall not discuss the completeness of this table, psychologically speaking; I consider it inadequate”—(whereupon the public can rest easy, “psychologically speaking”).—“Does this number give us any knowledge of what man really is? Not for a moment. Fourier might just as well have enumerated the five senses; the whole man is seen to be contained in these, if they be properly explained and their human content rightly interpreted” (as if this “human content” is not entirely dependent on the stage of development which production and human intercourse have reached). “Indeed, it is in one sense alone that man is contained, in feeling; his feeling is different from that of the animal,” etc. (p. 205).

For the first time in his whole book, Herr Grün is obviously making an effort to say something about Fourier's psychology from the standpoint of Feuerbach. It is obvious too that this “whole man”, “contained” in a single attribute of a real individual and interpreted by the philosopher in terms of that attribute, is a complete chimera. Anyway, what sort of man is this, “man” who is not seen in his real historical activity and existence, but can be deduced from the lobe of his own ear, or from some other feature which distinguishes him from the animals? Such a man “is contained” in himself, like his own pimple. Of course, the discovery that human feeling is human and not animal not only makes all psychological experiment superfluous but also constitutes a critique of all psychology.

Herr Grün finds it an easy matter to criticise Fourier's treatment of love; he measures Fourier's criticism of existing amorous relationships against the fantasies by which Fourier tried to get a mental image of free love. Herr Grün, the true German philistine, takes these fantasies seriously. Indeed, they are the only thing which he does take seriously. It is hard to see why, if he wanted to deal with this side of the system at all, Grün did not also enlarge upon Fourier's remarks concerning education; they are by far the best of their kind and contain some masterly observations. Herr Grün, typical Young-German man of letters that he is, betrays, when he treats of love, how little he has learned from Fourier's critique. In his opinion, it is of no consequence whether one proceeds from the abolition of marriage or from the abolition of private property; the

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a The Westphälische Dampfboot has: “Or rather the important thing for the true socialists is to transform the different stages of socialism into different philosophies of human essence and since, according to the true socialists, ‘human essence’—an unhistorical abstraction—has been revealed by Feuerbach, they have, as a result of this transformation, supplied a criticism of the socialist systems as well.”—Ed.

b G. W. F. Hegel, Vorlesungen über die Naturphilosophie, Einleitung, §246, Zusatz.—Ed.
one must necessarily follow upon the other. But to wish to *proceed* from any dissolution of marriage other than that which now exists in practice in bourgeois society, is to cherish a purely literary illusion. Fourier, as Grün might have discovered in his works, always proceeds from the transformation of production.

Herr Grün is surprised that Fourier, who always starts with inclination (it should read: attraction), should indulge in all kinds of "mathematical" experiments, for which reason he calls him the "mathematical socialist", page 203. Even if he did not take into account Fourier's circumstances, he might well have examined a little more closely the nature of attraction. He would very soon have discovered that a natural relation of the kind cannot be accurately defined without the help of calculation. He regales us instead with a philippic against number, a philippic in which literary flourishes and Hegelian tradition are intermixed. It contains passages such as:

Fourier "calculates the molecular content of your most abnormal taste".

Indeed, a miracle; and further:

"That civilisation, which is being so bitterly attacked, is based upon an unfeeling multiplication table... Number is nothing definite... What is the number one?... The number one is restless, it becomes two, three, four"

like the German country parson who is "restless" until he has a wife and nine children....

"Number stifles all that is essential and all that is real; can we halve reason or speak of a third of the truth?"

He might also have asked, can we speak of a green-coloured logarithm?...

"Number loses all sense in organic development"...

a statement of fundamental importance for physiology and organic chemistry (pp. 203, 204).

"He who makes number the measure of all things becomes, nay, is an egoist."

By a piece of wilful exaggeration, he links to this sentence another, which he has taken over from Hess (see above):

"Fourier's whole plan of organisation is based exclusively upon egoism.... Fourier is the very worst expression of civilised egoism" (pp. 206, 208).

He supplies immediate proof of this by relating that, in Fourier's world order, the poorest member eats from forty dishes every day, that five meals are eaten daily, that people live to the age of 144 and so on. With a naive sense of humour Fourier opposes a Gargantuan

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*This volume, p. 492.—Ed.*
view of man to the unassuming mediocrity of the men of the Restoration period; but Herr Grün only sees in this a chance of moralising in his philistine way upon the most innocent side of Fourier's fancy, which he abstracts from the rest.

While reproaching Fourier for his interpretation of the French Revolution, Herr Grün gives us a glimpse of his own insight into the revolutionary age:

"If association had only been known of forty years earlier" (so he makes Fourier say), "the Revolution could have been avoided. But how" (asks Herr Grün) "did it come about that Turgot, the Minister, recognised the right to work and that, in spite of this, Louis XVI lost his head? After all, it would have been easier to discharge the national debt by means of the right to work than by means of hen's eggs" (p. 211).

Herr Grün overlooks the trifling fact that the right to work, which Turgot speaks of, is none other than free competition and that this very free competition needed the Revolution in order to establish itself.

The substance of Herr Grün's criticism of Fourier is that Fourier failed to subject "civilisation" to a "fundamental criticism". And why did he fail? Here is the reason:

"The manifestations of civilisation have been criticised but not its basis; it has been abhorred and ridiculed as it exists, but its roots have not been examined. Neither politics nor religion have undergone a searching criticism and for that reason the essence of man has not yet been examined" (p. 209).

So Herr Grün declares that the real living conditions of men are manifestations, whereas religion and politics are the basis and the root of these manifestations. This threadbare statement shows that the true socialists put forward the ideological phrases of German philosophy as truths superior to the real expositions of the French socialists; it shows at the same time that they try to link the true object of their own investigations, human essence, to the results of French social criticism. If one assumes religion and politics to be the basis of material living conditions, then it is only natural that everything should amount in the last instance to an investigation of human essence, i.e., of man's consciousness of himself.—One can see, incidentally, how little Herr Grün minds what he copies; in a later passage and in the Rheinische Jahrbücher as well, he appropriates, in his own manner, what the Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher had to say about the relation of citoyen and bourgeois, which directly contradicts the statement he makes above.

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a In the Westphälische Dampfboot the following words enclosed in brackets have been inserted after "men": "(les infiniment petits [the infinitely small]. Béranger)".—Ed.

b Karl Grün, "Politik und Socialismus".—Ed.

c See Marx's article "On the Jewish question" (present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 146-74) and this volume, p. 144 and p. 172.—Ed.
We have reserved to the end the exposition of a statement concerning production and consumption which true socialism confided to Herr Grün. It is a striking example of how Herr Grün uses the postulates of true socialism as a standard by which to measure the achievements of the French and how, by tearing the former out of their complete vagueness, he reveals them to be utter nonsense.

"Production and consumption can be separated temporally and spatially, in theory and in external reality, but in essence they are one. Is not the commonest occupation, e.g., the baking of bread, a productive activity, which is in its turn consumption for a hundred others? Is it not, indeed, consumption on the part of the baker himself, who consumes corn, water, milk, eggs, etc.? Is not the consumption of shoes and clothes production on the part of cobbler and tailors?... Do I not produce when I eat bread? I produce on an enormous scale. I produce mills, kneading-troughs, ovens and consequently ploughs, harrows, flails, mill-wheels, the labour of wood-workers and masons" ("and consequently", carpenters, masons and peasants, "consequently", their parents, "consequently", their whole ancestry, "consequently", Adam). "Do I not consume when I produce? On a huge scale, too.... If I read a book, I consume first of all the product of whole years of work; if I keep it or destroy it, I consume the material and the activity of the paper-mill, the printing-press and the bookbinder. But do I produce nothing? I produce perhaps a new book and thereby new paper, new type, new printer's ink, new bookbinding tools; if I merely read it and a thousand others read it too, we produce by our consumption a new edition and all the materials necessary for its manufacture. The manufacturers of all these consume on their part a mass of raw material which must be produced and which can only be produced through the medium of consumption.... In a word, activity and enjoyment are one, only a perverse world has torn them asunder and has thrust between them the concept of value and price; by means of this concept it has torn man asunder and with man, society" (pp. 191, 192).

Production and consumption are, in reality, frequently opposed to one another. But in order to restore the unity of the two and resolve all contradictions, one need only interpret these contradictions correctly and comprehend the true nature of production and consumption. Thus this German ideological theory fits the existing world perfectly; the unity of production and consumption is proved by means of examples drawn from present-day society, it exists in itself. Herr Grün demonstrates first of all that there actually does exist a relationship between production and consumption. He argues that he cannot wear a coat or eat bread unless both are produced and that there exist in modern society people who produce coats, shoes and bread which other people consume. This idea is, in Herr Grün's opinion, a new one. He clothes it in his classical, literary-ideological language. For example:

"It is believed that the enjoyment of coffee, sugar, etc., is mere consumption; but is this enjoyment not, in fact, production in the colonies?"
He might just as well have asked: Does not this enjoyment imply that Negro slaves enjoy the lash and that floggings are produced in the colonies? One can see that the outcome of such exuberance as this is simply an apology for existing conditions. Herr Grün's second idea is that when he produces, he consumes, namely raw material, the costs of production in fact; this is the discovery that nothing can be created out of nothing, that he must have material. He would have found set out in any political economy, under the heading "productive consumption", the complicated relations which this involves if one does not restrict oneself, like Herr Grün, to the trivial fact that shoes cannot be made without leather.

So far, Herr Grün has realised that it is necessary to produce in order to consume and that raw material is consumed in the productive process. His real difficulties begin when he wishes to prove that he produces when he consumes. Herr Grün now makes a completely ineffective attempt to enlighten himself in some small degree upon the most commonplace and general aspects of the connection between supply and demand. He does discover that his consumption, i.e., his demand, produces a fresh supply. But he forgets that his demand must be effective, that he must offer an equivalent for the product desired, if his demand is to cause fresh production. The economists too refer to the inseparability of consumption and production and to the absolute identity of supply and demand, especially when they wish to prove that over-production never takes place; but they never perpetrate anything so clumsy, so trivial as Herr Grün. This is moreover the same sort of argument that the aristocracy, the clergy, the rentiers, etc., have always used to prove their own productivity. Herr Grün forgets, further, that the bread which is produced today by steam-mills, was produced earlier by wind-mills and water-mills and earlier still by hand-mills; he forgets that these different methods of production are quite independent of the actual eating of the bread and that we are faced, therefore, with an historical development of the productive process. Of course, producing as he does on "an enormous scale", Herr Grün never thinks of this. He has no inkling of the fact that these different stages of production involve different relations of production to consumption, different contradictions of the two; it does not occur to him that to understand these contradictions one must examine the particular mode of production, together with the whole set of social conditions based upon it; and that only by actually changing the mode of production and the entire social system based upon it can these contradictions be solved. While the other examples given by Herr Grün prove that he surpasses even
the most undistinguished economists in banality, his example of the book shows that these economists are far more "humane" than he is. They do not demand that as soon as he has consumed a book he should produce another! They are content that he should produce his own education by his consumption and so exert a favourable influence upon production in general. Herr Grün's productive consumption is transformed into a real miracle, since he omits the connecting link, the cash payment; he makes it superfluous by simply ignoring it, but in fact it alone makes his demand effective. He reads, and by the mere fact of his reading, he enables the type-founders, the paper manufacturers and the printers to produce new type, new paper and new books. The mere fact of his consumption compensates them all for their costs of production. Incidentally, in the foregoing examination we have amply demonstrated the virtuosity with which Herr Grün produces new books from old by merely reading the latter, and with which he incurs the gratitude of the commercial world by his activities as a producer of new paper, new type, new printer's ink and new bookbinding tools. Grün ends the first letter in his book with the words:

"I am on the point of plunging into industry."

Herr Grün never once belies this motto of his in the whole of his book.

What did all his activity amount to? In order to prove the true socialist proposition of the unity of production and consumption, Herr Grün has recourse to the most commonplace economic statements concerning supply and demand; moreover, he adapts these to his purpose simply by omitting the necessary connecting links, thereby transforming them into pure fantasies. The essence of all this is, therefore, an ill-informed and fantastic transfiguration of existing conditions.

In his socialistic conclusion, he lisps, characteristically, the phrases he has learned from his German predecessors. Production and consumption are separated because a perverse world has torn them asunder. How did this perverse world set about it? It thrust a concept between the two. By so doing, it tore man asunder. Not content with this, it thereby tears society, i.e., itself, asunder, too. This tragedy took place in 1845.

The true socialists originally understood the unity of consumption and production to mean that activity shall itself involve enjoyment (for them, of course, a purely fanciful notion). According to Herr Grün's further definition of that unity, "consumption and production, economically speaking, must coincide" (p. 196); there must be
no surplus of products over and above the immediate needs of consumption, which means, of course, the end of any movement whatsoever. With an air of importance, he therefore reproaches Fourier with wishing to disturb this unity by over-production. Herr Grün forgets that over-production causes crises only through its influence on the exchange value of products and that not only with Fourier but also in Herr Grün’s perfect world exchange value has disappeared. All that one can say of this philistine rubbish is that it is worthy of true socialism.

With the utmost complacency, Herr Grün repeats again and again his commentary on the true socialist theory of production and consumption. For example, he tells us in the course of a discussion of Proudhon:

"Preach the social freedom of the consumers and you will have true equality of production" (p. 433).

Preaching this is an easy matter! All that has hitherto been wrong has been that

"consumers have been uneducated, uncultured, they do not all consume in a human way" (p. 432). "The view that consumption is the measure of production, instead of the contrary, is the death of every hitherto existing economic theory" (ibid.). "The real solidarity of mankind, indeed, bears out the truth of the proposition that the consumption of each presupposes the consumption of all" (ibid.).

Within the competitive system, the consumption of each presupposes more or less continuously the consumption of all, just as the production of each presupposes the production of all. It is merely a question of how, in what way, this is so. Herr Grün’s only answer to this is the moral postulate of human consumption, the recognition of the “essential nature of consumption” (p. 432). Since he knows nothing of the real relations of production and consumption, he has to take refuge in human essence, the last hiding-place of the true socialists. For the same reason, he insists on proceeding from consumption instead of from production. If you proceed from production, you necessarily concern yourself with the real conditions of production and with the productive activity of men. But if you proceed from consumption, you can set your mind at rest by merely declaring that consumption is not at present “human”, and by postulating “human consumption”, education for true consumption and so on. You can be content with such phrases, without bothering at all about the real living conditions and the activity of men.

It should be mentioned in conclusion that precisely those economists who took consumption as their starting-point happened
to be reactionary and ignored the revolutionary element in competition and large-scale industry.

THE "LIMITATIONS OF PAPA CABET"
AND HERR GRÜN

Herr Grün concludes his digression on the school of Fourier and on Herr Reybaud with the following words:

"I wish to make the organisers of labour conscious of their essence, I wish to show them historically where they have sprung from ... these hybrids ... who cannot claim as their own even the least of their thoughts. And later, perhaps, I shall find space to make an example of Herr Reybaud, not only of Herr Reybaud, but also of Herr Jay. The former is, in reality, not so bad, he is merely stupid; but the latter is more than stupid, he is learned.

"And so"... (p. 260).

The gladiatorial posture into which Herr Grün throws himself, his threats against Reybaud, his contempt for learning, his resounding promises, these are all sure signs that something portentous is stirring within him. Fully "conscious of his essence" as we are, we infer from these symptoms that Herr Grün is on the point of carrying out a most tremendous plagiaristic coup. To anyone who has had experience of his tactics, his bragging loses all ingenuousness and turns out to be always a matter of sly calculation.

"And so":

A chapter follows headed:

"The Organisation of Labour!"

Where did this thought originate?—In France.—But how?"

It is also labelled:

"Review of the Eighteenth Century."

"Where did this" chapter of Herr Grün's "originate?—In France.—But how?" The reader will find out without delay.

It should not be forgotten that Herr Grün wants to make the French organisers of labour conscious of their essence by an historical exposition in the profound German style.

And so.

When Herr Grün realised that Cabet "had his limitations" and that his "mission had been completed long ago" (which he had known for a long time), it did not, "of course, mean an end of everything". On the contrary, by arbitrarily selecting a few quotations from Cabet and stringing them together he laid upon Cabet the new mission: to provide the French "background" to Herr Grün's German history of socialist development in the eighteenth century.
How does he set about his task? He reads "productively".

The twelfth and thirteenth chapters of Cabet's *Voyage en Icarie* contain a motley collection of the opinions of ancient and modern authorities in favour of communism. He does not claim that he is tracing an historical movement. The French bourgeois view communism as a suspicious character. Good, says Cabet, in that case, men of the utmost respectability from every age will testify to the good character of my client; and Cabet proceeds exactly like a lawyer. Even the most adverse evidence becomes in his hands favourable to his client. One cannot demand historical accuracy in a legal defence. If a famous man happens to let fall a word against money, or inequality, or wealth, or social evils, Cabet seizes upon it, begs him to repeat it, puts it forward as the man's declaration of faith, has it printed, applauds it and cries with ironic good humour to his irritated bourgeois: "Écoutez, écoutez, n'était-il pas communiste?"a No one escapes him. Montesquieu, Sieyès, Lamartine, even Guizot—communists all malgré eux. Voilà mon Communiste tout trouvé!b

Herr Grün, in a productive mood, reads the quotations collected by Cabet, representing the eighteenth century; he never doubts for a moment the essential rightness of it all; he improvises for the benefit of the reader a mystical connection between the writers whose names happen to be mentioned by Cabet on one page, pours over the whole his Young-German literary slops and then gives it the title which we saw above.

And so.

**Herr Grün:**

Herr Grün introduces his review with the following words:

"The social idea did not fall from heaven, it is organic, i.e., it arose by a process of gradual development. I cannot write here its complete history, I cannot commence with the Indians and the Chinese and proceed to Persia, Egypt and Judaea. I cannot question the Greeks and Romans about their social consciousness, I cannot take the evidence of Christianity, Neo-Platonism and patristic philosophy,"a I cannot listen to what the Middle Ages and the Arabs have to say, nor can I examine the

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a "Hear what he has to say! Was he not a communist?"—*Ed.*

b There's the communist all complete.—*Ed.*
Reformation and philosophy during the period of its awakening and so on up to the eighteenth century” (p. 261).

Chine et l’autre en Perse ... proclamèrent ce principe.”a (Voyage en Icarie, deuxième édition, p. 470.)

After the passages given above, Cabet investigates Greek and Roman history, takes the evidence of Christianity, of Neo-Platonism, of the Fathers of the Church, of the Middle Ages, of the Reformation and of philosophy during the period of its awakening. Cf. Cabet, pp. 471-82. Herr Grün leaves others “more patient than himself” to copy these eleven pages, “provided the dust of erudition has left them the necessary humanism to do so” (that is, to copy them). (Grün, p. 261.) Only the social consciousness of the Arabs belongs to Herr Grün. We await longingly the disclosures about it which he has to offer the world. “I must restrict myself to the eighteenth century.” Let us follow Herr Grün into the eighteenth century, remarking only that Grün underlines almost the very same words as Cabet.\(^b\)

**Herr Grün:**

“Locke, the founder of sensationism, observes: He whose possessions exceed his needs, oversteps the bounds of reason and of original justice and steals that which belongs to others. Every surplus is usurpation, and the sight of the needy must awaken remorse in the soul of the wealthy. Corrupt men, you who roll in luxury and pleasures, tremble lest one day the wretch who lacks the necessities of life shall truly come to know the rights of man. Fraud, faithlessness and avarice have produced that inequality of possessions which is the great misfortune of the human race by piling up all sorts of sufferings, on the one hand, beside riches, on the other, beside destitution. The philosopher must, therefore, regard the

**Cabet:**

“Mais voici Locke, écoutez-le s’écrier dans son admirable Gouvernement civil: ‘Celui qui possède au delà de ses besoins, passe les bornes de la raison et de la justice primitive et enlève ce qui appartient aux autres. Toute superfluïté est une usurpation, et la vue de l’indigent devrait éveiller le remords dans l’âme du riche. Hommes pervers, qui nagez dans l’opulence et les voluptés, tremblez qu’un jour l’infortuné qui manque du nécessaire n’apprenne à connaître vraiment les droits de l’homme.’ Écoutez-le s’écrier encore: ‘La fraude, la mauvaise foi, l’avarice ont produit cette inégalité dans les fortunes, qui fait le malheur de l’espèce humaine, en amoncelant d’un côté tous les vices avec la richesse et de l’autre tous les

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\(^a\) “You claim, foes of common ownership, that there is but a scanty weight of opinion in its favour. Well then, before your very eyes, I am going to take the evidence of history and of every philosopher. Listen! I shall not linger to tell you of those peoples of the past who practised community of goods! Nor shall I linger over the Hebrews ... nor the Egyptian priesthood, nor Minos ... Lycurgus and Pythagoras... I shall make no mention of Confucius, nor of Zoroaster, who proclaimed, the one in China, the other in Persia ... this principle.”—Ed.

\(^b\) The last part of this sentence from “ remarking only that” to “Cabet” is omitted in the Westphälische Dampfboot.—Ed.

\(^c\) Two Treatises on Civil Government.—Ed.
Herr Grün concludes from these quotations of Cabet's that Locke is "an opponent of the monetary system" (p. 264), "a most outspoken opponent of money and of all property which exceeds the limits of need" (p. 266). Locke was, unfortunately, one of the first scientific champions of the monetary system, a most uncompromising advocate of the flogging of vagabonds and paupers, one of the doyens of modern political economy.\(^b\)

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\(^a\) "But here we have Locke, who exclaims in his admirable Civil Government: 'He who possesses in excess of his needs, oversteps the bounds of reason and of original justice and appropriates the property of others. All excess is usurpation, and the sight of the needy ought to awaken remorse in the soul of the wealthy. Perverse men, you who roll in riches and pleasures, tremble lest one day the wretch who lacks the necessities of life truly apprehend the rights of man.' Hear him exclaim again: 'Fraud, bad faith, avarice have produced that inequality of means, which, by piling on the one hand wealth and vice and on the other poverty and suffering, constitutes the great misfortune of the human race.... The philosopher must, therefore, regard the use of money as one of the most fatal inventions of human industry.'"—Ed.

\(^b\) The following note is added in brackets in the Westphälische Dampfboot: "Cf. Locke's book, Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest, etc.," published in 1691, and also his Further Considerations [Concerning Raising the Value of Money], published in 1698.—Ed.

\(^c\) Friedrich Schiller, "Die Philosophen".—Ed.
The substance of Herr Grün’s “digression” from France is that Cabet quotes a German. Grün even spells the German name in the incorrect French fashion. Apart from his occasional mistranslations and omissions, he surprises us by his improvements. Cabet speaks first of Pufendorf and then of Bossuet; Herr Grün speaks first of Bossuet and then of Pufendorf. Cabet speaks of Bossuet as a famous man; Herr Grün calls him a “priest”. Cabet quotes Pufendorf with all his titles; Herr Grün makes the frank admission that one knows him only from one of Schiller’s epigrams. Now he knows him also from one of Cabet’s quotations, and it is apparent that the Frenchman, with all his limitations, has made a closer study than Herr Grün not only of his own countrymen, but of the Germans as well.

Cabet says: “I must make haste to deal with the great philosophers of the eighteenth century; I shall begin with Montesquieu” (p. 487). In order to reach Montesquieu, Herr Grün begins with a sketch of the “legislative genius of the eighteenth century” (p. 282). Compare their various quotations from Montesquieu, Mably, Rousseau, Turgot. It suffices here to compare Cabet and Herr Grün on Rousseau and Turgot. Cabet proceeds from Montesquieu to Rousseau. Herr Grün constructs this transition:

"Listen to Baron von Pufendorf, a professor of natural law in Germany and a Councillor of State in Stockholm and Berlin, a man who in his law of nature and nations refutes the doctrine of Hobbes and Grotius concerning absolute monarchy, who proclaims natural equality, fraternity, and primitive community of goods, and who recognises property to be a human institution, the result of a distribution of goods, by common consent, to the end that all, and particularly the workers, may be assured of permanent possession, undivided or divided, and that, in consequence, the existing inequality of possessions is an injustice which only involves the other inequalities in consequence of the insolence of the rich and the cowardice of the poor."

"And does not Bossuet, the Bishop of Meaux, the preceptor of the French Dauphin, the famous Bossuet, recognise also in his Politique tirée de l’Ecriture sainte—written for the Dauphin—that, were it not for governments, the earth and all goods would be as common to men as air and light; according to the primary law of nature, no one has a particular right to anything; all things belong to all men and it is from civil government that property springs."—Ed.
“Rousseau was the radical and Montesquieu the constitutional politician.”

Herr Grün quotes from Rousseau:

“The greatest evil has already been done when one has to defend the poor and restrain the rich, etc.”

(ends with the words) “hence it follows that the social state is only advantageous to men if they all of them have something and none has too much.” According to Herr Grün, Rousseau becomes “confused and quite vague when he has to answer the question: what transformation does the previous form of property undergo when primitive man enters into society? What does he answer? He answers: Nature has made all goods common” ... (ends with the words) “if a distribution takes place the share of each becomes his property” (pp. 284, 285).

Herr Grün makes two brilliant innovations: firstly, he merges the quotations from the Contrat social and the Économiepolitique and, secondly, he begins where Cabet ends. Cabet names the titles of the writings of Rousseau from which he quotes, Herr Grün suppresses them. The explanation of these tactics is, perhaps, that Cabet is speaking of Rousseau’s Économiepolitique, which Herr Grün does not know, even from an epigram of Schiller. Although Herr Grün is conversant with all the secrets of the Encyclopédie (cf. p. 263), it was a secret for him that Rousseau’s Économiepolitique is none other than the article in the Encyclopédie on political economy.

Let us pass on to Turgot. Herr Grün is not content here with merely copying the quotations; he actually transcribes the sketch that Cabet gives of Turgot.

Herr Grün:

“One of the noblest and most futile attempts to establish a new order on the

Cabet:

“Écoutez maintenant Rousseau, l’auteur de cet immortel Contrat social ... écoutez: ‘Les hommes sont égaux en droit. La nature a rendu tous les biens communs ... dans le cas de partage le part de chacun devient sa propriété. Dans tous les cas la société est toujours seule propriétaire de tous les biens’” (a point omitted by Herr Grün). “Écoutez encore....” (Cabet ends) “d’où il suit que l’état social n’est avantageux aux hommes qu’autant qu’ils ont tous quelque chose et qu’aucun d’eux n’a rien de trop.’

“Écoutez, écoutez encore Rousseau dans son Économiepolitique: ‘Le plus grand mal est déjà fait quand on a des pauvres à défendre, et des riches à contenir’... etc., etc. (pp. 489, 490).

a The parenthesis “(What grammar!)” is added in the Westphälische Dampfboot.—Ed.

b “Listen now to Rousseau, the author of the immortal Social Contract—listen: ‘Men are equal by right. Nature has made all goods common... if distribution takes place the share of each becomes his property. In all cases the sole proprietor of all goods is society.’ Listen again: ... ‘hence it follows that the social state is only advantageous to men inasmuch as they all have something and none has too much’.

