

INFORMATION TO USERS

This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again — beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.
5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.

Xerox University Microfilms

300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

75-9870

HYMAN, Ruth Salinger, 1926-
GUSTAV LANDAUER: GERMAN-JEWISH POPULIST
AND COSMOPOLITAN.

The City University of New York, Ph.D., 1975
History, modern

Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

© 1975

RUTH SALINGER HYMAN

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

GUSTAV LANDAUER:
GERMAN-JEWISH POPULIST AND COSMOPOLITAN
by
RUTH SALINGER HYMAN

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
Faculty in History in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1974

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

12/9/74
date

William O. Shanahan
Chairman of Examining Committee

12/15/74
date

John E. Hanning
Executive Officer

Keith Tubery
Donald J. Harvey
William O. Shanahan
Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
1. Acknowledgements	vi
2. Introduction: Gustav Landauer--Populist Utopian .	2
3. The World of Gustav Landauer	10
4. Gustav Landauer 1870-1900.	39
5. Gustav Landauer 1900-1919.	85
6. Gustav Landauer in Historical Literature	149
7. Libraries and Archives	198
8. Works by Gustav Landauer	206
9. Works on Gustav Landauer	238
10. General Bibliography	250

Acknowledgements

To the Memory and Abiding Presence of
my Grandparents and my Parents

Rabbi Dr. Samuel Link
(Nitra, Berlin, Pilsen, Berlin, Baltimore)

Paula Link née Kuntz
(Berlin, Pilsen, Berlin, Baltimore)

Siegfried Salinger
(Stenschewo, Berlin, Baltimore)

Gerda Salinger née Link
(Dobrics, Pilsen, Berlin, Baltimore)

The research for this work was conducted in many cities and countries (see "Archives and Libraries") and was enriched by the contributions of many scholars and men of learning. It is with gratitude that the writer acknowledges the generosity of all who helped to bring it to fruition.

The National Foundation of Jewish Culture and Dr. Harry Barron, the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture and Dr. Jerome Hochbaum, and the City University gave research and travel grants.

The Ministry of the Interior of the German Democratic Republic and Dr. Wendt granted a "visum" to the State Archives in Potsdam. Dr. Falk, the Archivist, arranged for additional material to be brought from the Merseburg collection.

The Institute for Social History in Amsterdam and Mr. Rudolf de Jong made available much material and many microfilms.

The Buber Archives and Mrs. M. Cohen were helpful in alerting the writer to newly acquired materials and xeroxed hundreds of items. The Zionist Archives and their director, Dr. Michael Heyman, sent valuable, little-known records. (Jerusalem)

Miss Gisela Hagenguth, librarian of the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin-Ost, translated from the Russian in 1973 and found a rare copy of Der Sozialist in 1974. Her helpfulness was extraordinary. The staff of the Akademie der Künste Berlin-Ost helped graciously with the Mühsam Diaries.

The Leo Baeck Institute, New York, and its director, Dr. Grubel, had rare items for me. Mr. Galliner was invaluable in locating old journals.

Dr. Tucek, director of the Sozialarchiv Zürich, called the writer's attention to publications which were of genuine importance. Mr. Th. Pinkus, of the Limmat-Verlag Zürich, helped with the arrangements for permissions in the Bern Archives.

Dr. Menachem Schmelzer of the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary found two very rare Hebrew articles and made them available with extraordinary dispatch.

The late Professor Harry Wolfson of Harvard University outlined the structure of the section "Works by Gustav Landauer."

Professor Paul Avrich of the City University introduced the writer to present-day anarchist authors and journals. Professor Shlomo Avineri, Dean of the Kaplan School of Social Science, of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, called attention to recent monographs on Communalism. Professor Salo Baron of Columbia University and the American Academy for Jewish Research helped in relating Landauer to the Jewish milieu of the time. Professor George Mosse of the University of Wisconsin alerted the writer to the dearth of scholarly writing on libertarian German socialism.

Professor James Joll of London University made a special trip to meet the writer to "plan" the work in all of its ramifications. It is hard to acknowledge adequately the contribution of that meeting to this work. Dean Hans Hillerbrand of the City University helped the writer to see the history of European radicalism from Reformation to contemporary times. His advice on archival research and his accessibility were of special help to the writer.

