



For the Future People's State

German Socialists in Exile, 1878-1890

D.T. HENDRIKSE

Cover illustration: House search of a suspected socialist, around 1879. Anonymous. Archiv der sozialen Demokratie, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, FB002461.

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German Socialists in Exile, 1878-1890

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‘Man wird nicht umsonst, das heißt, ohne private Ursache, Feldherr oder Anarchist oder Sozialist oder Reaktionär, und alle großen und edlen und schimpflichen Taten, die einigermaßen die Welt verändert haben, sind die Folgen irgendwelcher ganz unbedeutender Ereignisse, von denen wir keine Ahnung haben.’

Joseph Roth

Abstract

In the years between 1878 and 1890, when Bismarck prohibited socialism in Germany with the so-called Sozialistengesetz, many German socialists went into exile abroad. Even though this was an important, formative period for German socialism, historians have been treating it as a mere intermezzo in the development of socialism rather than a crucial phase. As a result, the international exchange of ideas between the exiled socialists has long been overlooked. Drawing upon a wide array of sources, this thesis studies the transfer and diffusion of ideas. It does so by looking at four exiled Germans – Carl August Schramm, Carl Hirsch, Hermann Schlüter and Clara Zetkin – and three cities in particular – Zürich, Paris and London. Since ideas are highly personal, it is important to take into account the micro histories of the personal lives. I argue that the experience of exile had a large impact on the worldview of German socialists, although this manifested itself in different ways; some became more radical, others more moderate or they turned away from socialism altogether. It also resulted in the international spread of typical German ideas, such as the ‘Volksstaat’ or people’s state. In the end, socialism in Europe and the United States benefitted from the international contacts and exchange of ideas in this period.

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Introduction

In October 1878, several working class families from Saxony planned to emigrate to Anatolia. Apart from economic factors and the idea of a future on the fertile lands of the Ottoman Empire, there were political reasons as well. After two attacks on the German emperor in the summer of 1878, presumably committed by socialists, public opinion in Germany was seized by fear of and hate against socialism. This sentiment also reached Saxony, a socialist stronghold in the German Empire. The families regarded emigration as a better choice. Under the influence of orientalism and philhellenism, German writers and intellectuals promoted Anatolia as a blank slate of fertile lands, waiting for German settlers to colonise it.¹ However, the socialist newspaper *Vorwärts* reacted fiercely to the plan of emigration: ‘Wir sind Gegner eines jeden Auswanderungsplans der auf politisches Unbehagen zurückzuführen ist, weil wir von der Ueberzeugung ausgehen daß der Kampf der uns in der Heimath aufgezwungen worden ist, auch in der Heimath ausgekämpft werden muß.’² The socialist editors condemned the plan because in their view, the workers should not walk away from the struggle for justice in their fatherland. Moreover, the editors warned of the ‘bad climate’ and the colonial character of the mission. It was unthinkable, the newspaper wrote, that the Germans would do the dirty work for British colonizers and would thus serve as ‘Civilisationsschlamm’, the mud of civilisation.³

Less than two weeks after this article in *Vorwärts*, the ‘law against the public danger of social-democratic endeavours’ passed through the Reichstag on 19 October 1878. Within a week, all socialist activities – societies, gatherings, printed materials – were basically declared illegal in the German Empire. Already before the law passed, certain restaurants in Berlin had declined to serve customers who discussed socialism over dinner.⁴ In what came to be the last issue of *Vorwärts* (27 October), a list from the government containing 33 titles of forbidden books, pamphlets and newspapers appeared. The following day, the authorities added *Vorwärts* to their index and the newspaper ceased to exist. Thus in the same month when the editors of the newspaper had claimed

¹ Malte Fuhrmann, „Anatolia as a site of German colonial desire and national re-awakenings“, *New Perspectives on Turkey* 41, Nr. 2 (2009): 125, 131.

² „Warnung“, *Vorwärts* (09.10.1878), 2. To improve readability of the quotes, I have decided to leave out [sic] in case of outdated or typical ways of spelling.

³ Ibidem.

⁴ „Local-Nachrichten“, *Germania. Zeitung für das deutsche Volk* (15.10.1878), 3; „Sozialpolitische Uebersicht“, *Vorwärts* (20.10.1878), 2.

that the struggle for justice and emancipation should be fought ‘in der Heimath’, they were forced either to give up this fight – or to pursue it from abroad.

Most people who were politically active as socialists faced this dilemma after the so-called *Sozialistengesetz* passed: either stop engaging themselves in activities for the socialist cause or go abroad, in exile. In several cases the German government let them no choice and issued an arrest warrant against them. Emigration was often the only way to evade prison. As a result, an estimated number of between nine hundred and one thousand socialists, social-democrats and communists went into exile in the years 1878-1890.⁵ This thesis concentrates on their ideas and how these changed in an international context, in particular the ideas about the German nation state.

Travelling Ideas

‘Ideas are the most migratory things in the world,’ Arthur Lovejoy wrote in 1940.⁶ It is true that they travel more easily than most other commodities and cross borders effortlessly. And yet, the insight that ideas emerge within a certain geographical space has only quite recently been accepted by intellectual historians and historians of ideas.⁷ As a result, a logical conclusion is to assume that the content of ideas and concepts also changes when transported to different contexts or different places. For example, it is commonly known that the concept of ‘liberty’ had a different meaning in eighteenth-century Britain than in France at the same time.⁸ Ideas could travel in different ways: written down in books, pamphlets, journals or letters; represented in songs, rhymes or images; or by travels of the bearers of those ideas themselves, when people are on the move. Exile, an involuntary form of travel, forces people to move abroad – often because of their ideas. In foreign countries, exiles are confronted with a different context, a new

⁵ August Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben. Achte Auflage - in drei Teilen* (Berlin/ Stuttgart: J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1923), 42 (dritter Teil); Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte. Bd. 3: Von der „Deutschen Doppelrevolution“ bis zum Beginn des Ersten Weltkrieges: 1849 - 1914*, 2. Aufl (München: Beck, 2006), 905.

⁶ Arthur O. Lovejoy, „Reflections on the History of Ideas“, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 1, Nr. 1 (1940): 4.

⁷ David Armitage, „The International Turn in Intellectual History“, in *Rethinking Modern European Intellectual History*, hg. von Darrin M. McMahon und Samuel Moyn (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 240.

⁸ David Nicholls, „Positive Liberty, 1880-1914“, *The American Political Science Review* 56, Nr. 1 (1962): 115; Jörn Leonhard, „Conceptual History. The Comparative Dimension“, in *Conceptual History in the European Space*, hg. von Willibald Steinmetz, Michael Freedon, und Javier Fernández Sebastián, *European Conceptual History* 1 (New York/ Oxford: Berghahn, 2017), 182–83.

reality and other ideas. Therefore, it is likely that their own ideas change in one way or another.⁹

The ideas of the German socialists who were exiled between 1878 and 1890 all dealt with the near future of Germany. Socialism, which emerged as one of the possible solutions of the Social Question – the question about the working and living conditions of urban industrial workers, the so-called proletariat – was as an ideology all about a better future.¹⁰ The titles of socialist newspapers, such as *Vorwärts*, *Die Neue Zeit*, *Die Neue Welt* and *Die Zukunft*, indicate this obsession with the time to come.¹¹ However, different socialist factions disagreed upon the question what this future would look like. Some envisioned a communist world without states, others saw a workers' paradise in one country or a strong state which would provide proletarians with shelter. Within those visions of the future, not only the role of the proletariat was of major importance, but also the framework in which this group would unfold its revolutionary potential. And more often than not, this framework seamlessly matched the borders of the existing nation states.

For most of the nineteenth century, the German nation state was more an idea than a reality – sometimes closer to reality, as in 1848, but most of the time far out of reach. Bismarck realised the state 'from above' by defeating Denmark (1864), Austria (1866) and France (1870-1871) and unifying the German states into a Prussian-led empire. However, this did not mark the end for many Germans' dreams of their ideal nation state and society.¹² They kept on thinking about a better state, either without Bismarck, without the emperor, as a republic or a dictatorship of the proletariat. Visions of a better future remained present especially among those who did not fit in the empire – either because of their beliefs (Catholics, Jews, socialists), their ethnicity (Poles, Danes, colonial subjects) or their gender and sexuality (women, homosexuals).¹³

⁹ Joep Leerssen, „Bomen hebben wortels, mensen hebben benen, ideeën hebben vleugels. Een introductie“, *De Negentiende Eeuw* 32, Nr. 1 (2008): 10; Charles W. J. Withers, „Place and the ‚Spatial Turn‘ in Geography and in History“, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 70, Nr. 4 (2009): 658; John Randolph, „The Space of Intellect and the Intellect of Space“, in *Rethinking Modern European Intellectual History*, hg. von Darrin M. McMahon und Samuel Moyn (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 222.

¹⁰ David Leopold, „Socialism and (the Rejection of) Utopia“, *Journal of Political Ideologies* 12, Nr. 3 (2007): 221.

¹¹ Cf. Klaus Leesch, „*Vorwärts*“ in „*Die Neue Zeit*“: *die sozialdemokratische Presse im langen 19. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: IR, Verlag Ille & Riemer, 2014).

¹² Werner Conze und Dieter Groh, *Die Arbeiterbewegung in der nationalen Bewegung. Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie vor, während und nach der Reichsgründung*, *Industrielle Welt* 6 (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1966), 101ff.

¹³ Geoff Eley, Jennifer L. Jenkins, und Tracie Matysik, „Introduction: German Modernities and the Contest of Futures“, in *German Modernities from Wilhelm to Weimar. A contest of futures*, hg. von Geoff Eley,

Even though socialism was from the outset an ideology with an international outlook – ‘Proletarians of all countries, unite!’ – it formed a close alliance with nationalism. Especially in Germany, socialists combined the national and the social questions before 1871, under the slogan ‘Durch Freiheit zur Einheit’.¹⁴ After the unification of the German Empire, the priority of the national question seemed to have diminished but the question remained prominent in the background. Socialists continued to discuss the role and the shape of the state far into the twentieth century.

This thesis tries to answer the question how the experience of exile changed the worldview of German socialists in the years 1878-1890. Within this worldview, two aspects will be held under closer scrutiny; first, the nation state as a way of identification and expectations of the role of the state. Second, and closely related to the first aspect, are visions of the state in the future within the socialist Weltanschauung. What did the exiled socialists expect of the near future, both personally, politically and ideologically?

This research question is relevant in several regards. First, it could help to better understand the transfer and diffusion of ideas. Since Michel Espagne introduced *transferts culturels* in the mid-1980s, it has become one of the most important methodological tools for historical research. Originally intended for the study of cultural exchange, the concept soon spread to other research areas, such as the study of political ideas.¹⁵ Transfers are not only useful and important for historical comparison across places, but also to study the transfer of ideas within a certain geographical space. ‘Space,’ says the leading intellectual historian David Armitage, ‘is now the final frontier for intellectual history.’¹⁶ In other words, the spatial turn has reached the study of ideas, shifting the object of study from *who* had certain ideas to *where* these ideas emerged and where they went. Therefore, it is important to create a better understanding of how ideas move across places. Since socialist ideas were not only an important factor in the course of nineteenth-century history, but even more decisive in the twentieth, studying the spread and movement of those ideas can help to grasp the development of socialism as an ideology.

Jennifer L. Jenkins, und Tracie Matysik (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 9–10; Harold James, *A German Identity: 1770 to the Present Day* (London: Phoenix, 1994), 89.

¹⁴ Conze und Groh, *Die Arbeiterbewegung in der nationalen Bewegung*, 71.

¹⁵ Matthias Middell, „Kulturtransfer und Historische Komparatistik - Thesen zu ihrem Verhältnis“, *Comparativ* 10, Nr. 1 (2000): 7–8; Henk Te Velde, „Political Transfer: An Introduction“, *European Review of History* 12, Nr. 2 (2005): 207.

¹⁶ Armitage, „The International Turn in Intellectual History“, 239; Cf. Jani Marjanen, „Transnational Conceptual History, Methodological Nationalism and Europe“, in *Conceptual History in the European Space*, hg. von Willibald Steinmetz, Michael Freeden, und Javier Fernández Sebastián, *European Conceptual History* 1 (New York/ Oxford: Berghahn, 2017), 139–74.

Second, nationalism is usually studied within what is considered to be its logical boundaries – those of the nation state. However, if we regard nationalism in an international context, we might understand it even better. Just like socialism, nationalism was one of the most defining ideologies of the nineteenth century. Yet not many historians have discussed the connection between the two on a transnational level.

Third, this thesis sheds light on the concept of identity in exile. Questions about regional, national and supranational ways of identification will be studied, as well as the supposed manner in which exile strengthens nationalism. If Lord Acton's maxim that 'exile is the nursery of nationalism' holds true, it is to be expected that the experience of exile made the German socialists more nationalist than internationalist.¹⁷ Both older and more recent studies have confirmed this for European socialists in general,¹⁸ but does it also apply to the Germans?

The Experience of Exile

Exiles or political refugees are two terms that will be used synonymously in this thesis. They have been defined by Andreas Fahrmeir in the following way:

people who flee punishment for the expression of political opinions or for political acts; those who fear discrimination or prosecution for their opinions without being political activists; those who wish to leave the oppressive atmosphere of their native countries and live abroad, possibly intending to further the overthrow of the government of their native state from a distance; or even those whose ability to make a living is curtailed by a difficult economic situation caused by political uncertainty.¹⁹

This definition is much broader and at the same time more detailed than other definitions, such as the ones proposed by Michael Marrus in his monograph on refugees or Hans Henning Hahn's suggestion in his plea for systematic exile research. Marrus defined exiles as 'individuals who left their native country for political reasons, usually

¹⁷ John Emerich Edward Dalberg-Acton, *Essays in the liberal interpretation of history. Selected Papers*, Edited and with an Introduction by William H. McNeill (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 146.

¹⁸ Talbot C. Imlay, *The practice of socialist internationalism: European socialists and international politics, 1914-1960* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 3; Gerhart Schlott, „Nationales und internationales Denken der deutschen und französischen Sozialisten (besonders in den Jahren 1863-1871).“ (Dissertation, 1960), 146.

¹⁹ Andreas Fahrmeir, „British Exceptionalism in Perspective. Political Asylum in Continental Europe“, in *Exiles from European revolutions: refugees in mid-Victorian England*, hg. von Sabine Freitag (New York: Berghahn, 2003), 33.

after having engaged in revolutionary activity'.²⁰ Thereby he overlooked the aspect of prosecution or insecurity which exiles usually face in their fatherland, as well as the strong connection they often keep with their homeland. Moreover, he left 'revolutionary activity' undefined, which is a questionable category. Some German socialists did not regard their activities as revolutionary at all. Hahn's definition is even briefer: he describes the exiled as 'a person, who leaves his fatherland for political reasons'.²¹ Several important elements are left out of sight. Because Fahrmeir's definition is much more precise, it will be used in this thesis. He shows that there is often more than one reason to go into exile. Usually, it is on the basis of a number of causes that one takes the difficult decision to leave the home country.

Going into exile is one of the most radical things to do in one's life. It is never easy to leave behind one's motherland, friends and family. But doing this because of a political opinion tells us something about this conviction; it means that the refugees are so convinced of their political views, that they are ready to leave everything behind in order to dedicate themselves to its cause.²² The difference with emigration is that exile is temporary in nature; it is 'a sort of limbo' as Sabine Freitag describes it.²³ There is, after all, always the desire to return to the country of origin. Emigration is not always permanent but it is usually intended for longer times from the beginning onwards. The country of residence thus feels more like a new home, temporary or permanent, rather than as a waiting room.²⁴

Moreover, the forced character distinguishes emigration from exile. To be precise, there were two kinds of exile in the nineteenth century. The first is forced exile to penal colonies, usually located in overseas parts of empires, such as Australia for Britons, or in an isolated area of the homeland, such as Siberia for Russians. Famous examples of this kind of exile include Napoleon Bonaparte (St Helena), Alfred Dreyfus (Devil's Island) and Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, known as Lenin (Siberia).²⁵ As Carl Hirsch wrote from his

²⁰ Michael Robert Marrus, *The unwanted: European refugees in the twentieth century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 9.

²¹ Hans Henning Hahn, „Möglichkeiten und Formen politischen Handelns in der Emigration. Ein historisch-systematischer Deutungsversuch am Beispiel des Exils in Europa nach 1830 und ein Plädoyer für eine international vergleichende Exilforschung“, *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* XXIII (1983): 124.

²² Hahn, 124.

²³ Sabine Freitag, Hrsg., *Exiles from European revolutions: refugees in mid-Victorian England* (New York: Berghahn, 2003), 10; Hahn, „Möglichkeiten und Formen politischen Handelns in der Emigration“, 131.

²⁴ Freitag, *Exiles from European revolutions: refugees in mid-Victorian England*, 14–15.

²⁵ Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt: eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Schriftenreihe / Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung 1044 (Bonn: bpb, 2010), 206–9.

exile, Germany did not have penal colonies, which left expulsion as the only possibility for the government.²⁶

The second kind of exile is sometimes called voluntary or preventive; it is this kind Fahrmeir describes for political refugees, who tried to escape punishment from the government by moving abroad. Even though it is often true that those people decided to leave their country themselves and were not transported as in the first kind of exile, it would be deceptive to call this voluntary. The exiles were unsafe or *persona non grata* in their homeland and thus in another way forced to leave. Therefore, I do not label this second kind of exile as ‘voluntary’, but simply as exile or political exile. My thesis deals with this kind. In the end, authorities pursued the same objective with the two kinds of exile: to remove political dissent from a country’s territory.²⁷

At this point it is necessary to include a small side note on the vocabulary. In German the term used with respect to nineteenth-century political exiles is the noun *Ausweisung* (expulsion) or the verb *ausweisen* (to banish). Apparently similar terms, such as *ausbürgern* or *vertreiben* are not to be found in this context. In historiography and in primary sources, these are applied in different circumstances: *ausbürgern* (expatriate) is either typically used for Jews during the so-called Third Reich or for dissidents who were expelled from the German Democratic Republic. *Vertreiben* (drive out) and even more the noun *Vertriebenen* (expellees) refer to the expulsion of Germans from East Prussia at the end of the Second World War.²⁸ In English these differences play less of a role, but it is important to be aware of these nuances in German because of the different groups they have been used to refer to over time.

The distinction between emigration and exile is not always as clear as the ideal types may suggest. Sometimes, exile turns into emigration when the refugee finds him- or herself staying in the country of residence, without the intention of going back. As we will see, these two kinds are often blurred. Without disparaging the difficulties of emigration, exile is a condition of fundamental uncertainty. Exile means a life in psychologically very stressful circumstances, not only being excluded from the homeland but also often unable to integrate in the host country. It is marked by instability, change and personal struggles. Looking for solidarity, political refugees bond with fellow

²⁶ Carl Hirsch, „Die Republik im Reichstage“, *Die Laterne* 13 (30.03.1879), 403.

²⁷ Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt*, 213.

²⁸ Detlef Brandes, Holm Sundhaussen, und Stefan Troebst, Hrsg., *Lexikon der Vertreibungen: Deportation, Zwangsaussiedlung und ethnische Säuberung im Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2010), 497–99; 696–98.

countrymen most of the times, re-establishing their identity by doing so. At the same time, exile communities are notorious for their competing factions and disagreements.²⁹ Thus what at first might appear as a coherent group of political refugees, is divided into smaller groups upon closer inspection.

This thesis concentrates on four individuals in exile: Carl August Schramm, Carl Hirsch, Hermann Schlüter and Clara Zetkin. It makes sense to study them as a group for several reasons. In the first place, they all had to go into exile because the state labelled them as socialists. Schramm did not identify himself as a socialist until the authorities marked and expelled him as one. Furthermore, they all identified themselves as Germans to a certain extent, in Germany but even more so abroad. Schlüter is the only exception, because he had been naturalised as an American citizen in the United States.³⁰ Moreover, despite internal struggles and quarrels, most of the socialists were in contact with each other, read each other's pamphlets and books or exchanged letters. An additional reason in selecting those four individuals is that they represent the broad and diverse range of viewpoints in the socialist movement of the time. In their ideas, we can see what Erik van Ree described as the 'ideological eclecticism' of nineteenth-century socialists.³¹

Historiography

Political exile was not a new phenomenon in the nineteenth century, but it took place on a larger scale than before. The clash between revolutionary political ideas and repressive governments produced thousands of political refugees. Even though in terms of numbers they are nothing compared to the millions of refugees in the twentieth century, the exiled individual is a typical figure of the nineteenth century.³² Surprisingly enough, historiography is rather limited on nineteenth-century exiles as such. Whereas the research field on exiles of the period 1933-1945 is large and flourishing, scholars seem to have neglected political exiles in the nineteenth century for a long time. When they are mentioned at all, it is as part of a biography of a major figure who went into exile, such

²⁹ Freitag, *Exiles from European revolutions: refugees in mid-Victorian England*, 3–5; Robert Justin Goldstein, *Political Repression in 19th Century Europe* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), 83–85.

³⁰ Paul Mayer, „Die Geschichte des sozialdemokratischen Parteiarchivs und das Schicksal des Marx-Engels-Nachlasses“, *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* VI (1966): 21–22.

³¹ Erik van Ree, „‘Socialism in One Country’ before Stalin: German Origins“, *Journal of Political Ideologies* 15, Nr. 2 (2010): 146; See also Horst Lademacher, „Kosmopolitismus, Solidarität und Nation. Einige Bemerkungen zum Wandel von Begriff und Wirklichkeit im internationalen Sozialismus“, in *Internationalism in the Labour Movement 1830-1940*, hg. von Frits L. van Holthoon und Marcel van der Linden, Bd. II (Leiden/ New York: Brill, 1988), 377–78.

³² Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt*, 210; Goldstein, *Political Repression in 19th Century Europe*, 80.

as Karl Marx. One of the first studies to deal with exile as its main topic was E.H. Carr's work on Bakunin, Herzen and Ogarev, published as *The Romantic Exiles* in 1933.³³ Despite this impressive and well-received book, it took several decades before more studies on political exiles were published. The post-Second World War years witnessed the publication of an occasional study on pre-1933 exiles, such as Willi Gautschi's *Lenin als Emigrant in der Schweiz* (1973). Only at the beginning of the twenty-first century more systematic research on nineteenth-century exiles has been conducted. Important contributions come from Sabine Freitag, Yossi Shain, Christine Lattek, Constance Bantman and Heléna Tóth.³⁴ However, none of these works deals extensively with the exiles due to anti-socialist laws in Germany, which is still an understudied topic.³⁵ This is all the more surprising since these exiles shaped the socialist movement in what Friedrich Engels called 'the twelve most decisive years of the life of the German workers' party'.³⁶ Of course, this thesis does not try to fill this omission in the literature all at once, but it aims to provide an exploration and initial impetus to more research.

Next to histories of exile, my research draws upon several other fields within historiography. The first and foremost to mention is the history of German socialism, social-democracy and the workers' movement. Especially among German historians this has been a favourite subject, particularly during the Cold War. In both East and West Germany, historians tried to claim the legacy of the social-democrats and to present themselves as their true heirs.³⁷ Therefore, it is necessary to approach these works even more cautiously and critically than usual – but if one does, it is clear that they contain many important insights and contributions. From West Germany, the works of the circle around Werner Conze are still valuable. As a professor in Heidelberg, Conze and his students, such as Dieter Groh and Wolfgang Schieder, worked on the early history of

³³ Edward Hallett Carr, *The Romantic Exiles. A Nineteenth-Century Portrait Gallery* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1933).

³⁴ Freitag, *Exiles from European revolutions: refugees in mid-Victorian England*; Yossi Shain, *The frontier of loyalty: political exiles in the age of the nation-state* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005); Christine Lattek, *Revolutionary Refugees: German Socialism in Britain, 1840 - 1860*, Routledge Studies in Modern British History 2 (London: Routledge, 2006); Constance Bantman, *The French Anarchists in London, 1880-1914: Exile and Transnationalism in the First Globalisation*. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013); Heléna Tóth, *An Exiled Generation: German and Hungarian Refugees of Revolution, 1848-1871* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

³⁵ Other scholars have noted this as well. E.g. Jochen Oltmer, *Migration vom 19. bis zum 21. Jahrhundert*, 3., aktualisierte und erweiterte Auflage, Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte, Band 86 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2016), 143.

³⁶ 'Die zwölf entscheidendsten Jahre im Leben der deutschen Arbeiterpartei'. Friedrich Engels, quoted in Ernst Engelberg, *Revolutionäre Politik und Rote Feldpost 1878-1890* (Berlin (East): Akademie-Verlag, 1959), xiii.

³⁷ Cf. Engelberg, xi.

German socialism and social-democracy.³⁸ Other important studies were published by historians such as Hermann Heidegger, Gerhart Schlott, Reinhard Höhn and the sociologist Arno Klönne.³⁹ From East-Germany Ernst Engelberg's early study on the circulation of illegal socialist newspapers deserves to be mentioned, as well as several studies directed by Horst Bartel on this period.⁴⁰ As I have argued before, literature from the GDR should not be discarded for the simple reason of 'ideological views'.⁴¹ I think East German historiography could still be valuable for current historians, on the condition that one is well aware of the ideological viewpoint and its implications. As always, one should remain critical and compare the literature with other texts.

More recent important studies on the socialist movement in this period include Thomas Welskopp's *Das Banner der Brüderlichkeit*, Christina Morina's *Die Erfindung des Marxismus* and Stefan Berger's edited volume on transnational activism.⁴² An older book on the socialist party under the anti-socialist laws, Vernon Lidtke's *The Outlawed Party*, remains relevant.⁴³ For the research itself, published source collections were a great help. Volumes containing the letters from Bernstein, Liebknecht or Kautsky to Engels and other socialists helped to get a better idea of the relations within the party. They also made the research more efficient, reading the sources transcribed instead of deciphering the handwriting.

³⁸ Schlott, „Nationales und internationales Denken der deutschen und französischen Sozialisten (besonders in den Jahren 1863-1871)“; Wolfgang Schieder, *Anfänge der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung. Die Auslandsvereine im Jahrzehnt nach der Julirevolution von 1830*, Industrielle Welt 4 (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1963); Conze und Groh, *Die Arbeiterbewegung in der nationalen Bewegung*.

³⁹ Hermann Heidegger, *Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie und der nationale Staat, 1870-1920, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kriegs- und Revolutionsjahre* (Göttingen/ Berlin/ Frankfurt: Musterschmidt Verlag, 1956); Schlott, „Nationales und internationales Denken der deutschen und französischen Sozialisten (besonders in den Jahren 1863-1871)“; Reinhard Höhn, *Die vaterlandslosen Gesellen. Der Sozialismus im Licht der Geheimberichte der preußischen Polizei 1878-1914. Band I (1878-1890)* (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1964); Arno Klönne, *Die deutsche Arbeiterbewegung: Geschichte, Ziele, Wirkungen*, dtv Geschichte 11073 (Munich: Dt. Taschenbuch-Verl, 1989).

⁴⁰ Engelberg, *Revolutionäre Politik und Rote Feldpost 1878-1890*; Horst Bartel u. a., *Marxismus und deutsche Arbeiterbewegung. Studien zur sozialistischen Bewegung im letzten Drittel des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin (East): Dietz Verlag, 1970); Horst Bartel u. a., *Der Sozialdemokrat 1879-1890. Ein Beitrag zur Rolle des Zentralorgans im Kampf der revolutionären Arbeiterbewegung gegen das Sozialistengesetz* (Berlin (East): Dietz Verlag, 1975).