“Listen, listen again to Rousseau in his Political Economy [Économieou Économie (Morale et Politique)]: ‘The greatest evil has already been done when one has to defend the poor and restrain the rich.’”—Ed.
Cabet calls Turgot a Baron and a Minister, Herr Grün copies this much from him, but by way of improving on Cabet, he changes the youngest son of the prévôt of the Paris merchants into “one of the oldest of the feudal lords”. Cabet is wrong in attributing the famine and the uprising of 1775 to the machinations of the aristocracy. Up to the present, no one has discovered who was behind the outcry about the famine and the movement connected with it. But in any case the parliaments and popular prejudice had far more to do with it than the aristocracy. It is quite in order for Herr Grün to copy this error of “poor limited Papa” Cabet. He believes in him as in a gospel. On Cabet’s authority Herr Grün numbers Turgot among the communists, Turgot, one of the leaders of the physiocratic school,

__a__ “Yet while the King declared that he and his Minister (Turgot) were the only friends the people had at court, while the people heaped blessings upon him, while the philosophers overwhelmed him with admiration, while Voltaire wished to kiss before he died the hand which had signed so many improvements for the people, the aristocracy conspired against him, even organised a vast famine, and stirred up insurrections in order to destroy him; by its intrigues and calumnies it succeeded in turning the Paris salons against the reformer and in destroying Louis XVI himself by forcing him to dismiss the virtuous Minister who would have saved him.” “Let us return to Turgot, a Baron, a Minister of Louis XVI during the first year of his reign, one who desired to reform abuses, who carried through a mass of reforms, who wished to establish a new language; a man who actually tried to invent a domestic press in order to ensure the freedom of the press.” — Ed.
the most resolute champion of free competition, the defender of usury, the mentor of Adam Smith. Turgot was a great man, since his actions were in accordance with the time in which he lived and not with the illusions of Herr Grün, the origin of which we have shown already.

Let us now pass to the men of the French Revolution. Cabet greatly embarrasses his bourgeois opponent by numbering Sieyès among the forerunners of communism, by reason of the fact that he recognised equality of rights, and considered that only the state sanctions property (Cabet, pp. 499-502). Herr Grün, who “is fated to find the French mind inadequate and superficial every time that he comes into close contact with it”, cheerfully copies this, and imagines that an old party leader like Cabet is destined to preserve the “humanism” of Herr Grün from “the dust of erudition”. Cabet continues: “Ecoutez le fameux Mirabeau!” (p. 504). Herr Grün says: “Listen to Mirabeau!” (p. 292) and quotes some of the passages stressed by Cabet, in which Mirabeau advocates the equal division of bequeathed property among brothers and sisters. Herr Grün exclaims: “Communism for the family!” (p. 292). On this principle, Herr Grün could go through the whole range of bourgeois institutions, finding in all of them traces of communism, so that taken as a whole they could be said to represent perfect communism. He could christen the *Code Napoléon à Code de la communauté*!  And he could discover communist colonies in the brothels, barracks and prisons.

Let us conclude these tiresome quotations with Condorcet. A comparison of the two books will show the reader very clearly that Herr Grün now omits passages, now merges them, now quotes titles, now suppresses them, leaves out the chronological dates but meticulously follows Cabet’s order, even when Cabet does not proceed strictly in accordance with chronology, and he achieves in the end nothing more than an abridgement of Cabet, poorly and timidly disguised.

**Herr Grün:**

“Condorcet is a radical Girondist. He recognises the injustice of the distribution of property, he absolves the poor from blame ... if the people are somewhat dishonest on principle, the cause lies in the institutions themselves.

**Cabet:**

“Entendez Condorcet soutenir dans sa réponse à l’académie de Berlin” ... (a long passage follows in Cabet, concluding:) “C’est donc uniquement parce que les institutions sont mauvaises que le peuple est si souvent un peu voleur par principe.’

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a “Listen to the famous Mirabeau!”—Ed.

b A reference to Dezamy’s main work, *Code de la Communauté.*—Ed.
"In his journal, Social Education ... he even tolerates large-scale capitalists....

"Condorcet moved that the Legislative Assembly should divide the 100 millions owned by the three princes who emigrated into 100,000 parts .... he organises education and the establishment of public assistance" (cf. the original text).

"Ecoutez-le dans son journal L'instruction sociale ... il tolère même de grands capitalistes." etc.

"Écoutez l'un des chefs Girondins, le philosophe Condorcet, le 6 juillet 1792 à la tribune de l'assemblée législative: 'Décrêtez que les biens des trois princes français (Louis XVIII, Charles X, et le prince de Condé'"—this is omitted by Herr Grün) "soient sur-le-champ mis en vente ... ils montent à près de 100 millions, et vous remplacerez trois princes par cent mille citoyens ... organisez l'instruction et les établissements de secours publics.'

"Mais écoutez le comité d'instruction publique présentant à l'assemblée législative son rapport sur le plan d'éducation rédigé par Condorcet, 20 avril 1792: 'L'éducation publique doit offrir à tous les individus les moyens de pourvoir à leurs besoins ... tel doit être le premier but d'une instruction nationale et sous ce point de vue elle est pour la puissance politique un devoir de justice'; etc. (pp. 502, 503, 505, 509).

By this shameless copying from Cabet, Herr Grün, using the historical method, endeavours to make the French organisers of labour conscious of their essence; he proceeds moreover according to the principle: Divide et impera. He unhesitatingly interpolates among his quotations his definitive verdict on persons whose acquaintance he made a moment ago by reading a passage about

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a "Listen to Condorcet, who maintained in his reply to the Berlin Academy" ... "It is therefore entirely because the institutions are evil that the people are so frequently a little dishonest on principle.'

"Listen to what he has to say in his journal L'instruction sociale ... he even tolerates large-scale capitalists....

"Listen to one of the Girondist leaders, the philosopher Condorcet, from the tribune of the Legislative Assembly, on the 6th July, 1792: 'Decree that the possessions of the three French princes (Louis XVIII, Charles X and the Prince of Condé) be immediately put up for sale ... they amount to almost 100 millions, and you will replace three princes by 100 thousand citizens ... organise education and institutions for public assistance.'

"But listen to the Committee of Public Education, presenting to the Legislative Assembly on the 20th April, 1792 its report on the plan of education drawn up by Condorcet: 'Public education should offer to every individual the means of providing for his needs ... such ought to be the first aim of national education and from this point of view it is a duty which justice demands of the political authorities.'"—Ed.
them; then he inserts a few phrases about the French Revolution and divides the whole into two halves by the use of a few quotations from Morelly. Just at the right moment for Herr Grün Morelly was en vogue in Paris, through the efforts of Villegardellea; and the most important passages from Morelly’s work had been translated in the Paris Vorwärtsb long before Herr Grün came upon the scene. We shall adduce only one or two glaring examples of Herr Grün’s slipshod method of translation.

Morelly:

“L’intérêt rend les cœurs dénaturés et répand l’amertume sur les plus doux liens, qu’il change en de pesantes chaînes que détestent chez nous les époux en se détestant eux-mêmes.”

Herr Grün:

“Self-interest renders the heart unnatural and embitters the dearest ties, transforming them into heavy chains, which our married people detest and they detest themselves into the bargain” (p. 274).

Utter nonsense.

Morelly:

“Notre âme ... contracte une soif si furieuse qu’elle se suffoque pour l’étancher.”

Herr Grün:

“Our soul ... contracts ... so furious a thirst that it suffocates itself in order to quench it” (ibid.).

Again utter nonsense.

Morelly:

“Ceux qui prétendent régler les mœurs et dicter des lois”, etc.c

Herr Grün:

“Those who pretend to control our morals and dictate our laws”, etc. (p. 275).

All three mistakes occur in a single passage of Morelly which takes up fourteen lines in Herr Grün’s book. In his exposition of Morelly there are also numerous plagiarisms from Villegardelle.d

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b In the article “Auszüge aus Morelly’s Code de la Nature”.—Ed.

c “Self-interest perverts the heart and embitters our dearest ties, transforming them into heavy chains, which in our society married couples detest and at the same time detest themselves.”—Ed.

d “Our soul contracts such a terrific thirst that it chokes in quenching it.”—Ed.

e “Those who claim to control our morals and dictate our laws”, etc.—Ed.

f This sentence is omitted in the Westphälische Dampfboot.—Ed.
Herr Grün is able to sum up all his knowledge of the eighteenth century and of the Revolution in the following lines:

"Sensualism, deism and theism together stormed the old world. The old world crumbled. When a new world came to be built, deism was victorious in the Constituent Assembly, theism in the Convention, while pure sensualism was beheaded or silenced" (p. 263).

Here we have the philosophic habit of dismissing history with a few categories proper to ecclesiastical history; Herr Grün reduces it to its basest form, to a mere literary phrase, which serves only to adorn his plagiarisms. *Avis aux philosophes!*

We skip Herr Grün's remarks about communism. His historical notes are copied from Cabet's brochures, and the *Voyage en Icarie* is viewed from the standpoint adopted by true socialism (cf. *Bürgerbuch* and *Rheinische Jahrbücher*). Herr Grün shows his knowledge of French, and at the same time of English, conditions by calling Cabet the "communist O'Connell of France" (p. 382), and then says:

"He would be ready to have me hanged if he had the power and knew what I think and write about him. These agitators are dangerous for men such as us, because their intelligence is limited" (p. 382).

**PROUDHON**

"Herr Stein revealed his intellectual poverty in no uncertain way by treating Proudhon *en bagatelle*" (cf. *Einundzwanzig Bogen*, p. 84). "One needs something more than Hegel's old twaddle to follow this logic incarnate" (p. 411).

A few examples may show that Herr Grün remains true to his nature in this section too.

He translates (on pages 437-44) several excerpts from the economic arguments adduced by Proudhon to prove that property is intolerable and finally exclaims:

"To this critique of property, which is the *complete liquidation* of property, we need add nothing. We have no desire to write a new critique, abolishing in its turn equality of production and the isolation of equal workers. I have already in an earlier passage indicated what is necessary. The rest" (that is, what Herr Grün has not indicated) "we shall see when society is rebuilt, when true property relations are established" (p. 444).

In this way Herr Grün tries to avoid a close investigation of Proudhon's economic arguments and, at the same time, to rise superior to them. Proudhon's whole set of proofs is wrong; however, Herr Grün will realise that, as soon as someone else has proved it.

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*a* A warning to the philosophers!—*Ed.

*b* Karl Grün, "Feuerbach und die Socialisten" and "Politik und Sozialismus".—*Ed.

*c* Moses Hess, "Socialismus und Kommunismus"—*Ed.*
The comments on Proudhon made in *Die heilige Familie*—in particular those stressing that Proudhon criticises political economy from the standpoint of political economy, and law from the legal standpoint—are copied by Herr Grün. But he has understood so little of the problem that he omits the essential point, [namely] that Proudhon vindicates the *illusions* cherished by jurists and economists [as against] their practice; with regard to the foregoing statement he produces a set of nonsensical [phrases].

The most important thing in Proudhon's book *De la création de l'ordre dans l'humanité* is his *dialectique sérielle*, the attempt to establish a method of thought in which the process of thinking is substituted for independent thoughts. Proudhon is looking, from the French standpoint, for a dialectic method such as Hegel has indeed given us. A relationship with Hegel therefore exists here really and does not need to be constructed by means of some imaginative analogy. It would have been an easy matter to offer a criticism of Proudhon's dialectics if the criticism of Hegel's had been mastered. But this was hardly to be expected of the true socialists, since the philosopher Feuerbach himself, to whom they lay claim, did not manage to produce one. Herr Grün makes a highly diverting attempt to shirk his task. At the very moment when he should have brought his heavy German artillery into play, he decamps with an indecent gesture. First of all he fills several pages with translations, and then explains to Proudhon, with boisterous literary *captatio benevolentiae*, that his *dialectique sérielle* is merely an excuse for *showing off his learning*. He does indeed try to console Proudhon by addressing him as follows:

"Ah, my dear friend, make no mistake about being a *man of learning* (or "tutor"). "We have had to forget everything that our school-masters and our university hacks" (with the exception of Stein, Revbaud and Cabet) "have tried to impart to us with such infinite labour and to our mutual disgust" (p. [457]).

As a proof that now Herr Grün no longer absorbs knowledge "with such infinite labour", although perhaps with just as much "disgust", we may note that he begins his socialist studies and letters in Paris on November 6th [and] by the following January 20th has "inevitably" [not] only concluded his *studies* but has also finished the [exposition of] his

"really complete impression of the entire process".

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*See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 31-34.—Ed.*

*Attempt to win good will.—Ed.*
V

"DOCTOR GEORG KUHLMANN OF HOLSTEIN"

OR

THE PROPHECIES OF TRUE SOCIALISM

DIE NEUE WELT ODER DAS REICH DES GEISTES AUF ERDEN.

VERKÜNDIGUNG

"A man was needed" (so runs the preface) "who would give utterance to all our sorrows, all our longings and all our hopes, to everything, in a word, which moves our age most deeply. And in the midst of this stress and turmoil of doubt and of longing he had to emerge from the solitude of the spirit bearing the solution of the riddle, the living symbols of which encompass us all. This man, whom our age was awaiting, has appeared. He is Dr. Georg Kuhlmann of Holstein."

August Becker, the writer of these lines, thus allowed himself to be persuaded, by a person of a very simple mind and very ambiguous character, that not a single riddle has yet been solved, not a single vital energy aroused—that the communist movement, which has already gripped all civilised countries, is an empty nut whose kernel cannot be discovered; that it is a universal egg, laid by some great universal hen without the aid of a cock—whereas the true kernel and the true cock of the walk is Dr. Georg Kuhlmann of Holstein!...

This great universal cock turns out, however, to be a perfectly ordinary capon who has fed for a while on the German artisans in Switzerland and who cannot escape his due fate.

Far be it from us to consider Dr. Kuhlmann of Holstein to be a commonplace charlatan and a cunning fraud, who does not himself believe in the efficacy of his elixir of life and who merely applies his science of longevity to the preservation of life in his own body—no, we are well aware that the inspired doctor is a spiritualistic charlatan, a pious fraud, a mystical old fox, but one who, like all his kind, is none too scrupulous in his choice of means, since his own person is intimately connected with his sacred mission. Indeed, sacred missions are always intimately bound up with the holy beings who

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\* The New World, or The Kingdom of the Spirit upon Earth. Annunciation.—Ed.
pursue them; for such missions are of a purely idealistic nature and exist only in the mind. All idealists, philosophic and religious, ancient and modern, believe in inspirations, in revelations, saviours, miracle-workers; whether their belief takes a crude, religious, or a refined, philosophic, form depends only upon their cultural level, just as the degree of energy which they possess, their character, their social position, etc., determine whether their attitude to a belief in miracles is a passive or an active one, i.e., whether they are shepherds performing miracles or whether they are sheep; they further determine whether the aims they pursue are theoretical or practical.

Kuhlmann is a very energetic person and a man of some philosophic education; his attitude to miracles is by no means a passive one and the aims which he pursues are very practical.

All that August Becker has in common with him is the national infirmity of mind. The good fellow

"pities those who cannot bring themselves to see that the will and the ideas of an age can only be expressed by individuals".

For the idealist, every movement designed to transform the world exists only in the head of some chosen being, and the fate of the world depends on whether this head, which is endowed with all wisdom as its own private property, is or is not mortally wounded by some realistic stone before it has had time to make its revelation.

"Or is this not the case?" adds August Becker defiantly. "Assemble all the philosophers and the theologians of the age, let them take counsel and register their votes, and then see what comes of it all!"

The whole of historical development consists, according to the ideologist, in the theoretical abstractions of that development which have taken shape in the "heads" of all "the philosophers and theologians of the age", and since it is impossible to "assemble" all these "heads" and induce them to "take counsel and register their votes", there must of necessity be one sacred head, the apex of all these philosophical and theological heads, and this top head is the speculative unity of all these block-heads—the saviour.

This "cranium" system is as old as the Egyptian pyramids, with which it has many similarities, and as new as the Prussian monarchy, in the capital of which it has recently been resurrected in a rejuvenated form. The idealistic Dalai Lamas have this much in common with their real counterpart: they would like to persuade themselves that the world from which they derive their subsistence could not continue without their holy excrement. As soon as this idealistic folly is put into practice, its malevolent nature is apparent: its clerical lust for power, its religious fanaticism, its charlatanry, its
pietistic hypocrisy, its unctuous deceit. Miracles are the *asses' bridge* leading from the kingdom of the idea to practice. Dr. Georg Kuhlmann of Holstein is just such an asses' bridge—he is inspired—his magic words cannot fail to move the most stable of mountains. How consoling for those patient creatures who cannot summon up enough energy to blast these *mountains* with *natural powder*! What a source of confidence to the blind and timorous who cannot see the material coherence which underlies the diverse scattered manifestations of the revolutionary movement!

"There has been lacking, up to now, a rallying point," says August Becker.

Saint George overcomes all concrete obstacles with the greatest of ease by transforming all concrete things into ideas; he then pronounces himself the speculative unity of the latter, and this enables him to "rule and regulate them":

"The *society of ideas* is the world. And their unity regulates and rules the world" (p. 138).

Our prophet wields all the power he can possibly desire in this "*society of ideas*".

"Led by our own idea, we will wander, hither and thither, and contemplate everything in the minutest detail, as far as our time requires" (p. 138).

What a speculative unity of nonsense!

But paper is long-suffering, and the German public, to whom the prophet issued his oracular pronouncements, knew so little of the philosophic development in its own country that it did not even notice how, in his speculative oracular pronouncements, the great prophet merely reiterated the most decrepit philosophic phrases and adapted them to his practical aims.

Just as medical miracle-workers and miraculous cures are made possible by ignorance of the laws of the *natural* world, so *social* miracle-workers and miraculous social cures depend upon ignorance of the laws of the *social* world—and the witch-doctor of Holstein is none other than the *socialistic miracle-working shepherd* of Niederempt.

The first revelation which this miracle-working shepherd makes to his flock is as follows:

"I see before me an assembly of the *elect*, who have gone *before me* to work by word and deed for the salvation of our time, and who are now come to hear what *I* have to say concerning the weal and woe of mankind."

"Many have already spoken and written in the name of mankind, but *none* has yet given utterance to the real nature of man's suffering, his hopes and his expectations, nor told him how he may obtain his desires. That is precisely what *I* shall do."
And his flock believes him.

There is not a single original thought in the whole work of this "Holy Spirit"; he reduces out-of-date socialistic theories to abstractions of the most sterile and general kind. There is nothing original even in the form, the style. Others have imitated more happily the sanctified style of the Bible. Kuhlmann has taken Lamennais' manner of writing as his model, but he merely achieves a caricature of Lamennais. We shall give our readers a sample of the beauties of his style:

"Tell me, firstly, how feel ye when ye think of your eternal lot?
"Many indeed mock and say: 'What have I to do with eternity?'
"Others rub their eyes and ask: 'Eternity—what may this be?...'
"How feel ye, when ye think of the hour when the grave shall swallow you up?"
"And I hear many voices." One among them speaks in this wise:
"Of recent years it hath been taught that the spirit is eternal, that in death it is only dissolved once more in God, from whom it proceedeth. But they who preach such things cannot tell me what then remaineth of me. Oh, that I had never seen the light of day! And assuming that I do not die—oh, my parents, my sisters, my brothers, my children, and all whom I love, shall I ever see you again? Oh, had I but never seen you!" etc.

"How feel ye, further, if ye think of infinity?"...

We feel very poorly, Herr Kuhlmann—not at the thought of death, but at your fantastic idea of death, at your style, at the shabby means you employ to work upon the feelings of others.

"How dost feel," dear reader, when you hear a priest who paints hell very hot to terrify his sheep and make their minds very flabby, a priest whose eloquence only aims at stimulating the tear glands of his hearers and who speculates only on the cowardice of his congregation?

As far as the meagre content of the "Annunciation" is concerned, the first section, or the introduction to the Neue Welt, can be reduced to the simple thought that Herr Kuhlmann has come from Holstein to found the "Kingdom of the Spirit", the "Kingdom of Heaven" upon earth; that he was the first to know the real hell and the real heaven—the former being society as it has hitherto existed and the latter being future society, the "Kingdom of the Spirit"—and that he himself is the longed-for holy "spirit"....

None of these great thoughts of Saint George are exactly original and there was really no need for him to have bothered to come all the way from Holstein to Switzerland, nor to have descended from the "solitude of the spirit" to the level of the artisans, nor to have "revealed" himself, merely in order to present this "vision" to the "world".
However, the idea that Dr. Kuhlmann of Holstein is the “longed-for holy spirit” is his own exclusive property—and is likely to remain so.

According to Saint George's own “revelation”, his Holy Scripture will progress in the following way:

"It will reveal" (he says) "the Kingdom of the Spirit in its earthly guise, that ye may behold its glory and see that there is no other salvation but in the Kingdom of the Spirit. On the other hand, it will expose your vale of tears that ye may behold your wretchedness and know the cause of all your sufferings. Then I shall show the way which leads from this sorrowful present to a joyful future. To this end, follow me in the spirit to a height, whence we may have a free prospect over the broad landscape."

And so the prophet permits us first of all a glimpse of his "beautiful landscape", his Kingdom of Heaven. We see nothing but a misunderstanding of Saint-Simonism, wretchedly staged, with costumes that are a travesty of Lamennais, embellished with fragments from Herr Stein.

We shall now quote the most important revelations from the Kingdom of Heaven, which demonstrate the prophetic method. For example, page 37:

"The choice is free and depends on each person's inclinations. Inclinations depend on one's natural faculties."

"If in society," Saint George prophesies, "everyone follows his inclination, all the faculties of society without exception will be developed and if this is so, that which all need will continually be produced, in the realm of the spirit as in the realm of matter. For society always possesses as many faculties and energies as it has needs"... "Les attractions sont proportionnelles aux Destinées" (cf. also Proudhon).

Herr Kuhlmann differs here from the socialists and the communists only by reason of a misunderstanding, the cause of which must be sought in his pursuit of practical aims and undoubtedly also in his narrow-mindedness. He confuses the diversity of faculties and capacities with the inequality of possessions and of enjoyment conditioned by possession, and inveighs therefore against communism.

"No one shall have there" (that is, under communism) "any advantage over another", declaims the prophet, "no one shall have more possessions and live better than another.... And if you cherish doubts about it and fail to join in their vociferation, they will abuse you, condemn you, and persecute you and hang you on a gallows" (p. 100).

Kuhlmann sometimes prophesies quite correctly, one must admit.

"In their ranks then are to be found all those who cry: Away with the Bible! Away, above all, with the Christian religion, for it is the religion of humility and servility! Away with all belief whatsoever! We know nothing of God or immortality! They are

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a The phrase “beautiful landscape” (schöne Gegend) originated from a story about a woman who, trying to console the mother of a soldier killed in the Battle of Leipzig (1813), said: But it was a beautiful landscape.—Ed.

b The attractions correspond to the destinies. See Charles Fourier, Théorie des quatre mouvements et des destinées générales.—Ed.
but figments of the imagination, exploited and continually concocted by deceivers and liars for their advantage" (it should read: which are exploited by the priests for their advantage). "In sooth, he who still believes in such things is the greatest of fools!"

Kuhlmann attacks with particular vehemence those who are on principle opposed to the doctrine of faith, humility and inequality, i.e., the doctrine of "difference of rank and birth". His socialism is based on the abject doctrine of predestined slavery—which, as formulated by Kuhlmann, reminds one strongly of Friedrich Rohmer—on the theocratic hierarchy and, in the last instance, on his own sacred person!

"Every branch of labour," we find on page 42, "is directed by the most skilled worker, who himself takes part in it, and in the realm of enjoyment every branch is guided by the merriest member, who himself participates in the enjoyment. But, as society is undivided and possesses only one mind, the whole system will be regulated and governed by one man—and he shall be the wisest, the most virtuous and the most blissful."

On page 34 we learn:

"If man strives after virtue in the spirit, then he stirs and moves his limbs and develops and moulds and forms everything in and outside himself according to his pleasure. And if he experiences well-being in the spirit, then he must also experience it in everything that lives in him. Therefore, man eats and drinks and takes delight therein: therefore, he sings, plays and dances, he kisses, weeps and laughs."

The knowledge of the influence which the vision of God exerts on the appetite, and which spiritual blissfulness exerts upon the sex impulse is, indeed, not the private property of Kuhlmannism; but it does shed light on many an obscure passage in the prophet.

For example, page 36:

"Both" (possession and enjoyment) "correspond to his labour" (that is, to man's labour). "Labour is the measure of his needs." (In this way, Kuhlmann distorts the proposition that a communist society has, on the whole, always as many faculties and energies as needs.) "For labour is the expression of the ideas and the instincts. And needs are based on them. But, since the faculties and needs of men are always different, and so apportioned that the former can only be developed and the latter satisfied, if each continually labours for all and the product of the labour of all is exchanged and apportioned in accordance with the deserts" (?) "of each—for this reason each receives only the value of his labour."

The whole of this tautological rigmarole would be—like the following sentences and many others which we spare the reader—utterly incomprehensible, despite the "sublime simplicity and clarity" of the "revelation" so praised by A. Becker, if we had not a key in the shape of the practical aims which the prophet is pursuing. This makes everything at once comprehensible.

"Value," continues Herr Kuhlmann like an oracle, "determines itself according to the need of all." (?) "In value the work of each is always contained and for it" (?) "he can procure for himself whatever his heart desires."
“See, my friends,” runs page 39, “the society of true men always regards life as a school ... in which man must educate himself. And thereby it wants to attain bliss. But such” (?) “must become evident and visible” (?), “otherwise it” (?) “is impossible.”

What Herr Georg Kuhlmann of Holstein has in view when he says that “such” (life? or bliss?) must “become evident” and “visible”, because “it” would otherwise be “impossible”—that “labour” is “contained in value” and that one can procure for it (for what?) one’s heart’s desire—and finally, that “value” determines itself according to “need”—all this cannot be understood unless one once again takes into account the crux of the whole revelation, the practical point of it all.

Let us therefore try to offer a practical explanation.

We learn from August Becker that Saint George Kuhlmann of Holstein had no success in his own country. He arrives in Switzerland and finds there an entirely “new world”, the communist societies of the German artisans. That is more to his taste—and he attaches himself without delay to communism and the communists. He always, as August Becker tells us, “worked unremittingly to develop his doctrine further and to make it adequate to the greatness of the times”, i.e., he became a communist among the communists ad majorem Dei gloriam.

So far everything had gone well.