Gratitude is due the following for making themselves available for discussions on themes which were to prove important for the writing of this work: the late Professor Abraham Heschel of the Jewish Theological Seminary (on Buber); Professor Paul Oskar Kristeller of Columbia and City Universities (Philosophy in Berlin and in Vienna 1880-1920); Professor Sidney Morgenbesser of Columbia University (Mauthner, Cassirer); Professor Fritz Rothschild of the Jewish Theological Seminary (Religious Existentialism); Professor David Sidorsky of Columbia University (The History of Jewish Utopianism); Professors Thomas Nipperdey and Kurt Sontheimer of the University of Munich (Wilhelminian intellectual currents); Professor Ismar Schorsch of the Jewish Theological Seminary (freedom and repression in Wilhelminian Germany); Professor Louis Snyder of the City University (pre-World War I imperialism--in Seminar).

The mentors and supervisors of this work: Professors William Shanahan, Donald Harvey, and Keith Eubank of the City University have read, annotated, and guided this dissertation in a manner which honors them and it.

Professor Arthur Hyman of Yeshiva and Columbia Universities took upon himself the arduous task of editing and typing the entire scholarly apparatus included in the sections on "Works by and about Landauer". He has done this with the scholarly care which informs all of his own work. Jeremy Saul Hyman of the Honors Program of the University of Michigan xeroxed important items from the rich collections of that university library. Michael Samuel Hyman of Ramaz High School took notes in archives

and xeroxed thousands of items in Switzerland and Israel.

Joseph Isaiah Hyman of Ramaz Elementary School kept order in a collection of four hundred secondary works which had to be periodically consulted and arranged.

Professor Saul Lieberman of the Jewish Theological Seminary and Dean Judith Berlin Lieberman of the Shulamith School gave the scholarly support which keeps spirits high. Doctors Julius Arnowich of New York and Yehudah Leurer of Jerusalem performed the medical miracles which are necessary for hurried research trips from country to country.

Introduction: Gustav Landauer--Populist Utopian

Introduction: Gustav Landauer--Populist Utopian

"Ich habe so gelebt, dass ich mich vor nichts zu scheuen habe und ich verstecke mich auch nicht."

Gustav Landauer, Spring 1919

"Es gibt jetzt noch Opfer anderer Art zu bringen, nicht heroische, sondern stille, unscheinbare Opfer, nun für das rechte Leben ein Beispiel zu geben."

Inscription on his 1925 tombstone
(Citation from his Aufruf zum Sozialismus)

With the resurgence of interest in social criticism and utopia-building which the nineteen-sixties have witnessed,¹ it is appropriate to focus attention once again on the leading European utopians and socialists of bygone years. Much attention has been given to the personalities of Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Owen, who are often cited in historical and religious literature. Less is known about the utopians of the German-speaking world, such as Theodor Hertzka, Gustav Landauer, and Franz Oppenheimer. Access to archives, collections of correspondence, and long lost "little journals" is making it possible to reassess the importance of these men for their times and ours.

¹Martin Buber Der utopische Sozialismus (Köln: Verlag Hegner, 1967); Arnhelm Neuss Utopisches Bewusstsein und freischwebende Intelligenz (Meisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anton Hain, 1968); Heinz Schimmelbusch Kritik an Commutopia (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1971); J. C. Garrett Utopias in Literature since the Romantic Period (Christchurch, New Zealand: University of Canterbury, 1968); Ilse Modelmog Die andere Zukunft (Düsseldorf: Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag, 1970); David Plath Aware of Utopia (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971); George Lefranc Jaurès et le socialisme des intellectuels (Paris: Aubier-Montaigne, 1968); Bernard Willms Planungsideoogie und revolutionäre Utopie (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 1969); Thomas Molnar Utopia: The Perennial Heresy (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1967).

Gustav Landauer (1870-1919), theoretician of anarchist "free Socialism," libertarian essayist, editor of Der Sozialist, devoté of "Sprachkritik" and precursor of linguistic analysis, revolutionary activist in the Munich Revolution of 1918-1919, and Shakespeare critic of note is a suggestive figure in European socialism. His ideology, especially as found in his Die Revolution¹ and his Aufruf zum Sozialismus, has influenced communalist circles in modern Palestine and Uruguay. His interest in the anti-Marxist Socialist writings of Eugen Dühring, Theodor Hertzka, Bernard Friedländer, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, and Peter Kropotkin not only informed his own work, but was communicated to the readers of Der Sozialist in the years 1893-1899 in which Landauer wrote for the journal and in the years 1909-1915 in which he revived it as his own and as the organ of "Der sozialistische Bund" ("The Socialist Community"), which he formed as a voluntaristic community of free Socialists.