⁴¹ Daniël Hendrikse, „Een andere kijk op het Duitse verleden. De meerwaarde van DDR-historiografie“, *Aanzet Historisch Tijdschrift* 32, Nr. 1 (2016): 22–31.

⁴² Thomas Welskopp, *Das Banner der Brüderlichkeit: die deutsche Sozialdemokratie vom Vormärz bis zum Sozialistengesetz*, Reihe Politik- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte, Bd. 54 (Bonn: Dietz, 2000); Christina Morina, *Die Erfindung des Marxismus: wie eine Idee die Welt eroberte* (Munich: Siedler, 2017); Stefan Berger und Sean Scalmer, Hrsg., *The Transnational Activist: Transformations and Comparisons from the Anglo-World since the Nineteenth Century*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

⁴³ Vernon L. Lidtke, *The Outlawed Party: Social Democracy in Germany, 1878-1890* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966).

Another field of literature this thesis benefits from is that of ‘historical future research’, better known under its German name *historische Zukunftsforschung*. Reinhart Koselleck and Lucian Hölscher count as pioneers in this field and their methods and approaches are still leading.⁴⁴ For my own research especially Hölscher’s study of Protestant and socialist visions of the future in Wilhelmine Germany is of major importance.⁴⁵ Despite the impressive scope of his study, however, Hölscher limited his research to the boundaries of the nation state – thus leaving out the ideas of exiled socialists.

This thesis connects to several recent developments in historiography. Nowadays, most historians study the past beyond the national borders. They move away from the methodological nationalism that has defined the discipline for ages.⁴⁶ However, transnational history and *histoire croisée* are still young and developing fields, creating a lot of chances but also making it slightly harder to work with them. Conceptual history, the study of concepts in history, is now entering ‘a post-Koselleckian era’.⁴⁷ One of its implications is the shift to spatiality of ideas. For all of the reasons mentioned above, I hope to make a contribution with this thesis to the study of ideas in a transnational perspective.

Method

My research deals with ideas, concepts, worldviews and ideologies. I will explain these terms in more detail. To begin with, it is notoriously hard to define ‘idea’. The history of ideas and intellectual history are still influenced by Arthur Lovejoy, one of the pioneers of both fields – the boundary between the two is blurred.⁴⁸ Lovejoy referred to ‘unit-ideas’, which are ‘thoughts concerning particular aspects of common experience (...) to

⁴⁴ Reinhart Koselleck, *Vergangene Zukunft: Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten*, Theorie (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1979); Lucian Hölscher, „Wie sollen wir die Zukunft denken? Über den Fortgang und das Ende der Geschichte“, in *Die Gegenwart der Zukunft: Geschichte und Eschatologie*, hg. von Ulrich H. J. Körtner (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2008), 15–28; Lucian Hölscher, „Zukunft und Historische Zukunftsforschung“, in *Handbuch der Kulturwissenschaften. Band 1: Grundlagen und Schlüsselbegriffe*, hg. von Friedrich Jaeger u. a. (Stuttgart/ Weimar: J.B. Metzler, 2011), 401–16.

⁴⁵ Lucian Hölscher, *Weltgericht oder Revolution: protestantische und sozialistische Zukunftsvorstellungen im deutschen Kaiserreich*, Industrielle Welt, Bd. 46 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1989).

⁴⁶ Armitage, „The International Turn in Intellectual History“, 232; Matthias Middell und Lluís Roura, „The Various Forms of Transcending the Horizon of National History Writing“, in *Transnational Challenges to National History Writing*, hg. von Matthias Middell und Lluís Roura, Writing the Nation Series (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 15–16.

⁴⁷ Marjanen, „Transnational Conceptual History, Methodological Nationalism and Europe“, 1.

⁴⁸ Riccardo Bavaj, „Intellectual History“, in *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte*, 13. September 2010, http://docupedia.de/zg/Intellectual_History.

be found at work in the most various regions of the history of human thinking and feeling'.⁴⁹ These ideas are universal and essentially unchanging over time or place. Lovejoy proposed to study them in isolation.⁵⁰ When referring to ideas I do not mean his 'unit-ideas'. The ideas I study are thoughts, plans and opinions, which are anything but universal or solid. They change easily and depend to a large extent on context. Therefore, they could never be studied nor understood in isolation. In this respect, my approach may seem to be more influenced by the Cambridge School of Dunn, Pocock and Skinner. Indeed, my emphasis on the context of ideas derives to some extent from this school, although my objective is fundamentally different from the scholars of the Cambridge School. For them, especially Quentin Skinner, contextualisation is a way to reach insight in the intentions of an author.⁵¹ Skinner famously argued that we need 'to grasp not merely what people are saying but also what they are *doing in* saying it'.⁵² He goes into speech-acts and language-games – all of which do not make his approach any more convincing. For myself, I am certain that however much context we have discovered, we will never be able to lay bare the '*primary* intention' of an author,⁵³ assuming there is such a thing at all and that it could be known. Instead, my aim is more modest. I will try to contextualise certain ideas of German socialists in order to discover how these ideas moved, changed and spread. It is not about the legacy or the success of those ideas, but the ideas themselves are the main subject of research.

In intellectual history, the terms 'ideas' and 'concepts' are often used interchangeably. In my view, concepts are more abstract and hence less personal than ideas. Usually there exists to a certain degree a common understanding of the meaning of concepts. For example, citizens of a state understand the concept of 'democracy' more or less in the same way, which makes democracy work: the citizens go to the polls to vote for their representatives. However, their ideas and opinions of democracy might be quite different.⁵⁴

The two-sided interaction between ideas and concepts is also recognisable between worldview and ideology. Worldview, or *Weltanschauung*, is the way one

⁴⁹ Arthur O. Lovejoy, *Essays in the history of Ideas* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1948), 9.

⁵⁰ Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea. The William James Lectures Delivered at Harvard University, 1933* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1936), 14–15.

⁵¹ Quentin Skinner, *Regarding Method, Visions of Politics, Quentin Skinner ; Vol. 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 42.

⁵² Skinner, 82. Emphasis in original.

⁵³ Skinner, 134. Emphasis in original.

⁵⁴ Cf. Melvin Richter, *The History of Political and Social Concepts: A Critical Introduction* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1995), 9–10.

perceives the world, which is a combination of (practical) observation and experience on the one hand, and (theoretical) ideas, beliefs and opinions on the other. Together this results not only in a certain way of looking at the world, but also in a certain philosophy of life itself, often with a religious connotation.⁵⁵ In his dissertation on the conceptual history of worldview Helmut Meier defined the term in a similar way:

„Weltanschauung“ heisst nicht mehr bloss die Welt anschauen, sondern umgreift das Aus-der-Anschauung-leben, das persönliche Handeln, das auf der Stellungnahme beruht, die das Ergebnis der Weltdeutung aus der Subjektivität heraus ist. „Weltanschauung“ umschreibt den Prozess des Standortgewinnens auf Grund der Auffassungen und Vorstellungen über das Ganze der Welt und des persönlichen Darinstehens.⁵⁶

Similar to worldview, ideology influences ways of looking at the world to a small or larger extent, but is not a worldview itself. Following Michael Freeden, I understand ideology as a more or less cohesive set of ideas, beliefs, opinions and values that ‘compete over providing and controlling plans for public policy with the aim of justifying, contesting or changing the social and political arrangements and processes of a political community’.⁵⁷ Usually the claims of ideologies are larger than those of worldviews. Whereas a worldview is located and connected to the present, ideologies – even conservatism – are always directed at the future. They construct a grand narrative and have underlying ideas about historical necessity. However, in order to support an ideology, one has to incorporate it into his or her worldview, Meier pointed out.⁵⁸ A certain flexibility and malleability is secured by the personal character of worldviews, while the collective character of ideologies makes the latter rigid and fixed. This does not mean that ideologies lack the ability to change at all, but rather that change happens slowly or essentially top-down.⁵⁹

My approach is meant to study ideas. Since those ideas are expressed in words, language is of vital importance. However, I will not study discourses or language in itself, because I am convinced that it is much more fruitful to study the ideas and thus to see language in this case as a way of transmitting ideas. It goes without saying that it is

⁵⁵ David K. Naugle, *Worldview: The History of a Concept* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2002), 64.

⁵⁶ Helmut G. Meier, „Weltanschauung“. Studien zu einer Geschichte und Theorie des Begriffs“ (Dissertation, 1970), 177.

⁵⁷ Michael Freeden, *Ideology: A Very Short Introduction*, Very Short Introductions 95 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2003), 32.

⁵⁸ Meier, „Weltanschauung“. Studien zu einer Geschichte und Theorie des Begriffs“, 216–18.

⁵⁹ Freeden, *Ideology*, 62–63.

important to be alert and sensible to the language used, even if it is not the main subject of research. My research is directed at the micro level, which is highly personal. I am certain that it is mainly on this level that ideas could be found and studied. In the end, it is persons who carry ideas and therefore we should not forget the people; it is the historian's task, as E.H. Carr said, to 'depict them, not as monsters of iniquity, but as human beings of flesh and blood'.⁶⁰ Their ideas could be expressed either publicly, such as in a pamphlet, or privately, in a letter or diary. The difference between private ideas and Skinneresque intentions is that the former could be found in the sources, whereas the intentions can never be retrieved.

Finally, a small word on the scope of this research. The four socialists this research deals with were no politicians, but they did play an important role within the organisation of the party. Although their names appear in most studies on the German socialist movement in the nineteenth century, their lives and the development of their thinking have – except for Clara Zetkin – not been studied systematically or thoroughly. In contrast to main figures such as August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, much less is known about low-rank Germans who had to go into exile for their socialist ideals. As the Dutch preacher who turned socialist and then anarchist Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis (1846-1919) wrote in his history of socialism, if we only concentrate on the large men, we would forget the ideas that slumbered among the ordinary people. Often party leaders adopted those ideas rather than the other way around, according to Domela Nieuwenhuis.⁶¹ This thesis is not the first attempt but another step in filling in this lacuna.

Moreover, this research will focus on parties, groups and individuals – but not on trade unions. Already in the course of the nineteenth century trade union socialism developed into quite a different branch of socialism, later often turning into anarcho-syndicalism. For my project this is of lesser importance.⁶² In addition, this thesis pays little attention to international relations and international politics in the period between 1878 and 1890. Anyone interested in these topics could find a whole range of wonderful studies about this. Even though the topic of my research has to do with both international relations and with politics, I rather focus on personal relations and networks. To be clear,

⁶⁰ Carr, *The romantic exiles*, 9.

⁶¹ Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis, *De geschiedenis van het socialisme*, Bd. II (Amsterdam: S.L. van Looy, 1902), 236.

⁶² On the relation between German socialism and trade unions, cf: Welskopp, *Das Banner der Brüderlichkeit*, 255–90.

I will not use Bruno Latour's highly complicated actor-network theory, simply because I am convinced that this approach is not the most useful to answer my research question. Instead, I will use a cross-over between conceptual history, intellectual history and micro history on a transnational level as described above. The period this thesis concentrates on is the time the anti-socialist law was in force, between 1878 and 1890. The time before (1871-1878) will also be addressed, but not the years after 1890. After the end of the *Sozialistengesetz* the German social-democrats witnessed a quick rise as a mass movement and political party, as can be read in studies on the history of the party.⁶³

Outline

The chapters of this thesis are structured chronologically and thematically. Chapter one sketches socialist ideas about the nation state between 1871 and 1878, as well as the repression of socialist activities in the time prior to the *Sozialistengesetz*. In it, I also introduce the four socialists and briefly sketch their development before 1878. Chapter two deals with the lives of the exiles in three main centres: Zürich, Paris and London. This chapter is entirely on the micro level of the personal lives, but without losing larger developments out of sight. The third chapter focuses more closely on concepts in the socialist worldviews about nationalism and the future, such as *Volksstaat* and *Heimat*. To study these concepts I will use the approach of transfer and diffusion. Also reactions to these socialist ideas, for example growing anti-Semitism, are analysed. In the conclusion, I return to main question.

In the text, the reader will frequently find German words, titles and quotes. I use these only when the English translation does not bear the same meaning as the original ('home' is not the same as 'Heimat'); when the German term is better known than the English translation ('Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein' instead of 'General German Workers' Association'); or, in the case of quotes, when the original text gives a better impression than a paraphrase. I did not modernise the German of the quotes, nor did I insert [*sic*] in cases of outdated spelling. Assuming that most readers who pick up a piece like this are interested in German history and know a bit of German themselves, I decided not to provide a translation of the quotes.

⁶³ Detlef Lehnert, *Sozialdemokratie zwischen Protestbewegung und Regierungspartei 1848 bis 1983* (Stuttgart: Suhrkamp, 1984), 78ff; Klönne, *Die deutsche Arbeiterbewegung*, 113ff.

Chapter 1. Socialists in Bismarck's state

On January 19, 1871, the correspondent of the British newspaper *the Observer* described the sentiment in Berlin. The day before, Wilhelm I had been declared emperor of Germany in Versailles. Even though 'the good people of Berlin' hung out their flags, they did not care much about the fact that they were now living in an empire, according to the journalist: 'Germany has an Emperor once more. To foreigners, and, to tell the truth, to most Prussians, this seems a matter of small importance. If the real power of ruling Germany is placed in the hands of the King of Prussia, the title which he may choose to assume seems a matter of small moment.'⁶⁴ Only in the smaller German states the news was greeted with 'extraordinary enthusiasm', because 'the memories of their departed greatness' were connected to the imperial times in the past, to the Holy Roman Empire.⁶⁵ However, the correspondent must have based this observation on hearsay, because he could not possibly have travelled from Berlin all through Germany and back within two days.

Not a parade nor a large feast marked the beginning of the German Empire, but indifference and some waving flags. Despite the proclamation of the empire being received as 'a matter of small importance', it had major consequences. This chapter concentrates on the politics of the new nation state and how its people, especially socialists, felt about it. In order to understand the anti-socialist laws of 1878, it is necessary to understand the period between the Reichsgründung of 1871 and the moment the laws were issued. Next to the macro level of national politics, the four socialists are introduced on the micro levels of their lives.

Thinking about the State

Because the 1848 revolution had failed to install a German nation state with parliamentary democracy – let alone a German nation state at all – the question of national unity remained the main political issue for both liberals and socialists in the years afterwards. Liberals regarded the nation state as the framework in which they could find the fulfilment of their goals. Even though liberalism and republicanism were not always two sides of the same coin, a republic embodied the national ideal in its purest

⁶⁴ "Prussia", *The Observer* (22.01.1871), 6.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

form for most liberals.⁶⁶ Only in a republic, 'the governing and the governed form one and the same entity'.⁶⁷ After all, in order to be free and equal citizens who fulfil their civic virtues, one had to transcend 'the divided, atomistic self by assimilation to the greater whole of the national spirit'.⁶⁸ This ideal contrasted with the great number of small kingdoms, duchies and electorates which made up the German states in the early nineteenth century. In the nation state, socialists saw a chance to confront the Social Question and to help the emancipation of labourers. Socialism was presented as the single solution to two large problems of this time: the National Question and the Social Question, or in other words, how to build a unified German nation state and how to improve the conditions of the working classes.⁶⁹

Socialism, however, was at this point not propagated by a single programme or single party. A variety of currents existed, often with reciprocal hatred towards each other. The charismatic Ferdinand Lassalle (1825-1864) had been engaged in the 1848 revolution and agitated as a socialist for years before he founded the first socialist party in Germany, the *Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein* (ADAV), in May 1863.⁷⁰ Praised by Alexander von Humboldt as a 'Wunderkind' and criticised by Marx as a 'Don Juan', Lassalle was a combination of both.⁷¹ A man of a sharp mind and an even sharper tongue, he was able to mobilise people for his socialist ideas. At the same time, Lassalle lived an extravagant life of extremes. For many of his followers, his oratory talent appealed more than his plans, which were moderate and not revolutionary. Lassalle proposed a German nation state, but this could also be a monarchy and in which religion would have its place.⁷² When Lassalle was killed in a duel in 1864, he left a party with roughly 4000 members – a party that was mainly built around his persona.⁷³

In biographical respect quite similar, yet in style rather different from Lassalle, was Karl Marx. Instead of the power of speech, he used the written word to disseminate his ideas which became known as 'scientific socialism'. Since 1849 he lived in exile in

⁶⁶ Philip Pettit, *Republicanism: a theory of freedom and government* (Oxford/ New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1997), 148.

⁶⁷ Carr, *The romantic exiles*, 196.

⁶⁸ Pettit, *Republicanism*, 17.

⁶⁹ „Unser Programm“, *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* 1 (04.01.1868), 1.

⁷⁰ Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis described the charisma as „een zekeren aureool rond Lassalle“: Domela Nieuwenhuis, *De geschiedenis van het socialisme*, 1902, II:236.

⁷¹ Domela Nieuwenhuis, II:166; Hermann Oncken, *Lassalle: Eine politische Biographie* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1920), 255.

⁷² Domela Nieuwenhuis, *De geschiedenis van het socialisme*, 1902, II:180, 185, 188.

⁷³ Lehnert estimated the number of members on „roughly 5000“: Lehnert, *Sozialdemokratie zwischen Protestbewegung und Regierungspartei 1848 bis 1983*, 52; Conze and Groh spoke of „circa 3000“: Conze und Groh, *Die Arbeiterbewegung in der nationalen Bewegung*, 46.

London, together with his comrade Friedrich Engels. Their approach was to combine insights from Hegelian philosophy and Ricardo's economic theory with a radical revolutionary agenda. Inspired by Marx and Engels and out of discontent with the ADAV, Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel founded the *Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei* (SDAP) in August 1869. Referring to the location of establishment, the party was often called 'die Eisenacher'. Bebel and Liebknecht presented the SDAP as the opposite of the ADAV: radically anti-monarchist, anti-religious, anti-Prussian,⁷⁴ stressing revolution and class struggle instead.

Both parties were socialist in the sense that their ultimate goal was the same: the elevation of the working class and the end of their social problems. Yet, how this should be reached was the subject of fierce debate and theoretical quarrels. A good illustration are the party slogans. Bebel and Liebknecht used 'Durch Freiheit zur Einheit!' as their motto.⁷⁵ They wanted to solve the Social Question before the National, because only freedom could create unity in their reasoning.⁷⁶ The leaders of the ADAV turned this around and chose the opposite as their slogan: 'Durch Einheit zur Freiheit!' For them, unity was more urgent than the social conditions of the working class. A nation state would create a unified 'Volk', they argued, which could be led towards freedom.⁷⁷

Whereas a difference in priority between Freiheit and Einheit might appear as a triviality, it was a source of disagreements among socialists of the different groups. Also the system of the envisioned nation state varied. The SDAP promoted a Volksstaat, a state of the people. This concept meant a state in which 'the people are on the throne, where no longer money reigns,' as Adolph Lepp phrased it in a poem.⁷⁸ The Volksstaat would be a republic and by definition the opposite of the Klassenstaat (class state) with its inherent dichotomy between ruling and oppressed classes.⁷⁹ Bebel and Liebknecht named one of their leading newspapers after their ideal state.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ This is connected to the Saxonian background of Bebel and Liebknecht, who both lived in Leipzig for several years. However, the ADAV had most of its followers in Prussia: Conze and Groh, *Die Arbeiterbewegung in der nationalen Bewegung*, 52.

⁷⁵ Conze und Groh, *Die Arbeiterbewegung in der nationalen Bewegung*, 71.

⁷⁶ The programme of the fifth party conference declared that 'die politische Freiheit ist die unentbehrliche Vorbedingung zur ökonomischen Befreiung der arbeitenden Klassen. Die soziale Frage ist mithin untrennbar von der politischen, ihre Lösung durch diese bedingt und nur möglich im demokratischen Staat.' Cf. „Der fünfte Vereinstag deutscher Arbeitervereine zu Nürnberg (5.-7. September)“, *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* 37 (12.09.1868), 294.

⁷⁷ Conze und Groh, *Die Arbeiterbewegung in der nationalen Bewegung*, 72.

⁷⁸ A. Lepp, „Gruß an den Parteicongreß 1874“, *Volksstaat-Erzähler* 33 (26.07.1874), 4.

⁷⁹ Cf. „Zur Controverse über die sozialistische Werththeorie“ (footnote), *Vorwärts* 35 (24.03.1878), 1-2.

⁸⁰ In chapter three I will discuss the concept of 'Volksstaat' in more detail.

The *Volksstaat* as a republic is no coincidence. Republicanism was wide-spread among nineteenth-century German thinkers and politicians. It was connected to the revolution of 1848 and took a central role in its legacy. Both liberals and the different socialists claimed this legacy and adopted the republican stance. In 1848, Marx and Engels had proposed to make ‘one indivisible republic’ of Germany.⁸¹ Republican ideas had a central place in nineteenth-century international socialism, as several scholars have pointed out – whether it was Marx’s, Proudhon’s, or the American socialism of the ‘Knights of Labor’.⁸² Therefore, to think of republicanism only in terms of liberalism, as many neo-republicans of the present day like to present themselves, is not particularly helpful.⁸³ In the second half of the nineteenth century, in the aftermath of 1848, liberalism, socialism and republicanism were more closely intertwined than is often realised.

Another main element among the liberal and socialist ideas about the nation state was the desire for the ‘great-German’ solution, which would include the German-speaking parts of the Habsburg Empire. Liebknecht saw the solution in ‘einen deutschen Volksstaat, der alle Stämme des großen Vaterlandes (selbstverständlich auch die Deutsch-Österreicher) unter dem gemeinsamen Banner der Freiheit vereinigt’.⁸⁴ Similar feelings could be found among most other German socialists, who regarded the Austrian workers as their brothers and for whom it would be a great tragedy if they were excluded: ‘Nicht ein Dorf, nicht ein Meierhof, nicht die kleinste Hütte im fernsten Winkel darf uns fehlen!’, as the Lassallean newspaper *Der Social-Demokrat* wrote in 1865.⁸⁵ One could thus argue, as Werner Conze and Dieter Groh have done, that the ideas about the nation state, as uttered by socialists and others, took the form of irredentism.⁸⁶ This feeling, that certain left-out territories belong to the idealised political framework, was popular in the nineteenth century. Based on romantic nationalism and the idea of a community based on culture or language, the quest for a political unity to unite the widespread members of

⁸¹ „Forderungen der Kommunistischen Partei in Deutschland.“ Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels, *Karl Marx Friedrich Engels Werke*, hg. von Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus beim ZK der SED, Bd. 5 (Berlin (East): Dietz Verlag, 1959), 3.

⁸² Cf. Alexandros Chrysis, „*True Democracy*“ as a *Prelude to Communism. The Marx of Democracy* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); William Clare Roberts, *Marx’s Inferno: the political theory of Capital* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017); Alex Gourevitch, „Labor Republicanism and the Transformation of Work“, *Political Theory* 41, Nr. 4 (2013): 591–617; Jeffrey C. Isaac, „The Lion’s Skin of Politics: Marx on Republicanism“, *Polity* 22, Nr. 3 (1990): 461–88; K. Steven Vincent, *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and the rise of French republican socialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

⁸³ Alex Gourevitch, „Labor and Republican Liberty“, *Constellations* 18, Nr. 3 (2011): 432.

⁸⁴ „Unser Programm“, *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* 1 (04.01.1868), 1.

⁸⁵ Quoted in: Conze und Groh, *Die Arbeiterbewegung in der nationalen Bewegung*, 60.

⁸⁶ Conze und Groh, 73.

this imagined community began. The nation was seen as a natural entity, connected not to citizenship but to ethnicity.⁸⁷ In the German context, this idea led to the notion of 'Pan-Germanism', the ambition to unite all German peoples who lived scattered over West, Central and Eastern Europe into one state.⁸⁸ It was Adolf Hitler who was highly influenced by an extreme form of those ideas.

Back in the 1850s and the 1860s, German irredentist nationalism was nothing quite out of the ordinary. When Liebknecht and Bebel argued in favour of a German state with the Austrians in it, this was not seen as particularly provocative. To be clear, they did not want to unite *all* Germans of Europe in one state, but they concentrated only on the German-speaking Austrians. More provocative for most contemporaries was Bebel's and Liebknecht's strong anti-Prussian attitude. Prussia was at this moment the strongest of the German states and de facto the leader of the North German Federation (1867-1870), which was the precursor of the German Empire. Prussia's dominant position provoked critique, although Liebknecht and Bebel were more outspoken than most others in this respect. Time and again they stressed that Prussia was a 'feudal, police and military state' which could never be truly democratic.⁸⁹ Moreover, they continued their fundamental critique also after the foundation of the Empire in 1871. For this very reason, Liebknecht was even against parliamentary politics. He regarded the Reichstag as a 'comedy' instead of a genuine political body, because Bismarck was still able to pursue his 'caesarist' politics of 'blood and iron', despite parliamentary discussions and objections.⁹⁰ Liebknecht believed more in popular revolt than the powers of parliamentary politics – but even within the social-democratic party his radical viewpoint was an exception.⁹¹

The apparent tension between the internationalism of socialism on the one hand and the nationalist agenda for a German nation state on the other was not a problem for Germans. The German social-democrat and 1848 revolutionary Johann Philipp Becker proposed in 1868 to look beyond national borders:

⁸⁷ Jacob Leib Talmon, *The myth of the nation and the vision of revolution. The origins of ideological polarisation in the twentieth century* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1981), 5–6.

⁸⁸ Jane Burbank und Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 352.

⁸⁹ Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Ueber die politische Stellung der Sozialdemokratie insbesondere mit Bezug auf den Reichstag. Ein Vortrag gehalten in der öffentlichen Versammlung des demokratischen Arbeitervereins zu Berlin am 31. Mai 1869* (Berlin: Verlag der Expedition des „Vorwärts“ Berliner Volksblatt, 1893), 10.

⁹⁰ Liebknecht, 12–13.

⁹¹ Liebknecht was aware of this: „Mit dieser Ansicht blieb ich in der Minorität.“ Liebknecht, 12.

Weil aber die Arbeiterfrage eine soziale ist, so kann sie keine lokale und nationale, sondern muß sie eine universale sein, und werden die Arbeiter aller Länder durch die überall gleichartig wirkenden, politisch- und sozial-ökonomischen Thatsachen auf internationalen Boden und zur Verbrüderung und Verwirklichung der Grundsätze der Gegenseitigkeit und Gesamtverbindlichkeit hingeführt.⁹²

Even though this appeal to universal brotherhood and solidarity, based on the *fraternité* of the French Revolution, sounds very benign, it remained in the realm of theory and literature. The unity between theory and practice, which became one of the key aspects in later socialism, was no reality in this respect. For most German socialists, the lack of a nation state remained one of the most pressing problems of this moment. However, it should be pointed out that the socialists who thought about party politics were part of a socialist elite, whereas most workers did not engage themselves much in this realm.⁹³ For most workers or ‘proletarians’, social insecurity and difficult living and working conditions prevented them from feeling compassionate about fellow-sufferers elsewhere, but instead they focused on their next meal or how to pay their rent.⁹⁴ With his romantic socialist ideas, Becker was clearly part of this elite. Moreover, he had been living in Geneva for eighteenth years at the time of writing these words, making his views quite different from German socialists still ‘at home’.⁹⁵

A crucial turning point for the relation between socialism and the nation state was the declaration of war against France in 1870. The German press framed Napoleon III as the aggressor and provocateur, whereas in fact Bismarck did not prevent a conflict either.⁹⁶ Nonetheless, for most contemporaries the war appeared as a defensive war which deserved their support. German socialists perceived it as French aggression against the German proletariat.⁹⁷ Even Marx, the leader of the Socialist International, was sympathetic to a war against France. He wrote to Engels that a Prussian victory would ‘shift the centre of the West European labour movement from France to Germany’,

⁹² Joh. Ph. Becker, „Brudergruß“, *Der Vorbote* 3, nr.1 (January 1868), 2.