But one of the most vital principles of communism, a principle which distinguishes it from all reactionary socialism, is its empirical view, based on a knowledge of man’s nature, that differences of brain and of intellectual ability do not imply any differences whatsoever in the nature of the stomach and of physical needs; therefore the false tenet, based upon existing circumstances, “to each according to his abilities”, must be changed, insofar as it relates to enjoyment in its narrower sense, into the tenet, “to each according to his need”; in other words, a different form of activity, of labour, does not justify inequality, confers no privileges in respect of possession and enjoyment.

The prophet could not admit this; for the privileges, the advantages of his station, the feeling of being a chosen one, these are the very stimulus of the prophet.

“But such must become evident and visible, otherwise it is impossible.”

Without practical advantages, without some tangible stimulus, the prophet would not be a prophet at all, he would not be a practical, but only a theoretical, man of God, a philosopher. The prophet must, therefore, make the communists understand that different forms of activity or labour give the right to different degrees of value and of bliss (or of enjoyment, merit, pleasure, it is all the same thing), and
since each determines his own bliss and his labour, therefore, he, the prophet—this is the practical point of the revelation—can claim a better life than the common artisan.*

After this, all the prophet's obscure passages become clear: that the "possession" and "enjoyment" of each should correspond to his "labour"; that the "labour" of each man should be the measure of his "needs"; that, therefore, each should receive the "value" of his labour; that "value" will determine itself according to "need"; that the work of each is "contained" in value and that he can procure for it what his "heart" desires; that, finally, the "bliss" of the chosen one must "become evident and visible", because it is otherwise "impossible". All this nonsense has now become intelligible.

We do not know the exact extent of the practical demands which Dr. Kuhlmann really makes upon the artisans. But we do know that his doctrine is a dogma fundamental to all spiritual and temporal craving for power, a mystic veil which is used to conceal all hypocritical pleasure-seeking; it serves to extenuate any infamy and is the source of many incongruous actions.

We must not omit to show the reader the way which, according to Herr Kuhlmann of Holstein, "leads from this sorrowful present to a joyful future". This way is lovely and delightful as spring in a flowery meadow or as a flowery meadow in spring.

"Softly and gently, with sun-warmed fingers, it puts forth buds, the buds become flowers, the lark and the nightingale warble, the grasshopper in the grass is roused. Let the new world come like the spring" (p. 114 et seq.).

The prophet paints the transition from present social isolation to communal life in truly idyllic colours. Just as he has transformed real society into a "society of ideas", so that "led by his own idea he should be able to wander hither and thither, and contemplate everything in the minutest detail, as far as his time requires", so he transforms the real social movement which, in all civilised countries, already proclaims the approach of a terrible social upheaval into a process of comfortable and peaceful conversion, into a still life which will permit the owners and rulers of the world to slumber peacefully. For the idealist, the theoretical abstractions of real events, their ideal signs, are reality; real events are merely "signs that the old world is going to its doom".

"Wherefore do ye strive so anxiously for the things of the moment," scolds the prophet on page 118, "they are nothing more than signs that the old world is going to

* The prophet has moreover openly stated this in a lecture which has not been printed.
its doom; and wherefore do ye dissipate your strength in strivings which cannot fulfil your hopes and expectations?"

"Ye shall not tear down nor destroy that which ye find in your path, ye shall rather shun it and abandon it. And when ye have shunned it and abandoned it, then it shall cease to exist of itself, for it shall find no other nourishment."

"If ye seek truth and spread light abroad, then lying and darkness will vanish from your midst" (p. 116).

"But there will be many who will say: 'How shall we build a new life as long as the old order prevails and hinders us? Must it not first be destroyed?' 'By no means,' answers the wisest, the most virtuous and the most blissful man. 'By no means. If ye dwell with others in a house that has become rotten and is too small and uncomfortable for you, and the others wish to remain in it, then ye shall not pull it down and dwell in the open, but ye shall first build a new house, and when it is ready ye shall enter it and abandon the old to its fate'" (p. 120).

The prophet now gives two pages of rules as to how one can insinuate oneself into the new world. Then he becomes aggressive:

"But it is not enough that ye should stand together and forsake the old world—ye shall also take up arms against it to make war upon it and to extend your kingdom and strengthen it. Not by the use of force, however, but rather by the use of free persuasion."

But if nevertheless it comes about that one has to take up a real sword and hazard one's real life "to conquer heaven by force", the prophet promises his sacred host a Russian immortality (the Russians believe that they will rise again in their respective localities if they are killed in battle by the enemy):

"And they who shall fall by the wayside shall be born anew and shall rise more beauteous than they were before. Therefore" (therefore) "take no thought for your life and fear not death" (p. 129).

Even in a conflict with real weapons, says the prophet reassuringly to his sacred host, you do not really risk your life; you merely pretend to risk it.

The prophet's doctrine is in every sense sedative. After these samples of his Holy Scripture one cannot wonder at the applause it has met with among certain easy-going slowcoaches.
Since the above descriptions of the true socialists were written, several months have elapsed. During this period true socialism, which so far had sprung up only sporadically here and there, has experienced a spectacular upsurge. It has found representatives in all parts of the Fatherland, it has even attained a certain significance as a literary party. Furthermore, it is already divided into several groups which, although firmly linked by the common bond of German sincerity and scientific spirit, and by common efforts and aims, are nevertheless definitely separated from one another by the particular individuality of each of them. In this way the “chaotic mass of light”—as Herr Grün beautifully phrases it—of true socialism has in the course of time passed into a state of “orderly brightness”; it has become concentrated into stars and constellations in whose mild and calm radiance the German burgher can light-heartedly ponder over his plans for honest acquisition of a small property and his hopes for the elevation of the lower classes of the nation.

We must not leave true socialism without at least taking a closer look at the most developed of these groups. We shall see how each of them at first appears hazily in the Milky Way of universal love of mankind, later, as a result of the occurrence of acid fermentation, the “true enthusiasm for mankind” (as Herr Dr. Lüning, who is certainly a competent authority, expresses it), constitutes itself as a distinct flake and separates from the bourgeois-liberal whey; we shall see how it figures for a period as a nebula in the socialist heavens, and how the nebula increases in size and brightness and finally, like a sky-rocket, divides into a sparkling group of stars and constellations.

The oldest group, the earliest to develop independently, is that of Westphalian socialism. Thanks to the extremely important scuffles between this group and the royal Prussian police, and thanks to the
zeal for publicity shown by these Westphalian men of progress, the German public has had the advantage of being able to read the whole history of this group in the Kölnische, the Trier'sche and other newspapers. Here, therefore, we need only mention what is most essential.

Westphalian socialism originated in the area of Bielefeld, in the Teutoburg Woods. The newspapers at the time contained mysterious allusions to the mystical nature of its earliest period. But it quickly passed through the stage of a nebula; with the first issue of the Westphälische Dampfboot it opened out and disclosed to the astonished eye a host of sparkling stars. We find ourselves north of the equator and, as an old couplet says:

In the North you can see the Ram and the Bull,
The Twins, Crab, Lion, and the Virgin as well.

At a very early date the "good press" asserted the existence of the "Virgins"; the "Lion" was the very same Arminius the Cheruscan, who shortly after the Westphalian nebula had opened out left his dear friends and now as a tribune of the people shakes his blond mane from America. In a short while he was followed by the Crab "on account of an unpleasant exchange business", whereby Westphalian socialism became a widow, but it nevertheless carries on. Of the Twins, one also went to America, in order to found a colony; while he disappeared there, the other twin discovered "the national economy in its future form" (cf. Lüning, Dies Buch gehört dem Volke, II. Jahrg.). All these figures, however, are comparatively unimportant. The main weight of the group is concentrated in the Ram and the Bull, those genuinely Westphalian stars, under whose protection the Westphälische Dampfboot safely cleaves the waves.

The Westphälische Dampfboot adhered for a long time to the mode simple of true socialism. "Not an hour of the night passed" in which it did not shed bitter tears over the misery of suffering humanity. It preached the gospel of man—of the true man, of the true real man, of the true, real corporeal man—with all its strength, but this, of course, was not particularly great. It had a soft nature and liked milky rice-pudding more than Spanish pepper. Hence its criticisms were of a very gentle nature and it preferred to side with equally

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a Westphalian Steamboat.—Ed.
b The term is used in an order in council which was issued by Frederick William IV on October 14, 1842.—Ed.
c An allusion to J. Meyer's article "Die Volkswirtschaftslehre in heutiger und zukünftiger Gestaltung".—Ed.
d A line from the German folk-song "Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär".—Ed.
merciful and loving reviewers rather than with the heartless, cold severity of judgment that was now coming to the fore. But since it had a big heart and little courage even the unfeeling Heilige Familie found favour in its eyes. It reported with the greatest conscientiousness the various phases of the Bielefeld, Münster, etc., local associations for elevating the working classes. The greatest attention was devoted to the important happenings in the Bielefeld Museum. And in order that the Westphalian townsman and villager should know how matters stood, at the end of each issue, in the monthly review of “World Events”, praise was bestowed on the same liberals who had been attacked in the other articles of that issue. Incidentally, the Westphalian townsman and villager were also told that Queen Victoria gave birth to a child, that the plague raged in Egypt and that the Russians had lost a battle in the Caucasus.

It is clear that the Westphälische Dampfboot was a periodical which fully deserved the thanks of all well-meaning persons and the overflowing praise of Herr Fr. Schnake in the Gesellschaftsspiegel. With smiling satisfaction the Bull performed his editing on the marshy meadow of true socialism. Although the censor at times cut into his flesh, he never had need to sigh: “that was the best passage”; the Westphalian bull was a draught animal and not a bull kept for breeding. Even the Rheinische Beobachter has never dared to reproach either the Westphälische Dampfboot in general, or Dr. Otto Lünig in particular, with offending against morality. In short, one can assume that the Dampfboot, which since the Weser was forbidden to it floats only on the mythical river Eridanus transposed among the stars (for no other water flows at Bielefeld), that the Dampfboot has attained the highest degree of human perfection.

But in all its efforts so far the Dampfboot had only developed the simplest phase of true socialism. Towards the summer of 1846 it left the sign of the Bull and approached that of the Ram, or rather, to put it more correctly historically, the Ram approached it. The Ram was a much-travelled man and fully at the height of his time. He explained to the Bull how things now stood in the world, that “real relations” were now the main thing and that, therefore, a new turn had to be made. The Bull was in complete agreement with him and from that moment the Westphälische Dampfboot has offered a still more elevating spectacle: the mode composé of true socialism.

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b Friedrich Schnake, Das Westphälische Dampfboot.—Ed.
c An allusion to the suppression of the journal Weser-Dampfboot.—Ed.
The "Ram and the Bull" thought that there could be no better way of carrying out this graceful turn than by printing our criticism of the New York Volks-Tribun, which we had sent to the newspaper in manuscript and which had been accepted by it. The Dampfboot, which now did not shrink from attacking its own Lion, who was far off in America (the mode composé of true socialism shows far more audacity than the mode simple), was moreover cunning enough to attach the following philanthropic remark to the above-mentioned criticism:

"If anyone cares to see in the above article a self-criticism (?! "of the Dampfboot, we have nothing against it."

Thereby the mode composé of true socialism is adequately introduced and it now goes forward at full gallop on the new course. The Ram, a bellicose creature by nature, cannot rest content with the previous good-natured kind of criticism; the new bell-wether of the Westphalian flock of lambs is seized with the lust of battle and, before his more timid comrades can prevent him, he sets off with lowered horns against Dr. Georg Schirges in Hamburg. Earlier, the helmsmen of the Dampfboot did not look upon Dr. Schirges with such disfavour, but things have become different now. Poor Dr. Schirges represents the mode simplicissimus of true socialism, and the mode composé does not forgive him this simplicity, which quite recently it still shared with him. In the September 1846 issue of the Dampfboot, pp. 409-14, the Ram therefore drives the most merciless breaches in the walls of his Werkstatt. Let us enjoy the spectacle for a moment.

Some true socialists and soi-disant communists have translated Fourier's brilliant satires on the conditions of life of the bourgeoisie, insofar as they are acquainted with them, into the language of German bourgeois morality. In this connection they discovered the theory of the misfortune of the rich, already known to the men of the Enlightenment and fable-writers of the last century, and thus obtained material for the most inexhaustible moral tirades. Dr. Georg Schirges, who is not yet sufficiently deeply initiated into the mysteries of the true doctrine, is by no means of the opinion that "the rich are just as unhappy as the poor". For this reason, the Westphalian bell-wether deals him an indignant blow such as is deserved by a man whom "winning a lottery ... could make the happiest and most satisfied man in the world".

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a Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, “Circular against Kriege” (see present edition, Vol. 6).—Ed.

b Joseph Weydemeyer, “Die Werkstatt; redigirt von Georg Schirges”.—Ed.
"Yes," cries our stoic Ram, "despite Herr Schirges, it is true that possessions are not enough to make people happy, and that a very large section of the rich ... are anything but happy." (You are right, honest Ram, health is a treasure which no amount of gold can outweigh.) "Even though he does not have to suffer hunger and cold, there are other evils" (for instance, venereal diseases, persistent rainy weather, and in Germany sometimes pricks of conscience as well), "whose pressure he cannot escape." (Especially, there is no cure for death.) "A glance at the inner life of most families ... it is all foul and rotten.... The husband is wholly absorbed in stock exchange and business deals" (beatus ille qui procul negotiis—it is astounding that the poor fellow has enough time left over to produce a few children) ... "degraded into a slave of money" (the poor fellow!), "the wife fashioned into an empty" (except when she is pregnant) "shallow drawing-room lady, or brought up to be a good housewife who has no interest in anything except cooking, washing and looking after children" (is the Ram still speaking of the "rich"?) "and at most a few gossiping parties" (we are, one sees, still on exclusively German soil, where the "good housewife" has the best opportunity to devote herself to what "she has interest in"; grounds enough to be thoroughly "unhappy"); "the two are moreover often in a state of incessant war against each other ... even the bond between parents and children is often broken by social conditions", etc., etc.

Our author has forgotten the worst suffering. Any "rich" German head of a family could tell him that in the course of time matrimonial discord may become a need, that unsuccessful children can be sent to Batavia and forgotten, but that thieving and disobedient servants are an intolerable and, in the circumstances of the increasing demoralisation of the common man and woman, nowadays an almost inevitable "evil".

If Messieurs Rothschild, Fulchiron and Decazes in Paris, Samuel Jones Lloyd, Baring and Lord Westminster in London, were to read this description of the woes of the "rich", how they would sympathise with the good Westphalian Ram.

"However, if one proves" (as was done earlier) "that the pressure of our conditions" (namely the atmospheric pressure of 15 lbs per square inch) "weighs also on the rich, if not quite so strongly as on the poor, one obtains as a result—which follows from the description of our conditions and circumstances in general—the enlightenment of everyone who seeks to become acquainted with it." (It almost seems that from the mode composé of true socialism still less "results" than from the mode simple.) "From the dissatisfaction of the rich, of course, no revolution in favour of the proletarians will arise, that requires more powerful mainsprings" (namely writers' pens): "moreover, it is not accomplished with the words: 'Be embraced, ye millions, this kiss to the whole world'5; but it is just as little use to torment oneself with patchwork and palliatives" (such as attempts at reconciliation in the above unhappy household) "and to forget entirely the big thing, the real reforms" (apparently a divorce).

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a Happy is he who is far removed from business affairs. Horace, Epodes, II, I.—Ed.
b A pun in the original: Triebfeder—mainspring, motive; Schreibfeder—pen.—Ed.
c From Schiller's poem "An die Freude".—Ed.
The combination of the above “of course” with the following “moreover” and “but ... just as little” affords “of course” a lamentable example of the confusion which the transition from simple to complex true socialism brings about in the mind of a Westphalian; “moreover” our sorrow will not be lessened when we read on the next page (p. 413) that “in the politically developed countries ... there exists a state of things without any limitation”, “but just as little” does it testify to the historical knowledge of Westphalian socialism that according to the same page “egoism ... in the most brilliant period of the Revolution, in the period of the Convention, was not seldom even punished”—probably by flogging. However, “we have no grounds for expecting anything better from the further activity of ‘our Ram’, and will, therefore, not so soon return to it”.

Let us rather take a look at the Bull. He has meanwhile been occupied with “world events”, and on page 421 (September 1846) he raises “solely questions which have to be raised” and plunges headlong into the sort of politics that M. Guizot, following the Charivari, has given the nickname of “great” politics. Here, too, the progress compared to the earlier period of simple socialism is obvious. Below are a few examples.

The rumour has reached Westphalia that the Prussian Government, owing to the financial difficulties in which it finds itself, could very easily be compelled to grant a constitution. At the same time the newspapers report that financial difficulties prevail on the Berlin stock exchange. Our Westphalian draught bull, who is not very strong in political economy, identifies tout bonnement the financial difficulties of the Berlin Government with the quite different financial difficulties of the Berlin commerçants and elaborates the following profound hypothesis:

“... perhaps already this year the provincial estates will be called together as estates of the realm. For the financial difficulties remain the same, the bank seems unable to find a remedy for them. Indeed, even the railway construction work that has been begun and is being planned could be seriously endangered by the scarcity of money, in which case the state could easily” (o sancta simplicitas!) “be induced to take over certain lines” (extremely clever), “which again is not possible without a loan.”

The last is quite true. In homely Westphalia people really believe that they still live under a paternal government. Even our extreme socialist of the mode composée believes the Prussian Government to be naive enough to grant a constitution merely in order to get rid of the difficulties of the Berlin Stock Exchange by means of a foreign loan. Happy blind faith!
The sharp nose of our Westphalian draught bull is revealed at its sharpest, however, in his remarks on foreign policy. A few months ago the *mode composée* of true socialism got scent of the following new Parisian and London mysteries, which we report for the amusement of the reader:

**September issue:**

France.—“The Ministry has emerged victoriously from the elections, nothing else was to be expected” (when has a Westphalian ever expected something “else” than what “was to be expected”?). “Although it may have put into operation all the levers of corruption, although it may have ... Henri’s attempt, enough—the old opposition (Thiers, Barrot) suffered a serious defeat. But M. Guizot, too, will no longer be able to count on such a compact and conservative party, voting for the Ministry *quand même*; for the conservative party too has split into two sections, into the *conservateurs bornés* with their periodicals *Débats* and *Epoque*, and the *conservateurs progressifs* with the *Presse* as their organ.” (The Bull forgets only that it was M. Guizot himself, in his speech to his electors in Lisieux, who was the first to exploit the phrase “progressive conservatism”.) “In general” (here begins again the peculiar incoherence that was already noticed above in the Ram, “as was to be expected”), “the abstract-political party questions, which only turned on whether Thiers or Guizot should be the Minister” (in Westphalia that is called “abstract-political party questions” and people there still believe that in France up to now they have “turned on that”), “will surely to some extent be pushed into the background. The political economists Blanqui ... have been elected to the Chamber and with them surely” (for the enlightenment of the Westphalians) “questions of political economy also will come under discussion there” (what an idea people in Westphalia must have of the “questions” that have so far “come under discussion there”!). (Pp. 426, 427.)

Question: Why does the English aristocracy insist on flogging for soldiers? Answer:

“If flogging were abolished, a different recruiting system would have to be organised, and *if one has better soldiers, then one needs also better officers*” (!!), “who owe their position to merit and not to purchase or favour. For this reason the aristocracy is against the ‘abolition of flogging’, because it would thereby lose one more bulwark, provision for its ‘younger sons’. The middle class, however, follows up its advantage step by step and it will achieve victory here as well.”

(What a myth! The campaigns of the British in India, Afghanistan, etc., prove that at the present time they do not “need better officers”, and the English middle class desires neither better officers nor better soldiers, nor a different recruiting system, nor is it much concerned about the abolition of flogging. But for some time past the *Dampfboot* has noticed nothing in England except the struggle between the middle class and the aristocracy.) (P. 428.)

**October issue:**

France.—“M. Thiers has lost the *Constitutionnel*, his organ for many years; the newspaper has been bought by a conservative deputy and is now slowly and

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a François Guizot, [*Discours au Lisieux le 17 Juillet 1846*].—*Ed.*
imperceptibly" (indeed "perceptibly" only for the *mode composé* of true socialism) "being brought into the conservative camp. M. Thiers, who earlier already threatened that if things were made too uncomfortable for him he would take up his old pen again in the *National*, is now said to have actually bought the *National*."

(Unfortunately, the "*National of 1830*" was a constitutional and Orleanist *National*, quite different from the republican "*National of 1834*", which M. Thiers is "said to have actually bought" anno 1846. Incidentally, the *Dampfboot* has been the victim of an irresponsible piece of trickery. Some unscrupulous miscreant and enemy of the good cause has passed several issues of the *Corsaire-Satan* on to the editor, and now the *Dampfboot* prints *bona fide* as oracular truth the current rumours that figure in this paper, which is by no means sufficiently moral for Westphalian readers. How indeed could the *Dampfboot* doubt that the *Corsaire-Satan* has at least as much moral standing and consciousness of the lofty vocation of the press as it itself?)

"Whether M. Thiers by this step has gone over to the republicans remains to be seen."

Honest Cheruscan, this "whether" you do not owe to the *Corsaire*: *cela sent la forêt teutobourgienne d'une lieuelt*. On the other hand, however, he allows himself to be induced by the *Corsaire*, which is backing free trade, to attribute to the agitation for *libre échange* in France a success and an importance which it is far from possessing.

"Our predictions that all industrial countries must go the same way and reach the same goal as England ... seem, therefore, to be not so very incorrect, since they are now coming true. And we 'unpractical theoreticians' seem, therefore, to know the *real conditions*" (hurray!) "just as well as, and to judge them better than, the 'practical men' who so much like to boast about their experience and their knowledge of practical conditions."

Hapless Teutoburgian "theoreticians"! You do not even "know" the "real conditions" of the *Corsaire-Satan*! (These beautiful things occur on page 479.)

*November issue:*

France.—"Scientists are racking their brains in vain over the question of where the frequently recurring floods originate. Some time ago, *by a decree of the Academy*, the rustling forests on the mountains were cut down as being *the cause of the evil*; later they were replanted, and the evil remained as before" (p. 522).

"In vain" would "scientists rack their brains" as to where the greatest nonsense lies: 1) does the Westphalian believe that the Academy in France can issue decrees and have forests cut down; 2) does he believe that the forests are cut down not for the timber and

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a That smells of the Teutoburg Woods a mile off!—*Ed.*
the money from its sale, but on account of the floods; 3) does he believe that the scientists rack their brains over the cause of these floods; 4) does he believe that the forests were at any time regarded as the cause of the floods when every child in France knows that it is precisely the destruction of the forests that is the cause; and 5) does he believe that the forests are replanted, while nowhere is so much complaint made as in France over neglect of forests and ever more extensive deforestation without regard for reforestation (cf., besides specialised journals, Réforme, National, Démocratie pacifique and other papers of the opposition for October and November 1846). The Westphalian Bull is unlucky in every respect. If he follows the Corsaire-Satan he gets in a tangle; if he follows his own genius he gets just as much in a tangle.

True socialism raised to the second power has, as we have seen, performed great feats in the sphere of higher politics. What perspicacity, what conjectures compared with the earlier reports on “World Events”! What thorough knowledge of “real conditions”! For the Dampßboot, however, the most important “real condition” is the position of the royal Prussian officers. Lieutenant Anneke, who for some time past has been unavoidable in the German periodical press, the important discussion in the Bielefeld Museum about carrying daggers, and the resulting Court of Honour proceedings, etc., form the main content of the October and November issues. We are also given interesting information about the Deutsche Zeitung which did not come into existence, the French kingdom of beggars that perished in the seventeenth century, and was described by Monteil, and other equally “real” conditions. In between there appears from time to time a multiplication sign, which still completely represents the mode simple of true socialism and piles up all its slogans with the greatest ingenuousness: German theory and French practice should unite, communism should be put into effect in order that humanism might be put into effect (pp. 455-58), etc. From time to time similar reminders of the past escape from the Ram or even from the Bull himself, without however in the least disturbing the divine harmony of the “real conditions”.

Let us now forsake the main body of the Westphalian army in order to follow the manoeuvres of a detached corps which has entrenched itself in the blessed Wupper Valley under the skirts of a

a Amans Alexis Monteil, Histoire des Français des divers états ... (extracts from this work were given in the article “Die Französische Bettler-Monarchie des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts” published in the Westphälische Dampßboot).—Ed.

b The reference is to the article “Humanismus-Kommunismus” marked by a multiplication sign (X).—Ed.
massive Nemesis. For a fairly long time a certain Herr Fr. Schnake in the role of Perseus has held up before the public the Gorgon shield of the Gesellschaftsspiegel, and indeed so successfully that not only the public has gone to sleep over the Gesellschaftsspiegel, but the latter has gone to sleep over the public. Our Perseus, however, is a joker. After attaining this enviable result, he notifies (last issue, last page): 1) that the Gesellschaftsspiegel has passed away; 2) that, to avoid delay, it is best in future to order it through the post. Whereupon, after correcting its last misprints, it makes its exit.

One can see already from this regard for the “real conditions” that here too we have to do with the mode composé of true socialism. There is, however, an important difference between the Ram and Bull and our Perseus. One must record that the Ram and Bull remain as faithful as possible to the “real conditions”, namely, those of Westphalia and Germany in general. Proof of it is the above-given lamentable display of the Ram. Proof of it is the Bull’s good-natured descriptions from German political life, which we have had to omit. In going over to their new standpoint, what they have especially taken with them from the mode simple is simple, unvarnished philistinism, German reality; the vindication of man, and of German theory, etc., is left to all kinds of multiplication signs and other subordinate stars. With the Gesellschaftsspiegel it is just the opposite. Here the army leader Perseus divests himself as much as possible of petty-bourgeois reality, the exploitation of which he leaves to his retinue and, true to the myth, raises himself high into the air of German theory. He is the more able to show a certain disdain for “real conditions” because he has a much more definite standpoint. If the directly Westphalian stars represent the mode composé, then Perseus is tout ce qu’il y a de plus composé en Allemagne. In his most daring ideological flights he nevertheless takes his stand always on the “material basis” and this secure foundation gives him an audacity in the struggle which Messrs. Gutzkow, Steinmann, Opitz and other important characters will remember for years to come. The “material basis” of our Perseus, however, consists mainly in the following:

1. “It is only with the abolition of the material basis of our society, private gain, that man will become different” (No. X, p. 53).
If the *mode simple*, which so often uttered this ancient thought, had known only that private gain was the material basis of our society, it would have been the *mode composé*, and under the auspices of our Perseus it could have continued to lead a tranquil and humble existence in all godliness and honour. But thus it had itself no material basis, and it came to pass as was written by the prophet Goethe:

> The noble who has no bottom—
> What will he sit upon?

How “material” this basis, private gain, is can be seen, *inter alia*, from the following passages:

> “Egoism, private gain” (which are, therefore, identical, and hence “egoism” is also a “material basis”), “disorganises the world by the principle: Each for himself,” etc. (p. 53).