Born in 1870 in Karlsruhe to a family of middle-class Jewish merchants, Landauer completed academic studies at the local gymnasia, and later embarked on a course of study of humanities, literature, philosophy, and political economy at leading German and Swiss universities. A participant in the active radical socialist movements of the German capital, Landauer moved into the circles of "Die Jungen" ("the young ones") of the Socialist movement, who took issue with the

¹"C'est ce que Landauer appelle 'das Prinzip der Schichtung' que nous traduisons à défaut de mieux par 'le principe de la stratification'" in "La Révolution et l'esprit unifiant," Le Monde Libertaire (Paris: Sept.-Oct. 1966).

established party politics of the German Social-Democratic Party, as it emerged into the eighteen-nineties. This fin-de-siècle period of the nineties also saw Landauer's early expressionist writings and his marriage to a young non-practicing Protestant anarchist, whom he met in the movement. The nineties also saw his imprisonment for libelous writing against the Wilhelminian Reich. Groups which interested Landauer in his young years (1870-1900) were "die neue Gemeinschaft" ("the new community") of the Hart Brothers and "die neue freie Volksbühne" ("the new free people's stage"), associations of those in and around the Prussian capital who wanted to liberalize the Wilhelminian society by education and reform. A number of "novellae" were written by him.

The mature period of Landauer's life, 1900-1919, starts with his "association" with Hedwig Lachmann, a poetess and translator, his second-wife-to-be, and ends in 1919 with his assassination at the hands of troops of the German Federal Government (often called the "White Guard") who were sent to Munich to free the city from Communist rule. This period of almost two decades of continuous socialist and literary work saw the publication of works of socialist ideology and criticism; organizational efforts on behalf of "Der sozialistische Bund" (to which reference was made above) and communal settlements; lecture cycles in the "salons" of middle class families; translations of great excellence; and the commanding familiarity with German drama and literature for which Landauer came to be known. In both his early (1870-1900) and his mature periods (1900-1919)

Landauer distinguished himself as political orator and agitator of note. His personal charisma made him a valued and cherished friend; his voluminous correspondence attests to the importance which he and his friends attached to the upkeep of intellectual and professional ties. The style of his letters matches the excellence of his literary and oratorical ability.

The "World of Gustav Landauer" was not only the exciting world of the fin-de-siècle but also the world of pre-World War I. In his "milieu" many preached the end of Western society and values, while others saw the decline of middle class structures as a welcome opportunity to recast society in freer modes. The moods were concurrently pessimistic and hopeful--where many critics tore down, others created "blueprints" to build up and rejuvenate. The "not-yet" ("das Noch-nicht") and "the becoming" ("das werdende") were subjects for discussion and for utopia-building.

Important "milestones" in Landauer's creativity in the twentieth century were the appearance of Die Revolution in 1908, the formation of his "Bund" in 1908, the renewed publication of Der Sozialist in 1909, the publication of his Aufruf zum Sozialismus in 1911. Landauer himself gave much prominence to his Skepsis und Mystik, a work modeled after the atheistic language criticism of Fritz Mauthner, published in 1903, but it is doubtful whether this is indeed one of his path-breaking works.

A new appreciation of the person and the writings of Gustav Landauer is a contemporary desideratum. The present writer

has had the good fortune to gain access to the files of the German Secret Police of the Wilhelminian Empire in Potsdam and Merseburg and to those of the Swiss Secret Police in Bern. Valuable material was made available from Landauer's trials and from Landauer's public speeches. Painstaking research in many European, Israeli, and American cities enabled the writer to gather--from dozens of the "small journals of the time--the hitherto "lost" essays of Landauer. Months and months of negotiations with various research institutes (acknowledgements made above and in footnotes throughout the text) have enabled the writer to assemble what is probably the most complete collections of Der Sozialist 1891-1899 and 1909-1915 extant in any Western country. The Akademie der Künste, Berlin-Ost enabled the writer to read what has been made available on microfilm by the Gorki Archive of Moscow of the Mühsam Diaries, these having some important clues to the personality of Landauer.

The bibliographical section of this work, in its sections on "Works by Gustav Landauer" and those about him, is a reflection of this effort to identify--for the first time--fully all of the writings of Gustav Landauer. The assembling of the entire Sozialist was a scholarly exercise to capture in toto the chronological development of Landauer's thought and writing. In all, several hundred essays and articles were gathered, listed, and evaluated to capture the completeness of Landauer's "oeuvres" and thought, and these, in authenticity.