⁹³ Barrington Moore, Jr., *Injustice: The Social Bases of Obedience and Revolt* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1979), 195; Cf. Thomas Welskopp, „Arbeiterintellektuelle“, ‚sozialdemokratische Bohemiens‘ und ‚Chefideologen‘: Der Wandel der Intellektuellen in der frühen deutschen Sozialdemokratie“, in *Intellektuelle und Sozialdemokratie*, hg. von Ulrich von Alemann (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2000), 43–58.

⁹⁴ Moore, Jr., *Injustice*, 209f.

⁹⁵ „Vaterlandslose Gesellen“. *Kurze Biographien der verstorbenen hervorragenden Sozialisten des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1901), 15–16.

⁹⁶ Lehnert, *Sozialdemokratie zwischen Protestbewegung und Regierungspartei 1848 bis 1983*, 61.

⁹⁷ *Der Social-Demokrat*.82 (17.07.1870).

thereby proving 'the predominance of *our* theory over Proudhon's'.⁹⁸ Marx was not afraid of some Realpolitik.

After the Battle of Sedan, in which the French army was defeated and Napoleon III was captured, the German socialists recognised the 'true objectives' of the German generals. The war carried on, no longer defensive but offensive. Members of both the ADAV and the SDAP protested against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, which led to the infamous notion of socialists as 'vaterlandslose Gesellen' and 'unworthy patriots'.⁹⁹ These reproaches diminished the popularity of socialism and social-democracy in Germany, against an upsurge of great patriotism ('Hurrapatriotismus') among middle-class citizens.¹⁰⁰ The socialist leaders turned towards international solidarity once more. They saw themselves strengthened by the Paris Commune, which embodied their ideal of rising proletarians.¹⁰¹

The foundation of the German Empire in 1871 was not the German nation state the socialists had longed for. Their anti-Prussian attitude and anti-monarchism made them reject everything the Empire was: a foundation based on military victories rather than popular will, a union 'from above' instead of from below, an emperor instead of a republic, small-German instead of great-German. Friedrich Engels wrote to Marx that they should accept Bismarck's 'kleindeutschen Bourgeoisplan' as a 'fait accompli (...) we may like it or not'.¹⁰²

Confronted with a German state which neither the ADAV nor the SDAP had wanted or supported, the two parties decided to join forces in 1875. From now on, they went by the name *Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei* (SAP).¹⁰³ Its programme, presented in Gotha, was a compromise between reform and revolutionary politics. As with most compromises, the programme was presented in a vague, broad manner, so the different groups could interpret it in their own way. Concerning the state, it read: 'Von diesen Grundsätzen ausgehend, erstrebt die sozialistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands mit allen gesetzlichen Mitteln den freien Staat und die sozialistische Gesellschaft, (...) die

⁹⁸ Quoted in: Conze und Groh, *Die Arbeiterbewegung in der nationalen Bewegung*, 98–99.

⁹⁹ Lehnert, *Sozialdemokratie zwischen Protestbewegung und Regierungspartei 1848 bis 1983*, 63; Volker Ullrich, *Die nervöse Großmacht: Aufstieg und Untergang des deutschen Kaiserreichs 1871-1918*, 2. Aufl (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1997), 64.

¹⁰⁰ Lehnert, *Sozialdemokratie zwischen Protestbewegung und Regierungspartei 1848 bis 1983*, 62.

¹⁰¹ Welskopp, *Das Banner der Brüderlichkeit*, 613; Horst Schumacher und Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus beim ZK der SED, Hrsg., *Geschichte der internationalen Arbeiterbewegung in Daten* (Berlin: Dietz, 1986), 67; Conze und Groh, *Die Arbeiterbewegung in der nationalen Bewegung*, 129.

¹⁰² Engels wrote this after the war against Austria in 1866. Engels to Marx (25.07.1866). Marx und Engels, *Werke* 5, 5:240.

¹⁰³ Lehnert, *Sozialdemokratie zwischen Protestbewegung und Regierungspartei 1848 bis 1983*, 65.

Aufhebung der Ausbeutung in jeder Gestalt, die Beseitigung aller sozialen und politische Ungleichheit.’¹⁰⁴ The way in which this ‘free state’ and ‘socialist society’ should be formed, remained deliberately unspecified.

Coming of Age

Against this political background, the four protagonists of this research came of age. Born between 1830 and 1857, they all belong to the generation of post-1848. Except Carl August Schramm, who was born in 1830, they were too young to experience or participate in the 1848 revolutions. Growing up in the post-1848 era of restauration and reaction, they developed feelings of civil disobedience, revolt and anger. However, it would be false to assume that people are born as revolutionaries, as Christina Morina points out.¹⁰⁵ It is their ‘socialisation’, as she calls it, that causes their political viewpoints; their environment, education, experiences, family, friends and teachers that influenced them. The four main characters of study will be introduced in a brief biographical manner, in chronological order.

Schramm

Carl August Schramm was born in Mittenwalde, a village 35 kilometres from Berlin, in 1830. His father, a teacher and deacon, died when Schramm was nine years old.¹⁰⁶ His mother moved to Berlin, where Schramm was educated.¹⁰⁷ After he finished the gymnasium and Oberrealschule, he worked in agriculture in Brüssow, a small town in Brandenburg where his father had worked the last years before his death. He was there during the 1848 revolutions, in a small country village where nothing happened.¹⁰⁸ At the beginning of the 1850s, a serious illness caused him to quit his job as farmhand and to find a less exhausting profession. After some time in Cologne, Schramm returned to Berlin in 1860. From 1864 onwards, he worked as assurance inspector.¹⁰⁹

In Berlin, liberalism and Johann Jacoby in particular influenced Schramm’s political thinking. The liberal Jacoby (1805-1877) promoted ideas about a free German

¹⁰⁴ „Programm der sozialistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands“, *Der Volksstaat* 59 (28.05.1878), 1.

¹⁰⁵ Morina, *Die Erfindung des Marxismus*, 12.

¹⁰⁶ C.A. Schramm, „Nachrichten über die Familie“ (s.a.), in: *Carl August Schramm Papers*. ARCH01257 – 15a. IISG.

¹⁰⁷ „Daten über die Familie Schramm“ (s.a.), in: *Carl August Schramm Papers*. ARCH01257 – 46. IISG.

¹⁰⁸ C.A.L.H. Schramm, „Erinnerungen“, 47-48, in: *Carl August Schramm Papers*. ARCH01257 – 41. IISG.

¹⁰⁹ „Carl August Schramm [Nachruf]“, *Österreichische Revue. Organ für Assekuranz und Volkswirtschaft* 30, Nr. 37 (11.09. 1905), 212. *Carl August Schramm Papers*. ARCH01257 – 38. IISG.

state, personal freedom and equal rights.¹¹⁰ Under Bismarck Jacoby radicalised and in 1872 he joined the SDAP.¹¹¹ During the 1860s Schramm also turned more towards social-democracy. The exact reason for this development in his ideas remains unclear, but we can assume that it was connected to several influences from his environment. Another important step in his political development was his reading of Marx's *Kapital*, soon after its publication in 1867. Schramm, who had been interested in economic issues for a longer time, was familiar with the economic theories of David Ricardo and Johann Karl Rodbertus. Impressed by Marx's study, he became not only a member of the SDAP, but even the authority on political economy within the party. In articles for several socialist newspapers, Schramm introduced Marx's ideas on value, labour and exploitation to a larger audience.¹¹² Wilhelm Liebknecht praised the scientific content of Schramm's early articles for the socialist newspapers.¹¹³ However, this does not mean that Schramm had become a Marxist to the core. Rather, he combined Marxist theory with Rodbertus' economic and Lassalle's political ideas.¹¹⁴ According to historians, Schramm's political ideas were still mostly influenced by Lassalle at this point – an aspect that would cause problems later.¹¹⁵

Hirsch

In the south of Germany, in the village of Baisingen, Württemberg, Carl Asriel Hirsch was born in 1841. He came from a Jewish bourgeois family and his father worked as a teacher. He visited the University of Tübingen to become a rabbi, but at the age of twenty-five he moved to Berlin and started to work as a journalist.¹¹⁶ In Berlin he was also influenced by Johann Jacoby and he wrote for his journal *Die Zukunft*. Hirsch joined the ADAV, but the organisation was not radical enough for him, so he left the same year. He felt more connected to Marxist socialism as promoted by Bebel and Liebknecht. Between 1869 and 1872 he worked for several newspapers in Germany, in Nuremberg,

¹¹⁰ Johann Jacoby, *Der freie Mensch. Rück- und Vorschau* (Berlin: Verlag von Julius Springer, 1866), 43.

¹¹¹ Lehnert, *Sozialdemokratie zwischen Protestbewegung und Regierungspartei 1848 bis 1983*, 63.

¹¹² Rolf Dlubek und Hannes Skambraks, „Das Kapital“ von Karl Marx in der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung (1867 bis 1878). *Abriss und Zeugnisse der Wirkungsgeschichte* (Berlin (East): Dietz Verlag, 1967), 66.

¹¹³ Liebknecht to August Geib (09.12.1872). Georg Eckert, Hrsg., *Wilhelm Liebknecht. Briefwechsel mit deutschen Sozialdemokraten. 1: 1862-1878* (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp., 1973), 447.

¹¹⁴ C.A. Schramm, „Rodbertus: Zur Beleuchtung der sozialen Frage – Rezension“, *Die Wage. Wochenblatt für Politik und Literatur* 4, nr. 7 (18.02.1876), 110.

¹¹⁵ Dlubek und Skambraks, „Das Kapital“ von Karl Marx in der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung, 66.

¹¹⁶ Ursula Herrmann, „Carl Hirsch. Sozialdemokratischer Journalist und Mitstreiter von Marx und Engels“, in *Gestalten der Bismarckzeit*, hg. von Gustav Seeber, Bd. II (Berlin (East): Akademie-Verlag, 1986), 144.

Crimmitschau, and Berlin. During this time, his ideas came more in line with Marxist theory and became more radical.¹¹⁷ In 1872, he spent some time in prison because of lese-majesty, but when he was sentenced again the same year he decided to escape to Paris.¹¹⁸ From the French capital, Hirsch wrote for several German newspapers. At the same time, he became acquainted with leading French socialists, as well as with Marx and Engels themselves.¹¹⁹ With his large network and because of his geographic location, Hirsch had become an important member of German social-democracy by 1876.

Schlüter

Hermann Schlüter was a self-made man. He was born as Friedrich Hermann Schlüter in Elmshorn, Schleswig-Holstein, in 1851. In contrast to Schramm and Hirsch, his education was limited to primary school and his family was poor.¹²⁰ After his school time, he taught himself to become a carpenter.¹²¹ From 1873 Schlüter lived in Chicago. It is not known whether he travelled to the US alone, with his family or with other people from his community. During his time in Chicago, which had a large German population at the time, Schlüter became familiar with socialism. He engaged himself for the unemployed and wrote for the *Vorbote*, the newspaper of the Socialist Labor Party in Chicago that appeared from 1874 onwards. Despite his young age, he worked as the secretary of the Chicago department of the International Workingmen's Association.¹²² Because of an economic crisis in the United States, Schlüter returned to Germany by 1876. He settled in Dresden and worked for several socialist newspapers.¹²³

Zetkin

In a small village in Saxony, Wiederau, Clara Zetkin was born as Clara Josephine Eißner in 1857. Her father was a teacher and a pastor, but for her education her mother was actually more important. Josephine, as her mother was called, is described as a 'modern

¹¹⁷ Dlubek und Skambraks, „*Das Kapital*“ von Karl Marx in der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung, 56–58.

¹¹⁸ Herrmann, „Carl Hirsch. Sozialdemokratischer Journalist und Mitstreiter von Marx und Engels“, 147–51.

¹¹⁹ Herrmann, 152.

¹²⁰ Paul Mayer doubts whether Schlüter even attended a primary school. Mayer, „Die Geschichte des sozialdemokratischen Parteiarchivs“, 21.

¹²¹ Renate Merkel-Melis, „Hermann Schlüter (1851-1919)“, in *Bewahren - Verbreiten - Aufklären: Archivare, Bibliothekare und Sammler der Quellen der deutschsprachigen Arbeiterbewegung*, hg. von Günter Benser und Michael Schneider (Bonn: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2009), 297.

¹²² Merkel-Melis, 297.

¹²³ Mayer, „Die Geschichte des sozialdemokratischen Parteiarchivs“, 23.

and headstrong' woman, inspired by the ideals of the French Revolution.¹²⁴ Clara's thinking developed under the influence of the liberal tradition of her mother, combined with her father's Lutheran faith.¹²⁵ As a child, Clara was studious and her parents wanted her to become a teacher. To promote the further education of the three children, the Eißner family moved to Leipzig in 1872. This city, which had been one of the centres of the 1848 revolution, was still full of liberal, republican and progressive ideas in the 1870s.¹²⁶ Here Clara studied at Auguste Schmidt's Lehrerinnen-Seminar and also came to know Louise Otto-Peters, the head of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Frauenverein* (ADF).¹²⁷ During this time, she came into contact with groups of Russian Narodniki, revolutionary socialists and nihilists. Among them was Ossip Zetkin, a Russian student, who would later become her husband. Zetkin introduced socialist theories to Clara, who had been brought up by liberal ideas until then.¹²⁸ By 1878, she had just graduated, was in love with Zetkin, familiar with socialist ideas and confronted with a difficult choice: would she become a teacher, or would she devote her life to political work? She chose for the latter.

Towards the Sozialistengesetz

Two attempts in two subsequent months to assassinate the German emperor shocked Germany in 1878. On 11 May, the plumber Max Hödel fired at the Kaiser's carriage – the 81-years-old emperor remained unharmed.¹²⁹ Less than a month later, on the second of June, another attempt was made by Dr. Karl Nobiling, an academic and 'probable psychopath'.¹³⁰ This time, Wilhelm I was seriously wounded but he survived. For Bismarck, those two successive attacks proved to be a political opportunity.

Bismarck's position was fragile in the first months of 1878. Devoid of support for several of his political plans, the chancellor also faced economic trouble. An ongoing

¹²⁴ Gerd Hohendorf, *Clara Zetkin*, Lebensbilder großer Pädagogen (Berlin (East): Volkseigener Verlag Volk und Wissen, 1965), 10.

¹²⁵ Tânia Ünlüdağ, *Clara Zetkin: Bürgerlichkeit und Marxismus. Eine Biographie*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für soziale Bewegungen, Bd. 25 (Essen: Klartext, 2003), 21.

¹²⁶ Ünlüdağ, 27.

¹²⁷ Tânia Ünlüdağ, „Bourgeois Mentality and Socialist Ideology as Exemplified by Clara Zetkin's Constructs of Femininity“, *International Review of Social History* 47, Nr. 1 (2002): 35.

¹²⁸ Hohendorf, *Clara Zetkin*, 22.

¹²⁹ In historiography usually referred to as Hödel, the man went by different names at the time. *Vorwärts* explained that Hödel was the maiden name of the man's mother. From time to time he also adopted the surnames of his two stepfathers, Lehmann and Traber (see the footnote of the "Sozialpolitische Uebersicht", *Vorwärts* (17.05.1878), 2). I will refer to him as Hödel for the sake of clarity.

¹³⁰ Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1866-1918: Zweiter Band: Machtstaat vor der Demokratie*, 3. Aufl (München: Beck, 1995), 396; Ullrich, *Die nervöse Großmacht*, 59.

recession demanded a different course in economic policies. Moreover, most historians agree on ‘a turning point’ in Bismarck’s politics in the years 1877-1878. He left his old political partners, the Nationalliberalen, and sought a new alliance. Heinrich August Winkler regarded this as the turn from ‘left’ to ‘right nationalism’, from nationalism with a liberal towards a conservative character.¹³¹ Whether Bismarck’s new political orientation was part of a masterplan or developed with small, hesitant steps is not the most pressing question to answer.¹³² Instead, the results of Bismarck’s actions are more interesting – in particular his battle against socialism.

The chaos and wide-spread fear following the attacks on the emperor were very welcome for Bismarck. He knew that this provided him with an opportunity to strengthen his position in the German political landscape. In order to do so, he made use of the general feeling of insecurity. Even though Hödel and Nobiling, the two attackers, appeared to have been motivated by a mix of anarchist ideas and personal problems, Bismarck pointed at the socialists as the culprits. There were some minor connections – Hödel had been a short-time member of a socialist party, but had been expelled for embezzling money¹³³ – but for the government this was enough to frame Hödel as a socialist. Nobiling had been a supporter of revolutionary anarchism, which was in conflict with the socialist International at this time.¹³⁴ Bismarck decided to use the attacks to counter the increasingly popular social-democrats and to strike the liberals, his former political allies.¹³⁵

Socialists distanced themselves from the attacks – *Vorwärts* described Hödel as ‘non compos mentis’ and ‘childishly mad’, Nobiling as a man with a ‘wicked mind’ and ‘morbid ambition’¹³⁶ – and clearly had nothing to do with those two lone wolves. Most people, however, went along in the anti-socialist atmosphere after the attacks. As Tobias Bruns pointed out, the result of the attacks was a different perception of safety. Police became more present on the streets. The royal family and several members of the government were accompanied by bodyguards at public appearances. The media

¹³¹ Heinrich August Winkler, „1866 und 1878: Der Liberalismus in der Krise“, in *Wendepunkte deutscher Geschichte: 1848 - 1990*, hg. von Carola Stern und Jürgen Kocka, Fischer (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer-Taschenbuch-Verl, 2005), 55; Heinrich August Winkler, „Vom linken zum rechten Nationalismus: Der deutsche Liberalismus in der Krise von 1878/79“, *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 4, Nr. 1 (1979): 5–28.

¹³² Ullrich, *Die nervöse Großmacht*, 56.

¹³³ Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1866-1918*, 395–96.

¹³⁴ Nipperdey, 396. *Vorwärts* described anarchists as ‘Todfeinde der „Sozialistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands“ und des „Vorwärts“.’ „Sozialpolitische Uebersicht“, *Vorwärts* (17.05.1878), 3.

¹³⁵ Winkler, „1866 und 1878: Der Liberalismus in der Krise“, 58.

¹³⁶ ‚Sozialpolitische Uebersicht‘, *Vorwärts* (19.05.1878), p.4; ‚Die rothe Reaktion‘, *Vorwärts* (22.05.1878), p.1; ‚Sozialpolitische Uebersicht‘, *Vorwärts* (09.06.1878), p.2.

followed the search for possible accomplices with great interest and the German population was seized by a hysteria. The attitude of the government also changed; it turned from the laissez-faire policy of the years before towards more interventionism on the political and the economic level.¹³⁷ All this was phrased in a discourse of warfare: Bismarck started what he himself called a ‘Vernichtungskrieg’ against socialists, who were ‘enemies of the Reich’.¹³⁸ Historians, such as Hans-Ulrich Wehler, speak of a ‘second internal war arena’ – after the first against the Catholics, the Kulturkampf.¹³⁹

However, the suspicion of socialists was not entirely without precedent. From the late 1860s onwards, socialists had been under surveillance from the police, openly or undercover. Since 1871 there was even a law in Saxony which gave the police the right to attend gatherings of political societies. Officers had the power to end the gathering – and arrest people present – as soon as a violation of a law occurred.¹⁴⁰ This resulted in arbitrary behaviour, depending on the mood and the strictness of the policemen.¹⁴¹ In this sense, the anti-socialist laws were only a more concrete guideline for the police on a national level.

Only eight days after the first attack, the Reichstag voted on a law against socialists. Historians point out that Bismarck deliberately designed the law in such a way that the liberals in parliament could never accept it.¹⁴² This decline was all part of the strategy. Of course, Bismarck could not possibly have expected the second assassination attempt to happen, but it strengthened his plan nonetheless. His initial plan was to provoke new elections, which would give him the possibility to build a new coalition and find a majority against the liberals and for the anti-socialist laws. Whereas most members of parliament did not see the necessity to dissolve parliament, Nobiling’s attack stressed Bismarck’s point: socialists were such an important problem that it was necessary to have new elections. According to eyewitnesses, Bismarck’s first reaction after the news of the

¹³⁷ Tobias Bruns, „1878 als sicherheitskulturelle Wende in der deutschen Geschichte“, in *„Security turns its eye exclusively to the future“: zum Verhältnis von Sicherheit und Zukunft in der Geschichte*, hg. von Christoph Kampmann, Angela Marciniak, und Wencke Meteling (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2017), 237–40.

¹³⁸ Quoted in: Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*. Bd. 3, 904–5.

¹³⁹ Wehler, 902.

¹⁴⁰ „Polizei-Willkür“, *Crimmitschauer Bürger- und Bauernfreund* (05.12.1871), 1.

¹⁴¹ Carl Hirsch, *Der Normal-Arbeitstag* (Crimmitschau: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1871), 17; Georg von Vollmar, *Die innerpolitischen Zustände des deutschen Reiches und die Sozialdemokratie* (Munich: Birk, o. J.), 15–16.

¹⁴² Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1866-1918*, 396; Ullrich, *Die nervöse Großmacht*, 58.

second attack was not to inquire whether the emperor was safe, but rather to exclaim: 'Dann lösen wir den Reichstag auf!'¹⁴³

Elections were held on 30 July 1878. In the heat of the summer the election campaigns were fierce; according to the *Berliner Tageblatt*, they were more vivid than ever.¹⁴⁴ The danger of socialism, and more importantly, how to stop this danger, was one of the main themes of the election. The pro-government newspapers turned the elections into a vote for or against the founders of the Empire, which made the liberals and socialists appear as anti-patriotic because of their vote against the first draft of the Sozialistengesetz.¹⁴⁵ The socialists warned against an unjustified campaign versus socialism, but this appeal to reason remained unheard outside their own circles.¹⁴⁶ Liberals felt themselves trapped between the two sides: on the one hand, they felt that the anti-socialist law would be a curtailment of liberty. On the other, they wanted to take a strong stance against socialism and in favour of the government, to keep the possibility of a coalition still open.¹⁴⁷ This is exactly where Bismarck wanted them to have: in between the two camps. 'Jetzt habe ich die Kerle, jetzt drücke ich sie an die Wand, bis sie quietschen,' the chancellor said himself.¹⁴⁸

The elections brought Bismarck what he wanted; the liberals dropped considerably (by 4,1%), the conservatives gained 3,2% and the free conservatives even gained 5,7%. Only the socialists did not lose much: they went from 9,1% to 7,6%, despite the anti-socialist frenzy.¹⁴⁹ Neither the liberals nor the socialists were large enough to prevent the Sozialistengesetz from passing through parliament, despite fierce debates. On October 19, the bill was passed by 221 votes to 149.¹⁵⁰ The law gave power to prohibit all clubs, gatherings and publications which aimed to overthrow the current state or society 'durch sozialdemokratische, sozialistische und kommunistische Bestrebungen'.¹⁵¹ People who

¹⁴³ According to Christoph von Tiedemann, chef of the chancellery, quoted in: Lothar Gall, *Bismarck. Der weiße Revolutionär* (Frankfurt am Main: Propyläen, 1980), 566.

¹⁴⁴ „Liberale Wahlen“, *Berliner Tageblatt* (23.07.1878), 1. Concerning the weather, see for example: „Deutschland“, *Lokomotive an der Oder* (24.08.1878), 1; *Die Neuen Wogen der Zeit* 30, nr.88 (25.07.1878), 823.

¹⁴⁵ Ullrich, *Die nervöse Großmacht*, 59.

¹⁴⁶ „Zur Wahl!“, *Vorwärts* (28.07.1878), 1.

¹⁴⁷ F. Seifarth, *Die Entstehung und Ziele der deutschen Sozialdemokratie und einige Worte zur Reichstagswahl* (Mannheim: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1878), 23.

¹⁴⁸ Gall, *Bismarck. Der weiße Revolutionär*, 566.

¹⁴⁹ Deutsches Historisches Museum, 'Ergebnis der Reichstagswahl am 10. Januar 1877', online at: <https://www.dhm.de/lemo/bestand/objekt/reichstagswahl-10-januar-1877.html> (accessed 08.04.2019); idem, 'Ergebnis der Reichstagswahl am 30. Juli 1878', online at: <https://www.dhm.de/lemo/bestand/objekt/Reichstagswahl-30-Juli-1878> (accessed 08.04.2019).

¹⁵⁰ Lidtke, *The Outlawed Party*, 77.

¹⁵¹ „Gesetz gegen die gemeingefährlichen Bestrebungen der Sozialdemokratie“, *Reichs-Gesetzblatt*, 1878, 351, Online, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

engaged themselves in socialist gatherings or societies could expect a fine or a prison sentence. In case of danger for public safety, the authorities were commissioned to expel dangerous individuals.¹⁵² This was possible under the 'kleine Belagerungszustand' (minor state of siege), which would be the main reason for socialists to go in exile. However, there was one odd aspect in the law: nowhere did it say anything about socialist deputies in the Reichstag. They were still able to participate in elections, to be elected and to hold public office.¹⁵³ The legislators probably assumed that there would be no support for socialists in parliament anymore once the law was implemented, but they were wrong.¹⁵⁴ Thus, when socialists were expelled from all of Germany, a small group remained, very close to the heart of power.

Westward Bound

All German socialists who went into exile moved in a western direction. They went to Switzerland, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, England or the United States. This is no coincidence, but it can be explained by three main reasons.

First, already long before the Cold War, 'the West' had become synonymous with freedom.¹⁵⁵ Riccardo Bavaj and Martina Steber date the connection of 'the West' to ideas about liberty and democracy back to the period between 1750 and 1850, which Koselleck called the 'Sattelzeit'.¹⁵⁶ According to Reinhart Koselleck, in this 'saddle period' the vocabulary of German political discourse acquired its modern meaning. Not only did the term 'der Westen' replace the German nouns 'Abendland' and 'Okzident' and their respective adjectives as the main terms of reference to 'the West', but from then on it also became the word to describe a way of life, next to a direction or a geographical space.¹⁵⁷ This is connected to two events which still define 'the West' to a large extent: the American Revolution of 1776 and the French Revolution of 1789. The success of these revolutions led to the spread of ideas about self-representation, liberty and anti-authoritarianism. Moreover, these ideas were attached to concrete locations: the newly founded United States of America and France.

¹⁵² „Gesetz gegen die gemeingefährlichen Bestrebungen der Sozialdemokratie“, 355–57.

¹⁵³ Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*. Bd. 3, 905.

¹⁵⁴ Lidtke, *The Outlawed Party*, 78.

¹⁵⁵ Riccardo Bavaj und Martina Steber, „Germany and ‚the West‘: The Vagaries of a Modern Relationship“, in *Germany and ‚The West‘: The History of a Modern Concept*, hg. von Riccardo Bavaj und Martina Steber (New York/ Oxford: Berghahn, 2015), 8.

¹⁵⁶ Bavaj und Steber, 7.

¹⁵⁷ Bavaj und Steber, 8.