Hence it is a “material basis” which “disorganises”, not by means of “material” facts, but ideal “principles”. Poverty, as is known (for anyone to whom it is not yet known, Perseus himself expounds it in the above-mentioned place), is also an aspect of “our society”. We learn, however, that not the “material basis, private gain”, but *au contraire*

> “the transcendent has plunged mankind into poverty” (p. 54—all three quotations are from a single article).

May “the transcendent” most speedily free the unlucky Perseus “from the poverty in which” the “material basis” has “plunged” him!

2. “The real mass is set into motion, not by an idea, but by ‘well-understood interest’... In the social revolution ... the egoism of the conservative party will be confronted by the nobler egoism of the people in need of salvation”!! (a people “in need of salvation” making a revolution!) ... “the people fights indeed for its ‘well-understood interest’ against the exclusive, brutal interest of private persons, being supported and sustained by a moral force and restless zeal” (No. XII, p. 86).

The “well-understood interest” of our Perseus “in need of salvation”, who is undoubtedly “supported and sustained by a moral force and restless zeal”, consists in “confronting” the “egoism of the conservative party” with the “nobler egoism” of silence, for he does not “set even a single idea into motion” without at the same time compromising the *mode composé* of true socialism.

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*550 Frederick Engels

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[a] The last lines from Goethe's epigram “Totalität”. — *Ed.*

[b] Here and below Engels quotes from the following articles by Friedrich Schnake: “Ein neuer kritischer Evangelist” and “Herr Fr. Steinmann über den Pauperismus und Communismus”. Both articles were published in No. XII of the Gesellschaftsspiegel.—*Ed.*
3. "Poverty is a consequence of property, which is private property and exclusive in its nature!!" (XII, 79).

4. "Which associations are meant here, cannot be determined; if, however, the author means the egoistic associations of capitalists, then he has forgotten the important associations of manual workers against the arbitrary power of the employers"!! (XII, 80).

Perseus is more fortunate. What kind of nonsense he wanted to compose "cannot be determined", but if he "meant" the merely stylistic kind, then he has by no means "forgotten" the equally "important" logical nonsense. In connection with the associations, we mention further that on page 84 we are given information about "associations in the proper sense, which raise the consciousness of the proletarian and develop energetic" (!) "proletarian" (!) "total" (!!!) "opposition to the existing conditions".

We have already spoken above,¹ in connection with Herr Grün, about the habit of the true socialists of assimilating theories which they have not understood by means of learning by heart isolated phrases and slogans. The mode composé differs from the mode simple only by the quantity of such indigested mouthfuls, procured by devious means and therefore the more hastily swallowed, and by the terrible stomach-ache caused it thereby. We have seen how "real relations", "questions of political economy", etc., crop up among the Westphalians at every word, and how the intrepid Perseus labours on the "material basis", the "well-understood interest" and the "proletarian opposition". In addition, this latter knight of the mirror makes any use he pleases of the "feudalism of money", which he would have done better to leave to its originator, Fourier. He has so little understood the meaning of this catchword that in No. XII, page 79, he asserts that "in lieu of the feudal aristocracy a propertied aristocracy is created" by this feudalism; according to this 1) the "feudalism of money", i.e., the "propertied aristocracy", "creates" itself and 2) the "feudal aristocracy" has not been a "propertied aristocracy". Next he voices the opinion, page 79, that the "feudalism of money" (i.e., of the bankers, which has the smaller capitalists and industrialists as vassals, if one wants to keep to the metaphor) and that "of industry" (which has the proletarians as vassals) are "only one."

Freely linked to the "material basis" is also the following pious wish of the knight of the mirror, a wish which reminds one of the joyful hope of the Westphalians that for their, the Teutoburgians',

¹ Frederick Engels, German Socialism in Verse and Prose, Essay 2 (see present edition, Vol. 6).—Ed.

² A reference to the journal Gesellschaftsspiegel (Mirror of Society).—Ed.
edification the French Chamber of Deputies would read a course of lectures on political economy:

“But we have to point out that in the issues of the (New York) Volks-Tribun sent us we have so far learned almost nothing at all ... about the trade and industry of America.... Lack of instructive information on the industrial and economic conditions of America, from which, after all” (indeed?), “social reform always proceeds”, etc. (X, p. 56). a

The Volks-Tribun, a newspaper that seeks to carry on popular propaganda in America, is therefore blamed, not because it sets about its job wrongly, but because it omits to give the Gesellschaftsspiegel “instructive information” on things with which, in the manner demanded here at any rate, it has nothing whatever to do. Ever since Perseus caught hold of the “material basis”, which he does not know what to make of, he demands that everyone should give him information about it.

In addition, Perseus also tells us that competition is ruining the small middle class, and that

“because of the heavy cloth luxury in the style of dress ... is very burdensome” (XII, p. 83—Perseus probably believes that a satin dress weighs as much as a suit of armour), and more of the like.

And in order that the reader may be in no doubt about the “material basis” of the ideas of our Perseus, it is said in No. X, page 53:

“Herr Gutzkow would do well to acquaint himself first of all with the German science of society so that recollections of the despised French communism, Babeuf, Cabet ... do not get in his way”,

and page 52:

“German communism wants to bring about a society in which labour and enjoyment are identical and no longer separated from each other by an external remuneration.”

We have seen above what both the “German science of society” and the society which is to be “brought about” consist of, and we have not found ourselves in exactly the best society.

As far as the comrades of the knight of the mirror are concerned, they “bring about” an extremely boring “society”. For a while they intended to play the part of providence for the German townsman and villager. Without the knowledge and will of the Gesellschaftsspiegel no tiler fell off a roof or a small child into the water. Luckily for the Dorfzeitung,151 for which this competition began to be dangerous, the mirror fraternity soon gave up this wearisome activity: one after another they went to sleep from sheer exhaustion. In vain were all methods tried to rouse them, to inject

a A note by Friedrich Schnake about the newspaper Volks-Tribun.—Ed.
new life-blood into the journal; the petrifying influence of the Gorgon shield affected also the contributors: at the end our Perseus stood there alone with his shield and his "material basis"—"the only sensitive breast among the corpses", the impossible waist-line of the massive Nemesis collapsed in ruins, and the Gesellschaftsspiegel ceased to exist.

Peace to its ashes! Meanwhile let us wheel round and look for another bright constellation in a neighbouring region of the Northern hemisphere. Shining towards us with gleaming tail is Ursa Major, the Great Bear, or ursine Major Püttmann, also called the seven-star constellation, because he always appears with six others in order to achieve the required twenty printed sheets. A valiant warrior! Bored with his four-footed position on the celestial map, he has at last stood up on his hind legs, he has armed himself as it is written: don then the uniform of character and the sash of conviction; fasten on your shoulders the epaulettes of bombast and put on the three-cornered hat of enthusiasm, and adorn your manly breast with the cross of the order of self-sacrifice, third class; gird yourself with the venomous spear of hatred of despotism and have your feet shod to carry on propaganda with the smallest possible costs of production. Thus equipped our Major steps in front of his battalion, draws his sword and gives the command: Attention!—and delivers the following speech:

Soldiers! From the height of yonder publishing-house window forty louis d'or look down upon you. Look around you, heroic defenders of "total reform of society", do you see the sun? There rises the sun of Austerlitz, which presages our victory, soldiers!

"The consciousness of fighting only for the poor and rejected, for the betrayed and the desperate, gives us the courage, the fearlessness, to hold out right to the end. We do not defend half-measures, we do not want something vague" (but rather something totally confused); "hence we are resolute and, despite everything, remain forever true to the people, to the oppressed people!" (Rheinische Jahrbücher, Vol. II, Preface).

Shoulder arms!—Attention!—Present arms!—Long live the new social order, which we have amended according to Babeuf in 14 chapters and 63 clauses of field regulations!

"Ultimately, of course, it does not matter whether things will be as we have stated, but they will be different from what the enemy imagines, different from what they

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a A paraphrase of a line from Schiller's poem "Der Taucher".—Ed.

b Cf. Ephesians 6:11, 14, 15.—Ed.

c An ironical paraphrase of a passage from Napoleon-Bonaparte's speech to the army on July 21, 1798 before the Battle of the Pyramids: "Soldiers, from the summit of these pyramids, forty centuries look down upon you!"—Ed.

d Napoleon I's words before the Battle of Austerlitz.—Ed.
have been hitherto! All despicable institutions, which have been produced by dirty work in the course of centuries for the ruin of the nations and people, will perish!"

(Rheinische Jahrbücher, II, p. 240).\(^a\)

Damn it all! Attention!—Slope arms! Left turn! Order arms! Stand at ease! Forward march!—But the bear is by nature a true German animal. After evoking by this speech a general rousing hurrah, and so accomplishing one of the most valorous deeds of our century, he sits down at home and gives free rein to his soft, loving heart in a long, touching elegy on "hypocrisy"\(^b\) (Rheinische Jahrbücher, II, pp. 129-49). In our time, which is internally decayed and corroded body and soul by the worm of self-seeking, there are—unfortunately!—individuals who have no warm, beating heart in their breasts, whose eyes have never been filled with a sympathetic tear, through whose empty skulls no blinding flash of enthusiasm for mankind has ever passed. Reader, if you find such a one let him read the elegy on "hypocrisy" by the Great Bear, and he will weep, weep, weep! Here he will see how poor, wretched and naked he is, for whether he be theologian, lawyer, physician, statesman, merchant, broom-maker or box-keeper, here he will find exposed the particular hypocrisy characteristic of each social group. He will see here how hypocrisy has ensconced itself everywhere and especially "what a grievous curse that of the lawyers" is. If this does not make him repent and mend his ways, he is not worthy to have been born in the century of the Great Bear. In fact, one must be an honest, and as the English say "unsophisticated", bear in order to scent out the hypocrisy of the wicked world everywhere. The Great Bear encounters hypocrisy wherever he turns. It happens to him as to his predecessor in "Lilis Park":

Ha! At the corner when I stay,
And from afar I hear their chatter,
And see the flitter and the flutter,
I turn around
With a growling sound
And then run off a little way,
And then look round
With a growling sound,
And then run back a little way,
But then I finally turn round.

Of course, for how is it possible to escape from hypocrisy in our thoroughly rotten society! But it is sad!

\(^a\) Hermann Püttmann, "Après le déluge".—Ed.
\(^b\) Hermann Püttmann, "Heuchelei" ("Hypocrisy").—Ed.
\(^c\) Here and below Engels quotes three passages from Goethe's poem "Lilis Park".—Ed.
"Everyone can be slanderous, self-satisfied, perfidious, malicious and anything else he chooses, because the appropriate form has been found" (p. 145).

It is really enough to make one desperate, especially if one is Ursa Major!

And "alas! the family, too, is besmirched by lies ... and the web of lies goes right through the family and passes hereditarily from one member to another".

Woe, threefold woe to the heads of families of the German Fatherland!

Rage suddenly boils up, there blows
A mighty spirit from the nose,
The inner nature goes berserk——

and Ursa Major stands up again on his hind legs:

"A curse on self-seeking! How terribly you hover over people's heads! With your black pinions ... with your shrill croaking.... A curse on self-seeking!... Millions and millions of poor slaves ... weeping and sobbing, complaining and wailing.... A curse on self-seeking!... A curse on self-seeking!... Gang of priests of Baal.... Breath of pestilence.... A curse on self-seeking!... A curse on self-seeking! Monster of self-seeking ..." (pp. 146-48).

And then it is my bristles rise;
Unwont to serve am I.
And every ornamental shrub nearby
Makes fun of me! The bowling green
And the neat, well-mown lawns I flee;
The box-tree cocks a snook at me,

I weary myself with work; if tired enough,
I lay me down by artificial cascades,
Chew, weep, and till half dead roll to and fro.
Alas! I only waste my woe
On heedless porcelain oreads!

The greatest "hypocrisy" of the whole jeremiad consists in making out that such a miserere compiled from trite literary phrases and recollections of novels is a description of "hypocrisy" in present-day society, and in pretending that for the sake of suffering humanity this bugbear causes one to fly into a passion.

Anyone who is at all familiar with the map of the heavens, knows that Ursa Major is there found in friendly conversation with an individual of uninteresting appearance who has several greyhounds on a leash and is called Boötes. This conversation is reproduced in the firmament of true socialism on pages 241-56 of the Rheinische Jahrbücher, Vol. II. The role of Boötes is assumed by that same Herr Semmig whose essay on "Socialism, Communism and Humanism"
has already been discussed above. Thus we have come to the Saxon group, of which he is the most eminent star, for which reason he has written a little volume on Sächsische Zustände. In the passage which we quoted earlier Ursa Major utters a well-satisfied growl about this little volume and recites whole pages from it "with intense delight". These quotations suffice to characterise the booklet as a whole and are the more welcome since the writings of Boötes are otherwise unobtainable abroad.

Although in his Sächsische Zustände Boötes has descended from the height of his speculation to "real conditions", he still belongs with his entire Saxon group, as also Ursa Major, heart and soul, to the mode simple of true socialism. In general, the mode composé is exhausted with the Westphalians and the mirror fraternity, in particular with the Ram, the Bull and Perseus. The Saxon and all the other groups, therefore, offer us only further developments of the simple true socialism, which we have already described above.

Boötes, as a burgher and portrayer of the model German constitutional state, in the first place lets loose one of his greyhounds against the liberals. It is the less necessary for us to examine this sparkling philippic since, like all similar tirades of the true socialists, it is nothing more than a shallow Germanisation of the criticism of the same subject by the French socialists. Boötes is in exactly the same situation as the capitalists; he possesses, to use his own words, "the products produced by the workers" of France and their literary representatives "as a result of the blind inheritance of foreign capitals" (Rheinische Jahrbücher, II, p. 256). He has not even translated them into German, for this had already been done by others before him. (Cf. Deutsches Bürgerbuch, Rheinische Jahrbücher, I, etc.). He has merely enlarged this "blind inheritance" by some "blindnesses" which are not simply German, but of the particular Saxon kind. Thus, he says (ibid., p. 243) that the liberals advocated "public judicial proceedings in order to declaim their rhetorical exercises in the court of justice"! Hence Boötes, in spite of his zeal against the bourgeoisie, capitalists, etc., sees in the liberals not so much these as their paid servants, the lawyers.

The result of our Boötes' penetrating investigations of liberalism is noteworthy. True socialism has never before so clearly expressed its reactionary political tendency:

"But you... proletarians... who previously allowed yourselves to be set in motion by these liberal bourgeois and to be misguided into tumults (think of 1830), be careful!"

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a See this volume, pp. 458-70.—Ed.
b Goethe, Faust, I. Teil, "Nacht".—Ed.
Do not support them in their efforts and struggles ... let them fight out alone what they ... begin only in their own interests; above all do not at any time take part in political revolutions, which always emanate from a dissatisfied minority that, thirsting for power, would like to overthrow the ruling power and seize the government for itself" (pp. 245-46).

Boötes has the most legitimate claims to the gratitude of the royal Saxon Government—a Rautenkrone is the least reward it can give him. If it were feasible that the German proletariat might follow his advice, the existence of the feudalistic, petty-bourgeois, peasant-bureaucratic model state of Saxony would be ensured for a long time. Boötes dreams that what is good for France and England, where the bourgeoisie rules, must also be good for Saxony, where it is still far from ruling. Furthermore, how impossible it is for the proletariat even in England and France to remain indifferent to questions that are indeed of immediate interest only to the bourgeoisie or a faction of the bourgeoisie, Boötes can read every day in the proletarian newspapers there. Such questions are, inter alia, in England the disestablishment of the Church, the so-called equitable adjustment of the national debt, and direct taxation; in France the extension of the franchise to the petty bourgeoisie, the abolition of urban customs duties, etc.

Finally, all Saxon "celebrated freedom of thought is mere wind and froth ... verbal combat", not because nothing is achieved by it and the bourgeoisie does not advance a single step, but because with its help “you”, the liberals, “are not able to accomplish a fundamental cure of the sick society” (p. 249). They are the less able to do so since they do not even regard society as being sick.

Enough of this. On page 248 Boötes lets loose a second economic greyhound.

In Leipzig ... “whole districts have newly come into being” (Boötes knows of districts which do not “come into being” “new” but are old from the outset). “As a result of this, however, a grievous disproportion has developed in regard to premises, in that there is an absence of dwellings at a” (!) “medium price. For the sake of a high interest” (! it is supposed to mean a higher rent), “every builder of a new house designs it in such a way that it is only suitable for big households; owing to the lack of other kinds of dwellings, many families are forced to rent bigger premises than they need or can pay for. Thus debts, attachment, protests of bills of exchange and so forth accumulate!” (This “!” deserves a second (!).) “In short, the lower middle class is in fact to be ousted.”

One can only admire the primitive simplicity of this economic greyhound! Boötes sees that the lower middle class of the

\[a\] Wreath of rue—the highest order in Saxony.—Ed.
\[b\] These two words are in English in the manuscript.—Ed.
enlightened town of Leipzig is being ruined in a way that is highly cheering for us. “In our day, when all distinctions in the human species are being obliterated” (p. 251), this phenomenon ought to be equally welcome to him; but on the contrary, it distresses him and makes him look for the cause of it. He finds this cause in the malice of the speculative builders, whose aim it is to house every small artisan and shopkeeper in a palace at an extortionate rent. The Leipzig “builders of new houses”, as Boötes explains in the most clumsy and confused Saxon language—it cannot be called German—are superior to all laws of competition. They build dearer dwellings than their customers require, they do not adapt themselves to the state of the market, but to a “high interest”; and whereas everywhere else the consequence would be that they would have to let their dwellings at a lower price, in Leipzig they succeed in subjecting the market to their own bon plaisir and compelling the tenants to ruin themselves by high rents! Boötes has taken a gnat for an elephant, a temporary disproportion between demand and supply in the housing market for a permanent state of things, indeed for the cause of the ruin of the petty bourgeoisie. But Saxon socialism can be forgiven such simple-mindedness as long as it “accomplishes a work worthy of Man and for which Men will bless ‘it’” (p. 242).

We know already that true socialism is a great hypochondriac. However, one might cherish the hope that Boötes, who showed such a pleasant audacity of judgment in the first volume of the Rheinische Jahrbücher, would be free from this disease. By no means. On pages 252, 253 Boötes lets loose the following whining greyhound and thereby throws Ursa Major into an ecstasy.

“The Dresden shooting-match ... a popular festival, and one can hardly step on to the meadow before being met with the wailing hurdy-gurdies of the blind, whose hunger is not satisfied by the constitution ... and being revolted by the ballyhoo of the ‘artists’ who by the contortions of their limbs entertain a society whose structure is itself monstrously and revoltingly contorted.”

(When a tightrope walker stands on his head, that signifies for Boötes the present-day topsy-turvy world; the mystic significance of turning somersaults is bankruptcy; the secret of the egg-dance is the career of the truly socialist writer who, in spite of all “contortions”, sometimes takes a false step and besmirches his whole “material basis” with egg-yolk; a hurdy-gurdy signifies a constitution, which does not satisfy one’s hunger; a Jew’s harp signifies freedom of the press, which does not satisfy one’s hunger; and an old clothes barrow signifies true socialism, which also does not satisfy one’s hunger.
Immersed in this symbolism, Boötes wanders sighing through the crowd and so arrives, as Perseus did before, at the proud feeling of being "the only sensitive breast among monsters").

"And there in the tents the brothel-keepers carry on ... their shameless trade" (there follows a long tirade about)... "prostitution, plague-breathing monster, you are the last fruit of our present-day society" (not always the last, there may perhaps be subsequently an illegitimate child)... "I could tell stories of how a girl threw herself at the feet of a strange man" ... (the story follows).... "I could tell stories, but no, I will not" (for he has just told the story).... "No, do not accuse them, the poor victims of want and seduction, but bring them, the insolent procurers, before the judge's seat ... no, no, not even them! What do they do except what others do, they carry on their trade, where all carry on trade", etc.

Thus the true socialist has thrown off all blame from all individuals and shifted it on to "society", which is inviolable. *Così fan tutti,* it is finally only a matter of remaining good friends with all the world. The characteristic aspect of prostitution, namely, that it is the most tangible exploitation—one directly attacking the physical body—of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie, the aspect where the "deed-producing heart-ache" (from p. 253) with its moral pauper's broth suffers bankruptcy, and where passion, class hatred thirsting for revenge, begins—this aspect is unknown to true socialism. Instead it bewails in the prostitutes the ruined grocers' assistants and small craftsmen's wives in whom he can no longer admire "the masterpiece of creation", the "blossoms pervaded by the aroma of the holiest and sweetest feelings". *Pauvre petit bonhomme!*

The flower of Saxon socialism is a small weekly sheet entitled *Veilchen: Blätter für die harmlose moderne Kritik* edited and published by G. Schlüssel in Bautzen. Thus the "violets" are in effect primroses. These tender flowers were described as follows in the *Trier'sche Zeitung* (January 12 of this year) by a Leipzig correspondent, who is also one of this group:

"In the *Veilchen* we can welcome an advance, a development in Saxon belles-lettres; young as this journal is, it zealously seeks to reconcile the old Saxon political half-heartedness with the social theory of the present time."

The "old Saxon half-heartedness" is not half-hearted enough for these arch-Saxons, they have to halve it once more by "reconciling" it. Extremely "inoffensive"!

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[a] Friedrich Schiller, "Der Taucher"—*Ed.*
[b] All do it—a saying derived from the title of Mozart's opera *Così fan tutte* (All [Women] Do It).—*Ed.*
[c] *Violets. Leaves for Inoffensive Modern Criticism.*—*Ed.*
[d] The German word used is Schlüsselblumen, i.e., primroses.—*Ed.*
We have only managed to see one of these violets; but:

Head shyly bowed, and all unknown,
It was a darling violet.*

In this issue—the first of 1847—friend Boötes lays some pretty little verses as homage at the feet of “inoffensive modern” ladies. It is stated there inter alia:

Of hate for Tyranny, the thorn
Graces e’en women’s tender hearts b—

a comparison the audacity of which in the meantime will surely have “graced” our Boötes’ “tender heart” with a “thorn” that pricks his conscience.

“They glow not just with amorous arts”—

should Boötes, who indeed “could tell stories”, but “will” not tell them, because he has already told them, and who speaks of no other “thorn” than that of “hate for Tyranny”, should this decent and cultured man be really capable of making the “fair cheeks” of women and maidens “glow” by means of ambiguous “amorous arts”?

They glow not just with amorous arts,
They glow with freedom-loving fury,
With holy rage, those cheeks so fair
That charm like roses everywhere.

The glow of “freedom-loving fury” must, of course, be easily distinguishable by a chaster, more moral and “brighter” colour from the dark-red glow of “amorous arts”, especially for a man like Boötes, who can distinguish the “thorn of hate for Tyranny” from all other “thorns”.

The Veilchen gives us an immediate opportunity of becoming acquainted with one of those beauties whose “tender heart is graced by the thorn of hate for Tyranny” and whose “fair cheeks glow with freedom-loving fury”. Namely the Andromeda of the truly socialist firmament (Fräulein Luise Otto), the modern woman fettered to the rock of unnatural conditions and washed by the foam of ancient prejudices, provides an “inoffensive modern criticism” of the poetical works of Alfred Meissner. It is a strange, but charming spectacle to observe how overflowing enthusiasm here struggles against the tender modesty of the German maiden, enthusiasm for the “king of poets”, who causes the deepest strings of the female

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*a From Goethe’s poem “Das Veilchen”.—Ed.
*b Here and below Engels quotes from Friedrich Hermann Semmig’s poem “Einer Frau ins Stammbuch”.—Ed.
*c Luise Otto, “Alfred Meissners neueste Poesien”.—Ed.
The True Socialists

heart to vibrate and draws from them tones of homage that border on deeper and tenderer sensations, tones which in their innocent frankness are the finest reward of the singer. Let us hear in all their naïve originality these flattering admissions of a maiden’s soul, for whom so much remains obscure in this wicked world. Let us hear and remember that to the pure all things are pure.

Indeed, “the deep soulfulness which pervades Meissner’s poems can only be felt, but cannot be explained to those who are incapable of feeling it. These songs are the golden reflection of the fierce flames which blaze in the heart of the poet as a sacrifice on the altar of freedom, a reflection whose brilliance reminds us of Schiller’s words: subsequent generations may overlook the author who was not more than his works—we feel here that this poet himself is something more than his beautiful songs” (for sure, Fräulein Andromeda, for sure), “that there is in him something inexpressible, something ‘which passeth show’, as Hamlet says”. (O you foreboding angel, you!) “This something is what is lacking in so many modern poets of freedom, e.g., entirely so in Hoffmann von Fallerseleben and Prutz” (is this really the case?), “and in part also in Herwegh and Freiligrath; this something is perhaps genius.”

Perhaps it is Boötes’ “thorn”, beautiful Fräulein!

“Nevertheless,” the same article states, “criticism has its duty—but criticism appears to me to be very wooden in relation to such a poet!”

How maidenly! Certainly, a young, pure, girlish soul must “appear” to itself to be “very wooden” in relation to a poet who possesses such a wonderful “something”.

“We go on reading right to the last stanza, which ought to remain faithfully in the memory of all of us:

"And yet at last will come
The day ...
Peoples shall sit together, hand in hand,
Like children in the great hall of the heavens.
Once more a chalice, a chalice shall pass round,
Love’s chalice at the love-feast of the nations."

Then Fräulein Andromeda sinks into an eloquent silence “like a child, hand in hand”. Let us take care not to disturb her.

Our readers will be eager after this to become more closely acquainted with the “king of poets”, Alfred Meissner, and his “something”. He is the Orion of the truly socialist firmament, and in truth he is no disgrace to his post. Girded with the shining sword of poesy, wrapt “in his cloak of grief” (p. 67 and p. 260 of A. Meissner’s Gedichte, second edition, Leipzig, 1846), he swings in his sinewy fist the club of unintelligibility, with which he victoriously strikes down all opponents of the good cause. At his heels, there follows a certain

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a Shakespeare. *Hamlet*, Act I. Scene 2.—Ed.
Moritz Hartmann, in the shape of a small dog, who for the sake of the good cause raises an energetic yapping under the title Kelch und Schwert (Leipzig, 1845). To speak in earthly terms, with these heroes we have entered a region which for a fairly long time already has provided numerous sturdy recruits for true socialism, viz., the Bohemian forests.

As is well known, the first true socialist in the Bohemian forests was Karl Moor. He did not succeed in carrying through the work of regeneration to the end; he was not understood by his contemporaries, and he handed himself over to justice. Now Orion-Meissner has undertaken to tread in the footsteps of this noble figure and—at least in its spirit—to bring his lofty work nearer to the goal. He, Karl Moor the Second, has at his side as his assistant the above-mentioned Moritz Hartmann, Canis Minor—in the role of the worthy Schweizer—who celebrates God, King and Fatherland in elegiac manner and, in particular, sheds tears of thankful remembrance at the grave of that simple man, Kaiser Joseph. Concerning the rest of the group, we shall merely remark that none of them as yet appear to have developed enough understanding and wit to undertake the role of Spiegelberg.