Landauer is a literary and utopian figure who has not missed assessment and appreciation. The chapter entitled

"Gustav Landauer in Historical Literature" will show that, contrary to what has sometimes been written,¹ Landauer was not as "obscure" or as "missed" as is assumed by those who look for him only in American monographs or in German social science texts. That he is a marginal figure in the period of Nazism and German repression needs no special mention. (Social critics usually exist on the periphery of the political "Establishment" even in periods of free expression.) What is far more interesting is, as the chapter on the historical literature about Landauer shows, the fact that his work was perpetuated, read, and evaluated. His ideas for regeneration and "utopia" did not come to fruition in post-World War I Germany, but they were not forgotten.

It is of some importance to call attention here also to the sometimes overlooked "details" of bibliography of Landauer's works. The many editions of his books (with the exception of the Hitler period) speak of an interest in the work of the writer which transcends his person and his early death.

What remains for this generation of scholars to do--and it is hoped that this work will be a contribution to that end--is to bring awareness to those who read only German and English of the "dispersions" of Landauer's influence. This task involves seeing the young Landauer, 1890-1900, as part of the rebellion of the "Jungen" in Socialism. It involves seeing the mature Landauer, 1905-1915, as a major theorist in twentieth-century European utopian socialism. It involves assessing the influence

¹See the interesting review "A Völkisch Left" by Professor Paul Breines in Reviews in European History, June 1974.

of one of the very very few modern Jewish libertarians (who experienced themselves as Europeans and as Jews) on the emergent Jewish populism in modern Palestine and Israel. And finally, it involves charting--with some historical imagination--the course of Landauer's influence on present day radical thought and movements.¹

¹C. W. (Probably Collin Ward) "Gustav Landauer" in Anarchy, No. 54, August 1965. Same issue has a translated excerpt from Landauer's Die Revolution, entitled "Thoughts on Revolution."

The World of Gustav Landauer

The World of Gustav Landauer

In Oscar Wilde's A Woman of No Importance we find this description of the period in which Gustav Landauer received his education and in which he charted the intellectual course which his future life was to take: "'Fin de siècle,' murmured Sir Henry. 'Fin du globe,' answered his hostess." George Bernard Shaw in his Man and Superman has Don Juan advising Ana that "hell is the home of the unreal and of the seekers for happiness. It is the only refuge from heaven, which is . . . the home of the masters of reality, and from earth which is the home of the slave of reality." The dissonance of pessimism and optimism appears in Franz Werfel's lyric outcry, "Oh, earth, evening, luck to be (alive) on earth,"¹ juxtaposed against his lamentation, "What we (attempt to) hold, can be held no longer."²

Professor Gershom Scholem, in his Sabbatai Sevi,³ has focussed on a similar mood of radical, utopian expectations in the mid 17th century--a period of discouragement, despair, and

¹"O Erde, Abend, Glück, o auf der Erde sein!!"

²"Was wir halten, ist nicht mehr zu halten." Both quotations cited in Kurt Pinthus, Menschheitsdämmerung (Leipzig, 1972) the finest collection on German Expressionism available.

³Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973, p. 13.

travail. "Utopianism not only arouses hopes and expectations; it also threatens existing traditional patterns. Once the longing for a new world and for the tree of life seizes the hearts, who knows what may come next? Every utopia that is more than an abstract formula has a revolutionary sting." The pessimism, contrariness, and cultural criticism of the 19th century political order and of the contemporary bourgeois society which upheld it was no barrier to utopian and reformist plans to reshape and recreate these worlds. The "mania" for new styles and new modes of expression is characteristic of this period which saw expanding industry and technology, expanding metropolitan cities and nation-states. Cultural criticism in a period of utopian expectations was mirrored in important development in German theology which manifested a similar paradox of a sense of spiritual crisis and an invigorating "new assertion" of old theological truths and traditions.¹ It is suggestive to recall here the influences of Overbeck, Ritschl and Harnack and the importance of Swiss religious circles, heavily inspired by socialist philosophies. Also suggestive in this period of "critical pessimism-meeting-utopian-optimism" was the reforming zeal of the Victorian churches in England.

The new pathos of the dying century finds its expression in protest literature, opposition and anger against all that exists and persists. "The old structures are crumbling.

¹The writer is indebted to her mentor, Professor William Shanahan of the Graduate Center of the City University and of Hunter College for enriching this work by references to the fields of German theology and religion.