The influence and the attractiveness of these revolutions should not be underestimated. From Madrid to Warsaw, from Edinburgh to Vienna, people were shocked, relieved or inspired by the sheer terms ‘life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness’ and ‘liberté, égalité, fraternité’ – these words and ideas being perceived as almost more influential than the actual revolutionary events themselves.¹⁵⁸ Liberty became the main defining concept of ‘the West’. As a result, ‘the West’ gained a conceptual dimension as a synonym for freedom or liberty. Next to the conceptual dimension of ‘the West’, it also gained a temporal dimension. ‘The West’ meant not only a more or less homogenised space with presupposed common ideas about freedom and justice, but many people assumed that this was the way the future would look like. Thus, ‘the West’ became the embodiment and the location of the future itself.¹⁵⁹

Second, as a result of the first reason, the focus on ‘the West’ created a new divide between West and East on mental maps, replacing the earlier opposition between North and South.¹⁶⁰ ‘The East’, ‘Orient’ or Asia became to be understood as the opposite of ‘the West’. These words came to represent a region of barbarity (as opposed to civilisation), disorder (the opposite of order) and oppression (versus western liberty and the rule of law). ‘Westerners’ associated ‘the East’ with the past, feeding the notion of orientalism: a romanticised and condescending western attitude towards ‘the East’, hoping to find a mythicized region where the western rules did not apply – opening up possibilities for colonialism, cultural and sexual oppression. Edward Said described the viewpoint of people from ‘the West’ most strikingly: ‘Orientals, and Muslims in particular, are lazy, their politics are capricious, passionate, and futureless’.¹⁶¹ Orientals as futureless versus ‘Westerners’ as bearers of the future – both regions became parts of collective mental maps. Yet, whereas Said located ‘the Orient’ primarily in the region we nowadays describe as the Middle East – a name that also implies a Western point of view – his words are equally applicable to nineteenth-century Russia.

¹⁵⁸ David Armitage, *The Declaration of Independence: A Global History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2007), 69–72.

¹⁵⁹ Bavaj und Steber, „Germany and ‚the West‘: The Vagaries of a Modern Relationship“, 7–8.

¹⁶⁰ Benjamin Schröder, „Between East and West? A Liberal Dilemma, 1830-1848/49“, in *Germany and ‚The West‘: The History of a Modern Concept*, hg. von Riccardo Bavaj und Martina Steber (New York/ Oxford: Berghahn, 2015), 141; Denis Sdvizkov, „Russian and German Ideas of the West in the Long Nineteenth Century“, in *Germany and ‚the West‘: The History of a Modern Concept*, hg. von Riccardo Bavaj und Martina Steber (New York/ Oxford: Berghahn, 2015), 98ff.

¹⁶¹ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, Reprinted with a new preface, Penguin Modern Classics (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 178.

Terrified by the French Revolution of 1789, an attempt at a coup d'état by the 'Decembrists' in 1825, and the European revolutions of 1848, the Russian tsars clung to authoritarian and repressive politics even more than before.¹⁶² Unorthodox measures such as espionage and mass arrests were used, not increasing the tsar's popularity. These policies sent waves of political refugees throughout Europe in the nineteenth century.¹⁶³ The Russian fugitive 'colonies' abroad reached such numbers that, at the beginning of the twentieth century, Russians constituted over one-third of the total number of students at Swiss universities, according to R.J. Goldstein.¹⁶⁴ Russians not only feared the lack of freedom, but, even more importantly, to be left out of history or missing the bandwagon of 'Western modernity'.¹⁶⁵ Whereas Russia was seen as backward, both by 'Westerners', but equally so by many Russians, 'the West' became 'the Promised Land' for many Russian liberals, democrats and socialists.¹⁶⁶ The dichotomy between the 'backward Russia' and the 'modern West' was embedded in German thinking in the second half of the nineteenth century. The social-democratic newspaper *Die Zukunft* described Russia as a state that could not even prevent the deterioration of its own population, despite twenty years of peace, 'a so-called autonomous administration' and 'relative legal security'. Russians were driven into poverty and its government could not care less, according to *Die Zukunft*.¹⁶⁷ Several Germans warned against the Sozialistengesetz for drifting towards 'Russian conditions'. In his speech in the Reichstag, the social-democrat Max Kayser accused the German government of 'Russian methods'.¹⁶⁸ In 1888, Clara Zetkin spoke about Russia as 'the despotic, half-Asian tsar empire'.¹⁶⁹ This judgement was not based on superstition, because Zetkin was familiar with Russia. She had been there herself in 1878-1879.

Especially for socialists the East-West divide played an important role, because – and this is the third reason – Marx himself had declared that the future will be located in the West. 'The country that is more developed industrially only shows, to the less

¹⁶² Carr, *The romantic exiles*, 159; Burbank und Cooper, *Empires in World History*, 335.

¹⁶³ Carr, *The romantic exiles*, 26ff.

¹⁶⁴ Goldstein, *Political Repression in 19th Century Europe*, 85.

¹⁶⁵ Sdvizkov, „Russian and German Ideas of the West in the Long Nineteenth Century“, 103.

¹⁶⁶ Carr, *The romantic exiles*, 25.

¹⁶⁷ 'Russische Zustände', *Die Zukunft. Sozial-demokratisches Organ* nr. 11 (10.03.1880).

¹⁶⁸ Max Kayser, *Rede des Reichstagsabgeordneten Kayser über das Neue Sozialisten-Gesetz* (Dresden: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1880), 11.

¹⁶⁹ Clara Zetkin, „Die russischen Studentinnen“, *Die Neue Zeit* 6, Nr. 8 (1888): 357.

developed, the image of its own future,' Marx wrote in *Das Kapital*.¹⁷⁰ By developed industrial countries he meant Germany, France, and above all England. There could be no doubt that he was right. According to 'the natural laws of capitalist production', which work 'with iron necessity to inevitable results', it must be this way. So there was no reason for socialists to go to 'backward' regions in the East, which were still caught in the feudal phase of historical development, when the revolution might happen any time soon in the industrialised capitalist West, which had moved further on 'the road to progress'. Friedrich Engels emphasised that the liberation of the West European proletariat had the main priority. After that would have been reached, 'the West' would drag the other countries along towards the socialist future.¹⁷¹ Later in his life Marx revised his views on Russia.¹⁷² Nonetheless, his prophecy was firmly rooted in the minds of most German socialists, who, as a result, went westwards.

However, there was a problem with the relation between socialist development and 'the West'. As *Vorwärts* pointed out in 1877, highly developed Western countries lacked socialism in some cases:

Wir sehen Länder, denen kein Mensch die modern-kapitalistische Entwicklung wird nachsagen können, die vielmehr noch in den feudalistischen Kinderschuhen herumlaufen – ich nenne hier nur Rußland, oder, um im lieben deutschen Vaterland zu bleiben, das herrliche Mecklenburg –, mit erstaunlicher Rapidität vom Gifte des Sozialismus durchtränkt werden, während es in anderen Ländern, die zufällig die ersten Industrieländer der Welt sind – ich meine hier natürlich vor Allem England und nebstdem Amerika – eigentlich so gut wie gar nicht vorwärts geht. Mecklenburg ja und England nicht? Erklärtet mir, Graf Oerindur!¹⁷³ Das stimmt doch wohl nicht. Die Ausbreitung der sozialistischen Ideen muß sich denn doch wohl nach andern Gesetzen als den rein ökonomischen regeln.¹⁷⁴

This problem has been bothering socialists until far into the twentieth century. However, in 1878 it did not provide much of a problem for German socialists. They went westwards, even to places with little socialist activity such as the Netherlands.¹⁷⁵ Another important aspect was the role of language. Switzerland, France, England and the US had

¹⁷⁰ Karl Marx, *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Ökonomie. Erster Band, Buch I: Der Produktionsprozeß des Kapitals*, Bd. 23, Karl Marx Friedrich Engels Werke (Berlin (East): Dietz Verlag, 1962), 12.

¹⁷¹ Engels to Bernstein, 22.-25.02.1882; Engels to Kautsky, 12.09.1882. Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels, *Karl Marx Friedrich Engels Werke*, hg. von Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus beim ZK der SED, Bd. 35 (Berlin (East): Dietz Verlag, 1967), 279–80; 358.

¹⁷² Teodor Shanin, „Late Marx: Gods and Craftsmen“, in *Late Marx and the Russian road: Marx and „the peripheries of capitalism“: a case*, hg. von Teodor Shanin (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), 8ff.

¹⁷³ This is a reference to Adolph Müllner's play *Die Schuld* (1813) in which one of the characters says: 'Und – erkläre mir, Oerindur, / Diesen Zwiespalt der Natur!' This became a well-known saying in nineteenth-century German.

¹⁷⁴ „Betrachtungen aus und über Holland“, *Vorwärts* 60 (25.05.1877) , 3.

¹⁷⁵ Dennis Bos, „Waarachtige volksvrienden. De vroege socialistische beweging in Amsterdam, 1848-1894“ (2001), 169ff.

large groups of German refugees at this time, who assembled in refugee colonies in certain cities. Despite the attractiveness of its vicinity and language, Austria-Hungary was a no-go.¹⁷⁶ In a similar vein as Bismarck, the Austrian prime minister Von Taaffe led a coalition of conservatives and clergymen that tried to weaken the liberals and socialists.¹⁷⁷

The location of Germany on the border between East and West, stretching from the Rhine in the west to the border with Russia in the east, provided the country with a choice: was it going to get along with 'Western' liberalism or with 'Eastern' authoritarianism?¹⁷⁸ This issue not only played a role on the national level, but on the regional as well. Many contemporaries from the urban centres in the west and middle of Germany regarded East Prussia and East Elbia as backward regions. The serfdom on the estates of the Junkers in these regions contrasted to the industrial power house in the west, such as the Ruhr region.¹⁷⁹ Stereotypes of the Polish population as 'ignorant' and 'inferior' did not improve its image. Even though it is true that agriculture was more important in these regions, whereas heavy industry concentrated in western Germany, it is hard to prove that conservative ideas predominated in the east and liberalism in the west. However, mental maps were hard to change and the ideas stuck to mind. An important factor to consider is that Bismarck, the stiff conservative Junker, fitted the stereotype rather well.

Thus, when the socialists had to choose where to go in 1878, they chose for 'the West'. Internally, they went *en masse* to cities like Hamburg, which were less restrictive than for example Berlin. Internationally, they went to Western European countries or crossed the Atlantic towards the United States. Even though they rarely expressed their decision to go west explicitly, it is clear that they based their choices on a combination of mental mapping, assumptions and the experiences of friends and relatives.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. 'Parteigenossen aller Länder!', *Der Sozialdemokrat* (28.09.1878) 1.

¹⁷⁷ Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, 65 (dritter Teil); Richard J. Evans, *The Pursuit of Power. Europe 1815-1914*, The Penguin History of Europe, general editor: David Cannadine ; 7 (London: Penguin Books, 2017), 584.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Schröder, „Between East and West? A Liberal Dilemma, 1830-1848/49“.

¹⁷⁹ „Politische Uebersicht“, *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* 15 (10.04.1869), 1.

Chapter 2. In Exile

Es bedarf aber umsomehr der größten Aufmerksamkeit in dieser Beziehung, als die Bewegung immer deutlicher einen internationalen Character annimmt, und mit den Umsturzparteien anderer Länder, von der Internationalen Arbeiter-Association, die doch immerhin noch sei, wenn auch nach ihren Principien eingerichtetes und geordnetes Staatsleben zugestehen will, bis zu den russischen Nihilisten, und der internationalen revolutionären Liga, die unbekümmert um die Zukunft lediglich auf die Zerstörung aller bisher anerkannten göttlichen, menschlichen und moralischen Ordnung bedacht sind, immer engere Fühlung gewinnt.

These are the words of the superintendent of the Berlin police, Guido von Madai, in his report on the condition of socialism in December 1878.¹⁸⁰ He feared an international diffusion of German socialists. Either they might join moderate forces, he predicted, who were still in favour of an organised state, or radicals who wished to destroy every divine, human and moral order. As the four socialists studied here will show, both directions were appealing to them. Following the assumption that ideas change depending on their context, this chapter concentrates on three cities, Zürich, Paris and London, where the four socialists exchanged ideas and developed their viewpoints. Since ideas are highly personal, they develop on the ground of personal experiences, meetings, readings or travels. Therefore, this chapter will be exclusively on the micro level, closely tracing their lives in exile.

Zürich – Factional Struggles

Zürich gained fame as a centre of the political and artistic avant-garde in the early twentieth century. It was the city where in 1917 Lenin boarded the train towards Petrograd. It was the place where Hugo Ball and his friends founded the Dada movement in Cabaret Voltaire. However, the Zürich of the 1870s was not yet the city that it would become. It was still a small, quiet town near the lake, in size something between a village and a real city, as Eduard Bernstein pointed out in his memoirs.¹⁸¹ Because of the liberal immigration laws, Switzerland was a popular destination among political refugees in the nineteenth century, especially Bern and Geneva.¹⁸² In Zürich they only formed small circles, until the arrival of large numbers of German and Russian socialists in the 1870s.

¹⁸⁰ Dokument nr. 1 (11.12.1878). Höhn, *Die vaterlandslosen Gesellen*, 4.

¹⁸¹ Eduard Bernstein, *Aus den Jahren meines Exils. Erinnerungen eines Sozialisten* (Berlin: Erich Reiß Verlag, 1918), 76–77.

¹⁸² Tóth, *An Exiled Generation*, 172.

Anger and Utopianism

As one of the first victims of the anti-socialist laws, Carl August Schramm received a letter from the Berlin police on 29 November 1878. He was completely astonished. The insurance inspector Schramm, 48 years old, was moderate and bourgeois, living with his wife and son in the respectable neighbourhood Luisenstadt.¹⁸³ When he engaged himself for a political cause, it was among social-reformers, arguing for a strong state which could provide everyone with help and shelter.¹⁸⁴ He had read some of Marx's writings, but he never preached nor practiced revolution. Schramm was no revolutionary, but a Bildungsbürger with ideas about social improvement. Therefore, he expected the request by the police to leave Berlin to be a mistake. His neighbours and colleagues started a petition against his expulsion:

Wir kennen Herrn Schramm als Socialdemokraten schon seit Jahren, haben öfter Gelegenheit gehabt, ihn über seine sociale Ideen, die wir nicht theilen, sondern entschieden bekämpfen, sprechen zu hören und sind zu der Ueberzeugung gelangt, daß Herr Schramm niemals an eine gewaltsame Durchführung seiner Ideen, sondern nur an die friedliche Reform auf gesetzlichem Wege gedacht hat. Wir müssen ihm das Zeugnis geben, daß sein häusliches Leben musterhaft zu sein scheint, daß er ein anständiger durchaus ehrenhafter Mann ist, der sich schon mit der größten Entschiedenheit gegen die Rohheit anderer Socialdemokraten öffentlich ausgesprochen hat.¹⁸⁵

Even though they condemned his ideas, the neighbours had to admit that Schramm was the perfect bourgeois family man – but all in vain. In January 1879, the Schramm family moved to Zürich.¹⁸⁶

Zürich was a logical choice to go to in exile. Switzerland had been a safe haven for most nineteenth-century exiles, whether they were French salonnières, German revolutionaries or Russian anarchists.¹⁸⁷ Zürich was appealing to Germans in particular, since it was practically located near the border and language was not a problem.¹⁸⁸ By the time he reached Zürich, Schramm's surprise had turned into anger. He was angry at the German government, which had expelled him despite all his efforts to improve the state for everyone.¹⁸⁹ This anger should not be confused with the strong fervour which

¹⁸³ C.A.L.H. Schramm, „Erinnerungen“, 8, 18, in: *Carl August Schramm Papers*. ARCH01257 – 41. IISG.

¹⁸⁴ Carl August Schramm, *Ein Wort zur Verständigung in der socialen Frage* (Berlin: W. Rubenow, 1871), 32ff.

¹⁸⁵ „In bürgerlichen Kreisen ...“, *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt* Nr. 361 (27.12.1878), 1. *Carl August Schramm Papers*. ARCH01257 – 36. IISG.

¹⁸⁶ „Carl August Schramm [Nachruf]“, *Österreichische Revue. Organ für Assekuranz und Volkswirtschaft* 30, Nr. 37 (11.09. 1905), 213.

¹⁸⁷ Herbert Reiter, *Politisches Asyl im 19. Jahrhundert: die deutschen politischen Flüchtlinge des Vormärz und der Revolution von 1848/49 in Europa und den USA*, Historische Forschungen, Bd. 47 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1992), 216ff.

¹⁸⁸ Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, 48 (dritter Teil).

¹⁸⁹ C.A.L.H. Schramm, „Erinnerungen“, 54, in: *Carl August Schramm Papers*. ARCH01257 – 41. IISG.

characterises revolutionaries.¹⁹⁰ Schramm was too rational and too controlled for such a kind of excitement. Instead of fiercely burning, the anger was slowly smouldering within him. It gave Schramm the energy and the will to engage himself against injustice and ignorance. In Berlin, politics had never been his main occupation. Multiple times, he had refused the offer to become a Reichstag member for the socialists, with the argumentation that he did not want to become dependent on the party.¹⁹¹ His political engagement remained limited to articles and lectures about social conditions, directed at a public of educated middle-class citizens.¹⁹² The expulsion from Germany made clear that the government did not regard him as a loyal citizen with well-intended ideas, but that he was considered to be just as dangerous as radical socialist agitators. Moving to Zürich meant the loss of his job, leaving his friends and colleagues in Berlin. This move radicalised Schramm in the sense that politics became more important in his life; if the German government regarded him as a dangerous socialist, he would become one! It resulted in the most productive, if short, period of his life as a socialist.

In Zürich, Schramm rubbed shoulders with other exiles. He attended the Café Orsini, named after revolutionary Italian count Felice Orsini, where he met old 1848ers and refugees from the Paris Commune.¹⁹³ In the café the aging rebels dreamed of vanished revolutions, dwelling in nostalgia. There he was also reunited with his friends Karl Höchberg and Eduard Bernstein, who arrived in Zürich by April 1879.¹⁹⁴ Schramm knew them both from Berlin.¹⁹⁵ The wealthy Höchberg had set out to make socialism more appealing to the moderate bourgeoisie, by stressing its economic reform programme instead of a proletarian revolution.¹⁹⁶ Whereas this position led to disapproval from Marx and Engels – who mockingly called him a philanthropist instead of a real socialist¹⁹⁷ – it opened up socialism to become more salonfähig among middle-class citizens. Because of his wealth, which he had inherited from his father, Höchberg was able to start many new initiatives, such as the periodical *Die Zukunft*. Schramm had

¹⁹⁰ Teodor Shanin, *Russia, 1905 - 07. Revolution as a moment of truth. The roots of otherness: Russia's turn of century: 2*. (London: Macmillan, 1986), 31.

¹⁹¹ „Carl August Schramm [Nachruf]“, *Österreichische Revue. Organ für Assekuranz und Volkswirtschaft* 30, Nr. 37 (11.09. 1905), 212.

¹⁹² *Ibidem*, 212.

¹⁹³ C.A.L.H. Schramm, „Erinnerungen“, 59, in: *Carl August Schramm Papers*. ARCH01257 – 41. IISG. Orsini still exists on the same location in Zürich, nowadays as an expensive restaurant.

¹⁹⁴ Eduard Bernstein, *Sozialdemokratische Lehrjahre* (Berlin: Der Bücherkreis, 1928), 74.

¹⁹⁵ C.A.L.H. Schramm, „Erinnerungen“, 51, in: *Carl August Schramm Papers*. ARCH01257 – 41. IISG.

¹⁹⁶ E. Bernstein, „Karl Höchberg †“, *Der Sozialdemokrat* (02.07.1885), 2.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Engels to Bebel, 04.08.1879. Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels, *Karl Marx Friedrich Engels Werke*, hg. von Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus beim ZK der SED, Bd. 34 (Berlin (East): Dietz Verlag, 1966), 386.

written various articles on economic affairs for this magazine. Since October 1878, Höchberg lived in Castagnola, near Lugano.¹⁹⁸ Bernstein, for whom the conditions of the urban proletariat decided his turn towards socialism, had been a bank employee in Berlin. Only in his spare time he could study socialist theory.¹⁹⁹ In October 1878, he left the growing anti-socialist atmosphere in Germany and joined Höchberg. Until 1880, Bernstein worked for Höchberg as his personal secretary.²⁰⁰

Schramm, Höchberg and Bernstein made a reputation for themselves as a triumvirate, called 'die Zürcher' or 'the three stars'. This latter nickname went back to one of their first joint articles, 'Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland', published in Höchberg's *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* in July 1879. Instead of their names, the three authors signed with three asterisks.²⁰¹ Despite the apparently dull and matter-of-fact topic of the article – the development of the socialist movement in Germany –, it sent a shockwave through the internationally dispersed groups of German socialists. According to Marx, never something more discrediting for the party had been printed.²⁰² The article opened with the remark that the Sozialistengesetz provided the party with a much needed break. After this controversial opening statement, the three authors went straight to their main topic. This was not a historical overview, nor a debate about wages, strikes or theories about value – themes that could dominate the socialist press at length. These were all minor issues compared to the actual matter of the article: how to reach the future socialist state.

According to the authors, it was unhelpful to keep imagining this state in ever more detail, without bringing it any closer.²⁰³ Instead, they argued, socialism should concentrate itself on small steps to improve people's present conditions. In the end, step

¹⁹⁸ Höchberg to Liebknecht, 31.03.1879. Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit deutschen Sozialdemokraten. Band II: 1878-1884*, hg. von Götz Langkau, Quellen und Studien zur Sozialgeschichte 8 (Frankfurt/ New York: Campus Verlag, 1988), 104; Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, 50 (dritter Teil).

¹⁹⁹ Bernstein, *Aus den Jahren meines Exils. Erinnerungen eines Sozialisten*, 65; Morina, *Die Erfindung des Marxismus*, 200–202.

²⁰⁰ Bernstein, *Aus den Jahren meines Exils. Erinnerungen eines Sozialisten*, 11; Bernstein, *Sozialdemokratische Lehrjahre*, 67–68; Morina, *Die Erfindung des Marxismus*, 39, 204.

²⁰¹ In his memoirs, Bernstein claimed that the article was mainly written by Karl Fleisch, a social reformer from Frankfurt, helped by Schramm and Höchberg (Bernstein, *Lehrjahre*, p79f.). Whereas this could be the case, it might as well be a smart move by Bernstein to wash his hands off the article and to appear a more pure Marxist in hindsight. To my knowledge, there are no other sources supporting the thesis of Fleisch as author of the *Jahrbuch*. Moreover, if Bernstein had nothing to do with it as he claimed, why was he so keen to hear Engels' opinion about it? (Bernstein to Engels, 13.08.1879. Bernstein, *Briefwechsel mit Engels*, 12.)

²⁰² Marx to F.A. Sorge, 19.09.1879. Marx und Engels, *Werke 34*, 34:413.

²⁰³ „Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland. Kritische Aphorismen von * * *“, *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* 1, Nr. 1 (1879): 80.

by step, the future state could be reached. ‘One should not,’ the authors wrote in the article, ‘lose the present out of sight for the sake of the future. One should realise that a jump cannot bring the country of the future. Only long roads and boring detours can lead there.’²⁰⁴ The jump, of course, refers to the ‘violent, bloody revolution’ that Marx prophesied.²⁰⁵ No doubt workers were capable of starting a revolution, the article continued, but building a new state is quite a different story. Therefore, the three writers proposed their moderate way of reforming the present state, instead of overthrowing it. To show the workers the way, the masses needed guides in the form of an ‘educated and possessing bourgeois’. As a result, the bourgeoisie should not be fought against, but rather won over by ‘energetic propaganda’.²⁰⁶

This viewpoint was a smack in the face of the radical tradition of the socialist party as a workers’ party. No revolution, no class struggle, no self-liberation of the proletariat, but instead bourgeois leaders following ‘the road of order and reform’ were demanded.²⁰⁷ The article tried to relive Lassalle’s moderate tradition of socialism at a time when the Marxist radical viewpoint was taking over. Yet neither Marx nor the word ‘proletariat’ were even mentioned in the article. Even though they did not say it outright, it is clear the authors meant Marx and his fellows when they blamed the ‘spekulativen Köpfen’ who got satisfaction by imagining future life ‘in grossen, prächtig und bequem eingerichteten communistischen Städten und Häusern’.²⁰⁸ Whereas the reformist attitude had never turned completely silent after Lassalle’s death – for example, Höchberg had been publishing several periodicals supporting a moderate socialism – this was perceived as a new and severe blow against the socialist cause. For one, because it was published at a crucial moment, when the outlawed party was most vulnerable.²⁰⁹ On top of that, now it did not deal with such minor issues like the eight-hour working day or the benefits of corporate statism, but with the ultimate goal of the party. Furiously, Marx wrote to his friend Friedrich Adolph Sorge about the issue:

Diese Burschen, theoretisch null, praktisch unbrauchbar, wollen dem Sozialismus (den sie sich nach den Universitätsrezepten zurechtgemanscht) und namentlich der sozialdemokratischen *Partei* die Zähne ausbrechen, die Arbeiter aufklären oder, wie sie

²⁰⁴ „Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland“, 81.

²⁰⁵ „Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland“, 87.

²⁰⁶ „Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland“, 87–88; Marx & Engels, Zirkularbrief an Bebel, Liebknecht, Bracke u.a. Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels, *Karl Marx Friedrich Engels Werke*, hg. von Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus beim ZK der SED, Bd. 19 (Berlin (East): Dietz Verlag, 1987), 161.

²⁰⁷ „Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland“, 88.

²⁰⁸ „Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland“, 80.

²⁰⁹ Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, 59–60 (dritter Teil); Bartel u. a., *Der Sozialdemokrat*, 25.

sagen, ihnen „Bildungselemente“ durch ihre konfuse Halbwisserei zuführen und vor allem die Partei in den Augen des Spießbürgers respektabel machen. Es sind arme *konterrevolutionäre Zungendrescher*. Well.²¹⁰

They were, according to Marx, simply not radical enough. Counterrevolutionaries and petty bourgeois reactionaries, that is how the author of *Das Kapital* regarded them. Both sides accused each other of wishful thinking and utopianism: the Zürcher regarded Marx's views of a coming revolution as utopian, whereas Marx and Engels thought that peace with the bourgeoisie was equally utopian. Höchberg, Schramm and Bernstein did not expect a revolution to be happening any time soon, not even within the life span of their current generation.²¹¹ Therefore, the revolutionary state was a sheer utopia in their eyes, maybe beautiful but utterly unreachable. It only led the workers away from improvement of the current circumstances. Moderate reform, however, would bring the bright future nearer one step at a time, thus making it much more reachable. On the other hand, Marx and Engels accused the counterrevolutionaries or moderate socialists also of utopianism. Already in *Vorwärts*, they said, social-democrats rather envisioned a future society instead of discussing the main questions of the day.²¹² Moreover, it denied the revolutionary potential of the proletariat, and thus the laws of the historical-materialist process of class-struggle itself.²¹³

Some, such as Ignaz Auer, tried to keep his friend Höchberg away from Marx's fury by pointing at Schramm as the genius behind it all – which was actually not true.²¹⁴ Schramm probably did not suffer much from Marx's critique. In later writings, he pursued the line of reasoning as presented in the *Jahrbuch* article, combining insights from socialist theory with moderate social-reformative views, fashionable among the Bildungsbürger of his time. Marx and Engels feared that the moderate or, as they called it, counterrevolutionary forces within the party might win over with the 'Trifolium Höchberg – Bernstein – Schramm' in Zürich.²¹⁵ To prevent this, they tried to put forward a more radical person to fill the position of main editor of the new party newspaper, which would be published in Zürich. Their ideal candidate was Carl Hirsch.²¹⁶

²¹⁰ Marx to F.A. Sorge, 19.09.1879. Marx und Engels, *Werke* 34, 34:412.