It is obvious at first glance that Karl Moor the Second is no ordinary man. He learned German in Karl Beck’s school and therefore his mode of speech is of more than oriental magnificence. For him belief is a “butterfly” (p. 13), the heart is a “flower” (p. 16), later on a “desolate forest” (p. 24), and finally a “vulture” (p. 31). For him the evening sky is (p. 65)

red and staring, like an empty socket
where once an eye was, without lustre or soul.

The smile of his beloved is “a child of Earth caressing the children of God” (p. 19).

But it is his tremendous world-weariness, still more than his showy picturesque language, which distinguishes him from ordinary mortals. In this way he shows that he is a true son and successor of Karl Moor the First; thus on page 65 he proves that “wild world-weariness” is one of the first requirements of every “saviour of the world”. In fact, as far as world-weariness is concerned, Orion-Moor outdoes all his predecessors and competitors. Let us hear what he says himself.

“Crucified by anguish, I was dead” (p. 7). “This heart dedicated to death” (p. 8). “My mind is dark” (p. 10). For him, “ancient suffering laments in the desolate forest of the

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a Canis Minor (the Lesser Dog)—a constellation to the East of Orion.—Ed.
O heart, learn here (in the wilderness), however you may fare,
The burden of being man bravely to bear (p. 66).
O pain so sweet, O blessed curse,
O sweet distress of being a man (p. 90).

In our unfeeling world such noble pain can count only on indifference, insulting rebuff and ridicule. Such is the experience of Karl Moor the Second as well. We have already seen above that “the cold world forgets” him. In this respect he really fares very ill:

That I might flee from man’s cold ridicule,
I built myself a prison, cold as the grave (p. 227).

On one occasion he again takes courage:

Pale hypocrite, that reviles me without rest,
Tell me the pain that has not pierced my heart,
The lofty passion that has not fired my breast (p. 212).

But it is too much for him after all; he retires and, on page 65, goes “into the wilderness” and, on page 70, “into the mountain desert”. 
Just like Karl Moor the First. Here he has it explained to him by a stream—because everything suffers, e.g., the lamb torn to pieces by the eagle suffers, the falcon suffers, the reed that rustles in the wind suffers—"how small then human woes" are, and how indeed nothing is left for him but "to rejoice and perish". Since, however, "rejoicing" does not really seem to come from his heart, and "perishing" does not seem to suit him at all, he rides forth in order to hear the "voices on the heath". Here he fares even worse. Three mysterious horsemen ride up to him one after the other and in rather dry words give him the good advice that he should get himself buried:

Indeed, you would do better...
To burrow through dead leaves and die
Covered by grasses and the humid earth (p. 75).

This is the crown of his sufferings. Human beings spurn him and his moaning; he turns to nature and here too he meets only with disagreeable faces and rude replies. And after Karl Moor the Second's aching pain has thus flapped "its broad, blood-stained wings" in front of our eyes until we are disgusted, we find on page 211 a sonnet in which the poet believes he must defend himself:

... for dumb, concealing from the world my woe,
I nurse my wounds and bear my scorching pain,
Because my mouth scorns idly to complain,
Of terrible experience makes no show!!

But the "saviour of the world" must be not only afflicted by pain but also wild. Hence "a storm of passion rages wild within his breast" (p. 24); when he loves, "fiercely blaze his suns" (p. 17); his "loving is a flash of lightning, his poetry a storm" (p. 68). We shall soon have examples showing how wild his wildness is.

Let us rapidly glance through some of the socialist poems of Orion-Moor.

From page 100 to page 106 he flaps his "broad, blood-stained wings" in order during his flight to survey the evils of present-day society. In a frantic fit of "wild world-weariness" he runs through the streets of Leipzig. Night is around him and in his heart. Finally, he comes to a stop. A mysterious demon comes up to him and in the tone of a night-watchman asks him what he is doing in the street so late. Karl Moor the Second, who was just then occupied in firmly pressing the "pincers" of his arms against his chest that was "threatening to burst", Karl Moor with eyes like fiercely blazing suns looks the demon straight in the face and finally breaks into speech (p. 102):
Awakened from faith's starry night,
This much I see in spirit's light:
He of Golgotha has not yet brought
Salvation that this world has sought!

"This much" Karl Moor the Second sees! By the desolate forest of his heart, by his cloak of grief, by the heavy yoke of being a man, by the lead-pierced pinions of our poet, and by everything else that Karl Moor the Second holds holy—it was not worth the trouble of running through the streets at night, of exposing his breast to the danger of bursting and of pneumonia, and of conjuring up a special demon, in order finally to impart this discovery to us! But let us hear some more. The demon is not yet pacified. Karl Moor the Second then relates how a young prostitute seized hold of his hand, thereby evoking in him all kinds of painful reflections, which at last voice themselves in the following apostrophe:

Woman, for your misery, the blame
Is society's, which has no mercy!
Pallid victim, sorry sight to see,
On sin's heathen (!!) altar sacrificed,
So that other women's purity
In the home stay undefiled and chaste! [P. 103.]

The demon, who now turns out to be a quite ordinary bourgeois, does not enter into a discussion of the truly socialist theory of prostitution comprehended in these lines, and instead answers quite simply that everyone forges his own happiness, "man's to blame for his own guilt", and such like bourgeois phrases. He remarks: "society is an empty word" (he has probably read Stirner), and he requests Karl Moor the Second to go on with his account. The latter tells how he had looked at proletarian dwellings and heard the weeping of the children:

Just because the mother's dried-up breast
Not a drop of sweet refreshment yields,
Guiltless babes die in their mother's care!
Yet (!) it is a marvel of delight
That from red blood mother's breast should bear
And give forth a milk of purest white [p. 104].

Whoever has seen this miracle, he declares, has no need to be sad if he cannot believe that Christ turned water into wine.\(^a\) The story of the marriage of Cana seems to have greatly influenced our poet in favour of Christianity. The world-weariness here becomes so profound that Karl Moor the Second loses all coherence. The

\(^a\) John 2:1-10.—Ed.
demoniacal bourgeois tries to calm him and makes him continue his report:

Other children, pale-faced brood, I saw
Where the tall and smoking chimneys climb,
Where the brass wheels in the fiery glow
Stamp their dances out in ponderous time [p. 105].

What sort of factory could it have been, where Karl Moor the Second saw “wheels in the fiery glow” and, what is more, saw them “stamping out their dances”! It could only have been the same factory where our poet’s verses, which likewise “stamp their dances out in ponderous time”, are manufactured. There follow some details about the lot of the factory children. That touches the purse of the demoniacal bourgeois, who undoubtedly is also a factory-owner. He becomes excited too, and retorts that it is stuff and nonsense, that the ragged pack of proletarian children are of no importance, that a genius had never yet perished on account of such trivialities, that in general it was not individuals that were important but only mankind as a whole, which will get along even without Alfred Meissner. Want and misery are the lot of human beings and in any case,

What the Creator has himself done badly,
Man will never afterwards improve [p. 107].

Thereupon he vanishes and our distressed poet is left standing alone. The poet shakes his confused head and cannot think of anything better to do than to go home and put it all down on paper, word for word, and publish it.

On page 109 “a poor man” wants to drown himself; Karl Moor the Second nobly holds him back and asks him about his reasons. The poor man relates that he has travelled a great deal:

Where England’s chimneys blood-red (!) flamed,
In pain that was both dull and dumb,
I saw new hells, I saw new damned.

The poor man saw strange things in England, where in every factory town the Chartists have shown more activity than all the German political, socialist and religious parties taken together. He himself must indeed have been “dull and dumb”.

Sailing to France across the sea,
I saw with horror, terrified,
The working masses seethe round me,
Like lava in a bubbling tide.

He saw all that “with horror, terrified”, the “poor man”! Thus he saw everywhere the “struggle between the poor and rich”, he himself being “one of the helots”, and since the rich refuse to listen
and "the people's day is still far off", he can think of nothing better to do than to throw himself into the water—and Meissner, convinced by his words, lets him go: "Good-bye, I can no longer hold you back!"

Our poet did very well to allow this narrow-minded coward to drown himself quietly, a man who saw nothing at all in England, whom the proletarian movement in France filled only with "horror and terror", and who was too lâchea to join the struggle of his class against its oppressors. In any case, the fellow was no good for anything else.

On page 237 Orion-Moor addresses a Tyrtaian hymn "to women". "Now, when men sin in cowardly fashion", Germany's blond daughters are called upon to rise and "proclaim a word of freedom". Our tender blondes did not wait for his invitation; the public has seen "with horror, terrified" examples of the lofty deeds Germany's women are capable of as soon as they are able to wear breeches and smoke cigars.

After this criticism of existing society by our poet; let us see what his pia desideria\(^b\) are with regard to the social aspects. At the end we find a "Reconciliation", written in a chopped-up prose, which more than imitates the "Resurrection" at the end of the collected poems of K. Beck. It states, inter alia:

"Mankind does not live and struggle in order to give birth to the individual. Mankind is one human being." According to which, our poet—"the individual" of course—is "not a human being". "And it will come, the time ... then mankind will rise up, a Messiah, a God in its unfolding...." But this Messiah will only come after "many thousands of years, the new saviour, who will speak" (acting he will leave to others) "of the division of labour, which is to be fraternal and equal for all children of the Earth" ... and then "the ploughshare, symbol of the spirit-shadowed earth ... a sign of profound respect..., will rise up, radiant, crowned with roses, and more beautiful even than the old Christian cross".

What will happen after "many thousands of years" is basically of little concern to us. Hence we do not need to investigate whether the people who will then exist will be advanced a single inch by the "speech" of the new saviour, whether they will still want to listen to a "saviour" at all, and whether the fraternal theory of this "saviour" is capable of realisation or is safe from the terrors of bankruptcy. This time our poet does not "see" "this much". The only thing of interest in the whole passage is his reverent bowing of the knee before the holy of holies of the future, the idyllic "ploughshare". In the ranks of the true socialists we have so far found only the townsman; here we

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\(^a\) Cowardly.—Ed.
\(^b\) Pious wishes.—Ed.
notice already that Karl Moor the Second will show us also the villager in his Sunday attire. In fact, on page 154, we see him looking down from the mountain into a lovely Sunday-like valley where the peasants and shepherds with quiet joyfulness, blithely and with faith in God, carry on their daily work; and:

The cry was loud within my doubting hear—
Oh, hear how blithely poverty can sing!

Here need is “no woman selling her bare flesh, it is a child, its nakedness is pure!”

I understood that man, so sorely tried,
Will only pious, blithe and good become,
When through hard work at Earth’s maternal breast
He finds his place in bless’d oblivion.

And in order to pronounce still more clearly his serious opinion, he describes (on page 159) the domestic happiness of a country blacksmith and expresses the wish that his children

... will never that contagion know
On which in prideful exultation
Wicked men and fools bestow
The name of Culture, Civilisation.

True socialism could not rest until the rural idyll had been rehabilitated alongside the urban idyll, and Gessner’s shepherd scenes alongside Lafontaine’s novels. In the shape of Herr Alfred Meissner, true socialism has adopted the position of Rochow’s Kinderfreund and from this lofty standpoint has proclaimed that it is man’s fate to become countrified. Who would have expected such simple-mindedness from the poet of “wild world-weariness”, from the owner of “blazing suns”, from Karl Moor the Younger with his “thunder bolts”?

In spite of his peasant-like longing for the peace of rural life, he declares that the big cities are his proper field of activity. Accordingly, our poet betook himself to Paris in order there, too, to see

... with horror, terrified,
The working masses seethe round him
Like lava in a bubbling tide [p. 111].

Hélas! il n’en fut rien.\(^a\) In a message from Paris published in the Grenzboten\(^b\) he declares that he is terribly disillusioned. The worthy poet looked everywhere for this seething mass of proletarians, even

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\(^a\) Alas! nothing came of it.—*Ed.*  
\(^b\) Alfred Meissner, “Aus Paris”—*Ed.*
in the Cirque olympique, where at that time the French Revolution was enacted to the sound of drums and cannon; but instead of the dark heroes of virtue and savage republicans that he sought, he found only a laughing, volatile people of imperturbable cheerfulness who were much more interested in pretty girls than in the great problems of mankind. In just the same way he looked for “the representatives of the French people” in the Chamber of Deputies and found only a crowd of well-fed, incoherently chattering *ventrus.*

It is indeed irresponsible of the Paris proletarians not to have organised a little July revolution in honour of Karl Moor the Younger, so as to give him the opportunity of obtaining, “with horror, terrified”, a better opinion of them. Our worthy poet utters a mighty cry of woe over all these misfortunes and, like a new Jonah spewed out of the belly of true socialism, he predicts the downfall of Nineveh-on-the-Seine, as can be read in detail in the *Grenzboten* of 1847, No. [14], report “From Paris”, where our poet likewise relates in a very amusing manner how he mistook a *bon bourgeois du Marais* for a proletarian and what peculiar misunderstandings arose out of it.

We shall not bother about his Žiška, for it is merely boring.

Since we have just been talking of poems, we should like to say a few words about the six instigations to revolution which our Freiligrath issued under the title *Ça ira*, Herisau, 1846. The first of them is a Geman *Marseillaise* and sings of a “bold pirate”, which “in Austria, just as in Prussia, is called revolution”. The following request is addressed to this ship, which flies its own flag and represents an important reinforcement to the famous German fleet *in partibus infidelium*.

> 'Gainst silver fleets of gains ill-gotten
> Bravely point the cannon's maw.
> On the ocean's rotting floor,
> May the fruits of greed go rotten [p. 9].

Incidentally, the whole song is written in such an easy-going mood that, in spite of the metre, it is best sung to the tune: “Get up, you sailors, the anchor to weigh.”

Most characteristic is the poem “Wie man's macht”, that is to say:

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*a* Pot-bellies.—*Ed.*


*c* A respectable citizen from Marais (a district of Paris).—*Ed.*

*d* Ferdinand Freiligrath, “Vor der Fahrt (Melodie der Marseillaise)”.—*Ed.*

*e* From Wilhelm Gerhard’s poem “Matrose”.—*Ed.*

*f* “How It Is Done”.—*Ed.*
how Freiligrath makes a revolution. Bad times have set in, people are hungry and go about in rags: “How can they obtain bread and clothes?” In this situation an “audacious fellow” comes forward who knows what to do. He leads the whole crowd to the stores of the militia and distributes the uniforms found there, which are at once put on. The crowd also takes hold of the rifles “as an experiment” and considers that “it would be fun” to take them as well. At that moment it occurs to our “audacious fellow” that this “joke with the clothes might perhaps even be called rebellion, house-breaking and robbery”, and so one would have “to be ready to fight for one’s clothes”. And so helmets, sabres and cartridge belts are also taken and a beggar’s sack hoisted as a flag. In this way they come into the streets. Then the “royal troops” make their appearance, the general gives the order to fire, but the soldiers joyously embrace the dressed-up militia. And since they have now got under way, they advance on the capital, also for “fun”, find support there and thus as a result of a “joke over clothing”: “Tumbling down comes throne and crown, the kingdom trembles on its base” and “triumphantly the people raise their long downtrodden heads”. Everything happens so rapidly and smoothly that during the whole procedure surely not a single member of the “proletarian battalion” finds that his pipe has gone out. One must admit that nowhere are revolutions accomplished more merrily and with greater ease than in the head of our Freiligrath. In truth it requires all the black-galled hypochondria of the Allgemeine Preussische Zeitung to detect high treason in such an innocent, idyllic excursion.

The last group of true socialists to which we turn is the Berlin group. From this group, too, we shall select only one characteristic individual, namely, Herr Ernst Lronke, because he has performed a lasting service to German literature by the discovery of a new genre of artistic writing. For a considerable time the novelists and writers of short stories of our Fatherland had been short of material. Never before had such a dearth of raw material for their industry made itself felt. It is true that the French factories provided much that was useful but this supply was the less adequate to meet the demand because much of it was offered immediately to the consumers in the shape of translations and thus constituted a dangerous competition to the writers of novels. It was then that the ingenuity of Herr Dronke was displayed: in the shape of Ophiuchus, the serpent holder in the truly socialist firmament, he held aloft the writhing giant serpent of the German police legislation, in order to manufacture

a Ophiuchus—the Serpent Holder—a constellation.—Ed.
from it in his _Polizei-Geschichten_ a series of most interesting short stories. In point of fact this complicated legislation, which is as slippery as a serpent, contains extremely rich material for this kind of writing. A novel lies concealed in every paragraph, a tragedy in every regulation. Herr Dronke, who as a Berlin writer has himself waged mighty battles against the police presidium, could speak here from his own experience. There will be no lack of followers once the way has been shown; it is a rich field. Prussian Law, _inter alia_, is an inexhaustible source of tense conflicts and sensational incidents. In the legislation on divorce, alimony and the bridal wreath alone—not to speak of the chapters on unnatural private pleasures—the whole of the German novel industry can find raw material for centuries. Moreover, nothing is easier than to work up such a paragraph in poetic form: the conflict and its solution is ready-made there, one has only to add some trimmings which can be taken from any of the novels of Bulwer, Dumas or Sue and adapt them slightly, and the story is ready. Thus it is to be hoped that the German townsman and villager, as also the _studiosus juris_ or _cameralium_, will gradually come to possess a series of commentaries on contemporary legislation that will enable them, with ease and total elimination of pedantry, to become thoroughly conversant with this sphere.

We see from the example of Herr Dronke that our expectations are not excessive. From the legislation on naturalisation alone he has composed two stories. In one of them ("Polizeiliche Ehescheidung"), a writer (the heroes of German writers are always writers) of the Electorate of Hesse marries a Prussian woman without the legally prescribed permission of his municipal council. In consequence his wife and children lose any claim to be Hessian subjects and as a result of police intervention the married couple are separated. The writer gets angry, voices his displeasure with the existing order of things, is on account of this challenged to a duel by a lieutenant, is stabbed and dies. The police complications had involved expenses which ruined him financially. His wife, who ceased to be a Prussian subject because of her marriage to a foreigner, now experiences extreme want.

In the second story on civil status, for fourteen long years a poor devil of a man is transferred from Hamburg to Hanover and from Hanover to Hamburg, in order to taste the delights of the treadmill in the one place and of prison in the other, and to be flogged on both

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_a Police Stories.—Ed._

_b Student of law or cameralistics.—Ed._

_c "Police Divorce".—Ed._
banks of the Elbe. The writer deals in the same way with the evil that complaints about the police abusing their power can only be made to the police. A very moving description is given of how the Berlin police, by their regulation on expulsion of unemployed domestic servants, encourage prostitution, and also of other poignant conflicts.

True socialism has allowed itself to be duped by Herr Dronke in the most good-natured fashion. It has mistaken the Polizei-Geschichten, lachrymose descriptions of German philistine misery written in the tone of Menschenhass und Reue, for pictures of the conflicts in modern society; it has believed that this was socialist propaganda; it has never for a moment reflected on the fact that such lamentable scenes are quite impossible in France, England and America, where anything but socialism prevails, and that consequently Herr Dronke is making not socialist, but liberal propaganda. In this case true socialism is the more excusable because Herr Dronke himself has not reflected on all that either.

Herr Dronke has also written stories entitled Aus dem Volke. Here again we have a story describing the penury of professional authors so as to win the compassion of the public. This narrative seems to have inspired Freiligrath to write the touching poem in which he begs for sympathy for the writer and exclaims: "He, too, is a proletarian!" When things reach the stage when the German proletarians settle their accounts with the bourgeoisie and the other propertied classes, they will, by means of lamp-posts, show the knights of the pen, the lowest of all venal classes, how far they are proletarians. The other stories in Dronke's book have been botched together with a total lack of imagination and considerable ignorance of real life, and they serve only to foist Herr Dronke's socialist ideas on people in whose mouth they are completely inappropriate.

In addition, Herr Dronke has written a book about Berlin which is abreast of modern science, that is to say, it contains a variegated medley of Young-Hegelian, Bauer's, Feuerbach's, Stirner's, true socialist and communist views, such as have come into circulation in the literature of recent years. The outcome of it all is that, despite everything, Berlin remains the centre of modern culture and intelligence, and a world city with two-fifths of a million inhabitants,

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a Misanthropy and Repentance, a drama by August Kotzebue.—Ed.
b Among the People.—Ed.
c Ferdinand Freiligrath, "Requiescat!"—Ed.
d Ernst Dronke, Berlin.—Ed.
the competition of which Paris and London should take heed of. There are even grisettes in Berlin, but—God knows—they are what you might expect.

The Berlin circle of true socialists includes Herr Friedrich Sass, who has also written a book about the city which is his spiritual home. But so far we have only had occasion to see one of this author's poems, printed on page 29 of Pütmann's Album, a book which we shall presently discuss in more detail. This poem sings of "The Future of Old Europe" in the manner of "Lenore started up from sleep" with the most repulsive expressions that our author could find in the entire German language and with the greatest possible number of grammatical mistakes. The socialism of Herr Sass reduces itself to the idea that Europe, the "unchaste woman", will shortly perish:

Your wooer is the graveyard worm.
Dost hear amid the marriage storm
The Cossacks and the Tatar horde
That ride across your rotting bed?...
Alongside Asia's barren tomb
Your sarcophagus will find room—
The giant corpses, old and grey,
Are bursting (Ugh!) and are giving way—
As Memphis and Palmyra burst (!)
The savage eagle builds its nest
O'er your decaying brow,
You strumpet, ancient now!

It is clear that the imagination and language of the poet have "burst" no less than his conception of history.

With this glance into the future we shall conclude our review of the various constellations of true socialism. It is indeed a brilliant series of constellations that have passed in front of our telescope, it is the brightest half of the sky that has been occupied by true socialism with its army! As the Milky Way enveloping all these lustrous stars with its tender gleam of bourgeois philanthropy, there is the Trier'sche Zeitung, a newspaper that has identified itself body and soul with true socialism. No event that even most remotely affects true socialism can take place without the Trier'sche Zeitung enthusiastically entering the lists. From Lieutenant Anneke to Countess Hatzfeld, from the Bielefeld Museum to Madame Aston, the Trier'sche Zeitung has fought in behalf of true socialism with an energy that has caused its

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\( ^a \) Friedrich Sass, Berlin in seiner neuesten Zeit und Entwicklung.—Ed.

\( ^b \) "Des alten Europa's Zukunft", a poem by Friedrich Sass.—Ed.

\( ^c \) The first line of Gottfried August Bürger's poem "Lenore".—Ed.
brow to be bathed in a noble perspiration. It is in the most literal sense a Milky Way of tenderness, mercy and love of mankind, and it is only in very rare cases that it offers sour milk. Tranquilly and undisturbed, as befits a proper milky way, may it continue in its course, providing Germany's valiant citizens with the butter of soft-heartedness and the cheese of philistinism! It need not be afraid that anyone will skim off the cream, for it is too watery to have any.

In order, however, that we may take our leave of true socialism with unruffled cheerfulness, it has prepared for us a final feast in the form of the *Album* published by H. Püttmann, Borna, near Reiche, 1847. Under the aegis of the Great Bear, a girandole is produced here as brilliant as any to be seen at the Easter festival in Rome. All the socialist poets have, either voluntarily or under compulsion, contributed rockets which rise into the sky in hissing, glittering sheaves, and explode in the air with a loud report into a million stars, magically turning the night of the conditions around us into the light of day. But, alas, the beautiful spectacle lasts only a second—the firework burns out and leaves behind only a thick smoke which makes the night appear even darker than it really is, a smoke through which there shine only the seven poems of *Heine* as constant bright stars, which to our great astonishment and to the considerable embarrassment of the Great Bear have appeared in this society. Let us, however, not be disturbed by this, nor object because several of Weerth's things that are reprinted here are bound to feel uncomfortable in such company, but let us enjoy the full impression of the fireworks.\(^{155}\)

We find very interesting themes treated here. Three or four times spring is praised with all the display of which true socialism is capable. No less than eight seduced girls are presented to us from all possible points of view. We are enabled to see here not only the act of seduction, but also its consequences; each main period of pregnancy is represented by at least one individual. Afterwards, as is fitting, comes childbirth, and in its train infanticide or suicide. It is only to be regretted that Schiller's "child-murderess" has not been included as well; the editor, however, may have thought that it was enough to have the well-known cry: "Joseph, Joseph", etc.,\(^a\) echoing through the whole book. A stanza—to the tune of a well-known lullaby—may serve as evidence of the quality of these songs of seduction. Herr Ludwig Köhler sings on page 299:

\(^a\) From Schiller's poem "Die Kindesmörderin".—*Ed.*
Weep, Mother, weep!
She is sick, your cherished one!
Weep, Mother, weep!
For her innocence is gone!
Your advice: "Child, guard your honour",
Was entirely lost upon her!

In general, the Album is a true apotheosis of crime. Besides the above-mentioned numerous cases of infanticide, Herr Karl Eck sings of a “Forest Misdeed”\(^a\), and the Swabian Hiller who murdered his five children is celebrated in a short poem by Herr Johannes Scherr, and in an interminable poem by Ursa Major himself. One would think that one was at a German fair where the organ-grinders keep on playing their murder stories:

Crimson child, you child of hell,
Say, what was your life like here?
You and your dread murder-hole
Made all people shrink in fear.
Human beings ninety-six
Perished by the villain's deed,
For the killer broke their necks,
Took their lives with utmost speed, etc.

It is difficult to make a choice among these young and vigorous poets and their productions, which are full of vital warmth; for basically it does not matter whether the name is Theodor Opitz or Karl Eck, Johannes Scherr or Joseph Schweitzer, the things are all equally beautiful. Let us take some at random.

First of all we find once again our friend Boötes-Semmig, who is engaged in elevating spring to the speculative heights of true socialism (p. 35\(^b\)):

Awake! Awake! For Spring will soon be coming—
O'er hill and dale with movement of the storm
Unfettered Freedom makes her way—

What kind of freedom this is, we are told at once:

Why gaze upon the Cross so slavishly?
No free man to that god will bend the knee
Who felled the oak-trees of the Fatherland
And made the very gods of Freedom flee!

that is to say, the freedom of the Germanic primeval forests, in whose shade Boötes can tranquilly reflect on “socialism, communism and humanism”, and foster at will “the thorn of hate for Tyranny”. About this last we learn:

There is no rose that blooms without a thorn,

\(^a\) “Waldfrevel.”—Ed.
\(^b\) “Frühlingsruf.”—Ed.
consequently, it can be hoped that the budding "rose" Andromeda, too, will soon find an appropriate "thorn" and then no longer "appear so wooden" to herself as previously. Boötes acts also in the interests of the Veilchen, which it is true did not then exist, by publishing here an unusual poem, the title and refrain of which consist of the words: "Buy violets! Buy violets! Buy violets!" (p. 38).