²¹¹ „Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland“, 80.

²¹² Marx & Engels, Zirkularbrief. Marx und Engels, *Werke* 19, 19:157.

²¹³ Marx & Engels, Zirkularbrief. Marx und Engels, 19:161–63.

²¹⁴ Bartel u. a., *Der Sozialdemokrat*, 49, 242.

²¹⁵ Marx to F.A. Sorge, 19.09.1879. Marx und Engels, *Werke* 34, 34:412.

²¹⁶ Engels to August Bebel, 04.08.1879. Marx und Engels, 34:386.

A New Party Newspaper

Hirsch had indeed good credentials for a job as editor-in-chief of what would become the successor of *Vorwärts*. He had led the editorial staff of several socialist newspapers within Germany and, after his emigration to Paris, he had kept on writing as foreign correspondent for several papers.²¹⁷ His latest activities had been the writing, editing and publishing his own illegal magazine, *Die Laterne*, from Brussels – after having been expelled from Paris. Next to his wide-ranging journalistic experience, he was on good terms with Marx and Engels. Hirsch had visited them in London several times and Marx was pleased with him.²¹⁸ To Wilhelm Bracke, Marx wrote in 1877 about Hirsch: ‘Hirsch ist ein absolut zuverlässiger Mann; von der größten Aufopferungsfähigkeit; seine Hauptschwäche – Mangel an Menschenkenntnis, so daß Leute, die Enthusiasmus für die Sache zu spielen wissen, ihn leicht düpieren, wenn auch nicht anhaltend.’²¹⁹

However, the odds were not completely in Hirsch’s favour. Along the way, he had made some enemies. By 1879, the latest scandal was the way he attacked Max Kayser in *Die Laterne*.²²⁰ Kayser, member of the Reichstag for the socialist party, had voted in favour of Bismarck’s proposal of protective tariffs – as the only one in the socialist party. Hirsch understood Kayser’s vote as support for the ‘exterminators of socialism’.²²¹ Marx and Engels backed Hirsch in his critique against Kayser and praised him for saving ‘the honour of the party’.²²² For the Zürich trio, as well as to many other socialists, Hirsch was unsuitable as new main editor for his ad hominem attack of Kayser.²²³ For them, Kayser’s rational arguments for his vote were more important than the anti-Bismarck attitude based on principle rather than on ratio. Moreover, Kayser belonged to the same moderate wing within the socialist party as the Zürcher. Höchberg, Bernstein and Schramm tried to make one last demand: if Hirsch would be the editor, the three of them wanted to build the editorial board, which would decide which articles would be

²¹⁷ Herrmann, „Carl Hirsch. Sozialdemokratischer Journalist und Mitstreiter von Marx und Engels“, 148, 152.

²¹⁸ Herrmann, 152.

²¹⁹ Marx to W. Bracke, 18.08.1877. Marx und Engels, *Werke 34*, 34:290.

²²⁰ Cf. „Ueber Staatsfinanzen, Staatsbahnen, Schutzzoll, Freihandel und dergleichen“, *Die Laterne* 12 (23.03.1879), 369-390.

²²¹ „Aus Bonn“, *Die Laterne* 9 (02.03.1879), 302.

²²² Marx & Engels, Zirkularbrief an Bebel, Liebknecht, Bracke u.a. Marx und Engels, *Werke 19*, 19:157.

²²³ Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, 43 (dritter Teil).

published.²²⁴ Marx and Engels were furious at what they regarded as an attempt at censorship.²²⁵

What had begun as a small vacancy within one of the organs of the socialist party, turned into a row that split the party members into two groups. It led to serious friction between the old comrades Liebknecht and Bebel on the one hand and Engels and Marx on the other.²²⁶ The friction between moderates and radicals would remain a source of tension within the party until it came to a boiling point in November 1918, followed by the split between social democracy and communism. However, by 1879 a schism was not yet on the table. Weakened by the anti-socialist laws and faced with a common enemy, the party tried to keep its lines closed.²²⁷ Even though Engels wrote that Höchberg should be expelled from the party for the three-star-article, most others tried to preserve the unity in the party.²²⁸ Höchberg was important for his money, Schramm for his economic knowledge and Bernstein for his political insights. Moreover, there were already enough problems within the party. The new newspaper should not only be a medium to discuss tactics, theoretical issues and party policy, but, no less important, also be a way to counter Johann Most's paper *Freiheit*.²²⁹ Most, another socialist who had been forced to move abroad, published since 1878 *Freiheit* from London. Together with Wilhelm Hasselmann, Most had been expelled from the socialist party for his fierce critique of the party leaders in 1878. Out of resentment Most wrote in *Freiheit* articles to attack his former comrades. In those years, he radicalised towards anarchism.²³⁰

On 28 September 1879, the first issue of *Der Sozialdemokrat. Internationales Organ der Sozialdemokratie deutscher Zunge* was published in Zürich and smuggled into Germany.²³¹ The editor-in-chief was Georg Vollmar, a Bavarian socialist who had been Bebel's man of choice.²³² In the end, Hirsch had declined because of uncertainty in terms of funding the newspaper – which was a pretence, of course.²³³ According to Bebel,

²²⁴ Marx & Engels, Zirkularbrief. Marx und Engels, *Werke* 19, 19:155.

²²⁵ Marx & Engels, Zirkularbrief. Marx und Engels, 19:156.

²²⁶ Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, 74 (dritter Teil).

²²⁷ „Parteigenossen aller Länder!“, *Der Sozialdemokrat* (28.09.1879), 1.

²²⁸ Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, 60 (dritter Teil).

²²⁹ Bebel to Engels, 19.08.1879. Bebel, 51–52 (dritter Teil).

²³⁰ Tom Goyens, „Johann Most en de Duitse anarchistische beweging in New York City, 1880-1900“, *Brood & Rozen. Tijdschrift voor de Geschiedenis van Sociale Bewegingen* 7, Nr. 1 (2002): 40–41.

²³¹ „Avis an die Korrespondenten und Abonnenten des ‚Sozialdemokrat‘“, *Der Sozialdemokrat* (28.09.1879), 1.

²³² Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, 49 (dritter Teil).

²³³ Bebel to Engels, 18.11.1879. August Bebel und Friedrich Engels, *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels*, hg. von Werner Blumenberg, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der deutschen und österreichischen Arbeiterbewegung 6 ('s-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1965), 77.

Hirsch never wanted to become the editor and go to Zürich, because of his enmity against Schramm, Höchberg and Bernstein. Hirsch presented Marx and Engels with his side of the story and they agreed with him. Whereas Hirsch thought he had taken the honourable way out by playing hard to get, he had in fact thrown away his chance to play a significant role for the party newspaper.

The Bookshop and the Archive

Setting up *Der Sozialdemokrat* as the new party newspaper meant all hands on deck. The articles had to be written, edited, typeset, printed, and transported across the border into Germany. Any regular newspaper is already a large enterprise, but doing this in secret required almost twice the regular workload. All available party members were involved. Hermann Schlüter had been working in Dresden for several newspapers.²³⁴ In the party, he had made a name for himself when he argued on the 1880 party conference to delete the word 'lawful' in the sentence 'With all lawful means.' Now the party itself was illegal, Schlüter argued, the programme it pursued could no longer be lawful.²³⁵ Expelled from Dresden in 1883, he set up a tobacco shop in Stuttgart until August Bebel asked him in October 1883 to help in Zürich.²³⁶ Schlüter agreed and moved to Zürich in December. Together with Conrad Conzett and Leonhard Tauscher, Schlüter headed the party press, bookshop ('Volksbuchhandlung') and, from 1884 onwards, also the party archives.²³⁷ *Der Sozialdemokrat* was made in and exported from Julius Motteler's house, nicknamed 'Der Olymp'.²³⁸ Only fifteen minutes on foot from Motteler's, Schlüter lived and worked in the Kasinostraße 3.²³⁹ Schlüter impressed his comrades with his eagerness and diligence. Kautsky, who had met Schlüter in Stuttgart and been friends since then, described him as 'an energetic and competent man', who was not afraid to work hard.²⁴⁰ Bernstein also had a favourable impression of Schlüter and called him 'unbezahlbar'.²⁴¹ And the hard

²³⁴ Mayer, „Die Geschichte des sozialdemokratischen Parteiarchivs“, 23.

²³⁵ Bernstein, *Sozialdemokratische Lehrjahre*, 144.

²³⁶ Bebel to Schlüter, 04.10.1883, in: *August Bebel Papers*. ARCH00029 – 43. IISG.

²³⁷ Mayer, „Die Geschichte des sozialdemokratischen Parteiarchivs“, 15.

²³⁸ Bernstein, *Aus den Jahren meines Exils. Erinnerungen eines Sozialisten*, 99.

²³⁹ Note 470. Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels, *Karl Marx Friedrich Engels Werke*, hg. von Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus beim ZK der SED, Bd. 36 (Berlin (East): Dietz Verlag, 1979), 801.

²⁴⁰ Kautsky to Engels, 16.07.1884. Friedrich Engels und Karl Kautsky, *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky. Zweite, durch die Briefe Karl Kautskys vervollständigte Ausgabe von „Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus“*, hg. von Benedikt Kautsky, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der deutschen und österreichischen Arbeiterbewegung 1 (Vienna: Danubia-Verlag, Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1955), 133.

²⁴¹ Bernstein to Engels, 15.01.1885. Eduard Bernstein und Friedrich Engels, *Eduard Bernsteins Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels*, hg. von Helmut Hirsch, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der deutschen und österreichischen Arbeiterbewegung, N. F 1 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1970), 319.

labour paid off: the Volksbuchhandlung started to make profit and published a range of socialist literature. In an equally energetic manner Schlüter built up the party archive, with which he soon earned the nickname 'der Archivarius'. 'Er hat eine wahre Sammelwut,' Bernstein told Engels about Schlüter.²⁴² Bernstein had made a start with the party archives but he was glad Schlüter was able to take over the work. In February 1883, when he handed it over to Schlüter, the archive catalogue counted 288 entries. By October 1887, this amount had risen to a mere 3200.²⁴³

From his writings in this period, it becomes clear how Schlüter's ideas developed. By 1884, his views adhered with the main Marxist insights. Marxism was for Schlüter a logical next step in the development of his thinking. It connected the different elements of revolutionary socialist thought that he had become familiar with in the United States and in Germany. In articles he wrote for *Die Neue Zeit*, Schlüter expressed his views. He regarded the bourgeoisie guilty of the failure of the 1848 revolution. A piece on servants and maids contained not only reflections about hierarchy between different classes, but also about the 'proletarianisation of society and the accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few'.²⁴⁴ For Schlüter, socialism had to be understood as Marx's scientific socialism, which followed the laws of historical materialism. However, the 1848 revolution had been defined by romantic and utopian socialism: 'Das, was 1848 in Deutschland als Sozialismus galt, war noch mehr eine Sache des Gefühls als der Erkenntnis; nicht der Nationalökonom, sondern der Dichter war sein Prediger.'²⁴⁵ Schlüter defended the Marxist approach against critics, arguing that they overlooked the preconditions of socialism: the developments of capitalist industry and the growth of the proletariat.²⁴⁶

Russian Experiences

Similarly to Schlüter, also Clara Zetkin (or actually still Eißner at this time) came to Zürich to assist with *Der Sozialdemokrat*. After her graduation in the summer of 1878, she spent the autumn and winter travelling in Russia, at the invitation of the family of her friend Varvara Kasparova. After she returned to Germany in early 1879, she had several positions as a teacher in Germany and Austria before going to Zürich in 1882.²⁴⁷ Once

²⁴² Bernstein to Engels, 20.06.1884 Bernstein und Engels, 279.

²⁴³ Mayer, „Die Geschichte des sozialdemokratischen Parteiarchivs“, 15, 18.

²⁴⁴ Hermann Schlüter, „Unser Gesindewesen“, *Die Neue Zeit* 2, Nr. 10 (1884): 442.

²⁴⁵ Hermann Schlüter, „Beiträge zur sozialen Geschichte des Jahres 1848 (I)“, *Die Neue Zeit* 3, Nr. 1 (1885): 32.

²⁴⁶ Hermann Schlüter, „Die kommunistischen Kolonien Nordamerikas“, *Die Neue Zeit* 2, Nr. 6 (1884): 264.

²⁴⁷ Hohendorf, *Clara Zetkin*, 32–33.

again, Varvara had invited her to the city where she studied. Soon it turned out that Zetkin would do more than just visit her friend. The distribution of *Der Sozialdemokrat* was mainly in the hands of Julius Motteler, better known as 'der Rote Feldpostmeister'. One of his important aides, Joseph Belli, had just been captured and had to spend two months in a German prison. Clara Zetkin was a welcome replacement. In a rapid tempo, she learned all about the secret ways to send illegal newspapers and how to fool the border authorities, with Motteler as inspirational teacher.²⁴⁸ In Leipzig she had learned the theory of socialism, but now was the time for practice.

Zetkin's thinking was decided by her break with her Lutheran education and her confession to socialism in 1878. Her Russian travels familiarised her more with the nihilistic thinking of the Narodniki, which she had been introduced to in Leipzig. Inspired by Chernyshevsky's *What is to be done?* (1863), the Russian nihilists wished to liberate the individual from every kind of authority, whether this authority took the form of the state, the church or the patriarchal family. In contrast to anarchists, this was not liberation for its own sake, but it should be reached by the means of scientific materialism. 'Der nihilistische Strömung entsprechend,' Zetkin recalled in an article in 1888, 'wurde jegliche Doktrin vor den Richterstuhl der „reinen Vernunft“ gezogen, und wehe, wenn sie auf bloßem Autoritätsglauben beruhte, keiner strengen Kritik Stand hielt. Jeder Autorität war ein unbarmherziger Krieg erklärt, ihre Altäre wurden zerschlagen, ihre Priester stigmatisirt.'²⁴⁹ Moreover, equality between men and women took a central place within Russian nihilism. As Zetkin summarised it: 'Wie die materialistische Wissenschaft den Mann durch Verneinung Alles, was vor der Kritik der reinen Vernunft nicht Stich hält, befreit, so sollte sie auch die Frau aus dem Banne jeder Autorität, jeder Abhängigkeit erlösen.'²⁵⁰

Russian nihilism had a large influence on the young Clara Zetkin. Especially the combination between the rationalist, scientific approach and the fervent idealism appealed to her.²⁵¹ A similar combination could be found in Marxism, which was better known as scientific socialism. Whereas in Germany she had been mostly reading Lassalle, in Zürich she became more acquainted with Marx's writings. There she also met Bernstein, Kautsky, and Vollmar, as well as Russian exiles such as Georgi

²⁴⁸ Clara Zetkin, *Zur Geschichte der proletarischen Frauenbewegung Deutschlands* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Roter Stern, 1928), 191.

²⁴⁹ Zetkin, „Die russischen Studentinnen“, 363.

²⁵⁰ Zetkin, 360.

²⁵¹ Ünlüdağ, „Bourgeois Mentality and Socialist Ideology“, 33.

Plekhanov.²⁵² In 1879 Bebel published his bestseller *Die Frau und der Sozialismus*. Even though Zetkin must have read it as soon as she had a copy, nothing is known about her appreciation of the book.

Zetkin did not stay long in Zürich after Belli returned from prison. She went to Paris, where her friend Ossip Zetkin lived in exile.

Polemics

Once *Der Sozialdemokrat* started to get published, Carl August Schramm did not contribute much to the newspaper. He found himself a new, yet familiar occupation: he went back to the insurance business. In 1879 he helped to establish the Swiss Hail Insurance Company, and only a few years later he had become its director.²⁵³ Just as in Berlin, Schramm devoted only some of his spare time for the socialist cause, writing articles on economic affairs. In the winter of 1881-1882, Schramm became embroiled in a polemic with the Swiss socialist Karl Bürkli. In a pamphlet, Bürkli proposed interest-bearing paper money as a tool against property. Among the German socialists in Zürich this was much discussed. Schramm and Bernstein argued against Bürkli's proposal and a polemic between Schramm and Bürkli developed.²⁵⁴ At this point, Schramm was still on the same side as most of the other German socialists. Bernstein described their friendship as 'brotherhood' and it also helped that Bürkli was a somewhat confused person.²⁵⁵ Whereas the German socialists in Zürich were all quite excited about the 'Bürkliche Affaire', Engels did not think much of it: 'Diese ganze Agitation wird wohl von selbst wieder einschlafen,' he wrote to Bernstein.²⁵⁶

Two years later, a new polemic evolved around Schramm, but this time it would have some more serious consequences. In *Die Neue Zeit* Schramm wrote an article defending Rodbertus as a socialist, calling him 'one of the greatest thinkers of our age'.²⁵⁷

²⁵² Ünlüdağ, 43.

²⁵³ Vertrag zwischen C.A. Schramm und der Schweizerischen Hagel-Versicherungs-Gesellschaft. 7.12.1879, in: *Carl August Schramm Papers*, ARCH01257 – 16d. IISG; „Carl August Schramm [Nachruf]“, *Österreichische Revue. Organ für Assekuranz und Volkswirtschaft* 30, Nr. 37 (11.09. 1905), 213.

²⁵⁴ Cf. K. Bürkli, 'Abschüttelungen halber', *Arbeiterstimme. Wochenblatt für das arbeitende Volk in der Schweiz* (07.01.1881), 1-2.

²⁵⁵ Bernstein, *Aus den Jahren meines Exils. Erinnerungen eines Sozialisten*, 103; Bernstein, *Sozialdemokratische Lehrjahre*, 92.

²⁵⁶ Engels to Bernstein, 25./31.01.1882. Bernstein und Engels, *Eduard Bernsteins Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels*, 72.

²⁵⁷ Carl August Schramm, „K. Kautsky und Rodbertus“, *Die Neue Zeit* 2, Nr. 11 (1884): 481.

He reacted to a review of Rodbertus' work, written by Kautsky.²⁵⁸ According to Schramm, Kautsky did not even understand the basics of economics and was therefore anything but authorized to criticise Rodbertus. However, it was more than an ad hominem attack: it was a quarrel between Marx and Rodbertus, between two theories. Schramm defended Rodbertus, denouncing 'der Marx-Kultus' as a 'dogma' and critique of Marx as 'Gotteslästerung'. Kautsky responded immediately.²⁵⁹ A polemic developed, partly about economic theory, partly around personal attacks, partly about simple misunderstandings.²⁶⁰ Everyone followed it with great interest, but no one was on Schramm's side. Tongue-in-cheek, Bernstein wrote to Engels:

Die Polemik Schramm/Kautsky macht mir viel Vergnügen. Ich gönne dem guten Schramm den Reifall von Herzen. Zu einer so hochtrabenden Sprache, wie er sie dem Kautsky gegenüber anschlägt, ist er am wenigsten berechtigt. Obendrein ist grade für Rodbertus Kultus „Gemütssache“. Schramm ist von Natur jeher ein fartcatcher großer Leute gewesen.²⁶¹

Whereas before Bernstein had regarded Schramm as a valuable theoretical authority within the party and a friend, now he was pleased to see the downfall of this 'fartcatcher'. What had happened? First, Schramm had attacked Kautsky, an important member of the party and Bernstein's close friend. Moreover, Marx's influence had grown, notably over the younger generation to which Bernstein (born 1850) and Kautsky (born 1854) belonged. Especially Friedrich Engels, who conducted an almost weekly correspondence with them, was important in this respect.²⁶² They differed twenty or more years with Schramm. Moreover, Schramm's economic knowledge had become less exclusive as it was before. Whereas in the 1870s he had been one of the few who had studied and understood Marx's *Kapital*, now several socialists had been able to read and interpret the work.²⁶³ In the beginning, it was still possible for Schramm to present a connection between Marx and Rodbertus on the basis of their ideas. But the polemic made clear that it was either Marx *or* Rodbertus, for both theories could not be combined without

²⁵⁸ K. Kautsky, „Das ‚Kapital‘ von Rodbertus“, *Die Neue Zeit* 2, Nr.8 (1884), 337-350; idem, *Die Neue Zeit* 2, Nr.9 (1884), 385-402.

²⁵⁹ Kautsky to Engels, 17.09.1884. Engels und Kautsky, *Engels' Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, 143.

²⁶⁰ K. Kautsky, „Eine Replik“, *Die Neue Zeit* 2, Nr.11 (1884), 494-505; C.A. Schramm, „Antwort an Herrn K. Kautsky“, *Die Neue Zeit* 3, Nr.5 (1885), 218-224; K. Kautsky, „Schlußwort“, *Die Neue Zeit* 3, Nr.5 (1885), 224.

²⁶¹ Bernstein to Engels, 24.09.1884. Bernstein und Engels, *Eduard Bernsteins Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels*, 300.

²⁶² Morina, *Die Erfindung des Marxismus*, 203.

²⁶³ Karl Kautsky, *Erinnerungen und Erörterungen*, hg. von Benedikt Kautsky, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der deutschen und österreichischen Arbeiterbewegung 3 ('s-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1960), 444.

problems.²⁶⁴ Rodbertus had been popular among the liberals of Schramm's generation, but his name meant nothing to the new generation of Marxist socialists. Schramm was aggrieved and accused the others of 'luring him into a trap'.²⁶⁵ His last attempt to prove himself right was his booklet *Rodbertus, Marx, Lassalle*, published in 1886. Bernstein gave it a devastating review in *Der Sozialdemokrat*,²⁶⁶ earning Engels' approval: 'Deine Art. in Sachen C.A.S. [Carl August Schramm] waren sehr schön und haben uns sehr erheitert. Der Mann hat ziemlich genug.'²⁶⁷ Indeed, Schramm had more than enough. He turned his back to politics and retreated into his other passion, the insurance business.

For Schlüter, the Swiss adventure ended in April 1888. Under pressure of the German government, the Swiss authorities expelled him together with Bernstein, Motteler and Leonhard Tauscher for 'illegal activities'.²⁶⁸ The four earned the nickname 'die rote Teufel', the red devils, after the satirical magazine they published. Schlüter went to London and after that back to the United States. Thus, by the end of 1888, only Schramm had remained in Zürich, working as the director of his insurance firm. By this time he was no longer the angry socialist, but rather an embittered old man.

Paris – Diffusing Marxism

A great number of the major events of the long nineteenth century (1789-1914) took place in Paris: from the French Revolution and the Terror, Napoleon's rise to power, to the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, to which could be added the urban reinvention of the city by Baron de Haussmann, its rise as a centre of fashion, artistic movements and high culture, the Paris Commune, the Dreyfus affair and the war enthusiasm of 1914. Paris could indeed be regarded as 'the capital of the nineteenth century', following Walter Benjamin.²⁶⁹ In this city, night and day alive with lights and traffic, German socialists found themselves during, but also before the time of the anti-socialist laws.

According to the most recent data, there were between 30,000 and 40,000 Germans living in Paris between 1876 and 1891. However, most of them were not exiled socialists but rather just working there, as maid, servant, labourer or craftsman. The

²⁶⁴ Bernstein to Engels, 24.10.1884. Bernstein und Engels, *Eduard Bernsteins Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels*, 303.

²⁶⁵ Kautsky to Engels, 02.12.1884. Engels und Kautsky, *Engels' Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, 158.

²⁶⁶ E. Bernstein, 'Ein moralischer Kritiker und seine kritische Moral', *Der Sozialdemokrat* (21.01.1886), 1-2.

²⁶⁷ Engels to Bernstein, 24.02.1886. Bernstein und Engels, *Eduard Bernsteins Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels*, 333.

²⁶⁸ Bartel u. a., *Der Sozialdemokrat*, 105.

²⁶⁹ Walter Benjamin, „Paris, die Hauptstadt des XIX. Jahrhunderts“, in *Illuminationen. Ausgewählte Schriften* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1969), 185–200.

French capital demanded a great workforce, also internationally. Many Germans stayed in France, married French women and were naturalised. Between 1840 and the mid-1860s the number of Germans in Paris had been even greater, possibly even reaching 80,000. Around the French-Prussian War of 1870-1871 many Germans left or returned to their homeland.²⁷⁰

French Connections

By 1878, when the anti-socialists laws were issued in Germany, Carl Hirsch had been living in the French capital for six years. He lived in an apartment in the Rue de Dunkerque, which was located between the still fairly new train stations Gare du Nord and Gare de l'Est.²⁷¹ Hirsch established himself as a pivot between German and French socialist scenes, but he also had contacts in Denmark, Switzerland and the USA. According to observations from the German police, German socialists in Paris were split in two groups. The first group supported Johann Most and was more in favour of anarchist socialism, whereas the second group followed the line of *Der Sozialdemokrat*.²⁷² Hirsch belonged to the latter.

Since 1875, Hirsch corresponded with Marx and Engels, as well as Marx's youngest daughter Eleanor. At first, Marx was critical of Hirsch and he complained to Engels that Hirsch had not yet read *Das Kapital* – this was in 1877, ten (!) years after its publication.²⁷³ His opinion of Hirsch changed in the summer of 1877, when Hirsch visited Marx and Engels in London. It was not the first time Hirsch met them in person. During a visit in 1875, Karl Kaub had introduced Hirsch, but the visit two years later was more important. This time Hirsch went alone and spent a week with Marx, discussing politics in France and the developments within the party.²⁷⁴ Back in Paris, Hirsch helped Marx and Engels with French articles or French translations of their books. In return he sent them French newspapers and magazines.

The visit in 1875 had made one lasting impression in another respect: Hirsch had fallen in love with Eleanor Marx. They exchanged letters, sometimes in German, sometimes in French, discussing politics and personal impressions. For example, the

²⁷⁰ Mareike König, „Brüche als gestaltendes Element. Die Deutschen in Paris im 19. Jahrhundert“, in *Deutsche Handwerker, Arbeiter und Dienstmädchen in Paris. Eine vergessene Migration im 19. Jahrhundert*, hg. von Mareike König (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2003), 12ff.

²⁷¹ Karl Höchberg to Carl Hirsch, 21.07.1877, in: *SPD Kleine Korrespondenz*. ARCH01738 – 152. IISG.

²⁷² Dokument nr 3 (29.12.1879); Dokument nr 4 (10.06.1880). Höhn, *Die vaterlandslosen Gesellen*, 31, 45.

²⁷³ Marx to Engels, 03.03.1877. Marx und Engels, *Werke* 34, 34:35.