Herr N..h..s\(^a\) exerts himself with praiseworthy zeal to bring into being 32 pages of long-line verse, without advancing a single idea in it. There is, for instance, a "Proletarians' Song\(^b\)" (p. 166). The proletarians come out into the lap of nature—if we wanted to say from where they come out, there would be no end to it—and after long preambles finally decide on the following apostrophe:

Nature, O thou mother of all beings,  
All thou wouldst with love refresh and strengthen,  
All thou hast to utmost bliss predestined,  
Great beyond all ken thou art and lofty!  
Listen, then, to our resolves most holy!  
Hear what we would vow to thee sincerely!  
Breathe it through the darkling pine-trees!

With that a new theme has been broached and for quite a space the poem continues in this strain. Finally, in the fourteenth stanza, we learn what the people really want; it is, however, not worth the trouble of putting it down here.

It is likewise interesting to make the acquaintance of Herr Joseph Schweitzer\(^c\):

> Thought is soul and action is flesh in this our earthly life;  
> Husband is the spark of fire, and the deed his own true wife,


to which is adjoined in an unaffected way what Herr J. Schweitzer wants, namely:

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\begin{align*}
&\text{I will crackle, I will blaze, Freedom's light} \\
&\text{In wood and plain,} \\
&\text{Till the enormous water-bucket, Death,} \\
&\text{Shall douse my spark again (p. 213).}
\end{align*}
\]

His wish is fulfilled. In these poems it "crackles" to his heart's content, and he is also a "spark", as is evident at the first glance. But he is a delightful "spark":

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\(^a\) Neuhaus.—Ed.  
\(^b\) "Proletarierlied".—Ed.  
\(^c\) The following quotations are from Schweitzer's poems "Die Parole" and "Leipzig".—Ed.
Head held high and knuckles clenched,
There I stand, made happy, free (p. 216).

In this posture he must have been priceless. Unfortunately, the Leipzig August riot\textsuperscript{156} drew him on the street and there he witnessed moving things:

\begin{quote}
A tender human bud, before me, in full view—
O shame, O horror!—
Sucking up in greedy draughts its shining drops of deadly dew (p. 217).
\end{quote}

Hermann \textit{Ewerbeck}, too, does not disgrace his Christian name. On page 227 he begins a “Battle-Song”\textsuperscript{a} which was undoubtedly already roared out by the Cherusci in the Teutoburg Woods:

\begin{quote}
For Freedom, for the being
Within, we bravely fight.
\end{quote}

Is this perhaps a battle-song for pregnant women?

\begin{quote}
And not for gold or medals,
Nor yet for vain delight,
We struggle hard for future generations etc.
\end{quote}

In a second poem [p. 229]\textsuperscript{b} we learn:

\begin{quote}
Human feelings all are holy,
Purest thought is holy too,
When they meet with thought and feelings
Pass away all spirits do.
\end{quote}

Just as such verses are liable to make our “thought and feelings” “pass away”.

\begin{quote}
We warmly love the Good,
The Beautiful in this world,
We toil and we create
Ever in man’s true field;
\end{quote}

and our labour in this field is rewarded with a harvest of sentimental doggerel that even Ludwig of Bavaria could not have produced.

Herr Richard Reinhardt is a quiet and sedate young man. He “steps in gentle calm along the path of quiet self-development” and provides us with a birthday poem “An die junge Menschheit”, in which he contents himself with singing of:

\begin{quote}
The loving sun of Freedom pure,
Pure Love’s own radiant Freedom light,
And loving Peace’s friendly light [pp. 234, 236].
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{a} “Schlachtlied”.—\textit{Ed.}
\textsuperscript{b} “Lied” (“Song”).—\textit{Ed.}
These six pages raise our spirits. "Love" occurs sixteen times, "light" seven times, the "sun" five times, "freedom" eight times, not to speak of "stars", "lucidities", "days", "raptures", "joys", "peace", "roses", "passions", "truths" and other subsidiary spices of human existence. If one has had the good fortune to be sung of in this way, one can truly go in peace to the grave.

But why should we dwell on these bunglers when we can behold such masters as Herr Rudolf Schwerdtlein and Ursa Major? Let us leave all those rather amiable but very imperfect attempts to their fate and turn to the consummation of socialist poesy!

Herr Rudolf Schwerdtlein sings:

"Boldly Onwards":
We are the riders of life. Hurrah (ter)
Whither, O riders of life?
We're riding into death. Hurrah!
We're blowing on our trumpets. Hurrah (ter)
What blow you on your trumpets?
We blast, we blow of death. Hurrah!
The army is left behind. Hurrah (ter)
What does it do behind?
It sleeps the eternal sleep. Hurrah!
Hark! Do enemy trumpets sound? Hurrah (ter)
O woe to you, poor trumpeters!
We ride now into death. Hurrah! [Pp. 199, 200.]

O woe, you poor trumpeter!—We see that the rider of life not only rides with jubilant courage into death, he rides just as audaciously into the most utter nonsense, in which he feels as happy as a tick in a sheep. A few pages farther on the rider of life opens "fire":

We are so wise, we know a thousand things,
Progress impetuous has brought us far—
Yet when your boat across the waves you steer,
The spirits aye will rustle round your ear [p. 204].

One could wish that a really solid body will very soon "rustle round the ear" of the rider of life so as to drive away the spirit rustling.

Just bite an apple! Betwixt it and your teeth
Before your very eyes a ghost will rear.
Seize the strong mane of some fine thoroughbred—
A spectre rises by the stallion's ear.

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a Rudolf Schwerdtlein, "Frisch auf".—Ed.
b Ter—three times.—Ed.
c Cf. Shakespeare, Troilus and Cressida, Act III, Scene 3.—Ed.
d Rudolf Schwerdtlein, "Feuer!".—Ed.
Something also “rises” on each side of the head of the rider of life, but it is not “the stallion’s ear”—

Around you thoughts hyena-like spring up,
When you embrace the one your heart has chosen.

It is the same with the rider of life as with other valiant warriors. He does not fear death, but “spectres”, “ghosts” and especially “thoughts” make him tremble like an aspen leaf. To save himself from them he decides to set the world on fire, “to dare a universal conflagration”:

Destroy—that’s the great watchword of the age,
Destroy—that’s discord’s only resolution;
See that the body and the soul are burned:
Nature and Being must be purified.
Like metal in a crucible, the world
In blasting flames must now be newly formed.
In fiery judgment on the world, the demon
Initiates the new world history [p. 206].

The rider of life has hit the nail on the head. The discord of the only resolution in the great watchword of the age of thorough purification of nature and being is precisely that the metal in the crucible is burnt to become body and soul, that is to say, the destruction of the new history of the world is the new formation of the fiery judgment on the world or, in other words, the demon take the world in the fire of the beginning.

Now for our old friend Ursa Major. We have already mentioned the Hilleriad. This begins with a great truth:

You people in God’s grace can never grasp
How hard the world seems to a ragamuffin;
One never can get free [p. 256].

After compelling us to listen to the whole story of woe in the minutest detail, Ursa Major once again breaks out into “hypocrisy”:

Woe, woe to you, you heartless, wicked world—
Accursed be for ever! And you too, damned gold!
It was through you this murder did occur,
You played your part, you monstrous money-bags!
The children’s blood is on your head alone!
The truth is spoken by my poet’s mouth,
I fling it in your face, and I await
The striking of the hour that spells revenge! [P. 262.]

Might it not be thought that Ursa Major commits here an act of the most terrifying recklessness by “flinging truths from his poet’s

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* Hermann Püttmann’s poem “Johann Hiller”.—Ed.
mouth into people's faces”? There is no need for alarm, however, one need not tremble for his liver and his safety. The rich do as little harm to the Great Bear as he does to them. But, in his opinion, one should either have had old Hiller’s head cut off or:

The softest down on earth you ought to lay
With greatest care beneath the murderer's head,
So—for your blessing—he while fast asleep
Forgets the love of which you have deprived him.
And when he wakes there ought to be around him
Two hundred harps that sound sweet melodies.
So never more the children's dying gasps
Shall lacerate his ear or break his heart.
And more still for atonement—it should be
The loveliest that love can e'er contrive—
Perhaps that would relieve your sense of guilt,
And set your conscience finally at rest (p. 263).

That is indeed the acme of bonhomie, the very truth of true socialism! “For your blessing!”, “a tranquil conscience!” Ursa Major has become childish and relates tales for the nursery. It is known that he still “awaits the striking of the hour that spells revenge”.

But much more cheerful still than the Hilleriad are the “Graveyard Idylls”. First of all he sees the burial of a poor man and laments of his widow, then that of a young man who was killed in the war and who was the sole support of his aged father, then that of a child murdered by its mother, and finally that of a rich man. Having seen all that, he begins to “think” and lo and behold

...my vision bright and clear became
And deep into the grave its rays did pierce; [p. 284]

unfortunately, it did not become sufficiently “clear” to pierce “deep into” his verse.

The most mysterious was revealed to me.

On the other hand, what has been “revealed” to all the world, namely, the appalling worthlessness of his verse, has remained completely “mysterious” to him. And the clear-sighted Bear saw how “in a trice the greatest miracles occurred”. The fingers of the poor man turned into coral and his hair into silk, and consequently his widow became very rich. From the soldier's grave flames leap out that devour the king's palace. From the child's grave there springs up a rose whose perfume penetrates to the mother in her prison—and the rich man, owing to the transmigration of souls, becomes an adder, with regard to which Ursa Major allows himself the private

a “Friedhofs Idyllen”.—Ed.
satisfaction of causing it to be trampled by his youngest son! And so, in the view of Ursa Major, “nevertheless, we shall all attain immortality”.

By the way, our Bear has after all some courage. On page 273, he throws out a challenge in thunderous tones to “his misfortune”; he defies it, for:

Within my heart a mighty lion sits—
It is so valiant, powerful and swift—
Against its claws you should be on your guard!^a

Indeed, Ursa Major “feels the lust for battle”, and “fears no wounds”.

Written probably between January and April 1847
First published in German in Marx/Engels, Gesamtausgabe, Erste Abteilung, Bd. 5, 1932

^a Hermann Püttmann, “Trotz des Proletariers”.—Ed.
NOTES
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INDEXES
NOTES

1 The "Theses on Feuerbach" were written by Karl Marx in Brussels, probably in April 1845. They are to be found in Marx’s notebook of 1844-47 under the heading "1) ad Feuerbach". They were published by Engels in the Appendix to the 1888 edition of his work Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy. In the foreword to this edition Engels called this important theoretical document "Theses on Feuerbach", hence the title. To render the brief notes, which Marx had not intended for publication, more comprehensible to the reader, Engels made a number of editorial changes when preparing the "Theses" for the press. Both versions of the "Theses"—i.e., Marx’s original text and that edited by Engels—have been included in this volume. The original text was first published in German and Russian in 1924 by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., Moscow (Marx-Engels Archives, Book I); in English it was published in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, The German Ideology, Parts I & III, Lawrence and Wishart Ltd., London, 1938. The first English translation of the edited version was published in the Appendix to Frederick Engels, Feuerbach. The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy, Chicago, 1903. p. 3

2 Marx refers to the following chapters in Feuerbach’s Das Wesen des Christenthums: "Die Bedeutung der Creation im Judenthum" and "Der wesentliche Standpunkt der Religion". p. 3

3 These notes were evidently intended by Engels for Chapter I of the first volume of The German Ideology. They were first published in the language of the original by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in 1932 (Marx/Engels Gesamtausgabe, Erste Abteilung, Band 5); in English they were published for the first time in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, The German Ideology, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964. p. 11

4 According to the doctrine of the Saint-Simonists, every individual is endowed with love, intellect and physical activity. Hence he should receive moral, mental and physical education (cf. Doctrine de Saint-Simon. Exposition. Première année, 9th lecture). p. 12
This item, which was published anonymously, is the reply of the authors of *The Holy Family* to the anti-critique contained in Bruno Bauer's article "Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs" published in *Wigand's Vierteljahrschrift*, 1845, Bd. 3. It is roughly identical with a passage in Chapter II, Volume I of *The German Ideology* (see this volume, pp. 112-14). In English the item was first published in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, p. 15.

The review was published anonymously under the heading "Die heilige Familie oder Kritik der kritischen Kritik. Gegen Br. Bauer und Consorten. Von F. Engels und K. Marx, Frankfurt, 1845".

*The German Ideology—Die deutsche Ideologie. Kritik der neuesten deutschen Philosophie in ihren Repräsentanten Feuerbach, B. Bauer und Stirner, und des deutschen Sozialismus in seinen verschiedenen Propheten* — is the joint work of Marx and Engels which they wrote in Brussels in 1845 and 1846.

Marx and Engels decided to write a philosophical work in which they intended to counterpose their materialist conception of history to the idealist views of the Young Hegelians and to Feuerbach's inconsistent materialism in the spring of 1845, when Engels came to Brussels (early in April) and Marx outlined to him his materialist conception, which had nearly taken shape by then. Marx's "Theses on Feuerbach" were written in connection with this project. In the autumn of 1845 the project took the form of a definite plan to write a two-volume work directed against the Young Hegelians and the "true socialists". In November 1845 Marx and Engels began writing the book. In the course of their work the plan and composition of the book were changed several times. Moses Hess was enlisted to write two chapters. But the chapter against the Young Hegelian Arnold Ruge, which Hess wrote for Volume I, was excluded from the final version of *The German Ideology*, and the other chapter, dealing with the "true socialist" Kuhlmann, which Hess wrote for Volume II, was edited by Marx and Engels.

Work on *The German Ideology* was in the main terminated in April 1846; it seems, however, that the authors continued working on Chapter I of the first volume until the middle of July, but it was never completed. The draft of the preface for Volume I was written by Marx not later than the middle of August. Work on Volume II was completed by early June 1846. Engels' work *The True Socialists*, which was intended as the concluding chapter of Volume II, was written between January and April 1847.

In 1846 and 1847 Marx and Engels made repeated attempts to find a publisher in Germany for their work, but they were unsuccessful. This was due partly to difficulties made by the police and partly to the reluctance of the publishers to print the work, since their sympathies were on the side of the trends which Marx and Engels criticised. The only Chapter of *The German Ideology* known to be published during their lifetime was Chapter IV of Volume II, which appeared in the journal *Das Westphälische Dampfähnkle* in August and September 1847.

The text of a few pages in Chapter II of Volume I (pp. 112-14 of this volume) is similar to that of an anonymous item dated "Brussels, November 20" (see this volume, pp. 15-18), which appeared in the *Gesellschaftsspiegel, Heft VII, Januar 1846* (in the section "Nachrichten und Notizen").

Neither the title of the whole work nor the headings of the first and the second volumes have survived in the manuscript. They are, however, mentioned by Marx in his article "Declaration against Karl Grün" (see present edition, Vol. 6) and have been taken from there.
The manuscript of chapters II and III of Volume II is missing, and it is possible that the "Circular against Kriege" by Marx and Engels and Engels' article "German Socialism in Verse and Prose" (see present edition, Vol. 6) formed part of this volume.

The manuscript is in a rather poor condition, the paper has turned yellow and is damaged in places. "The gnawing criticism of the mice", as Marx wrote later in his preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, has left its mark on a number of pages, other pages are missing. The Preface to The German Ideology and some of the alterations and additions are in Marx's hand; the bulk of the manuscript, however, is in Engels' hand, except for Chapter V of Volume II and some passages in Chapter III of Volume I, which are in Joseph Weydemeyer's hand. As a rule, the pages are divided into two parts: the main text is on the left side while additions and changes are on the right. A number of passages were crossed out by the authors, and a few more passages were crossed out by Eduard Bernstein (this has been pointed out by S. Bahne in his article "Die Deutsche Ideologie von Marx und Engels. Einige Textergänzungen", published in the International Review of Social History, Vol. VII, 1962, Part I).

Words and passages which have become unreadable have been reconstructed on the basis of the unimpaired parts whenever possible; they are enclosed in square brackets. Wherever it was necessary to insert a few words to clarify the meaning, they are likewise printed in square brackets. Gaps in the manuscript are indicated in footnotes. Marginal notes as well as the most important of the crossed-out passages are given in footnotes which are indicated by asterisks, whereas the editors' footnotes are indicated by index letters. Passages crossed out by Bernstein, wherever it was possible to decipher them, have been restored.

After Engels' death the manuscript of The German Ideology came into the hands of the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party, who in the course of 37 years published less than half of it. Part of Chapter III, "Saint Max", was published by Bernstein in 1903-04 (see Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels, "III. Sankt Max", in Dokumente des Sozialismus, Stuttgart, Bd. III, Hefte 1-4 and 7-8, Januar-April and Juli-August 1903; Bd. IV, Hefte 5-9, Mai-September 1904). Another part of this chapter — "My Self-Enjoyment" — was brought out in 1913 (see Karl Marx, "Mein Selbstgenuss", in Arbeiter-Feuilleton, München, Nr. 8 and 9, März 1913). Gustav Meyer published the introductory pages of "The Leipzig Council" and Chapter II, "Saint Bruno", in 1921 (see Friedrich Engels und Karl Marx, "Das Leipziger Konzil", in Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, 47. Band, 3. Heft, Tübingen, 1921). Chapter I, "Feuerbach", the most important chapter of The German Ideology, was first published by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in Russian in 1924 (Marx-Engels Archives, Book I) and in German in 1926 (Marx-Engels Archiv, 1. Band). The whole work as it has come down to us (except for the six pages which were found later and printed in the International Review of Social History, Vol. VII, 1962, Part 1) was first published in Marx/Engels Gesamtausgabe, Erste Abteilung, 5. Band, in 1932 by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

The first English version of Chapter I, translated from the Russian, was published in the American journal The Marxist No. 3, July 1926. A small part of this chapter, translated from the German, was published in the British journal The Labour Monthly, Vol. 15, No. 3, March 1933. An English translation of Chapter I, "Feuerbach", and Volume II, "Der wahre Sozialismus", was published by Lawrence and Wishart Ltd., London, 1938, under the title The German Ideology.
Parts I & III. The first English translation of the whole work, except for one passage from Chapter I of the first volume (p. 29 of the manuscript), was issued by Progress Publishers, Moscow, in 1964.

The manuscript of Chapter I of the first volume of The German Ideology has come down to us in the form of several separate passages written at different times and in different circumstances. This is due to changes which Marx and Engels made in the general plan of the book as the work proceeded.

Originally Marx and Engels began writing a purely critical work dealing simultaneously with Ludwig Feuerbach, Bruno Bauer and Max Stirner. Then they decided to discuss Bruno Bauer and Max Stirner in separate chapters ("II. Saint Bruno" and "III. Saint Max"), and the first chapter was conceived as a general introduction stating their own views in opposition to Feuerbach's. Therefore they crossed out nearly all passages referring to Bauer and Stirner in the original manuscript and transferred them to chapters II or III. Thus, the chronologically first part, which formed the original nucleus of the chapter on Feuerbach (29 pages numbered by Marx), took shape.

Then they wrote Chapter II and began to work on Chapter III. In the course of their critical analysis of Stirner's book Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum, Marx and Engels made various theoretical digressions in which they developed their materialist conception of history. Two of these digressions were subsequently transferred by them from the chapter on Stirner to that on Feuerbach. The first—consisting of 6 pages—was written in connection with the criticism of Stirner's idealist view that history was dominated by spirit (this digression was originally in the section "D. Hierarchy"; see this volume, p. 175). The second theoretical digression—consisting of 37 pages—was written in connection with the criticism of Stirner's views of bourgeois society, competition and the interrelation between private property, state and law (this latter passage from the chapter on Stirner was replaced by another; see this volume, p. 355, etc.). These two digressions formed the chronologically second and third parts of the chapter on Feuerbach.

The pages of these three parts were numbered by Marx (1 to 72) and thus form the rough copy of the whole chapter. Pages 3-7 and 36-39 of the manuscript have not been found.

Marx and Engels then started revising the rough copy and writing out a clean copy, the beginning of which exists in two versions. We have thus four more or less independent parts of the manuscript (three parts of rough copy and one of clean copy).

In the present edition the chapter on Feuerbach is accordingly divided into four parts. Part I consists of the combined fragments of the clean copy. Part II comprises the original nucleus of the whole chapter. Parts III and IV are the two theoretical digressions transferred from the chapter on Stirner. Each part is a consistent, logically coherent whole. The parts complement one another and together they are a comprehensive exposition of the materialist conception of history.

The content of the four parts can be summarised in the following way: I. Introduction. general remarks concerning the idealism of German post-Hegelian philosophy. Premises, essence and general outline of the materialist conception of history. II. Materialist conception of historical development and conclusions from the materialist conception of history. Criticism of the idealist conception of history in general, criticism of the Young Hegelians and Feuerbach in particular. III. Origin of the idealist conception of history. IV. Development of the produc-
tive forces, of the division of labour and of the forms of property. The class structure of society. The political superstructure. Forms of social consciousness.

Comparison of the different parts of the manuscript makes it possible to bring out the logical structure of the chapter, form an idea of the authors' intentions and reconstruct the general plan of the chapter. First Marx and Engels give a general description of German ideology, then they counterpose the materialist conception of history to the idealist conception, and, finally, criticise the latter. The central part of the chapter has the following structure: the authors' premises; their materialist conception of history; the conclusions following from their theory. The materialist conception of history is presented as follows: development of production—intercourse (social relations)—political superstructure—forms of social consciousness. On the whole, the plan of the chapter, reconstructed in accordance with the intentions of Marx and Engels, can be formulated thus:

1) General description of German ideology (Part I, introductory remarks and Section 1; Part II, Section 1).
2) Premises of the materialist conception of history (Part I, Section 2).
3) Production (Part II, Sections 3-5; Part I, Section 3; Part IV, Sections 1-5), intercourse (Part IV, Sections 6-10), political superstructure (Part IV, Section 11), forms of social consciousness (Part III, Section 1; Part IV, Section 12).
4) Conclusions from and summary of the materialist conception of history (Part II, Sections 6-7; Part I, Section 4).
5) Critique of the idealist conception of history in general, and of the Young Hegelians and Feuerbach in particular (Part II, Sections 8-9 and 2; Part III, Section 1).

In the manuscript the chapter as a whole has the heading: “I. Feuerbach.” While sorting out Marx’s papers after his death in 1883, Engels found among them the manuscript of The German Ideology and reread it. At the end of the first chapter he made the note: “I. Feuerbach. Opposition of the materialist and idealist outlooks.”

The parts of this chapter are subdivided into sections. These subdivisions have been made by the editors, who also supplied most of the headings. All headings supplied by the editors and all editorial insertions are enclosed in square brackets.

The pages of the manuscript are indicated in this volume. The sheets of the clean copy, partly numbered by Engels (sheets 3 and 5), are indicated thus: [sh. 1], [sh. 2], etc. The pages of the first version of the beginning of the clean copy, which were not numbered by the authors, are indicated thus: [p. 1], [p. 2], etc. The pages of the three rough drafts, which were numbered by Marx, are indicated thus: [1], [2], etc.

The arrangement of the different parts of the manuscript within Chapter I and its subdivision into sections are the same as in the Russian version first published in the journal Voprosy Filosofii (Questions of Philosophy), Nos. 10 and 11, Moscow, 1965. In English this version was first published by Progress Publishers in Vol. 1 of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Selected Works (in three volumes), Moscow, 1969.

9 A reference to David Friedrich Strauss' main work, Das Leben Jesu (Bd. 1-2, Tübingen, 1835-1836); with it began the philosophical criticism of religion and the disintegration of the Hegelian school into Old and Young Hegelians.

10 Diadochi—the generals of Alexander the Great who, after his death, fought one another in a fierce struggle for power. In the course of this struggle (end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd century B.C.) Alexander's Empire, an
unstable military and administrative union, disintegrated into several independent states.

11 In *The German Ideology* the term “Verkehr” ("intercourse") is used in a very broad sense. It comprises both the material and spiritual intercourse of individuals, social groups and whole countries. Marx and Engels show that material intercourse, and above all the intercourse of men in the process of production, is the basis of all other forms of intercourse. The terms *Verkehrsform* (form of intercourse), *Verkehrsweise* (mode of intercourse), *Verkehrsverhältnisse* (relations of intercourse) and *Produktions- und Verkehrsverhältnisse* (relations of production and intercourse) are used by Marx and Engels in *The German Ideology* to express the concept “relations of production”, which at that time was taking shape in their minds.

12 The term "Stamm" used by Marx and Engels has been translated as "tribe" in this volume. It had a wider range of meaning at the time of the writing of *The German Ideology* than it has at present. It was used to denote a community of people descended from a common ancestor, and comprised the modern concepts of "gens" and "tribe". The first to define and differentiate these concepts was the American ethnologist and historian Lewis Henry Morgan in his main work *Ancient Society; or, Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilisation* (1877). Morgan showed for the first time the significance of the gens as the primary cell of the primitive communal system and thereby laid the scientific foundations for the history of primitive society as a whole. In his work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884) Engels showed the far-reaching significance of Morgan’s discoveries and his concepts “gens” and “tribe” for the study of primitive society.

13 The agrarian law proposed by Licinius and Sextius, Roman tribunes of the people, was passed in 367 B.C. as a result of the struggle waged by the plebeians against the patricians. It prohibited Roman citizens from holding more than 500 *jugera* (about 309 acres) of common land (*ager publicus*). By civil wars in Rome is usually meant the struggle between various groups of the Roman ruling class which started at the end of the 2nd century B.C. and continued until 30 B.C. These wars, together with the growing class contradictions and slave revolts, accelerated the decline of the Roman Republic and led to the establishment, in 30 B.C., of the Roman Empire.

14 Here and below Marx and Engels refer mainly to Feuerbach’s work *Grundsätze der Philosophie der Zukunft* and quote different expressions and terms from it.

15 See the section “Geographische Grundlage der Weltgeschichte” in Hegel’s *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte*.


17 The reference is to the following works published in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* early in 1844: two articles by Marx, “On the Jewish Question” and “Contribution to the Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Law. Introduction”, and

p. 47

18 Cf. Romans 9:16: "So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy."  

p. 48

19 The conclusion that the proletarian revolution could only be carried through in all the advanced capitalist countries simultaneously, and hence that the victory of the revolution in a single country was impossible, was expressed even more definitely in the "Principles of Communism" written by Engels in 1847 (see present edition, Vol. 6). In their later works, however, Marx and Engels expressed this idea in a less definite way and emphasised that the proletarian revolution should be regarded as a comparatively long and complicated process which can develop first in individual capitalist countries. In the new historical conditions V. I. Lenin came to the conclusion, which he based on the specific circumstances of operation of the law of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism in the epoch of imperialism, that the socialist revolution could be victorious at first even in a single country. This thesis was set forth for the first time in his article "On the Slogan for a United States of Europe" (1915) (V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 21).  

p. 49

20 In the German original the term "Haupt- und Staatsaktionen" ("principal and spectacular actions") is used, which has several meanings. In the 17th and the first half of the 18th century, it denoted plays performed by German touring companies. The plays, which were rather formless, presented tragic historical events in a bombastic and at the same time coarse and farcical way.  

Secondly, this term can denote major political events. It was used in this sense by a trend in German historical science known as "objective historiography". Leopold Ranke was one of its chief representatives. He regarded "Haupt- und Staatsaktionen" as the main subject-matter to be set forth. Objective historiography, which was primarily interested in the political and diplomatic history of nations, proclaimed the pre-eminence of foreign politics over domestic politics and disregarded the social relations of men and their active role in history.  

p. 50

21 The Continental System, or the Continental Blockade, proclaimed by Napoleon I in 1806, after Prussia's defeat, prohibited trade between the countries of the European Continent and Great Britain. This made the import into Europe of a number of products, including sugar and coffee, very difficult. Napoleon's defeat in Russia in 1812 put an end to the Continental System.  

p. 51

22 Marseillaise, Carmagnole, Ça ira — revolutionary songs of the period of the French Revolution. The refrain of the last song was: "Ah! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira. Les aristocrates à la lanterne!" ("Ah, it will certainly happen. Hang the aristocrats on the lamp-post!")  

p. 53

23 See Note 20.  

p. 55

24 An allusion to a type of light literature which was widely read at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century; many of its characters were knights,
robbers and ghosts, e.g., Abällino, der grosse Bandit by Heinrich Daniel Zschokke published in 1793, and Rinaldo Rinaldini, der Räuberhauptmann by Christian August Vulpius (1797).

25 Rhine-song ("Der deutsche Rhein") — a poem by Nicolaus Becker which was widely used by nationalists in their own interest. It was written in 1840 and set to music by several composers.

26 A reference to Feuerbach's article "Ueber das Wesen des Christenthums in Beziehung auf den Einzigen und sein Eigenthum" published in Wigand's Vierteljahrsschrift, 1845, Bd. 2. The article ends as follows: "Hence Feuerbach is not a materialist, nor an idealist, nor a philosopher of identity. What is he then? He is the same in his thought as he is actually, the same in spirit as in the flesh, the same in his essence as in his sense-impressions—he is a man or, rather, since Feuerbach simply places the essence of man in the community, he is a communal man, a communist."

27 This section formed originally part of Chapter III and followed directly after the passage to which Marx and Engels refer here (see this volume, pp. 173-76).


29 The Anti-Corn Law League was founded in 1838 by the Manchester manufacturers Cobden and Bright. The English Corn Laws, first adopted in the 15th century, imposed high tariffs on imported cereals in order to maintain high prices for them in the home market. In the first third of the 19th century, in 1815, 1822 and later, several laws were passed changing the conditions for corn imports, and in 1828 a sliding scale was introduced which raised import tariffs on corn when prices in the home market declined and, on the other hand, lowered tariffs when prices rose in Britain.

The League widely exploited the popular discontent over the raising of corn prices. In its efforts to obtain the repeal of the Corn Laws and the establishment of complete freedom of trade, it aimed at weakening the economic and political positions of the landed aristocracy and lowering the cost of living thus making possible a lowering of the workers' wages.

The struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy over the Corn Laws ended with the repeal of these laws in 1846.

30 An ironical allusion to Stirner's "union" ("Verein") — a voluntary association of egoists (see this volume, pp. 389-417).

31 During the following years, Marx and Engels changed their evaluation of the medieval peasant uprisings both as a result of their studies of the peasants' struggle against feudalism and also of the revolutionary actions of the peasants in 1848 and 1849. Engels, in particular, in his work The Peasant War in Germany (written in 1850) showed the revolutionary nature of the peasant risings and the part they played in undermining the very basis of the feudal system.

33 *Navigation Laws*—a series of acts passed in England to protect English shipping against foreign competition. The best known was that of 1651, directed mainly against the Dutch, who controlled most of the carrying trade. It prohibited the importation of any goods not carried by English ships or the ships of the country where the goods were produced, and laid down that British coasting trade and commerce with the colonies were to be carried on only by English ships. The Navigation Laws were modified in the early 19th century and repealed in 1849 except for a reservation regarding coasting trade, which was revoked in 1854.

34 England was conquered by the Normans in 1066. The foundations of the Kingdom of Sicily, proclaimed in 1130 and embracing Sicily and South Italy with Naples as its centre, were laid down in the latter half of the 11th century by Robert Guiscard, leader of the Norman conquerors.

35 The term "bürgerliche Gesellschaft" ("civil society") is used in two distinct ways by Marx and Engels: 1) to denote the economic system of society irrespective of the historical stage of development, the sum total of material relations which determine the political institutions and ideological forms, and 2) to denote the material relations of bourgeois society (or that society as a whole), of capitalism. The term has therefore been translated according to its concrete content and the given context either as "civil society" (in the first case) or as "bourgeois society" (in the second).

36 The Italian town of Amalfi became a prosperous trade centre in the 10th and 11th centuries. Its maritime law (*Tabula Amalphitana*) was valid throughout Italy and widely used in other Mediterranean countries in the Middle Ages.

37 The *Leipzig Council*—this is an allusion to the fact that the works of Bruno Bauer and Max Stirner, the two "church fathers" criticised in this section, were published in Leipzig.

38 The *Battle of the Huns* (*Hunnenschlacht*), one of the best-known pictures by Wilhelm von Kaulbach, painted in 1834-37, is based on the battle fought by the Huns and the Romans at Châlons in 451. Kaulbach depicts the ghosts of fallen warriors fighting in the air above the battleground.

39 A reference to the potato blight of 1845 which affected Ireland, many regions of England and some parts of the Continent. It led to a failure of the potato crop and devastating famine in Ireland.

40 *Santa Casa* (The Sacred House)—the name of the headquarters of the Inquisition in Madrid.

41 "*Positive philosophy*"—a mystical religious trend (Christian Hermann Weisse, Immanuel Hermann Fichte Junior, Anton Günther, Franz Xaver von Baader, and
Friedrich Schelling in his late period), which criticised Hegel's philosophy from the right. The "positive philosophers" tried to make philosophy subservient to religion, denied the possibility of rational cognition and proclaimed divine revelation the only source of "positive" knowledge. They called "negative" every philosophy which recognised rational cognition as its source. p. 98

Oregon was claimed by both the U.S.A. and Britain. The struggle for the possession of Oregon ended in June 1846 with the division of the territory between the U.S.A. and Britain. For the Corn Laws see Note 29. p. 98

The expression "to fight like Kilkenny cats" originated at the end of the 18th century. During the Irish uprising of 1798 the town of Kilkenny was occupied by Hessian mercenaries serving in the British army, who used to amuse themselves by watching fights between cats with their tails tied together. One day, a soldier, seeing an officer approaching, cut off the cats' tails with his sword and the cats ran away. The officer was told that the cats had eaten each other and only their tails remained. p. 106

An allusion to the conflict between the Young Hegelian Karl Nauwerck and the professors of the Faculty of Philosophy at Berlin University (see Chapter III of The Holy Family, the present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 17-18). p. 110

The structure of this chapter parodies Stirner's manner of presenting his material. In his book Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum Stirner often interrupts his exposition with "episodical insertions" which are not directly connected with the subject-matter. Poking fun at this manner, Marx and Engels begin the chapter with a reference to Stirner's article "Recensenten Stirners" (published in Wigand's Vierteljahresschrift, Vol. 3), which they ironically call "Apologetical Commentary". It is Stirner's reply to the criticism of his book by Szeliga, Feuerbach and Hess. Then follows a lengthy "episodical insertion", which takes up nearly the whole of this long chapter. It contains a critical analysis of Stirner's book, and only at the end of the chapter, in Section 2, do Marx and Engels return to the above-mentioned article. The structure of the "episode" corresponds to that of the book they criticised, and, just like the latter, it comprises two parts ironically entitled "The Old Testament: Man", and "The New Testament: 'Ego'". The corresponding parts in Stirner's book are entitled "Der Mensch" ("Man") and "Ich" ("Ego"). In the subheadings Marx and Engels also use the names of chapters and sections of Stirner's book, in many cases giving them an ironical twist. p. 117

Max Stirner's book Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum, Leipzig, Wigand, 1845, was published in October-November 1844. Engels was one of the first readers of this book, for Wigand sent him the advance proofs. This is mentioned in the letter Engels wrote to Marx on November 19, 1844. p. 117

Part One of Stirner's book, "Der Mensch" ("Man"), has the following structure: I. Ein Menschenleben (A Man's Life); II. Menschen der alten und neuen Zeit (People of Ancient and Modern Times): 1. Die Alten (The Ancients); 2. Die Neuen (The Moderns)—§ 1. Der Geist (The Spirit), § 2. Die Besessenen (The Possessed), § 3. Die Hierarchie (Hierarchy); 3. Die Freien (The Free Ones)—§ 1. Der politische Liberalismus (Political Liberalism), § 2. Der sociale Libera-
lismus (Social Liberalism), § 3. Der humane Liberalismus (Humane Liberalism).

p. 121

48 The campaigns of Sesostris—according to the Greek historians Herodotus and Diodorus, campaigns by a legendary Egyptian pharaoh to conquer countries in Asia and Europe.

Napoleon's expedition to Egypt—a reference to the landing of the French army, commanded by General Bonaparte, in Egypt in the summer of 1798 and to the subsequent campaigns of this army to subdue Egypt and Syria. Napoleon's expedition to Egypt ended in failure in 1801.

p. 136

49 The seven wise men—a term usually applied to seven eminent Greek philosophers and statesmen who lived in the 6th century B.C.: Bias, Chilon, Cleobulus, Periander, Pittacus, Solon and Thales.

Neo-academists—philosophers belonging to the Athenian school of neo-Platonism.

p. 138

50 Brahm (or Brahma, Brahman)—the basic category of ancient Hindu idealist philosophy denoting the essence of the universe, impersonal, immaterial, uncreated, illimitable, timeless.

Om—ritualistic word invoking Brahma.

p. 141

51 From 987, when Hugh Capet claimed the throne of France, until the French Revolution, the kings of France were in fact members of the Capet dynasty, for both the Valois, who ruled from 1328, and the Bourbons, who followed them in 1589, were branches of the Capet family. Louis XVI, a member of the Bourbon dynasty, was executed in January 1793 by order of the National Convention.

p. 146

52 Until the revolution of 1848 smoking was prohibited in the streets of Berlin and in the Tiergarten (a park in the city) under penalty of a fine or corporal punishment.

p. 162

53 The attempt which Enfantin made in 1832 to establish a labour commune in Ménilmontant, then a suburb of Paris, led to legal proceedings against the Saint-Simonists, who were accused of immorality and the spread of dangerous ideas. On August 28, 1832, Enfantin was sentenced to one year's imprisonment but was released before serving the full term. Afterwards, Enfantin and several of his followers went to Egypt, where he worked as an engineer.

p. 164

54 Wasserpolacken (literally water Poles)—nickname given to the Silesian Poles in Germany.

p. 164

55 A reference to the bombardment of Chinese maritime towns and ports on the Yangtse and other rivers by the British naval and land forces during the First Opium War, Britain's war of conquest against China waged from 1839 to 1842. With this war began the transformation of China into a semi-colony.

p. 166

56 "Deux amis de la liberté" ("Two friends of freedom")—pseudonym used by Fr. Marie Kerverseau and G. Clavelin, authors of the Histoire de la Révolution de 1789, a work in twenty volumes published in Paris at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century.

p. 178
57 "Habits bleus" ("blue coats") — a name given to the soldiers of the French Republic at the end of the 18th century because of the colour of their uniform. In a wider sense it was applied to the Republicans as distinct from the royalists, who were called Blancs ("Whites").

p. 179

58 See Note 18.

p. 180

59 Kupfergraben — the name of a canal in Berlin. Hegel lived on the Kupfergraben embankment.

p. 184

60 Hanseatic League (Hanse) — a league of German and other North-European merchant cities, situated on the Baltic and the North Sea and the rivers flowing into them. At one time it also included several Dutch cities. The heyday of the Hanseatic League was the second half of the 14th century. It began to decline and to disintegrate towards the end of the 15th century but continued to exist formally until 1669.

p. 194

61 An allusion to the Continental System. See Note 21.

p. 195

62 Tugendbund (League of Virtue) — secret political society which was founded in Prussia in 1808. Its principal aims were to foster patriotic feelings among the population and to organise the struggle for the liberation of Germany from the Napoleonic occupation and for the establishment of a constitutional system in the country. At Napoleon's request the Tugendbund was formally dissolved in 1809 by the King of Prussia but it actually continued to exist until the end of the Napoleonic wars.

p. 196

63 Cercle social — an organisation established by democratic intellectuals in Paris in the first years of the French Revolution. Its chief spokesman, Claude Fauchet, demanded an equalitarian division of the land, restrictions on large fortunes and employment for all able-bodied citizens. The criticism to which Fauchet and his supporters subjected the formal equality proclaimed in the documents of the French Revolution prepared the ground for bolder action in defence of the destitute by Jacques Roux, Théophile Leclerc and other members of the radical-plebeian "Enragés".

p. 198

64 The end of this sentence from the words "the bourgeois ... express ... the rule of the proprietors ..." and the following five paragraphs up to and including the words "customs duties which hampered commerce at every turn, and they" are part of the manuscript discovered in the early 1960s and first published (in German) in the International Review of Social History, Vol. VII, 1962, Part 1. The text is written on two pages, the beginning of the first one is damaged.

p. 198

65 The motion of the Bishop of Autun (Talleyrand) — one of the representatives of the clergy who supported the decision of the deputies of the Third Estate to transform the States-General (a consultative organ based on social estates) into a National Assembly (later, the Constituent Assembly) — was designed to extend the powers of the Assembly. It proposed that the deliberations of the Assembly should no longer be restricted to matters mentioned in the Cahiers de doléances — lists of grievances and instructions given by the constituents of each estate to their deputies in connection with the convocation of the States-General (États
Not many should have the right to decide each question according to their own judgment.

Bailliages—bailliages in pre-revolutionary France, also electoral districts during the elections to the States-General; divisions des ordres—each bailiages was divided into three social estates: the nobility, the clergy and the Third Estate. The figure 431 is apparently a slip of the pen, for there were 531 divisions des ordres.

Jeu de paume—a tennis-court in Versailles. On June 20, 1789, the deputies of the Third Estate, who on June 17 proclaimed themselves a National Assembly, met in this building (because their official meeting-place had been closed by order of the King) and took a solemn oath not to separate until they had given France a constitution.

Lit de justice—sessions of the French parliaments (the supreme judicial bodies in pre-revolutionary France) in the presence of the King. Orders by the King issued at these sessions had the force of law. The reference here is to the meeting of the States-General on June 23, 1789. At this meeting the King declared the decisions adopted by the Third Estate on June 17 null and void and demanded the immediate dispersal of the Assembly, but the deputies of the Third Estate refused to obey and continued their deliberations.

Jacquerie—French peasant revolt which took place in May and June 1358 and was supported by the poor in a number of cities.

A peasant rebellion under the leadership of Wat Tyler flared up in England in the summer of 1381. It had the support of the lower strata of the London population, who opened the gates of the capital to the insurgents. Some demands of the latter, for example, the abolition of the Statute of Labourers, were also in the interest of the plebeian townsmen.

Evil May Day—name given to the uprising of the poorer citizens of London on May 1, 1517. It was directed against the increasing power of foreign merchants and usurers.

A peasant uprising under the leadership of Robert Kett (a local squire and owner of a tannery) took place between June and August 1549 in East Anglia. Among the insurgents were many unemployed weavers, ruined artisans and other destitute people. With the help of the town poor the insurgents seized Norwich.

This refers to events connected with the Chartist movement in England. When Parliament rejected their first petition in July 1839, the Chartists attempted to call a general strike (a "sacred month"). At the beginning of November 1839 a rising of miners took place in South Wales, which was crushed by police and government troops. In July 1840, the National Charter Association was founded which united a considerable number of the country's local Chartist organisations. In August 1842, after the second petition had been rejected by Parliament, spontaneous action of the workers took place in many industrial regions of the country. In Lancashire and in a considerable part of Cheshire and Yorkshire the strikes were very widespread, and in a number of places they grew into spontaneous uprisings.

Free-thinkers (Freijeister—by spelling the word according to the Berlin dialect pronunciation the authors have given the name an ironical note)—an allusion to "The Free", a group of Berlin Young Hegelians which came into being in the first half of 1842. Among its principal members were Bruno Bauer, Edgar Bauer,
Eduard Meyen, Ludwig Buhl and Max Stirner. The existing system was criticised by “The Free” in an abstract way, their statements were devoid of real revolutionary content, their ultra-radical form often compromised the democratic movement. Many of “The Free” renounced radicalism in the following years.

For the criticism of “The Free” in Marx’s early writings see present edition, Vol. 1, pp. 287, 390, 393-95.

70 *Congregatio de propaganda fide* (Congregation for Propagating the Faith)—an organisation founded by the Pope in 1622 in order to propagate Catholicism in all countries and to fight heretics.

71 This refers to the movement for a democratic electoral reform whose members—republican democrats and petty-bourgeois socialists—gathered round *La Réforme*, an opposition newspaper published in Paris from 1843. The supporters of *La Réforme* were also known as the socialistic democratic party.

72 *Capitularies*—legislative or administrative ordinances of the Frankish kings. Many of these enactments legalised serfdom and were designed to ensure stricter fulfilment by the peasants of the numerous obligations imposed on them (Charlemagne’s well-known capitulary referred to in the text is presumably the *Capitulare de villis*—Capitulary on Royal Estates—issued about A.D. 800). Some of these acts threatened peasants who were disobedient, took part in revolts and so on with severe punishment (for example, Charlemagne’s Capitulary on Saxony of 782 directed against the fight of the free Saxon peasants against the Frankish conquerors).

73 An allusion to disturbances which took place in Catalonia at the beginning of July 1845 and were caused by the attempt of the government to introduce a law under which one man out of five was to serve in the army. The disturbances were brutally suppressed.

74 *Barataria*—the island of which Sancho Panza was made governor in Cervantes’ *Don Quixote*.

75 *Dioscuri*—Castor and Pollux (or in Greek Polydeuces), heroes of classical mythology, the twin sons of Zeus, by whom they were turned into the constellation Gemini (the Twins); as such they were considered to be the patrons of seamen.

76 *Rumford broth*—thin soup for the poor prepared from bones and cheap substitutes; the recipe for it was made up at the end of the 18th century by Count Rumford (alias Benjamin Thompson).

77 *Banqueroute cochonne* (swinish bankruptcy)—the 32nd of the 36 types of bankruptcy described by Fourier in his work *Des trois unités externes* published in the journal *La Phalange*, 1845, Vol. 1. Excerpts from this work are given by Engels in his article “A Fragment of Fourier’s on Trade” (for the passage about “swinish bankruptcy” see present edition, Vol. 4, p. 638).

78 Part Two of Stirner’s book *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum*—“Ich” (“Ego”)—is subdivided as follows: I. Die Eigenheit (Peculiarity); II. Der Eigner (The Owner):

Orphanage-Francke—the nickname stems from the fact that August Hermann Francke founded an orphanage and several other philanthropic institutions for children in Halle at the end of the 17th century.

The maxim "Know Thyself" was written over the entrance of Apollo's temple at Delphi.

According to Bentham's utilitarian ethics, actions were to be considered good if they produced a greater amount of pleasure than suffering. The compilation of long tedious lists cataloguing pleasure and suffering, and their subsequent balancing in order to determine the morality of an action, is here called by Marx and Engels "Bentham's book-keeping".

In the middle of the 19th century Moabit was a north-western suburb of Berlin; Köpenick—a south-eastern suburb of Berlin, and the Hamburger Tor (Hamburg Gate)—a gate at the northern boundary of Berlin.

Nante the loafer (Eckensteher Nante)—a character in Karl von Holtei's play Ein Trauerspiel in Berlin. On the basis of this prototype Fritz Beckmann, a well-known German comedian, produced a popular farce Der Eckensteher Nante im Verhör. The name Nante became a byword for a garrulous, philosophising wag, who seizes every opportunity to crack stale jokes in the Berlin dialect.

Emperor Sigismund handed over Jan Huss to the Council of Constance (1414-15) despite the safe conduct he had granted him.

Francis I, who was defeated at Pavia (1525) and taken prisoner by Charles V, was released only after renouncing his claims to Milan and Burgundy (Madrid Treaty of 1526). But after his release he repudiated the treaty.

Blocksberg—popular name of several German mountains and in particular of the Brocken, the highest peak of the Harz Mountains. According to German folklore, the witches meet to celebrate their sabbath on the Blocksberg.

According to legend, the early Christian Saint Ursula and "her eleven thousand virgins" were martyred in Cologne. The alleged number of virgins is probably due to the name of Ursula's companion, Undecimilla, which in Latin means "eleven thousand".

Caius—a name adopted by many textbooks and other works on formal logic to denote a human being, especially in syllogisms.

Spanso bocko—one of the most cruel forms of corporal punishment, which was used by the colonialists in Surinam (in the north-eastern part of South America).

The uprising of Negro slaves which took place in Haiti in 1791 marked the beginning of a revolutionary movement against the colonial regime. Toussaint
Louverture, the leader of the insurgents, played an outstanding part in the war of liberation which the Negroes waged against the French, English and Spanish colonialists. In the course of the struggle, which ended with the proclamation of Haiti's independence in January 1804, slavery was abolished and subsequently the estates of the planters were divided among the former slaves. p. 308

91 The Historical School of Law—a trend in German historiography and jurisprudence in the late 18th century. The representatives of this school, Gustav Hugo, Friedrich Karl Savigny and others, sought to justify the privileges of the nobility and feudal institutions by referring to the inviolability of historical traditions.

Romanticists—adherents of reactionary romanticism in the social sciences who tried to vindicate the Middle Ages and the feudal system and to oppose them to the ideas of bourgeois Enlightenment, democracy and liberalism. Among the prominent ideologists of romanticism were Louis Gabriel Bonald, Joseph de Maistre, Karl Ludwig Haller and Adam Müller.

For a criticism of these two trends see Marx's works: “The Philosophical Manifesto of the Historical School of Law” and “Contributions to the Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Law. Introduction” (present edition, Vols. 1 and 3). p. 314

92 The “Ten Tables” — the original version of the “Twelve Tables” (lex duodecim tabularum), the oldest legislative document of the Roman slave-owners' state. These laws were enacted as a result of the struggle which the plebeians waged against the patricians during the republican period in the middle of the 5th century B.C.; they became the point of departure for the further development of Roman civil law. p. 318

93 For the Corn Laws see Note 29. p. 325

94 This refers to the Law of 1844 which made it very difficult to obtain a divorce. The Bill was drafted in 1842 on the instructions of Frederick William IV by Savigny, one of the founders of the Historical School of Law (see Note 91), who was Prussian Minister for the Revision of Laws from 1842 to 1848. p. 339

95 Leges barbarorum (laws of the barbarians)—codes of law which originated between the 5th and the 9th centuries and were, in the main, a written record of the customary or prescriptive law of the various Germanic tribes.

Consuetudines feudorum (feudal customs)—a compilation of medieval feudal laws which was made in Bologna in the last third of the 12th century.

Jus talionis (right of retaliation)—the right of retaliation by inflicting a punishment of the same kind (“an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth”).

The old German Gewere—the legitimate rule of a free man over a piece of land where he exercised sovereign authority and was responsible for the protection of every person and thing.

Compensatio—the balancing of claim and counter-claim against each other.

Satisfactio—reparation, or atonement, for an offence; it can also mean satisfying a creditor not by repaying the debt incurred but by some other service. p. 342

96 The Holy Hermandad (Holy Brotherhood) — league of Spanish towns set up at the end of the 15th century with the approbation of the king, who sought to make use of the bourgeoisie in the struggle between absolutism and the powerful feudal
lords. From the middle of the 16th century the armed detachments of the Hermandad performed police duties. The term "Holy Hermandad" was later used ironically for the police.

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97 Spandau—at that time a Prussian fortress west of Berlin with a jail for political prisoners.

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98 Landwehrgraben—a canal in Berlin which extended up to Charlottenburg, then a Berlin suburb. It is possible that Marx and Engels are alluding to Egbert Bauer's publishing house in Charlottenburg, where Szeliga's works were published.

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The following section is a critical analysis of the second section, "Mein Verkehr" ("My Intercourse"), Chapter Two, Part Two of Stirner's book Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum. From the introductory remarks of Marx and Engels to this part of their work (see this volume, p. 240) it follows that they intended to use the heading "My Intercourse" and to mark it with the letter "B", for the preceding section is called "A. Meine Macht" ("A. My Power"), and the following one "C. Mein Selbstgenuss" ("C. My Self-Enjoyment"). The section "B. My Intercourse" probably consisted of three subsections: "I. Society", "II. Rebellion" and "III. Union." The first three subdivisions and the beginning of the fourth subdivision of the section "I. Society" are missing. When Paul Weller was preparing The German Ideology for publication as Band 5, Erste Abteilung of Marx/Engels Gesamtausgabe (MEGA), he suggested that the subsection "I. Society" may have consisted of five parts. The heading of the first is unknown, but it might have been "1. Die verstirnerte Gesellschaft" ("1. Stirnerised Society"), or "1. Die Gesellschaft im allgemeinen" ("1. Society in General"), or "1. Die menschliche Gesellschaft" ("1. Human Society"). That of the second was probably "2. Die Gesellschaft als Gefängniggesellschaft" ("2. Society as Prison Society"); of the third, "3. Die Gesellschaft als Familie" ("3. Society as a Family"); of the fourth, "4. Die Gesellschaft als Staat" ("Society as State"), of which only the last portion has been found. The fifth part has been preserved in its entirety and is called "5. Die Gesellschaft als bürgerliche Gesellschaft" ("5. Society as Bourgeois Society").

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The September Laws—reactionary laws promulgated by the French Government in September 1835. They restricted the rights of juries and introduced severe measures against the press. The clauses directed against the latter provided for higher amounts to be deposited as security by periodical publications, and made the people responsible for publications directed against private property and the existing political regime liable to imprisonment and heavy fines.

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The reference is apparently to the Commissions of the Estates in the Landtags (provincial diets), which were instituted in Prussia in June 1842. Elected by the Landtags from their deputies according to the estates principle, they formed a single advisory body known as the "United Commissions". With the help of this body, which was a mockery of representative institution, Frederick William IV hoped to enforce new taxes and obtain a loan.

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When the Corn Laws (see Note 29) were repealed in 1846, a small, temporary tariff on the import of corn was retained until 1849.
Magna Charta Libertatum—the charter which the insurgent barons, who were supported by knights and townsmen, forced King John of England to sign at Runnymede on June 15, 1215. Magna Charta limited the powers of the king, mainly in the interests of the feudal lords, and also contained some concessions to the knights and the towns.