²⁷⁴ Marx to Engels, 23.07.1877. Marx und Engels, 34:53.

twenty-one-year-old Eleanor wrote in 1876 to Hirsch how pleased she was with her new pince-nez: 'every day I'm more delighted with it.'²⁷⁵ Hirsch did not dare to openly pronounce his love for her until 1882, when her engagement with Prosper Lissagaray broke off. Immediately, Hirsch asked for her hand, but the fourteen year older Hirsch was no match for Eleanor. She refused outright.²⁷⁶ Hirsch, until then a confirmed bachelor, almost immediately married Lina Haschert.²⁷⁷

Hirsch's closest friends in Paris were Karl Kaub and José Mesa. Kaub was a German socialist and also his brother-in-law. He was a friend of the Marx family and had worked for several socialist and communist organisations.²⁷⁸ Kaub had been in Paris since 1865. José Mesa was a Spanish socialist, who had fled Spain after the fall of the Spanish republic in 1874. In Paris he combined socialist activities with journalistic work for Spanish fashion magazines.²⁷⁹ In 1879, Mesa would be the co-founder of the first Spanish socialist party, which had a Marxist agenda.²⁸⁰ Among the French socialists Hirsch had close contact with Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue. Hirsch, together with Mesa, made Guesde acquainted with Marx's texts. The long-haired Guesde was a revolutionary by nature. Marxism was for him, to use Christina Morina's metaphor, like the lid for the pot in which his political temperament bubbled.²⁸¹ Paul Lafargue was rather a calm person, though not less radical. It was Lafargue who was Guesde's main political mentor.²⁸² He had close personal ties to Marx and Engels, whom he knew from his years in London, 1865-1868. He also married Marx's daughter Laura. Lafargue was thus well-aware of Marx's viewpoints, but the contact with Hirsch and Mesa could be regarded as a reinforcing effect. Discussions about theoretical questions, combined with German, French and Spanish insights, contributed to the thinking of all four of them. It were also Hirsch and Mesa who helped to reconcile Guesde and Lafargue in their

²⁷⁵ Eleanor Marx to Carl Hirsch, 25.11.1876. Marx und Engels, 34:523.

²⁷⁶ Herrmann, „Carl Hirsch. Sozialdemokratischer Journalist und Mitstreiter von Marx und Engels“, 153; Hirsch's proposal was in 1882, not in 1872 as Derfler mistakenly wrote. By 1872 Hirsch and Eleanor Marx did not even know each other yet. Leslie Derfler, *Paul Lafargue and the Founding of French Marxism, 1842 - 1882* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1991), 165.

²⁷⁷ Hirsch to Liebknecht, July 1882. Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit deutschen Sozialdemokraten. II*, 422; Engels to Bernstein, 15.07.1882. Marx und Engels, *Werke 35*, 35:342.

²⁷⁸ Marx to Alfred Talandier, 10.11.1878. Marx und Engels, *Werke 34*, 34:351.

²⁷⁹ Derfler, *Paul Lafargue and the Founding of French Marxism*, 164.

²⁸⁰ Schumacher und Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus beim ZK der SED, *Geschichte der internationalen Arbeiterbewegung in Daten*, 83.

²⁸¹ Morina, *Die Erfindung des Marxismus*, 159.

²⁸² Ossip Zetkin, *Charakterköpfe aus der französischen Arbeiterbewegung*, Bd. V, Berliner Arbeiterbibliothek (Berlin: Verlag der „Berliner Volkstribüne“, 1889), 21.

disagreements.²⁸³ In 1882 Guesde and Lafargue established the Parti Ouvrier Français, the French labour party, on Marxist principles.²⁸⁴ It is not exaggerated to claim that Hirsch had contributed his bit to the development of this party.

Hirsch expected to be out of range of the German anti-socialist frenzy, but the German police tracked him down. Considering the amount of letters Hirsch sent and received, the authorities assumed that he was of major importance within the party.²⁸⁵ On September 6, 1878, he was arrested in his own house. According to Engels, Mesa had made Hirsch believe that he was immune in Paris.²⁸⁶ After almost a month in custody, he was expelled from France. Hirsch went to Brussels, where he started his own magazine, *Die Laterne*. According to the German police, Belgium was buzzing with socialism at this time:

Das ganze Land ist mit einem dichten Netz von sozialistischen Vereinen der verschiedensten Nuancen, von den gewöhnlichen Sozialdemokraten bis zu den Kommunisten, Kollektivisten, Internationalen und Anarchisten überspannt, welche alle eine sehr eifrige Propaganda treiben, mit ihren Gesinnungsgenossen im Auslande, und soweit sie nicht in ihren Grundideen sich direct gegenüberstehn, auch unter einander lebhaften Verkehr unterhalten.²⁸⁷

Within these circles of quarrelling Belgian socialists, Hirsch found his own position. His knowledge of French and his contacts made it possible to live in Brussels for a while without much trouble. To prevent the risk of another expulsion, Hirsch pretended that Breda in the Netherlands was his place of residence.²⁸⁸

Among the socialist press of the exiled German socialists, *Die Laterne* was exceptional in several respects. First because of its size; it was as large as a matchbox in order to smuggle it easily. This worked indeed, for issues of the periodical reached as far as Silesia.²⁸⁹ Even more impressive is that *Die Laterne* was Hirsch's solo project. Except from a few articles by others, he composed the tiny periodical entirely on his own. Moreover, its tone distinguished it from the other German periodicals of this time. Written in a sarcastic, poetic style, it criticised the German party leaders and others in aphorisms and parables. The leading comrades in Germany were not amused with this

²⁸³ Derfler, *Paul Lafargue and the Founding of French Marxism*, 165.

²⁸⁴ Morina, *Die Erfindung des Marxismus*, 158.

²⁸⁵ Dokument nr 1 (11.12.1878). Höhn, *Die vaterlandslosen Gesellen*, 4–5.

²⁸⁶ Engels to Marx, 21.09.1878. Marx und Engels, *Werke 34*, 34:86.

²⁸⁷ Dokument nr. 3 (29.12.1879). Höhn, *Die vaterlandslosen Gesellen*, 32.

²⁸⁸ Herrmann, „Carl Hirsch. Sozialdemokratischer Journalist und Mitstreiter von Marx und Engels“, 157.

²⁸⁹ Dokument nr 2 (10.06.1879). Höhn, *Die vaterlandslosen Gesellen*, 15.

unmasked criticism.²⁹⁰ Even though *Die Laterne* could never gain the eminence of an official party newspaper – *Der Sozialdemokrat* had not yet been founded by this time – it is clear that the small one-man project had a large influence among the German socialists.²⁹¹

In April 1879, Hirsch illegally went back to Paris. There he finished the last editions of *Die Laterne* until June 1879. But the French police had not lost him out of sight. In August 1879, Hirsch and Karl Höchberg, who visited him, were walking in the street when Hirsch was suddenly arrested. The police kept Hirsch two days in custody, accused him of an ‘unauthorised return’ and summoned him to leave France immediately.²⁹² Hirsch decided that London would be a safer place for him.

Personal Sacrifices

In 1882, Clara Zetkin joined Ossip Zetkin in Paris. The French capital was appealing for German and Russian socialists, as the city where the proletariat had shown its revolutionary force multiple times between 1789 and 1871. It was thus most likely that the next proletarian revolution would take place there as well.²⁹³ Even though this was not the case, the period in Paris meant for Zetkin a time of great developments, both on the personal and on the political level.

Clara and Ossip were practically husband and wife, although they were officially not married. Instead of marriage, which they regarded as an outdated bourgeois institution, they envisioned a harmony and equality between them as a couple. This view had been based on an ideal of the Narodniki.²⁹⁴ Clara gave birth to two children, Maxim in 1883 and Konstantin in 1885. The upbringing of the children demanded a lot from her. Ossip and herself made a small income with language lessons and an occasional article for the German socialist press, but financial difficulties remained a pressing problem throughout their time in Paris. Another problem was Ossip’s illness – tuberculosis in the spinal cord – which kept him bedridden from the autumn of 1887 until his death in January 1889.²⁹⁵

²⁹⁰ F.W. Fritzsche and W. Liebknecht to Engels, 21.10.1879. Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels*, hg. von Georg Eckert (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1963), 272.

²⁹¹ Herrmann, „Carl Hirsch. Sozialdemokratischer Journalist und Mitstreiter von Marx und Engels“, 157.

²⁹² Hirsch to Engels, 23.08.1879. Marx und Engels, *Werke 34*, 34:564.

²⁹³ Ünlüdağ, *Clara Zetkin*, 48.

²⁹⁴ Ünlüdağ, 46.

²⁹⁵ „Ossip Zetkin †“, *Der Sozialdemokrat* (10.02.1889), 4; „† Ossip Zetkin“, *Berliner Volks-Tribune* (09.02.1889), 4.

In multiple regards, the year 1886 proved to be a turning point in Clara's development as socialist. In this year, she became politically active herself. Whereas before she had engaged herself politically, in discussions, by helping with *Der Sozialdemokrat* or by her choice for Zetkin as partner, this kind of engagement still remained either on the personal level or in background. In 1886 she decided to move into the foreground. She published her first articles under her name (she called herself Clara Zetkin now, no longer Clara Eißner), which was a biographical account of the French anarchist and communard Louise Michel.²⁹⁶ In this year, she also gave her first speech on a trip to Leipzig.²⁹⁷ Clara's development as an agitator, as a political speaker was called at the time, was on the one hand a result of her political and intellectual development. She had engaged herself for a long time with socialist thought, from Marxist theory to Russian nihilism. This knowledge, combined with her good education and her sharp mind made her an ideal socialist politician. On the other hand, her larger role also came out of sheer necessity. Ossip's poor health made it necessary that she would step in for him a couple of times. Until then, she had been standing in his shadow. He had had the most contacts to Russians, Germans and French socialists in Paris, he had organised evenings with drinks and discussions, he had been Clara's main mentor. In her Zetkin biography, Tânia Ünlüdağ described their relationship as symbiotic, not equal.²⁹⁸ Indeed there was, despite their wish for a harmonious intellectual avant-garde couple, and despite Clara's emphasis on women's liberation, a certain power relation at work between Ossip and Clara. In 1886 their relationship changed in this respect.

The education of two young children, political engagement, caring for an ill husband – this all demanded a great deal from Clara Zetkin. Her personality has been described as ascetic, which could be traced back to both her protestant education and her experiences with the Russian Narodniki. In the 1880s, the role of religion had been replaced by Marx's scientific socialism, with its own internal logic. A strong work ethic and a minimum of sleep gave her the necessary time to fulfil many tasks at once. 'Arbeit & Kampf ist der Pulsschlag unseres Lebens,' she wrote in 1923, looking back at her time in Paris.²⁹⁹ She was willing to bring personal sacrifices to the greater good of socialism.

In the end, it paid off. Despite Ossip's passing away, the two children were raised successfully and Clara herself was admired for knowledge, sharp tongue and eloquence.

²⁹⁶ Clara Zetkin, „Louise Michel nach ihren Memoiren“, *Die Neue Zeit* 4, Nr. 5 (1886): 210–21.

²⁹⁷ Hohendorf, *Clara Zetkin*, 43.

²⁹⁸ Ünlüdağ, *Clara Zetkin*, 49.

²⁹⁹ Clara Zetkin to Jelena Stasova, 20.11.1923. Quoted in: Ünlüdağ, 50.

On the founding congress of the Second International in Paris, she impressed the others with her speech on the role of women and with this she earned mandates from Germany.³⁰⁰ This was only the start of a political career in Germany, that would last until the last days of the Weimar Republic. In hindsight, what she wrote in her first article about Louise Michel was almost prophetic of her own life:

Der Grundton ihres Wesens ist ein unbegrenzter Idealismus, der sie mit kühnem feurigem Schwunge über alle Hindernisse und Bedingungen des realen Lebens hinwegträgt, sie bald zur Heroine, bald zur Märtyrerin, heute zur barmherzigen Schwester, morgen zur Dichterin und Prophetin stempelt. Und diesem Idealismus zu genügen, ist ihr keine That zu schwer, kein Opfer zu groß, sie verkauft Alles und sucht die köstliche Perle.³⁰¹

London – the Capital of Exile

Victorian London was the capital of the British Empire: a colonial metropolis, an economic powerhouse, in certain regards the centre of the world. London had long been ‘the old assembly point for political refugees from everywhere’, as the Berlin police superintendent Von Madai pointed out.³⁰² For German socialists, London was certainly appealing. It was further away from the pressure of the German government, which reached as far as Zürich and Paris. London, however, was less likely to be under influence of the authorities in Berlin. Moreover, it was the city where Marx and Engels resided in their long-time exile.

Ruined Friendships

When Hirsch moved to London in 1879, at first he lived in Friedrich Leßner’s house. A close friend of Marx and Engels, Leßner was of their generation and had been in London since 1856. Leßner lived in Fitzroy Street, not far from Engels (Regent’s Park Road) and Marx (Maitland Park Road).³⁰³ The summer of 1879 was dominated by the search for an editor-in-chief for the new party newspaper. Marx and Engels supported Hirsch in his reluctance to go to Zürich and also backed him in his critique of Max Kayser. Marx and Engels felt the need to intervene like parents with quarrelling children. They wrote a circular letter to the leading men of German socialism: Bebel, Liebknecht, Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche, Bruno Geiser, Wilhelm Hasenclever, and Wilhelm Bracke.³⁰⁴ In it,

³⁰⁰ Zetkin, *Zur Geschichte der proletarischen Frauenbewegung Deutschlands*, 217.

³⁰¹ Zetkin, „Louise Michel nach ihren Memoiren“, 211.

³⁰² Dokument nr 1 (11.12.1878). Höhn, *Die vaterlandslosen Gesellen*, 5.

³⁰³ Engels to Natalie Liebknecht, 04.09.1877. Marx und Engels, *Werke 34*, 34:292.

³⁰⁴ Marx & Engels, Zirkularbrief (Entwurf). Marx und Engels, 34:408.

they criticised the three-star article fiercely and defended Hirsch's position. Hirsch stood firmly on their side, although he changed his tone according to his public. He remained on friendly terms with Höchberg, even though to Marx and Engels he had declared that he would quit his cooperation for Höchberg's *Jahrbuch* immediately. In the autumn of 1879, he wrote to Bernstein about the people in Zürich, in quite a different tone than Marx and Engels had done: whereas Marx and Engels referred to them as 'Halbmenschen (...) von der parlamentarische Krankheit angesteckt', Hirsch described them to Bernstein as 'the competent powers over there'.³⁰⁵

Hirsch gained access to the inner circle of the Marx's family friends. He was now on a first-name basis with them, which was quite extraordinary.³⁰⁶ He attended a New Year's Party at Marx's house to celebrate 1881.³⁰⁷ By this time, Hirsch was no longer living in at Leßner's, but had found himself a place in Calthorpe Road.³⁰⁸ Four months later, in April 1881, the friendship was in a more difficult situation. Hirsch had irritated Marx: 'Dieser Hirsch wird immer lästiger. Meine „Meinung“ über ihn wird immer schlechter.'³⁰⁹ It is unknown why exactly the relation between Marx and Hirsch was steering towards troubled waters, but probably Hirsch's character proved to be difficult. He was constantly starting polemics, quarrels and accusations among party members. Whereas in the polemic against Max Kayser, he had found Marx and Engels on his side, in other cases he made his own position impossible. In the last issue of *Der Laterne* he had lashed out against Hasenclever, about which Bernstein complained to Engels.³¹⁰ Engels thought that Hirsch had incited Guesde against Vollmar, which led to more quarrels among the socialists. Engels wrote to Bernstein that he was fed up with 'Hirsch's intrigues': 'Der bringt doch nichts als Unheil und Zerwürfnis zu Wege.'³¹¹ Kautsky said that Hirsch could have been 'a valuable colleague', except for 'the mess he made'.³¹² It seems that Hirsch never completely got over his jealousy towards *Der Sozialdemokrat*, even though he had refused the job as editor-in-chief himself. Marx and Engels lost their patience with him.

³⁰⁵ Hirsch to Bernstein, undated ('Mittwoch'), in: *Eduard Bernstein Papers*. ARCH00042 – C19b. IISG.

³⁰⁶ Herrmann, „Carl Hirsch. Sozialdemokratischer Journalist und Mitstreiter von Marx und Engels“, 163.

³⁰⁷ Marx to Hirsch, 29.12.1880. Marx und Engels, *Werke* 34, 34:485.

³⁰⁸ See footnote 576, in Marx und Engels, 34:617.

³⁰⁹ Marx to Jenny Longuet, 29.04.1881. Marx und Engels, *Werke* 35, 35:187.

³¹⁰ Bernstein to Engels, 12.1.1882. Bernstein und Engels, *Eduard Bernsteins Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels*, 65.

³¹¹ Engels to Bernstein, 07.07.1882. Bernstein und Engels, 113.

³¹² Kautsky to Engels, 03.10.1883. Engels und Kautsky, *Engels' Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, 87.

When he proposed to Eleanor Marx, also in 1882, it was his last hope to a personal tie to the Marx family. Eleanor regarded his proposal as a betrayal of their political and intellectual friendship.³¹³ Not only in the personal sphere Hirsch suffered a large set-back. Because he ruined his friendships, he did not reach any important position within the socialist movement anymore. Marx and Engels had broken off all contact with him in 1882.³¹⁴ He started to work for some minor newspapers, which were bourgeois-liberal rather than Marxist-radical.³¹⁵ It seems that Hirsch no longer cared so much about the revolution.

Fighting over the Archives

When Hermann Schlüter was expelled from Switzerland in 1888, he went to London. With him in sixteen wooden crates, he took the party archives, which he had collected passionately. The Swiss expulsion made the relations between the four ‘red devils’ – Schlüter, Bernstein, Motteler and Tauscher – not better, but rather worse. They went to England, this safe haven for exiles, and almost immediately small irritations began. The situation of fundamental uncertainty – where to live, how to continue the work for the party – did not help at all. Especially between Schlüter and Motteler a feeling of mutual animosity existed. An argument was bound to happen, according to August Bebel.³¹⁶

Motteler was not an easy-going man himself. According to Engels, nobody got along well with him.³¹⁷ However, the clash between him and Schlüter was not only personally, but also professionally. Motteler had been in charge of the distribution of *Der Sozialdemokrat*, but in London he looked for a new occupation. With a background in printing and the newspaper business, he was also appealed to the care of the party archive. Schlüter did not want to hand over his responsibilities for the archive to anyone else. Others supported him; Kautsky praised the archive as Schlüter’s creation.³¹⁸ But also the friendship between Schlüter and Kautsky was not what it used to be. The close contact with Kautsky, who also lived in London these days, led to more tensions and irritations. Schlüter thought that Kautsky also had his eye on the job as party archivist.

³¹³ Rachel Holmes, *Eleanor Marx: A Life* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2015), 171.

³¹⁴ Engels to Bernstein, 15.07.1882. Marx und Engels, *Werke* 35, 35:343.

³¹⁵ Herrmann, „Carl Hirsch. Sozialdemokratischer Journalist und Mitstreiter von Marx und Engels“, 164.

³¹⁶ Bebel to Engels, 12.05.1888. Bebel und Engels, *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels*, 331.

³¹⁷ Engels to F.A. Sorge, 07.12.1889. Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels, *Karl Marx Friedrich Engels Werke*, hg. von Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus beim ZK der SED, Bd. 37 (Berlin (East): Dietz Verlag, 1967), 322.

³¹⁸ Merkel-Melis, „Hermann Schlüter (1851-1919)“, 297.

This was not the case, but Schlüter felt betrayed.³¹⁹ He missed the solidarity and the hard work as it had been in Zürich. London was too crowded with German socialists. On 16 March 1889 Schlüter and his wife left London for New York.³²⁰ In the United States, his second fatherland, Schlüter felt more at home. He wanted to work for the *Chicagoer Arbeiterzeitung* again, but this did not happen due to a lack of vacancies.³²¹ Until his death in 1919, Schlüter stayed in New York and worked for the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* and as independent author.³²² He wrote multiple books in which he applied Marxist theory to American conditions. Engels praised him as the only intelligent correspondent in the United States, together with Friedrich Adolph Sorge.³²³

Closing Remarks

The then superintendent of the Berlin police, Bernhard von Richthofen – who signed his documents with the title ‘Freiherr’ to emphasize his nobility – had to admit that the anti-socialist laws had had little to no effect by 1889. On the contrary, German social democracy was regarded as the leader among socialist parties in Europe. There were still factional struggles between radicals and moderates, as well as a lot of personal quarrels and jealousies, but in general the discipline was so strong that the party remained decisive and resolute.³²⁴ In itself this was nothing new. Every year the superintendent of police had to state with disappointment that the anti-socialist laws did not cause a decline of support for the socialist party, but rather that the party was growing. Every year the party seemed to be better organised, to be reaching more people and to be more influential. The police expected ‘a violence outburst’ to be a matter of time, until then prevented by the vigilance of the authorities and ‘the calm and sensible character’ of the German people.³²⁵

In contrast to what the police inspector thought, the history of German socialism was not just a success story in those years. It was certainly a decisive period for the development of German socialism, as well as for the individual socialists. Even though the walks of life differ from person to person, they show that the personal and the political were closely intertwined. Therefore, the history of socialism is the history of

³¹⁹ Engels to Sorge, 07.12.1889. Marx und Engels, *Werke* 37, 37:322.

³²⁰ Merkel-Melis, „Hermann Schlüter (1851-1919)“, 304.

³²¹ Jens L. Christensen to Schlüter, 03.04.1889, in: *Hermann Schlüter Papers*. ARCH01254 – 24. IISG.

³²² Mayer, „Die Geschichte des sozialdemokratischen Parteiarchivs“, 25.

³²³ Engels to Kautsky, 28.07.1894. Engels und Kautsky, *Engels' Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, 408.

³²⁴ Dokument nr 16 (22.11.1889). Höhn, *Die vaterlandslosen Gesellen*, 324-325.

³²⁵ Dokument nr 14 (24.07.1886). Höhn, 265.

quarrels, disputes and discussions. Hirsch and Schramm fell out of grace and they were not the only ones. At the same time, Schlüter and Zetkin rose within the party, although in different ways. This chapter tried not to give two examples of 'failure' and two of 'success'. Instead, the micro level histories of the four socialists are an indication of the wide range of possibilities within the development of the socialist party and the different ideas. A good example are Hermann Schlüter and Carl August Schramm. In several regards Schlüter was the exact opposite of Schramm. Schlüter worked with all his heart for the party, either as journalist, editor or archivist. Schramm rather worked for his insurance company in the first place and the party came second. Schlüter's experience in the United States made his frame of reference essentially international, whereas Schramm's mind-set was linked to the nation state. And on a personal level, Schlüter was popular in the party for his hard work. Although Schramm was at first a valuable member for his economic knowledge, he later made himself impossible with his polemics against Kautsky and Bernstein.

After all, this chapter shows the importance of ideas, but ideas are always connected to people. Travels, encounters and written interactions shape ideas and viewpoints. They might be the start of a political movement or define a party, but in the end the people behind the ideas and their personal ties are as important as the ideas themselves.

Chapter 3. The Future State

Thirty-one delegates and roughly one hundred visitors were gathered in a tavern on the banks of the Aare in Bern. It was Friday 27 October 1876, the second day of an international socialist congress. Unofficially, this was the eighth congress of the International Workingmen's Association, better known as the First International. Or, depending on one's point of view, it could also be seen as the fourth anti-authoritarian congress, a radical offshoot of the International. On the evening of October 27, a long discussion was held about the future organisation of society and the role of the state. Swiss and French delegates proposed to abolish the state altogether. Julius Vahlteich, a German socialist member of the Reichstag, interrupted and asked which state they wished to abolish. James Guillaume from Switzerland replied that they meant the 'Klassenstaat', the state ruled by one class. But 'we simply speak of the state,' Guillaume continued, 'because in our definition, every state is an organisation of the government by one class to rule over the other classes. Therefore, every state is a Klassenstaat.'³²⁶ In the future, the concept of the state should be replaced by a free association of communes, without borders and without government, according to Guillaume. Most others concurred. For Vahlteich this was too far-fetched. He proposed to replace the old order with a new kind of state, a people's state or 'Volksstaat'. The people – i.e. the working class – would have the power instead of the elite. The people would reinvent old institutions, such as the army, banking, and police; they would no longer be tools of the ruling class, but a means of direct power in the hands of the people. It would be a republic, not a monarchy. It would be based on the territory of the current state, but also a step towards a free world. But the radicals would not listen to him. Instead, they wanted no state at all.³²⁷ 'I believe,' said one of them, 'that nothing of the current institutions could remain; everything is bad, everything is fake and depraved!'³²⁸

Discussions like these were common among international socialists in the late nineteenth century. It was not the case that German socialists were less radical or less inspired by anarchism than those from Mediterranean countries, even though the

³²⁶ *Compte-rendu officiel du VIIIe congrès général tenu à Berne du 26 au 30 octobre 1876* (Bern, 1876), 54.

According to the French conference report, the German words „Volksstaat“ and „Klassenstaat“ were used.

³²⁷ „Ausland – Bern“, *Tages-Post* (04.11.1876), 2; „Der internationale Arbeitercongrëß in Bern“, *Vorwärts* (05.11.1876), 3; „Correspondenzen – Aus der Schweiz“, *Vorwärts* (10.11.1876), 3.

³²⁸ *Compte-rendu officiel du VIIIe congrès général tenu à Berne du 26 au 30 octobre 1876*, 57.

newspaper *Vorwärts* suggested as much.³²⁹ However, it certainly was the case that the concept of a people's state had been an idea particular to German socialism. At the conference in Bern, James Guillaume spoke about two schools in socialism these days: one aiming at the abolition of the state in favour of a free alliance of people, and the other, 'the German school', wanting the people's state to replace the class state.³³⁰ During the exile of German socialists, this idea was transferred internationally. This chapter concentrates on the relation between socialism and nationalism. It analyses the problems socialists had with the nation state in the 1870s and 1880s and how the people's state became one of the possibilities for the ideal future society.

Nation, Nationality and Patriotism

The relation between nationalism and socialism, the two main ideologies of the nineteenth century, is complicated, to say the least. As has been mentioned in the first chapter, Germany took quite a special role among the states of Europe with its 'belated' unified state. In general, the main problem socialists had with the state – which could be a nation state, an empire, a city state, or take other forms – was that they basically regarded it as a way to sustain the existing power relations. The elite and the bourgeoisie made up the ruling class, which in the nineteenth century consisted of leading politicians, army generals and, especially in Germany and the Habsburg Empire from the 1870s onwards, an ever-growing bureaucratic apparatus. In short, the problem was the lack of upward social mobility. Whoever was born in the working class had little chance to earn a place in the high circles of power, because of a lack of education, a lack of the right connections and the right manners. Economically, there were some chances to rise from worker to business owner. Politically, the single chance was to earn one of the few seats as a member of parliament and to represent the people. But chances like these were scarce and, as long as social-democrats did not gain a position in government, they could not help to improve the fate of the lower classes.

Verbal resistance against the existing state took the form of criticising the monarchy, the ruling class and, in the German context, Bismarck's power. The state was described in terms of a *Klassenstaat*, a police state or outright tyranny. The necessity of changing the state was obvious to socialists. How and where this change should take place, however, were topics for debate. The question *how* the state should be changed

³²⁹ „Correspondenzen – Aus der Schweiz“, *Vorwärts* (10.11.1876), 3.

³³⁰ *Compte-rendu officiel du VIIIe congrès général tenu à Berne du 26 au 30 octobre 1876*, 53.

split the German socialists in radicals, longing for a revolutionary overthrow of the old order with the aim of creating a new state, and moderates, for whom the state should be changed from within. This has been discussed in chapter two, on the basis of the *Jahrbuch* article of Schramm, Höchberg and Bernstein. The other question was about geography: *where* should the change come first? Which state would take the lead in socialist development?