Under the leadership of Themistocles the Greeks defeated the Persians in the naval battle of Salamis in 480 B.C.

After the Greek War of Independence (1821-29) against Turkish rule, Britain, Russia and France compelled the new Greek state to adopt a monarchical form of government, and placed the 17-year-old prince Otto of Bavaria on the Greek throne.

Marx and Engels are alluding to Voltaire's description of Habakkuk. There is a direct reference to it in their article "Konflikte zwischen Polizei und Volk.—Über die Ereignisse auf der Krim" published on July 9, 1855. The expression "capable de tout" (capable of anything) is used here ironically, i.e., "capable of nothing".

An allusion to the fact that in the summer of 1845 Stirner attempted to earn his living by selling milk since he could not exist on the proceeds from his literary work. But the undertaking proved a complete failure, and the curdled milk had to be poured down the drain.

The Pandects are part of a compendium of Roman civil law (Corpus juris civilis) made by order of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I in the 6th century. They contained extracts from the works of prominent Roman jurists.

A reference to the British and Dutch East India Companies which were founded at the beginning of the 17th century. They had the monopoly of trade with the East Indies and played a decisive part in the establishment of the British and Dutch colonial empires.

The Preussische Seehandlungsgesellschaft (Prussian Maritime Trading Company) was founded as a commercial and banking company in 1772 and granted a number of important privileges by the state. It advanced big loans to the government and in fact became its banker and broker.

Levons-nous! (Let us rise up!)—part of the motto of the Révolutions de Paris, a revolutionary-democratic weekly which was published in Paris from July 1789 to February 1794 (until September 1790 its editor was Elisée Loustalot). The entire motto was: "Les grands ne nous paraissent grands que parce que nous sommes à genoux: levons-nous!" ("The great only seem great to us because we are on our knees: Let us rise up!").

Der hinkende Botte, also called Der hinkende Bote (The Lame Messenger)—a name given to a sort of popular almanac which contained rather stale news relating to events of the preceding year.

Straubinger—a name for German travelling journeymen. In their works and letters Marx and Engels frequently applied it ironically to artisans who remained under the influence of backward guild notions and believed that society could
abandon large-scale capitalist industry and return to the petty handicraft stage of production.  

Mozart's *Requiem* was completed, on the basis of his manuscript notes, by Franz Xaver Süssmayer.  

Organisers of labour— an allusion to the utopian socialists (in particular Fourier and his followers) who put forward a plan for the peaceful transformation of society by means of associations, that is, by “organisation of labour”, which they opposed to the anarchy of production under capitalism.

Some of these ideas were used by the French petty-bourgeois socialist Louis Blanc in his book *Organisation du travail* (Paris, 1839) in which he proposed that the bourgeois state should transform contemporary society into a socialist society.  

See Note 18.

Willenhall, a town in Staffordshire, England, with a considerable iron industry.

An allusion to the fact that Max Stirner dedicated his book to his wife Marie Dähnhardt. The phrase “the title spectre of his book” was derived from Stirner's phrase “the title spectre of her book”. In his book *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum* he used it in relation to Bettina von Arnim's work, *Dies Buch gehört dem König*.  

This refers to one of the main principles of the “Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen” (*Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen*), a preamble to the Constitution adopted by the French Convention in 1793 during the revolutionary dictatorship of the Jacobins. The last article, the 35th, of the Declaration reads: “When the government violates the rights of the people, insurrection is the imprescriptible right and the irremissible duty of the people as a whole and of each of its sections.”

According to the Bible (Genesis 41:18-20), the Egyptian pharaoh dreamed that seven fat cows were eaten by seven lean cows but the latter remained just as lean as before. According to the interpretation given to the pharaoh by Joseph, the dream meant that Egypt would have rich harvests for seven years to be followed by seven years of drought and famine.

The *Customs Union* (*Zollverein*) of German states (initially they numbered 18), which established a common customs frontier, was set up in 1834 and headed by Prussia. By the 1840s the Union embraced most of the German states, with the exception of Austria, the Hanseatic cities (Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck) and a few small states. Brought into being by the necessity to create an all-German market, the Customs Union became a factor conducive to the political unification of Germany.

The *Cyrenaic school*—a school of ancient Greek philosophy founded at the beginning of the 4th century B.C. by Aristippus of Cyrene, a pupil of Socrates. The Cyrenaics were agnostics, adopted a critical attitude to religion and regarded pleasure (*hedone*) as the aim of life.
A reference to the writers of Young Germany (Junges Deutschland)—a literary group that emerged in Germany in the 1830s and was influenced by Heinrich Heine and Ludwig Börne. The Young Germany writers (Karl Gutzkow, Ludolf Wienbarg, Theodor Mundt and others) came out in defence of freedom of conscience and the press. Their writings reflected opposition sentiments of the petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals. The views of the Young Germans were politically vague and inconsistent; soon the majority of them turned into mere liberals.

The Levellers were a democratic-republican trend in the English bourgeois revolution of the mid-17th century. The reference in the text is probably to the most radical section of the Levellers known as True Levellers, or Diggers. The Diggers represented the poorest strata that suffered both from feudal and capitalist exploitation in the town and the countryside. In contrast to the mass of the Levellers, who wanted to retain private property, the Diggers advocated common property and other ideas of equalitarian communism.

National reformers—members of the National Reform Association founded in the U.S.A. in 1845. The Association, which consisted mainly of artisans and workers, and declared that every worker should have the right to a piece of land free of charge, started a campaign for a land reform against the slave-owning planters and land speculators. It also put forward a number of other democratic demands such as abolition of the standing army, abolition of slavery and introduction of the ten-hour working day.

Humaniora (humanities)—the subjects the study of which was considered essential for the knowledge of ancient classical culture; the humanists of the Renaissance and their followers regarded these subjects as the basis of humanistic education.

Neue Anekdota—collection of articles by Moses Hess, Karl Grün, Otto Lüning and other representatives of “true socialism” published in Darmstadt at the end of May 1845.

This chapter was published by Marx separately as a review in the monthly publication Das Westphälische Dampfboot in August and September 1847. Before that, in April 1847, Marx had published a “Declaration against Karl Grün”. He stated in it that he intended to publish a review of Grün’s book Die soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien (see present edition, Vol. 6) in the Westphälische Dampfboot. But the first instalment of this article was published only in August 1847. The editors explained in a note that the article could not be published earlier because “for over two months the manuscript was sent from one German town to another without reaching us”.

The work was published in the Westphälische Dampfboot as Marx’s article (the name of the author was mentioned in the editorial note). Consequently one can assume that in contrast to Vol. I, which was written jointly by Marx and Engels, some chapters of Vol. II of The German Ideology are probably the individual work of one or other of them. But since the manuscript of this chapter of Vol. II is in Engels’ handwriting, it is likely that Engels helped to write it. The copy sent to the Westphälische Dampfboot was probably made from this manuscript. The manuscript
and the published text are practically identical. Comparatively few changes were made in the text itself and it is possible that some of these were by the editors of the journal. In this volume, variants affecting the meaning are given in footnotes. Where the manuscript is damaged the missing passages have been taken from the printed text. Such passages have not been specially marked (either by square brackets or footnotes) in this chapter.

129 For Young Germany see Note 123.

130 Cabinet Montpensier—a reading room in the Palais-Royal, formerly a palace of the Princes of Orleans in Paris.

131 Probably an allusion to the organisers of the first political parties of American workers and artisans founded at the end of the 1820s—the Republican Political Association of the Working Men of the City of Philadelphia, the New York Working Men’s Party (their leaders were Frances Wright, Robert Dale Owen, Thomas Skidmore) and other labour associations in various American towns. These organisations had a democratic programme, advocated land reform and other social measures and supported the demand for a ten-hour working day. Although they were short-lived (they existed only until 1834), had a local character, and were composed of factions holding rather heterogeneous views, these first workers’ parties gave an impetus to the incipient labour movement in the United States and helped to disseminate utopian socialist ideas, for many of their members were supporters of this trend.

132 The States-General—the supreme executive and legislative organ of the Netherlands or the Republic of the United Provinces, as the country was called from 1579 to 1795. This assembly consisted of representatives of the seven provinces. The trading bourgeoisie played a dominant part in it.

133 Lettres d’un Habitant de Genève à ses Contemporains was written by Saint-Simon in 1802 and published anonymously in Paris in 1803.

134 The Newton Council—a plan to set up such a council was put forward by Saint-Simon in his book Lettres d’un Habitant de Genève à ses Contemporains. Its purpose was to create conditions that would enable scientists and artists to develop their talents freely. Funds were to be raised by public subscription. Each subscriber was to nominate three mathematicians, three physicists, three chemists, three physiologists, three writers, three painters and three musicians. The sum collected by subscription was to be divided among the three mathematicians, physicists, etc., who had received the greatest number of votes and had thus become members of the Newton Council.

135 The reference is to the following sentences:

“The aim of all social institutions must be to improve the moral, intellectual and physical condition of the most numerous and poorest class.

“All inherited privileges, without exception, are abolished.

“To each according to his capacity, to each capacity according to its works”.

136 The first schism of the Saint-Simonian school occurred in November 1831, caused by Enfantin’s and Bazard’s increasingly discordant views on religion, marriage and the family.
Ménilmontant — then a suburb of Paris where Enfantin, who after Bazard's death became the acknowledged leader of the Saint-Simonian school, the “father superior” of the Saint-Simonists, tried to establish a labour commune in 1832.

Enfantin's work *Économie politique et Politique* was printed in book form in Paris in 1831, after having been published earlier as a series of articles in the newspaper *Le Globe*.

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Le *Livre nouveau* (The New Book)—a manuscript containing an exposition of the Saint-Simonian doctrine. It was drawn up by the leaders of the Saint-Simonian school, which was headed by Enfantin, in the course of a series of meetings held in July 1832. Among the leaders present were Barrot, Fournel, Chevalier, Duverier and Lambert. The authors intended the book to become the “new Bible” of the Saint-Simonian doctrine. Extracts from the *Livre nouveau* and other information about it can be found in Reybaud's book *Études sur les réformateurs ou socialistes modernes*.

*p. 509*

Fourier's *series* — a method of classification which Fourier used to analyse various natural and social phenomena. With the help of this method he tried, in particular, to work out a new social science based on the doctrine of attraction and repulsion of passions, which he regarded as the principal factor of social development (passions, in their turn, were classified by Fourier into groups or series). In this method Fourier combines unscientific and fantastic elements with rational observations.

*p. 511*

See Note 113.

*p. 519*

Patristic philosophy — the teachings of the Fathers of the Church (3rd to 5th century).

*p. 520*

The spontaneous popular risings which took place in many parts of France, and also in Paris, in 1775 were caused by crop failure and famine. The feudal aristocracy which was against Turgot's reforms used these uprisings to oust him from the post of Controller-General of Finance. In the spring of 1776, Turgot was dismissed and the reforms he had introduced (free trade in grain, abolition of some feudal privileges and of the guilds) were rescinded.

*p. 525*

Unlike the other extant chapters of Volume II, which are in Engels' handwriting, the manuscript of Chapter V is in Joseph Weydemeyer's hand and “M. Hess” is written at the end. In December 1845, the journal *Gesellschaftsspiegel* No. 6 carried an article by Hess under the heading “Umtriebe der Kommunistischen Propheten” which discussed the same subject in a similar way as this chapter. It is probable that Chapter V was written by Hess, copied by Weydemeyer and edited by Marx and Engels.

*Die Neue Welt oder das Reich des Geistes auf Erden*, the book examined in this chapter, was published anonymously in 1845. It consists of lectures by Georg Kuhlmann delivered in the Swiss communities of the League of the Just. These communities were founded by Wilhelm Weitling. The League of the Just was a secret organisation of German workers and artisans, which had branches in Germany, France, Switzerland and England. The ideas of “true socialism” were at that time widespread among the members of the League, many of whom were artisans living abroad. A criticism of Kuhlmann's activities and his book can be
found in the article "Zur Geschichte des Urchristentums" written by Engels in 1894.

Engels' work The True Socialists (Die wahren Sozialisten) is a direct continuation of the second volume of The German Ideology.

By the beginning of 1847 the development of "true socialism" had led to the formation of various groups (e.g., the Westphalian, Saxon and Berlin groups) within the general framework of this trend. Engels, therefore, decided to add a critical examination of the different "true socialist" groups to Volume II of The German Ideology. (See his letter to Marx of January 15, 1847.) The result was the manuscript called here The True Socialists. He continued to work on it at least until the middle of April, for an issue of the journal Die Grenzboten published on April 10, 1847, is mentioned in the text. The manuscript has no heading and, to judge by the ending, the work remained unfinished. It was for the first time published by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in German in 1932. In English it was published for the first time in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, The German Ideology, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964.

Here and below the names of constellations are used ironically to designate some of the "true socialists" who contributed to various German periodicals such as Dies Buch gehört dem Volke, Das Westphälische Dampfboot and Gesellschaftsspiegel. The "Lion" denotes Hermann Kriege; the "Crab" Julius Helmich; Rudolf Rempel is, probably, one of the "Twins", the other is Julius Meyer; the "Ram" stands for Joseph Weydemeyer; the "Bull" for Otto Lüning.

Engels' remark that the "Lion" has become a "tribune of the people" is an allusion to the fact that Hermann Kriege, who had emigrated to America, became editor of the New York weekly Der Volks-Tribun.

These associations were formed in a number of Prussian cities in 1844-45 on the initiative of the German liberal bourgeoisie, which, alarmed by the uprising of the Silesian weavers in the summer of 1844, founded them to divert the German workers from the struggle for their class interests.

Eridanus—a constellation in the southern hemisphere, depicted as a river.

The Weser-Dampfboot, which was banned at the end of 1844, appeared from January 1845 under the title Das Westphälische Dampfboot; it was edited by Otto Lüning, who had been an editor of the Weser-Dampfboot.

Marx and Engels' work "Circular against Kriege", which had appeared in the newspaper Der Volks-Tribun in June 1846, was also published in the July issue of the journal Das Westphälische Dampfboot. But Otto Lüning, the editor of the latter, arbitrarily changed the text by inserting his own additions written in the spirit of "true socialism".

Nemesis, the goddess of retribution, was depicted on the cover of the journal Gesellschaftsspiegel.

Engels is referring to a passage in his essay "German Socialism in Verse and Prose" published in the Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung in the autumn of 1847. The essay is closely connected with the second volume of The German Ideology and may originally have formed part of the missing text of this volume (see Note 7).
This may be a reference to the petty-bourgeois newspaper *Dorfzeitung* published in Elberfeld from 1838 to 1847.

Books comprising more than twenty printed sheets were exempt from preliminary censorship, according to the press laws existing in a number of German states. The *Rheinische Jahrbücher*, which were published by Hermann Püttmann, had over twenty sheets.

In *partibus infidelium*—literally in parts inhabited by unbelievers. The words are added to the title of Roman Catholic bishops appointed to purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries. In the figurative sense, they mean “not really existing”.

Engels is ironically alluding to poems glorifying the future of the as yet non-existent German fleet, namely, Georg Herwegh’s “Die deutsche Flotte” (1841) and Ferdinand Freiligrath’s “Flotten-Träume” (1843) and “Zwei Flaggen” (1844).

See Note 22.

In his *Album* Püttmann published seven poems by Heinrich Heine including “Pomare”, “Zur Doctrin” and “Die schlesischen Weber”, as well as several poems by Georg Weerth, among them the “Handwerksburschenlieder”, “Der Kanonen­gießer” and “Gebet eines Irländers”.

A reference to the fact that on August 12, 1845, Saxon troops opened fire on a mass demonstration in Leipzig. A military parade, which was arranged to mark the arrival of Crown Prince Johann, served as a pretext for a protest demonstration against the persecution by the Saxon government of the “German-Catholics” movement and one of its leaders, the clergyman Johannes Ronge. The movement, which arose in 1844 and gained ground in a number of German states, was supported by considerable sections of the middle and petty bourgeoisie. The “German Catholics” did not recognise the supremacy of the Pope, rejected many dogmas and rites of the Roman Catholic Church, and sought to adapt Catholicism to the needs of the rising German bourgeoisie.

The events of August 12, 1845, were described by Engels in his report “The Late Butchery at Leipzig.— The German Working Men’s Movement” published in the Chartist newspaper *The Northern Star* (see present edition, Vol. 4).
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A

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<th>Nationality/Role</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ibn (Ebn) Sina, Abu Ali (Latinised form: Avicenna)</td>
<td>(c. 980-1037)</td>
<td>Medieval philosopher, physician and poet; Tajik by birth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innocent III</td>
<td>(c. 1161-1216)</td>
<td>Pope (1198-1216).</td>
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<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jay, Antoine</td>
<td>(1770-1854)</td>
<td>French writer.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jean Paul (pseudonym of Johann Paul Friedrich Richter)</td>
<td>(1763-1825)</td>
<td>German writer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph II</td>
<td>(1741-1790)</td>
<td>Holy Roman Emperor (1765-90).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jussieu, Antoine Laurent de</td>
<td>(1748-1836)</td>
<td>French botanist.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Juvenal, Decimus Junius</td>
<td>(born in the 60s—died after 127)</td>
<td>Roman satirical poet.</td>
</tr>
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<td>K</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kant, Immanuel</td>
<td>(1724-1804)</td>
<td>German philosopher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kats, Jacob</td>
<td>(1804-1886)</td>
<td>Belgian worker, writer, played an active part in the working-class movement, was influenced by utopian socialism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaulbach, Wilhelm von</td>
<td>(1805-1874)</td>
<td>German painter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerverseau, Fr. Marie</td>
<td></td>
<td>French historian, together with G. Clavelin he wrote the Histoire de la Révolution de 1789, et de l'établissement d'une Constitution en France.... Published under the pseudonym of Deux amis de la liberté.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kett (Ket), Robert</td>
<td>(executed in 1549)</td>
<td>leader of the peasant rising in England in 1549.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kind, Friedrich</td>
<td>(1768-1843)</td>
<td>German poet and playwright.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klopstoch, Friedrich Gottlieb</td>
<td>(1724-1803)</td>
<td>German poet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köhler, Ludwig</td>
<td>(1819-1862)</td>
<td>German writer; in the mid-forties a “true socialist”.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Körner, Karl Theodor</td>
<td>(1791-1813)</td>
<td>German romantic poet and dramatist; was killed in the war of liberation against Napoleon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konrad von Würzburg</td>
<td>(d. 1287)</td>
<td>German poet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotzebue, August Friedrich Ferdinand von</td>
<td>(1761-1819)</td>
<td>German writer and journalist, extreme monarchist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kriege, Hermann</td>
<td>(1820-1850)</td>
<td>German journalist, “true socialist”; founder and editor of the New York newspaper Der Volks-Tribun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krummacher, Friedrich Wilhelm</td>
<td>(1796-1868)</td>
<td>German clergyman, Calvinist, leader of the pietists in Wuppertal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuhlmann, Georg</td>
<td>(b. 1812)</td>
<td>Secret informer in the service of the Austrian Government; in the forties preached the ideas of “true socialism” among the German artisans, followers of Weitling in Switzerland; used religious phraseology and claimed to be a prophet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lafayette (La Fayette), Marie Joseph Paul, Marquis de</td>
<td>(1757-1834)</td>
<td>Prominent figure in the French Revolution, one of the leaders of the moderate constitutionalists (Feuillants); fled to Holland in 1793; subsequently took part in the July Revolution of 1830.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lafontaine, August Heinrich</td>
<td>(1758-1831)</td>
<td>German writer, author of many sentimental novels.</td>
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_Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher_—a yearbook edited by Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge and published in German in Paris. Only the first issue, a double one, came out in February 1844; it contained several articles by Marx and Engels.—47, 197, 205, 209, 236, 247, 336, 514

_Dies Buch gehört dem Volke_—a yearbook published by Otto Lüning in Bielefeld in 1845 and 1846, and in Paderborn in 1847; organ of the “true socialists”.—541

_Le Drapeau blanc_—a newspaper published in Paris from 1819 to 1827 and in 1829-30; an organ of the ultra-royalist party.—346

_L'Égalitaire. Journal de l'organisation sociale_—a monthly founded by Théodore Dézamy and published in Paris in 1840; it propagated the ideas of utopian communism.—206

_L'Époque. Journal complet et universel_—a newspaper published in Paris in 1845-47, organ of the moderate conservatives.—547

_La Fraternité. Journal moral et politique_—a communist workers’ monthly, published in Paris from 1841 to 1843.—216

_La Gazette de France_—a royalist daily; published under this title in Paris from 1762 to 1792 and from 1797 to 1848.—346

_Gesellschaftsspiegel. Organ zur Vertretung der besitzlosen Volksklassen und zur Beleuchtung der gesellschaftlichen Zustände der Gegenwart_—a monthly journal of the “true socialists”; it was edited by Moses Hess and published in Elberfeld in 1845-46; altogether twelve issues appeared. Frederick Engels was one of the founders of the journal.—17, 542, 549, 552, 553

_Le Globe_—a daily newspaper founded by Pierre Leroux and published in Paris from 1824 to 1831; from January 1831 it was the organ of the Saint-Simonists.—506, 509

_Die Grenzboten. Zeitschrift für Politik und Literatur_—a liberal weekly journal published in Leipzig from 1841.—568, 569

_Hallische Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst_—a literary and philosophical journal of the Young Hegelians; it was edited by Arnold Ruge and others and published in Halle from 1838 to 1841. From July 1841 to January 1843 it appeared under the title _Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst_ (see).—56, 98, 508

_Historisch-politische Zeitschrift_—a conservative journal edited by Leopold Ranke, published in Hamburg in 1832 and in Berlin from 1833 to 1836.—301

_L'Instruction sociale_—see _Journal d'instruction sociale_

_Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires_—a daily newspaper founded in Paris in 1789, expressed the views of the government during the July monarchy.—546
Journal d'instruction sociale—a weekly published by Condorcet, Sieyès and Duhamel in Paris from June 1 to July 6, 1793; organ of the Girondists.— 527

Kölnische Zeitung—a daily published under this title from 1802 to 1945; organ of the liberal bourgeoisie.— 541

Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats-und gelehrten Sachen—a daily newspaper published in Berlin from 1785; also known as the Vossische Zeitung after its owner.— 331, 335, 336, 371

Literatur-Zeitung—see Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung

Le Moniteur Universel—a daily newspaper published under this title in Paris from 1789 to 1901; from 1799 to 1869 it was an official government organ.— 336

Le National—a daily newspaper published in Paris from 1830 to 1851; in the 1840s it was the organ of the moderate republicans.— 547, 548

Norddeutsche Blätter für Kritik, Literatur und Unterhaltung—a monthly published in Berlin in 1844 and 1845.— 97, 270, 366

L'Organisateur, journal des progrès de la science générale—a Saint-Simonist weekly published in Paris from 1829 to 1831.— 493, 506

La Phalange. Revue de la science social—a Fourierist journal published in Paris from 1832 to 1849; its title, frequency of publication and size were changed several times.— 236

Le Point du jour, ou Résultat de ce qui s'est passé la veille à l'Assemblée nationale—a daily newspaper published in Paris from June 19, 1789, to October 21, 1791, by Bertrand Barère; it reported the debates in the French National Assembly.— 199

Le Populaire de 1841. Journal de réorganisation sociale et politique—a journal edited by Étienne Cabet; published in Paris from 1841 to 1850.— 462

La Presse—a daily newspaper published in Paris from 1836; in the 1840s organ of the opposition.— 546

Le Producteur. Journal philosophique de l'Industrie, de la Science et des Beaux Arts—a weekly published in Paris from 1825 to 1826, the first periodical publication of the Saint-Simonists.— 506

La Réforme—a daily, organ of the republican democrats and petty-bourgeois socialists, published in Paris from 1843 to 1850.— 548

Révolutions de Paris—a revolutionary-democratic weekly, published in Paris from July 1789 to February 1794; until September 1790 it was edited by Elisée Lous tatot.— 380

Revue des deux Mondes—a literary and political fortnightly journal published in Paris from 1829.— 509

Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform—an organ of the “true socialists”, published by Hermann Püttmann. Only two volumes were issued: the first in Darmstadt in August 1845, the second in Belle-Vue, on the German-Swiss border, at the end of 1846; Engels' “Speeches in Elberfeld” were published in this periodical.— 458, 459-83, 491, 514, 529, 554, 555, 556, 558

Rheinischer Beobachter—a conservative daily newspaper published in Cologne from 1844 until the beginning of 1848.— 542
Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe—a daily newspaper published in Cologne from January 1, 1842, to March 31, 1843. It was founded by members of the Rhenish bourgeoisie who were opposed to Prussian absolutism. Marx was one of its editors from October 15, 1842, to March 17, 1843. Under his influence the newspaper assumed a pronounced revolutionary-democratic character, and this led to its suppression by the Prussian Government. Engels was one of the contributors to this paper.—112

Sächsische Vaterlands-Blätter—a liberal newspaper published in Dresden from 1837, and in Leipzig from 1841.—336

Trier'sche Zeitung—a daily founded in 1757 and published under this title from 1815; the newspaper propagated radical views in the early 1840s, it came later under the influence of the “true socialists”.—541, 559, 573

Veilchen. Harmlose Blätter für die moderne Kritik—a weekly paper of the “true socialists”, it was edited by G. Schlüssel and published in Bautzen (Saxony) in 1846 and 1847.—559, 560, 576

Der Volks-Tribun. Organ des Jungen Amerika—a German-language weekly newspaper founded by “true socialists” in New York, published from January 5 to December 31, 1846; its editor was Hermann Kriege.—543, 552

Vorwärts! Pariser Deutsche Zeitschrift—a German-language newspaper published in Paris twice a week from January to December 1844; at first it was the organ of the moderate section of German emigrants and from May 1844 of their radical and democratic section. Marx and Engels, who collaborated in the production of this journal, strengthened its revolutionary tendencies. When Marx and several other contributors were expelled from France by the Guizot Government the paper ceased publication.—528

Vossische Zeitung—see Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats-und gelehnten Sachen

Die Werkstatt. Eine Monatszeitschrift für Arbeiter—a “true socialist” monthly journal published in Hamburg from 1845 to 1847 and edited by Georg Schirges.—543

Weser-Dampfboot—a radical journal which gradually became an organ of the “true socialists”; it was published in Minden from January to October 1844 twice a week and in November and December once a month. In November Otto Lüning became a co-editor. At the end of 1844 the journal was suppressed by the government; in 1845 it reappeared under the title Das Westphälische Dampfboot (see).—542

Das Westphälische Dampfboot—a monthly journal, organ of the “true socialists”; it was edited by Otto Lüning and published in Bielefeld from January 1845 to December 1846, and in Paderborn from January 1847 to March 1848, Joseph Weydemeyer took part in the editing of this journal. Marx and Engels contributed several articles to this journal.—15, 16, 17, 95, 112, 541-43, 547, 548

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