Theoretically, Marx and Engels predicted that a revolution would take place everywhere more or less simultaneously. One country might be the first to witness a proletarian revolution, but from there it would spread in no time to other countries – a bit like the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, but now, according to the Marxists, they would be of a genuine proletarian instead of bourgeois character. How soon the revolution would arrive depended on the level of industrial development, but at least in England, France, Germany and the United States they expected it to take place at more or less the same moment.³³¹ The mechanics of modern capitalism would facilitate the international expansion of the revolution: through the world market, capitalist countries were closely connected. The revolution of workers in one country would be noticed by producers, consumers and workers in other countries.³³² Once the revolutionary tide had swept through Europe and North America, the ‘half-civilised countries’ would follow suit, Engels predicted.³³³ As a result, the world revolution would be right around the corner, according to Marx and Engels. Once the worldwide revolution had taken place, states would become obsolete. After a dictatorship of the proletariat had restored order, the classless society would be a reality everywhere, leading to equality, justice and peace.

However, the route to this glorious future could only lead through one of the capitalist states. Moreover, there would be some time – Marxist theory is unclear about this – between a revolution on the national level and its acceleration on a global scale. What should become of the state in the meantime? About this question the Bavarian socialist Georg von Vollmar wrote the essay ‘Der isolierte sozialistische Staat’ in 1878. He argued that the advance of socialism in a single state would be highly probable and even very successful. On a national level, collectivisation and the abolition of private property

³³¹ Friedrich Engels, „Grundsätze des Kommunismus“. Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels, *Karl Marx Friedrich Engels Werke*, hg. von Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus beim ZK der SED, Bd. 4 (Berlin (East): Dietz Verlag, 1977), 374-375.

³³² Marx to Engels, 08.10.1858. Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels, *Karl Marx Friedrich Engels Werke*, hg. von Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus beim ZK der SED, Bd. 29 (Berlin (East): Dietz Verlag, 1978), 360. Cf. Carl Hirsch, *Die Laterne* 5 (02.02.1879), 140.

³³³ Engels to Kautsky, 12.09.1882. Marx und Engels, *Werke* 35, 35:358.

would be much easier to realise than on a global scale. Vollmar expected that the attractiveness of a rightful socialist society and full employment would appeal to people everywhere. They would come to work in the new state, or they would establish a similar order in their homeland. Only in this way, with one country taking the lead, the coming of socialism on an international level would be likely, according to Vollmar.³³⁴

Vollmar's views were popular among the group of 'state socialists', even though he was not a state socialist himself.³³⁵ State socialism was a conservative current within German socialism with a technocratic-democratic idea of the state. It was most popular among economists. Their ideal state would be orderly run by a government, chosen by the people, which should be supported in everything by a majority of the population. They were not opposed to private ownership, the clergy or the monarchy.³³⁶ Thus the state would not be overthrown, but reformed from within. The reforms would leave a great deal of the existing structures and institutions intact. Carl August Schramm was part of the state socialists. He regarded the state as a 'moral community' and argued in favour of a 'free state', which would help to improve the workers' conditions.³³⁷ Among ideologically eclectic socialists at this time, state socialism was often criticised. The Dutch socialist Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis mockingly wrote that state socialists want to get rid of the monopolies of capitalism by creating one new great monopoly, the monopoly of the state.³³⁸

The difference between the state socialists and other moderate socialists was the degree to which they wanted to keep the form of the current state. State socialists were not necessarily against most of the institutions of the state as they were; in their view, police, clergy, post offices and the army were all part of an organised, modern state. The only problem was the lack of political representation of the people. Therefore, the people should have universal suffrage. The government should truly represent the will of the people, but in terms of the organisation of the state little would change. A more equal society would be the result. Moreover, applying economic insights would lead to a more rational and successful circulation of goods and money, without abolishing private

³³⁴ Georg von Vollmar, „Der isolirte sozialistische Staat“, *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* 1, Nr. 1 (1879): 57, 59–60, 72; Erik van Ree has analysed how Vollmar's ideas influenced Stalin. Cf. van Ree, „‘Socialism in One Country’ before Stalin“.

³³⁵ Bernstein, *Sozialdemokratische Lehrjahre*, 127.

³³⁶ „Staatssozialismus“, *Vorwärts* (30.12.1877), 1-2.

³³⁷ Schramm, *Ein Wort zur Verständigung in der sozialen Frage*, 15–16, 32; Carl August Schramm, *Rodbertus, Marx, Lassalle - Sozialwissenschaftliche Studie* (Munich: Viereck, 1885), 89.

³³⁸ Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis, *De geschiedenis van het socialisme*, Bd. III (Amsterdam: S.L. van Looy, 1902), 127.

ownership. Other moderate social-democrats tried to reorder society on a larger scale, by abandoning religion, dethroning the ruling class and the industrial elite. A front-page article in *Vorwärts* shows how the two groups regarded each other: ‘Das Programm der Herren “Staatssozialisten” ist eine Verzweiflungsschrei, eine politisch-soziale Bankrotterklärung in optima forma, und als solche begrüßen wir es aufrichtig, wenn der Versuch selbst, Sozialismus zu treiben ohne die Sozialisten, uns auch nur komisch erscheinen kann.’³³⁹ State socialism is socialism without socialists, according to *Vorwärts*. But still, it was a fraction less bad than ‘Kathedersozialismus’ (‘lectern socialism’), which was used disapprovingly to describe the progressive-socialist views of intellectuals around this time. Vollmar, this Bavarian nobleman who had changed his Catholic faith for the religion of socialism, managed to steer clear of fundamental critique.³⁴⁰ He became the editor of *Der Sozialdemokrat* after Hirsch turned down the function.

Except for state socialists, socialist thinking regarded the state as a problematic, authoritarian or oppressing structure. The nation, however, was not the same as the state. Whereas the state was perceived as an alien structure imposed from above by the ruling class, the nation would be a natural order which defined people.³⁴¹ Just as with the state, opinions were divided into two camps: on the one hand were the genuine internationalists, on the other those who felt national rather than international solidarity. The first group, which consisted mainly of radical Marxists, regarded the nation as a natural order, unfortunately usurped by the ruling class as a tool for their own purposes. In the end, the problems of the working class were international problems, because capitalism was a global phenomenon as well. For the second group, the nation was of fundamental importance, because there were major differences between different nationalities. The socialists of this group had to admit that nationalism was often used for the wrong cause, especially in wartime, but genuine patriotism was a feeling that could not be denied. Nationalism might be imposed top down, but patriotism was a sentiment that emerged bottom up.³⁴²

Clara Zetkin was a proponent of the first approach. Her international experiences in Russia, Switzerland and France made her realise how everything was connected and how universal the problems she cared about were. Everywhere she came, the working class was in a bad situation and women were disadvantaged. For this reason, she mainly

³³⁹ ‘Staatssozialismus’, *Vorwärts* (30.12.1877), 1.

³⁴⁰ Domela Nieuwenhuis, *De geschiedenis van het socialisme*, 1902, II:251.

³⁴¹ ‘Was thun? Neue Folge, V.’, *Der Sozialdemokrat* (09.05.1880), 2.

³⁴² Carl Hirsch, „Patriotismus und Sozialismus“, *Die Laterne* 10 (09.03.1879), 313-314.

spoke about the *international* women's movement or the *proletarian* women's movement. The position of women, even more exploited than workers, was a result of the relations of production – and therefore first and foremost an economic issue.³⁴³ Zetkin did not deny national differences altogether; in some countries, women were just earlier to articulate their problems than in others. Nonetheless, she said, it should be regarded as an international movement which was a result of the global class struggle.³⁴⁴ Because class struggle is a global process, Zetkin argued, it should not be directed at one single state but instead at the entire world. The last sentence of her book about the proletarian women's movement brings this succinct to the fore: 'Denn das zu erobernde und zu besitzende Land ist die Welt, umgewälzt durch die Revolution.'³⁴⁵

Hermann Schlüter could also be considered as part of the first group. He was less of a radical Marxist than Zetkin, but was nonetheless convinced of the international character of capitalism and of class struggle. In an article in *Die Neue Zeit*, he defended modern socialism which he summarised as the development of large industries and as a result the growth of a proletariat – in short, he followed the Marxist view.³⁴⁶ His economic views of labour, value and money also followed the Marxist lines closely. The society had been built around goods and the exchange of goods, but now it was defined by money – not just in Europe, but everywhere. Money rules the world, Schlüter wrote.³⁴⁷ Capitalism was a global phenomenon and therefore the problems of capitalism were equally global. Local differences had to be taken into account, but the general pattern was one of capitalism's unchallenged rise.³⁴⁸ There is no doubt that Schlüter's view was not only based on readings of Marx, but also on his own experiences. A great deal of his character was moulded by his time in the United States, the heartland of capitalism. His personal connection to the problems of workers should be seen in the light of these American experiences. It led him to argue against the popular assumption that the United States did not have a social question, and, correspondingly, did not have a working class.³⁴⁹ He himself had encountered the proletariat in Chicago. However, the idea of a missing American working class remained popular, for example in Werner

³⁴³ Clara Zetkin, *Die Arbeiterinnen- und Frauenfrage der Gegenwart*, Berliner Arbeiterbibliothek 3 (Berlin: Verlag der „Berliner Volkstribüne“, 1889), 3, 6, 9.

³⁴⁴ Zetkin, *Zur Geschichte der proletarischen Frauenbewegung Deutschlands*, 11, 17, 98.

³⁴⁵ Zetkin, 148.

³⁴⁶ Schlüter, „Die kommunistischen Kolonien Nordamerikas“, 264.

³⁴⁷ Hermann Schlüter, „Die Lage des bäuerlichen Grundbesitzes“, *Die Neue Zeit* 1, Nr. 6 (1883): 252.

³⁴⁸ As an example of regional differences, Schlüter mentioned the role of money in agriculture. Schlüter, 257–58.

³⁴⁹ Schlüter, „Die kommunistischen Kolonien Nordamerikas“, 269.

Sombart's famous 1906 essay on the lack of socialism in the United States. As good Marxists, Zetkin and Schlüter placed the economy above the political. Following the economic conditions of global capitalism, the world revolution was only a matter of time.

Carl Hirsch could be located in the second group, the group that attached value to patriotism and the nation rather than to internationalism. In *Die Laterne* he wrote that he could not understand how people could disregard their nationality: 'Ich bin frei von allem Chauvinismus, aber ich vermag nicht zu fassen, wie ein Mensch die Nationalität, in der er aufgewachsen ist, wechseln kann, wie einen Rock. Ein Mensch, der das kann, scheint auch manches andere fertig zu bringen, um was ich ihn nicht beneide.'³⁵⁰ There was no doubt that Hirsch's strong connection to the national identity was a result of his exile. He said so himself in an article about the exiled socialists: 'Wir aber nehmen die Heimath an den Fusssohlen mit fort. Wo wir sein werden, da ist Deutschland.'³⁵¹ This love of the nation should not be confused with love of the state, Hirsch emphasized. In the preface of the first issue of *Die Laterne*, he wrote that monarchist states are like tumours: they come fast and die slowly.³⁵²

Closely connected to the issue where the revolution would come first, was the question whether workers have a fatherland. Zetkin, Schlüter and the others of the first group were in denial: according to them, workers did not have a fatherland. For them, the worker was essentially the same everywhere, whether in France or Germany, Russia or England. Hirsch and Schramm, on the contrary, were convinced that workers indeed had a fatherland and that national differences were important. However, it was not only a question of different nations, but also other geographical factors defined identities. In the 1860s and 1870s a new concept emerged: Heimat. One of those untranslatable German words, Heimat means motherland, birthplace or home. It is connected to feelings of nostalgia and belonging, on a local, regional and national level. Hirsch referred to Heimat on a national level when he said that the socialists take Germany along in exile. The large regional differences in the German Empire led to stronger expressions of regional identities: people felt Bavarian or Saxon in the first place rather than German. Heimat came to be expressed in local dishes, dialects and admiration for the landscape typical of a certain region. At first, expressing interest in the Heimat was a very bourgeois thing to do, popular among educated citizens who established clubs and

³⁵⁰ Carl Hirsch, „Die Schneegans in Berlin“, *Die Laterne* 9 (02.03.1879), 295.

³⁵¹ Carl Hirsch, „Eine historische Parallele“, *Die Laterne* 1 (15.12.1878), 28.

³⁵² Carl Hirsch, „Vorwort“, *Die Laterne* 1 (15.12.1878), 7.

communities to hike or protect the environment. Soon, however, also the lower classes were involved in the Heimat movement.³⁵³

While arguing what the proletarians were supposed to feel – international or national solidarity – Hirsch, Zetkin and the others forgot one thing: to ask the proletarians themselves. Despite their sometimes harsh living conditions in exile, the socialists were still clearly part of the Bildungsbürgertum (Schramm, Hirsch) or living like bohemian intellectuals (Zetkin, Schlüter). They had little to no contact with the working class at all. The sheer fact that they went into exile confirmed that they possessed several qualities that workers usually did not have: international contacts, knowledge of another language, insights in the theory of socialism, and money to travel. In fact, the workers' identification with the regional, the national or the international differed from person to person and from place to place. In certain areas, such as the city of Chemnitz, the socialist party had such a large influence that it was virtually everywhere. Still, many Chemnitzer workers admired the national army and had postcards of soldiers glued to their workboxes.³⁵⁴ For them, the one did not exclude the other, whereas for socialist theoreticians and politicians the socialist cause and the imperial army could never go hand in hand. How the socialist party leaders misinterpreted the supposed radicalism of their supporters became painfully clear in 1914. The gap between theory and practice, between international solidarity and national fervour, presented itself after it had been building up for multiple decades.³⁵⁵

Volksstaat

A compromise between internationalism and nationalism within the socialist movement came in the concept of the 'Volksstaat'. The Volksstaat or people's state is an idea that recurred with surprising continuity throughout German history in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Despite its importance, it has not yet been studied systematically.³⁵⁶ It is unknown where and when it originated. The term could be found with sporadic appearances in the eighteenth century, when Dutch authors used it in biblical or

³⁵³ Celia Applegate, *A nation of provincials: the German idea of Heimat* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1990), 62, 66–67.

³⁵⁴ Moore, Jr., *Injustice*, 223–24.

³⁵⁵ Lademacher, „Kosmopolitismus, Solidarität und Nation“, 379.

³⁵⁶ Steffen Bruendel's monograph on the idea of a Volksstaat around 1914 is the most important contribution on the topic so far, although he says surprisingly little about the nineteenth century. See Steffen Bruendel, *Volksgemeinschaft oder Volksstaat: die „Ideen von 1914“ und die Neuordnung Deutschlands im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2003).

historical contexts.³⁵⁷ After the French Revolution, the term also appeared in German texts. More importantly, from that time onwards it carried an ideological and political meaning. A people's state was no longer a situation of the distant past, but something that could be brought about by the will of the people. Usually, the term was used when discussing the situation in France.³⁵⁸ This is a remarkable example of what Reinhart Koselleck called 'Ideologisierbarkeit', the extent to which a concept could be incorporated by ideologies. In his eyes, together with 'Verzeitlichung', 'Demokratisierung' and 'Politisierung', these are the main criteria for modern historical concepts.³⁵⁹ The 'Volksstaat' fits the criteria perfectly, even though it is not discussed at length in the *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*. The term appears in different entries of the ground-breaking conceptual historical project, but a systematic analysis is missing.³⁶⁰ In the wake of the French Revolution, the people's state suddenly became a possible reality, to the horror of the ruling powers and the wish of revolutionary forces. It became part of revolutionary ideologies; Jacobinism, socialism and republicanism. The 'Volksstaat' had taken a place on the mental temporal horizon of its proponents (Verzeitlichung), it had permeated into the speech of everyday political affairs (Demokratisierung) and it had come to serve ideological goals which depended on the political views of the user (Ideologisierbarkeit, Politisierung).

The fame of the concept Volksstaat rose with the revolutionary wave of 1830 and even more with the European revolutions of 1848. In his monograph *Die Staatswissenschaft geschichts-philosophisch begründet* (1831), the Austrian scholar Johann Schön used the word 'Volksstaat' both in the old and in the new sense. At the beginning of his book he discussed the state formation in Antiquity, referring to people's states in Phoenicia, Greece, Italy and Africa. Here the notion of a people's state was used as an example of a 'worldly state', in contrast to a theocracy. Further in his argument, Schön dealt with state order in general. It is clear that he sympathised with the movement for

³⁵⁷ Cf. T. Scheltinga, "Den Propheet Habakuk", in: *Maandelykse uittreksels, of boekzaal der geleerde waerelt* (Amsterdam: Adriaan Wor, 1747), 263; J. Bent, "Het eiland der Batavieren", in: *Vaderlandsche letter-oefeningen, behelzende oordeelkundige berigten van de werken der besten schryverren* (Amsterdam: A. van der Kroe, 1762), 341.

³⁵⁸ Cf. M. du Pan, „Ueber den Character, die Fortschritte und die Folgen des französischen Republikanismus“, in: *Minerva, ein Journal historischen und politischen Inhalts* 2 (1796), 271; *Obscuranten-Almanach auf das Jahr 1798* (Paris: Gerhard Fuchs, 1799), 344.

³⁵⁹ Reinhart Koselleck, „Einleitung“, in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, hg. von Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, und Reinhart Koselleck, Bd. 1 (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1974), xvi–xviii.

³⁶⁰ See for example the entries in the *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* 'Arbeiter', 'Demokratie', 'Gesellschaft, Gemeinschaft', 'Regierung', 'Republik', 'Staat und Souveränität', 'Volk, Nation'.

democratic reform in this time.³⁶¹ A more radical voice could be found in a 1849 essay by Arnold Ruge, with the title *Die Gründung der Demokratie in Deutschland oder der Volksstaat und der social-demokratische Freistaat*. Ruge argued in favour of a democratic state of the people, a republic, with true humanity in the political, social and ideational realms. In his view, the only way to reach this was a revolution against the tyranny of the existing state. A similar tone continued to dominate socialist writings throughout the rest of the nineteenth century. Johann Philipp Becker, a contemporary of Ruge and a fellow 1848er, wrote from his exile in Geneva in 1868 about his vision of the future. This would be a social-democratic people's state, with no other sovereignty than popular sovereignty and no other majesty than the people.³⁶²

In the 1870s, the idea of a people's state spread through Europe. When the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* changed its name to *Der Volksstaat* in 1869, the name and the concept became much more familiar among German socialists. The term appeared in the writings of socialists in neighbouring countries, such as Switzerland and the Netherlands.³⁶³ This is a direct result of Vahlteich's speech in Bern. Despite the chilly reception on the 1876 conference, speech in favour of a people's state did not fall on deaf ears completely. César de Paepe, the Belgian socialist leader, gave a long speech to express his support of a 'Volksstaat' at the same venue.³⁶⁴ The Swiss socialist Herman Greulich, who had also attended the conference, was sympathetic to Vahlteich's moderate views as well.³⁶⁵ In 1877 he published the pamphlet *Der Staat vom sozialdemokratischen Standpunkte aus*. The concept of a people's state was the main element in his analysis. Greulich stressed that the people's state did not depend on size; it could be established in a municipality, in a nation state, an international state, or a 'world republic' with 'hundreds of millions' of people. The main principle was the same everywhere: direct representation of the people.³⁶⁶

Another important aspect of the people's state for Greulich was an end to the dualism between state and society, as he called it. In this view, the state was imposed as an unnatural structure upon the natural order of society – a view that was later developed

³⁶¹ Johann Schön, *Die Staatswissenschaft geschichts-philosophisch begründet* (Breslau: Wilhelm Gottlieb Korn, 1831), 31, 184.

³⁶² J.Ph. Becker, „Brudergruß“, *Der Vorbote* 3, nr.1 (1868), 3.

³⁶³ For the Netherlands, see Eric, *Eene sociaal-demokratische republiek. Schets uit de geschiedenis der twintigste eeuw* (The Hague: Firma B. Liebers, 1884). It is unknown who was concealed behind the pseudonym Eric.

³⁶⁴ *Compte-rendu officiel du VIIIe congrès général tenu à Berne du 26 au 30 octobre 1876*, 62ff.

³⁶⁵ Herman Greulich, *Das grüne Hüsi. Erinnerungen* (Zürich: Genossenschaftsdruckerei, 1942), 88.

³⁶⁶ Herman Greulich, *Der Staat vom sozialdemokratischen Standpunkte aus. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit den „Anarchisten“* (Zürich: Verlag der Volksbuchhandlung, 1877), 9.

in greater detail by the sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies. In the socialist or Marxist perspective, the state alienated the working class from natural society, i.e. an ideal classless society. Theoretically, the radical Marxist approach was incompatible with a people's state. The state would die off after the revolution, Marx and Engels had predicted.³⁶⁷ In practice, however, many socialists combined the Marxist perspective with more moderate elements, such as the wish for a Volksstaat.³⁶⁸ Among German socialists, the people's state became the universal wish and expectation for the future.

There are several elements to the concept of 'Volksstaat' that deserve closer consideration. As has been pointed out above, it is a particular German term. It appeared in German socialism and was transferred to other regions. A successful transfer depends on both the sending and the receiving side. As the example of the 1876 congress in Bern pointed out, not everyone was open to accept the idea of a 'Volksstaat'. One possible reason for the successful transfer to Swiss, Dutch and Flemish socialists might be found in the aspect of language. The German and Dutch language share the word 'Volk' to describe a people, either defined according to their culture, religion, language, nationality, class (the working class), or on a racist principle such as skin colour. This term bears much more connotations than the French 'people' or English 'people', which are rather general, non-descriptive terms. In contrast to those, 'Volk' clearly has a political connotation. This made the communication between German and Swiss, Dutch or Flemish socialists doubtlessly easier and improved their mutual understanding.

Closely intertwined with the idea of a 'Volksstaat' was the notion of a 'free state'. The two terms were often used as synonyms, just as the words 'Klassenstaat' and 'police state' were used interchangeably. However, a free state was mainly built around the concept of political freedom whereas the Volksstaat also presupposed economic liberation of the working class.³⁶⁹ The demand for the 'free state' could be found among socialists everywhere. For example, the socialist party of England had as first demand in their 1879 programme 'a free state with equal social and political rights'.³⁷⁰ In Germany, the Lassalleans were in favour of a free state, whereas the Eisenacher proposed a people's state. As August Bebel pointed out, the difference was the importance of political freedom; the former believed that political freedom would be the solution to the Social

³⁶⁷ Cf. Hölscher, *Weltgericht oder Revolution*, 285.

³⁶⁸ Jakob Stern, *Nach zwölf Jahren* (London: German Printing and Publishing Co., 1890), 4–5.

³⁶⁹ Lidtke, *The Outlawed Party*, 31.

³⁷⁰ Dokument nr. 3 (29.12.1879). Höhn, *Die vaterlandslosen Gesellen*, 33.

Question, whereas the latter thought that economic equality was more important.³⁷¹ Political freedom could be understood as either non-domination (negative freedom) or self-mastery (positive freedom), to follow Isaiah Berlin.³⁷² However, the free state should not be confused with the lack of a state at all. According to the anarchists, one could not be free within the existing framework of a state, because a state – even a socialist one – always expects something from its inhabitants. For socialists, labour was a natural human condition and desire, and through labour people could develop themselves. Therefore, the socialist state – a free state or a people’s state – would mean freedom. Anarchists thus understood freedom in the negative sense as non-domination, whereas for socialists freedom was self-mastery in the first place. Because of the different understandings of freedom, discussions like the one in Bern could never be fully resolved.

The United States of Europe

For a short time, Carl Hirsch flirted with another idea of a new European order in the form of the United States of Europe. In 1869, still before the unification of Germany, Hirsch wrote about the ‘ultimate democratic goals’: political freedom, an end to economic barriers, labour freed from the power of capital, freedom from intellectual patronising, ‘in short a ruthless connection to the ideas of 1789 – and in connection to people’s parties of other communities: the free United States of Europe!’³⁷³ Strangely, Hirsch did not elaborate on this. All he said was that a unified, democratic German Volksstaat would be the first step to take. Afterwards, the United States of Europe could be established.

In contrast to the Volksstaat, the United States of Europe was not a popular idea among socialists. Hirsch was alone in his enthusiasm – and he did not mention it again in other articles. But Hirsch did not invent the idea of the United States of Europe himself. The term appeared in 1868 as the title of a newspaper, edited by exiled Russians in Switzerland.³⁷⁴ The idea could be found in the thinking of early socialists, such as Saint-Simon, Alexander Herzen and Giuseppe Mazzini, among intellectuals such as Immanuel Kant, John Stuart Mill and Victor Hugo, or radicals like Garibaldi. In the pacifist

³⁷¹ Lidtke, *The Outlawed Party*, 31.

³⁷² Isaiah Berlin, „Two Concepts of Liberty“, in *Liberty*, hg. von Henry Hardy und Ian Harris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 166–217.

³⁷³ Carl Hirsch, „Die demokratischen Ziele und die deutschen Arbeiter (Schluß.)“, *Beilage zum Demokratischen Wochenblatt* 10 (06.03.1869), 113.

³⁷⁴ ‚Russische politische Flüchtlinge in West-Europa‘, *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* 5 (01.02.1868), 37.

movement, the term had been around for a longer time to describe the ideal order in which peace could be preserved. In 1867, advocates of peace established the short-lived League for Peace and Freedom to prevent a war over the Luxemburg crisis.³⁷⁵ In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, pacifism became more of a liberal project than a socialist one. With the influence of Marx growing within the socialist movement, discourse about class struggle and a violent revolution gained power. Even though there was a significant group against the violent way, they did not openly sympathise with the pacifists. For moderate socialists like Schramm the army always remained an important aspect of the state. A world without violence seemed too utopian. There would only be a peaceful future if the future was socialist, as the socialist newspapers declared, because peace would be meaningless as an end in itself.³⁷⁶

Fear of the New State

The idea of a new state where equality, justice and liberty would reign, filled many people with fear. They were not necessarily opposed to those ideals as such, but the problem was the dissolution of the existing state. This would mean an overthrow of the old order and history had shown that this led to bloodshed. The freedom, equality and brotherhood of the French Revolution had resulted in a beheaded king, terror and decades of war in Europe. Whenever the revolutionary sentiment had come up, like in 1848, it meant chaos and violence. More recently, after radicals had declared their commune in Paris – the French capital, the city of kings and aristocrats! – nothing short of civil war was the result. No, the current state was not perfect, but at least it was stable and predictable. This was much better than the chaos and disorder the socialists wanted. After all, earth was not paradise, so better not try to make it one. God will punish such hubris immediately. It was better to accept the world as it is and live a quiet, peaceful life.

This is how many people in the late nineteenth century thought about the socialist endeavours to create a new state for a better future. Christianity was the dominant faith among Europeans, despite the first signs of secularisation.³⁷⁷ Whereas early socialists still tried to combine Christian brotherly love and socialist principles, this was now no longer a realistic option. The pope declared in an encyclical that socialism was a ‘deadly plague

³⁷⁵ Hans Wehberg, „Ideen und Projekte betr. die Vereinigten Staaten von Europa in den letzten 100 Jahren“, *Die Friedens-Warte* 41, Nr. 2/3 (1941): 51–65.

³⁷⁶ „Der Kampf um’s Dasein in der Menschenwelt“ (III), *Vorwärts* (08.04.1877), 1; „Milizen und stehende Heere“, *Die neue Welt* (07.04.1883), 349; „Gottesfriede – sozialer Friede“, *Berliner Volksblatt* (14.09.1888), 1.

³⁷⁷ Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt*, 1248–49.

(...) creeping into the very fibres of human society'.³⁷⁸ Protestants did not have a much more favourable opinion of socialists either. On the socialist side, the growing influence of Marxism equally shut the door to religion, this 'opium of the people'. More and more, socialism presented itself as a substitute for religion, offering a different worldview, its own internal logic and a different promise of the future.³⁷⁹ Fear of socialism and the radical openness of the future resulted in the search for an identifiable enemy, which was found in the figure of 'the Jew'. Thus, growing enmity between Christians and socialists coincided with a new wave of anti-Semitism.

It was not the Jew Carl Hirsch, but the Gentile Hermann Schlüter who critically addressed anti-Semitism multiple times in his articles.³⁸⁰ Hatred of Jews was quite common among German conservatives in the 1880s and it was often used as a weapon against socialism. Between 1879 and 1881, a debate about anti-Semitism took place between Heinrich von Treitschke and, among others, Theodor Mommsen. The debate, which brought the tension between nationalism and liberalism to the fore, made the word 'anti-Semitism' well-known and brought the 'Jewish Question' under the attention.³⁸¹

A newspaper article in Schlüter's archive contains an example of anti-Semitic propaganda. It is about the organisation of *Der Sozialdemokrat*, in particular Bernstein and Motteler: 'Ersterer, ein krummnasiger und krummbeiniger Sohn Israels, der auf den Namen Bernstein hört, zeichnet sich namentlich dadurch aus, daß er stets in Form von Reliquien diverse Briefe von Friedrich Engels in der Tasche herumträgt und daß er, sobald er den Namen Carl Marx hört, in einen Zustand der Anbetung und des Paroxysmus verfällt.'³⁸² Several elements of anti-Semitic propaganda appear in this article. 'The Jew' – anti-Semitic texts frequently use the collective singular to describe the presupposed characteristics of a whole group – is described as servile by nature, recognisable by physical traits such as the hooked nose and bowlegs, with an obsession for valuables (in this case letters from Engels). It is unknown from which newspaper this clipping comes, but there are a number of papers which had no problem printing articles

³⁷⁸ Leo XIII, „Epistola Encyclica Quod Apostolici Muneris de Erroribus Modernis“, 1878, http://w2.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_28121878_quod-apostolici-muneris.html.

³⁷⁹ Hölscher, *Weltgericht oder Revolution*, 135–40, 163ff.

³⁸⁰ Schlüter, „Die Lage des bäuerlichen Grundbesitzes“, 256; Schlüter, „Beiträge zur sozialen Geschichte des Jahres 1848 (I)“, 34.

³⁸¹ Detlev Claussen, *Vom Judentum zum Antisemitismus: Materialien einer verleugneten Geschichte*, 2. Aufl. (Darmstadt: Luchterhand, 1988), 110–34.

³⁸² „Betr. ‚Sozialistischer Olymp‘ in Zürich, Motteler und Bernstein (deutsch). Undat.“, in: *Hermann Schlüter Papers*. ARCH01254 – 227. IISG.

like these at the time. Especially since Bismarck's turn away from the liberals in favour of more conservatism around 1878, anti-Semitism became more salonfähig among German citizens and politicians.³⁸³ In 1881, Bernstein wrote to Engels about this, clearly concerned: 'Daß die Judenhetze von oben her befördert wurde und noch wird, ist richtig, aber sie fällt bei Bauern, Handwerkern, Beamten, Lehrern etc. auf sehr dankbaren Boden, und ich meine, es wäre ein großer Fehler, wenn wir die antisemitische Bewegung nur als eine politisch-religiöse behandeln würden.'³⁸⁴ The same year, Hirsch made a similar observation. According to him, Germans had a 'natural aversion' to Jews, although the hate among workers against the government would prove stronger and overcome the irrational anti-Semitic sentiments.³⁸⁵

The problem of anti-Semitism persisted. On the party conference of 1892, Bebel addressed the problem and the party adopted a resolution condemning anti-Semitism.³⁸⁶ Schlüter, Bebel, Hirsch, Bernstein and the other socialists were aware of the problem, but they regarded it as a remnant of the past. In their view, it was a 'reactionary' trait which would disappear over time, at least as soon as socialism would have gained power. As a result, the socialists did not fully grasp the problems which came with the new, 'scientific' anti-Semitism of the 1890s.³⁸⁷

However, within the socialist party there were hints of anti-Semitic tendencies as well – not on the scale of the large propaganda campaigns against 'Jewish capitalists' in the 1930s Soviet Union, but rather in personal correspondence. For example, when Marx told Friedrich Adolf Sorge about the *Jahrbuch* affair, he mentioned Höchberg, Schramm and 'Jüdel Bernstein'.³⁸⁸ It is unclear in which tone he meant this, but the context points to annoyance rather than humour.³⁸⁹ A more light-hearted wink at an anti-Jewish stereotype could be found in a letter from Engels to Kautsky, about the unlikely friendship between the Jewish Carl Hirsch and the anti-Semite Rudolf Meyer: 'Es war die

³⁸³ Rudolf Lill, „Zu den Anfängen des Antisemitismus im Bismarck-Reich“, *Saeculum* 26, Nr. 2 (1975): 216.

³⁸⁴ Bernstein to Engels, 09.09.1881. Bernstein und Engels, *Eduard Bernsteins Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels*, 37.

³⁸⁵ Hirsch, quoted in Bernstein to Engels, 17.08.1881. Bernstein und Engels, 29.

³⁸⁶ A. Bebel, *Sozialdemokratie und Antisemitismus. Rede auf dem sozialdemokratischen Parteitage in Berlin* (Berlin: Buchhandlung Vorwärts, 1906); „Resolution zu: ‚Der Antisemitismus und die Sozialdemokratie‘“, *Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des Parteitages der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands, abgehalten zu Berlin vom 14. bis 21. November 1892* (Berlin: Buchhandlung Vorwärts, 1892), 293-294.

³⁸⁷ Sebastian Voigt, „Zwischen Analyse und Ignoranz. Positionen zur ‚Judenfrage‘ in der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung vor dem Nationalsozialismus“, *Tribüne. Zeitschrift zum Verständnis des Judentums* 49, Nr. 3 (2011): 146.

³⁸⁸ Marx to Sorge, 19.09.1879. Marx und Engels, *Werke* 34, 34:411.

³⁸⁹ Marx's relation to anti-Semitism remains topic of debate. Cf. Hauke Brunkhorst, „War Marx Antisemit? Die falsch gestellte Frage“, *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik* 59, Nr. 8 (2014): 110–18.

humoristischste Busenfreundschaft zwischen einem Juden – u. welchem Nasenjuden! – und einem Antisemiten, die ich je gesehn. Ich lache noch darüber indem ich dies schreibe.’³⁹⁰ Even though it is clear Engels meant the interjection ‘Nasenjuden’ with a sense of humour, it nonetheless draws upon anti-Semitic stereotypes.

Anti-Semitism was immediately related to the future state. The anti-Semitic article about *Der Sozialdemokrat* ends with the sentence: ‘man sieht bereits aus diesen Beispielen, wie der „Zukunftsstaat“ aussehen müsste, in dem diese Leute eine Rolle spielen würden.’³⁹¹ It implies that the ideal socialist state would empower the Jews, who would ‘punish heretics, just like the Inquisition in the worst times’. Unclear is whether by heretics Gentiles or non-Marxists are meant, but maybe this remained deliberately vague. It is clear that the fear of Jews in leading positions coincided with the fear of a socialist future. Thus, the figure of the socialist and that of the Jew were merged into one bogeyman, an enemy from within who would take over, who would abolish Christianity, traditions, values and classes. This is the myth of Jewish Marxism, better known as Judeo-Bolshevism from 1917 onwards.³⁹² There were indeed some Jews who felt attracted to socialism and rose to high positions in the party, but their number is not the point. As Paul Hanebrink points out, progressive Jews embraced emancipatory ideologies in order to improve their position and ‘to slip the bonds of traditional communities’. This could be pursued through socialism, but also via Zionism or assimilationist patriotism.³⁹³

Shulamit Volkov has argued that anti-Semitism can be understood as a cultural code. It is not just irrational hatred, but rather a way to connect a diverse set of phenomena of the modern world to one identifiable enemy.³⁹⁴ As a result, Judeo-Bolshevism can be regarded as an ‘expanded’ version of modern anti-Semitism.³⁹⁵ Whether the connection between Jews and communists was a reality or not did not matter to those who followed this view, because the theory did not follow logical reasoning. Instead, it was built around lies, allegations and conspiracy theories. Both the

³⁹⁰ Engels to Kautsky, 17.05.1892. Engels und Kautsky, *Engels’ Briefwechsel mit Kautsky*, 341.

³⁹¹ ‘Betr. „Sozialistischer Olymp“ in Zürich, Motteler und Bernstein (deutsch). Undat.’, in: *Hermann Schlüter Papers*. ARCH01254 – 227. IISG.

³⁹² Cf. Enzo Traverso, *The Jewish Question: History of a Marxist Debate* (Leiden/ Boston: Brill, 2019); Paul A. Hanebrink, *A Specter Haunting Europe: the Myth of Judeo-Bolshevism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2018).

³⁹³ Paul A. Hanebrink, „Transnational Culture War: Christianity, Nation, and the Judeo-Bolshevik Myth in Hungary, 1890–1920“, *The Journal of Modern History* 80, Nr. 1 (2008): 58.

³⁹⁴ Shulamit Volkov, *Antisemitismus als kultureller Code: zehn Essays* (München: Beck, 2000), 35–36.

³⁹⁵ Hanebrink, *A specter haunting Europe*, 30.

Jewish faith and the socialist ideology were regarded to be cosmopolitan, undermining the nation state.³⁹⁶ How wide-spread these views were, could be read in a report from the Berlin police from June 1879. The president of the police, Guido von Madai, stressed the relation between Jews and socialists. After he mentioned that ‘the main part of the news media is in hands of the Jews’, he pointed out that ‘the most prominent leaders of subversive parties abroad’ were all Jews, such as Carl Hirsch and Karl Marx. Therefore, the report continued,

wird die Behauptung gerechtfertigt sein, daß dem Judentum ein hervorragend revolutionärer Characterzug eigen ist, welcher die höchste Beachtung und Vorsicht umsomehr erheischt, als die Solidarität der Interessen und das Gefühl der Zusammengehörigkeit bei ihnen bekanntlich weit mehr ausgeprägt ist, wie bei irgend einer andern Rasse. Wie fremd ihnen tatsächlich jedes patriotische Gefühl ist, dessen sie sich sonst mit Vorliebe rühmen, geht auch aus der Beurtheilung hervor, welche sie der Zollpolitik der Reichsregierung zu Theil lassen werden, und bei deren öffentlicher Darlegung sie eine Rücklosigkeit und einen Muth zur Ueberzeugung entwickeln, welcher bei anderen Gelegenheiten vergeblich bei ihnen gesucht wird.³⁹⁷

Once again, several anti-Semitic stereotypes could be found in this text, which is on the whole written in a matter-of-fact tone. The idea of Jews owning the media and taking leadership positions is an obvious trope of anti-Semitism, but Von Madai used also more subtle anti-Semitic ideas. One that stands out in the text above is the argument that every Jewish expression could be traced to a general trait of Jews ‘as a race’, as he phrased it. In this view, Jews are not regarded as individuals but always as representatives of the larger group, which would justify the generalisations. Von Madai claimed that all Jews by character tend to be more revolutionary, have greater feelings of international solidarity and togetherness and no patriotic feelings at all. In short, Von Madai warned of the Jewish socialist as the enemy of the nation state.

Closing Remarks

The twentieth century meant in several regards the implementation of nineteenth-century ideologies. Ideas that only existed in the mind or on paper, were put into practice – often with devastating results. Carrying out socialist, communist and anti-Semitic ideals led to millions of victims. It is no wonder that this resulted in the ‘age of extremes’, to speak with Eric Hobsbawm. Also the idea of a Volksstaat was tried to be achieved in twentieth-century Germany, albeit in different shapes and forms. The first attempts took place during the German November revolution of 1918, when in Württemberg, Hessen,

³⁹⁶ Hanebrink, 29.

³⁹⁷ Dokument Nr. 2 (10.06.1879). Höhn, *Die vaterlandslosen Gesellen*, 13.

Bavaria and Thuringia people's states were established. These were crushed in the revolutionary turmoil by forces from both the right and the left. Despite wishes from social-democrats, the Weimar Republic could never fulfil the reputation of the people's state which Friedrich Ebert claimed it to be. National-socialism appropriated several ideological elements and terms from socialism, such as Volk, labour and revolution. Hitler presented the Third Reich as a 'social Volksstaat' and 'Volksgemeinschaft', a community of people based on racist, national and political criteria.³⁹⁸ After 1945, the German Democratic Republic presented itself as the true people's state, but by 1989 the people reclaimed their sovereignty ('Wir sind das Volk').

Outside Germany, the people's state became popular in Scandinavia as the 'folkstat' in the wake of the First World War. This translation was an attempt to make the new parliamentary democracy more popular among the people.³⁹⁹ In a way, the states of the twentieth century resembled the dreams of nineteenth-century socialists: eight-hour working days, representative democracies or republican governments, Stalin's 'socialism in one country', land ownership and the means of production in hands of the state. But the outcome was different from what was expected; no eternal peace, no worldwide socialism and no end to global capitalism. These twists of fate are characteristic of the unexpectedness of history; it never turns out as one would think.

³⁹⁸ Götz Aly, *Hitlers Volksstaat: Raub, Rassenkrieg und nationaler Sozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2005), 11.

³⁹⁹ Pasi Ihalainen, *The Springs of Democracy: National and Transnational Debates on Constitutional Reform in the British, German, Swedish and Finnish Parliaments, 1917-1919*, *Studia Fennica Historica* 24 (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, SKS, 2017), 395, 449, 521.

Conclusion

‘Ein bißchen Verfolgung hat ihr Gutes,’ Eleanor Marx wrote to Carl Hirsch in 1878, right after the two attacks on the Kaiser, ‘aber nicht eine Reaktion, die die Zeitungen, die Versammlungen – kurz, alle Propagandamöglichkeiten unterdrückt.’⁴⁰⁰ Whereas Eleanor Marx feared that the strict reaction of the authorities was too much for the socialist movement, Hirsch thought that German socialism in fact benefitted from the anti-socialist laws. In *Die Laterne* he wrote that ‘Ohne das Sozialistengesetz hätten wir schwerlich so rapide Fortschritte gemacht’.⁴⁰¹ Indeed, the socialist party managed to grow in terms of supporters and members, despite its persecution. By 1890, this fact had already risen to a story of mythic proportions. Jakob Stern compared the fate of the German socialists under Bismarck to the Biblical Exodus from Egypt, thus creating a new founding myth of the socialist party.⁴⁰² Within socialist memory, the years under the Sozialistengesetz became a legendary time of heroic struggle. Socialists regarded it as proof of the necessity of socialism: the socialist movement could not be brought to a halt by laws or reactionary governments.

If we move beyond the myths – which I have tried to do in this thesis – the time of the Sozialistengesetz should not be underestimated. It was not just an intermezzo in the development of socialism, but instead an important stage in its development from a social movement to lift up slum-dwelling industrial workers to a political programme which could mobilise thousands. This development was not a rectilinear rise until the socialist party became the mass movement that it was at the turn of the century. Instead, it took many twists and turns, inner quarrels and polemics over the theory and the future, as this thesis has shown. The influence of moderate or reformative groups like the state socialists is often overlooked or forgotten.

There is another reason why the time under the anti-socialists laws was important. The exile of many German socialists led to the diffusion of ideas. This had two important consequences: first, it made European socialists familiar with certain rather German ideas, such as the Volksstaat. Socialists from different countries had been in contact with each other before 1878, but the forced residence abroad as exiles resulted in contact on a

⁴⁰⁰ Eleanor Marx to Carl Hirsch, 08.06.1878. Marx und Engels, *Werke 34*, 34:527.

⁴⁰¹ Carl Hirsch, „Breslau“, *Die Laterne* 9 (02.03.1879), 274-275.

⁴⁰² Stern, *Nach zwölf Jahren*, 9. Stern was not afraid of the superlative. Later in his pamphlet, he compared socialism to Odysseus’ ship.

much larger scale and over a longer period of time. Just as German ideas travelled internationally, other ideas and concepts reached Germans. An example of the latter was Clara Zetkin's interest for Russian nihilism, which she encountered in the Russian exile colony in Paris. Considering that the great majority of the exiled socialists returned to Germany after the end of the Sozialistengesetz in 1890, German socialism and social-democracy received a strong impulse from these exchanged ideas and different perspectives.

The second consequence of the exile was rising recognition and fame for German socialism. Within Europe, Germany was considered to be the international leader of the socialism. There are three reasons for this. In the first place, there were the personal ties. German socialists in exile went to many different places in Western Europe and the United States. Many of them had known each other before and communicated via letters, thus building a large network of personal connections. Abroad, they had contact with other socialists, either local or also exiled. People who were skilful to keep in touch with distant comrades could build large networks and exercise some influence: the strength of weak ties, as sociologists call it.⁴⁰³ Someone who did this quite successfully was Carl Hirsch, who kept in touch with a great number of socialists all over Europe and on the other side of the Atlantic. The second reason for the rising star of German socialism was Marx's growing influence within the socialist movement. By 1878, Marx was among the most influential theoreticians of socialism, but certainly not yet at the level that he would later reach.⁴⁰⁴ Following Marx's death in 1883, Friedrich Engels and several socialists – not only Germans – took care of his legacy and 'made' Marxism the main current in international socialism by the end of the nineteenth century. This is what Christina Morina described as the 'invention of Marxism'.⁴⁰⁵ The fact that Marx was German, even though long-time exiled, and wrote mainly in German, helped the cause of German socialism. Apart from personal ties and Marxism, there is an economic reason why German socialism was considered to be more important. By the 1880s, the Industrial Revolution blossomed in Germany. Bismarck's state overtook Britain as the world's leading industrial nation. The workforce – the labourers or so-called proletarians – was numerous, capitalism was everywhere, modernisation happened at a fast speed: these were the ideal conditions for the coming of socialism. Britain had had the same

⁴⁰³ I refer, of course, to Granovetter's classic article with the same title. Mark S. Granovetter, „The Strength of Weak Ties“, *American Journal of Sociology* 78, Nr. 6 (1973): 1360–80.

⁴⁰⁴ Hölscher, *Weltgericht oder Revolution*, 328.

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. Morina, *Die Erfindung des Marxismus*.

conditions, but lacked a large socialist movement. Now Germany would show the way towards the socialist future, was the expectation by 1890.

By studying four cases of German socialists in exile, I tried to answer the question how the experience of exile changed the worldview of German socialists. In fact, this experience had a lasting influence on the worldviews of the four socialists. For example, Carl August Schramm became a more radical socialist as a result of his expulsion from Germany and by encountering the other exiled socialists in Zürich. Clara Zetkin's idea of an international women's movement was directly shaped by her experiences abroad, seeing the universality of female problems. It led her and Hermann Schlüter to feel international rather than national solidarity. How the direct environment of the exiled socialists was influenced, could be seen in the case of Carl Hirsch. His close connection with Marx and Engels resulted in Guesde's introduction to Marxism and the Marxist character of the Parti Ouvrier Français.

Concerning the transfer and the spatiality of ideas, main themes of this thesis, it is important to take into account the context of ideas. This does not only mean the surroundings in social, economic and cultural terms, but also the geographic and spatial perspective: where did an idea or concept emerge? Where did it go? Where was a person when he or she encountered this idea? The emergence of 'Volksstaat' as a political concept and then the transfer to Swiss and Flemish socialists could not be understood without Julius Vahlteich's speech on the 1876 conference in Bern. As a result, Herman Greulich and César de Paepe spread the concept in Switzerland and Flanders and the Netherlands.

In the case of the four socialists, the location where they went into exile made an important difference. The group in Zürich was initially under influence of moderates and state socialists. Schramm was partly responsible for this, together with Bernstein and Höchberg. After the consternation around the *Jahrbuch* article, the exiles in Zürich were joined by more radical or Marxist forces. Schramm's views clashed with the dominant voices and he eventually left the party. Zürich was a real workplace of German socialism, where *Der Sozialdemokrat* was printed and many main figures of the party went to live. Schlüter found his vocation as archivist of the party. For Zetkin, Zürich served as a school where she learned how political organisation in exile was conducted, as varied from smuggling newspapers to inner-party relations.

Paris was quite different from Zürich: the greater population led to a more diverse range of viewpoints – for Zetkin the Russian exiles and their nihilism was very important

– but also the atmosphere among Germans was more open than in Zürich. Whereas in Switzerland the German socialists were mainly working for the party's cause in Germany and looking across the border, in the French capital the exchange of ideas and the dialogue with French intellectuals played a greater role. Hirsch's contact with Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue, as well as with the Spanish José Mesa, had effects on both sides. This explains the heterogeneous character of Hirsch's worldview, in which he combined a Marxist approach with ideas about national identity. His opportunistic switches between radicalism and a moderate position led to problems in the party.

In contrast to Zürich and Paris, London was beyond the reach of influence of the German government. The exiles in London were mainly dominated by Marx (until 1883) and Engels. Socialists visiting or living there tried to please them as much as possible, which resulted in an apparently Marxist atmosphere. However, it is questionable to which extent the degree of Marxism was sincere among the socialists. For example, Hirsch changed his ideas according to his public, but when the others found out his friendship with the leading socialists was ruined. Schlüter could not stand the atmosphere in London – not because of an aversion against Marxism but rather because of the other socialists competing for Engels' approval – and went to the United States after a year.

Between the three cities there are also several similarities. The German community of exiles was inward-oriented, especially in Zürich and London. It evolved around a couple of main figures and was driven by gossip and inner quarrels. Apart from Paris, there was surprisingly little interaction with socialists of the host country, whether they were Swiss or English. Moreover, the communities were mostly directed towards Germany. Most, if not all German socialists (and not only Germans) expected that the revolution would happen there first, so they directed their attention and energy towards Germany rather than to their place of residence. In general, it is not the case that the experience of exile made the exiled socialists more nationalist per se. In some instances there was indeed a strong national connection, for example with Carl Hirsch and Carl August Schramm, but in other cases not at all, such as for Hermann Schlüter. Clara Zetkin could be located in between the two: her solidarity was with women and the proletariat worldwide, but when she was able to return to Germany in 1890 she immediately did.

Concerning their expectations for the future, the four socialists had different ideas. Zetkin and Schlüter hoped for a worldwide revolution, whereas Schramm wished that the state could change from within. Hirsch stood somewhere between those two

viewpoints and imagined a socialist state which still left space for feelings of patriotism. The Volksstaat, or people's state, was a vision of the future which served as a compromise: all of them could agree on it. This state would be a republic and in it the people, i.e. the workers, would have the power. For Schramm this would be the ideal future society, whereas Hirsch, Schlüter and Zetkin regarded it as the basis for something else: Hirsch hoped that a German Volksstaat would be the first step towards a United States of Europe, while Zetkin and Schlüter envisioned the Volksstaat as an intermediate stage between the current old order and the world revolution with a classless society.

It is important to study historical imaginations of the future, because it tells us a lot about the hopes and dreams in the past. The fact that people thought about how they could create a better future means that they experienced time as an open process, which they could change or influence. Despite the fact that these future ideas did not turn into reality, they had a large influence on the course of history. In the twentieth century several socialists and communists based their visions, agendas and experiments on nineteenth-century ideas and worldviews like those studied. The entire Soviet Union was built around the promise of a prosperous future. The disastrous consequences of this, for example of Stalin's quest to build socialism in one country, could not be understood without the quarrelling exiled socialists at the end of the century before. Nowadays the result of the idea of a Volksstaat or people's state is still directly visible, for example in the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of North Korea.

This thesis should be understood first and foremost as an exploration. I hope to have shown that the exchange of political ideas in exile and the relation between space and ideas are relevant themes which would benefit from further research. A more large-scale research project could help to trace the exchange of ideas better and the transnational contacts that were built during this time. Also the different ideas and concepts that came up during this period and travelled internationally require further research. A conceptual history of the Volksstaat or the United States of Europe are other desiderata.

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PLAGIARISM RULES AWARENESS STATEMENT

Fraud and Plagiarism

Scientific integrity is the foundation of academic life. Utrecht University considers any form of scientific deception to be an extremely serious infraction. Utrecht University therefore expects every student to be aware of, and to abide by, the norms and values regarding scientific integrity.

The most important forms of deception that affect this integrity are fraud and plagiarism. Plagiarism is the copying of another person's work without proper acknowledgement, and it is a form of fraud. The following is a detailed explanation of what is considered to be fraud and plagiarism, with a few concrete examples. Please note that this is not a comprehensive list!

If fraud or plagiarism is detected, the study programme's Examination Committee may decide to impose sanctions. The most serious sanction that the committee can impose is to submit a request to the Executive Board of the University to expel the student from the study programme.

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is the copying of another person's documents, ideas or lines of thought and presenting it as one's own work. You must always accurately indicate from whom you obtained ideas and insights, and you must constantly be aware of the difference between citing, paraphrasing and plagiarising. Students and staff must be very careful in citing sources; this concerns not only printed sources, but also information obtained from the Internet.

The following issues will always be considered to be plagiarism:

- cutting and pasting text from digital sources, such as an encyclopaedia or digital periodicals, without quotation marks and footnotes;
- cutting and pasting text from the Internet without quotation marks and footnotes;
- copying printed materials, such as books, magazines or encyclopaedias, without quotation marks or footnotes;
- including a translation of one of the sources named above without quotation marks or footnotes;
- paraphrasing (parts of) the texts listed above without proper references: paraphrasing must be marked as such, by expressly mentioning the original author in the text or in a footnote, so that you do not give the impression that it is your own idea;
- copying sound, video or test materials from others without references, and presenting it as one's own work;
- submitting work done previously by the student without reference to the original paper, and presenting it as original work done in the context of the course, without the express permission of the course lecturer;
- copying the work of another student and presenting it as one's own work. If this is done with the consent of the other student, then he or she is also complicit in the plagiarism;
- when one of the authors of a group paper commits plagiarism, then the other co-authors are also complicit in plagiarism if they could or should have known that the person was committing plagiarism;
- submitting papers acquired from a commercial institution, such as an Internet site with summaries or papers, that were written by another person, whether or not that other person received payment for the work.

The rules for plagiarism also apply to rough drafts of papers or (parts of) theses sent to a lecturer for feedback, to the extent that submitting rough drafts for feedback is mentioned in the course handbook or the thesis regulations.

The Education and Examination Regulations (Article 5.15) describe the formal procedure in case of suspicion of fraud and/or plagiarism, and the sanctions that can be imposed.

Ignorance of these rules is not an excuse. Each individual is responsible for their own behaviour. Utrecht University assumes that each student or staff member knows what fraud and plagiarism



entail. For its part, Utrecht University works to ensure that students are informed of the principles of scientific practice, which are taught as early as possible in the curriculum, and that students are informed of the institution's criteria for fraud and plagiarism, so that every student knows which norms they must abide by.

I hereby declare that I have read and understood the above.

Name: *Daniël Hendriks*

Student number: *4146328*

Date and signature:

20.06.2019

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'DH' with a flourish underneath.

Submit this form to your supervisor when you begin writing your Bachelor's final paper or your Master's thesis.

Failure to submit or sign this form does not mean that no sanctions can be imposed if it appears that plagiarism has been committed in the paper.