One no longer wants to bear mere witness, but (rather) 'shake-up.'¹

Ludwig Rubiner's call is for "l'homme pour l'homme," no longer for the classical "l'art pour l'art." "These intellectuals no longer voice merely their discomfort, they announce their protest, they proclaim their hatred, their opposition against the Traditional."²

The experience of malaise, disenchantment, alienation, uselessness, ennui, "Schwermut" and "Lebensangst" shocks in the radicalism of its expression and the wide spectrum of its literary forms and styles. "The 'Oh-Mankind-Call' comes to be the (very) cursing of the machine." Everything pertaining to technology, machine, and factory is to be destroyed. The large cities, ripe with evil, filth and disenchantment, dehumanization and disease are ripe for destruction. Repression and militarism, reaction and imperialism, caesarism and mass organization threaten the spiritual nature of man: his humanity, his "Geist," and his fulfillment. "There was work. There was misery. There was hate."³ Often described as a downright "nihilistic" period, characterized by a useless, irrelevant relation between world and life, the period is often seen also

¹"Die alten Masse werden zerbrochen. Man will nicht mehr nur aussagen, sondern aufrütteln." Pinthus, Menschheitsdämmerung, p. 12.

²"Diese Intellektuellen äussern nicht mehr nur ihr Unbehagen, sie melden ihren Protest an, sie verkünden unverhohlen ihren Hass, ihre Feindschaft gegenüber dem Alten. Pinthus, Menschendämmerung, p. 7.

³"Es war Arbeit. Es war Elend. Es war Hass."

less extremely as merely "pessimistic," revelling in the sick, the insane, the evil, and the unbearable.¹

The loss of structure and purpose, order and defined status, revelling against religion and tradition are characteristic of the life-span of the generation stretching from the last decade of the nineteenth century to the outbreak of the first World War.² It is a world in which "being" has been overtaken by "becoming"; the well-defined has given way to the "possible."³ This is the world bequeathed by Kierkegaard's Fear and Trembling, Nietzsche's death of all the gods, but most particularly Schopenhauer's "Nothing" and "Will." As Georg Büchner was to put it most succinctly, "The All-Nothing has committed suicide (the whole of) creation is its wound."⁴

¹Walter Hof, Pessimistisch-nihilistische Strömungen in der deutschen Literatur (Tübingen, 1970), p. 1. "Als Nihilismus wird eine Weltanschauung bezeichnet, der 'Welt' und 'Leben' als sinnlos und mithin nichtig erscheinen. Es wäre besser, so meint der Nihilist, das Nichtige wäre nicht. Der Pessimismus sieht 'Welt' und 'Leben' nicht als nichtig, sondern vielmehr als schlimm, böse, qualvoll an, verleiht ihnen also eine negative Potenz. Diese Welt, so meint der Pessimist, sollte nicht, es sollte aber eine gute, freudvolle, 'heile' Welt sein."

²Walter Hof, Pessimistisch-nihilistische Strömungen, Chapter One: "Vom Sturm und Drang zur Romantik." See also Alfred Weber, Abschied von der bisherigen Geschichte: Überwindung des Nihilismus (Bern: Verlag A. Francke, 1946). Suggestive: Georg Kotowski, Werner Pols, and Gerhard A. Ritter (ed.). Das Wilhelminische Deutschland: Stimmen der Zeitgenossen (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Bucherei, 1965).

³Walter Hof, Pessimistisch-nihilistische Strömungen, p. 5.

⁴"Das Nichts hat sich ermordet, die Schöpfung ist seine Wunde," cited in Hof, Pessimistisch-nihilistische Strömungen, p. 61.

In Schopenhauer's world there are no "existences" and there is no "being"; the world does not exist--"sie tendiert."¹ It is a world of "'Tantalus': there are no fruits, there is only hunger, and that is meaningless."² But this "wollen" ("will")³ must be overcome in its frustration by an ultimate act of resignation and asceticism, by an end to the dynamic of desire and striving, namely by an ultimate resignation and nirvana. There is a direct intellectual line from Schopenhauer's heroic resignation to Kierkegaard's "leap of faith" (as existential act of affirmation in a limitless world of human anguish) which can fruitfully be extended to the anguished, Dionysian and Promethian heaven-ward rise of the lonely Nietzschean "over-man." In this new period of European "Sturm-und-Drang," of "reevaluation of all values,"⁴ of denouement, of psychic exhaustion, of hostility, and lassitude, Nietzsche cried: "Modern society . . . is a

¹"Aber es gibt kein Sein. Diese Welt ist nicht, sondern sie tendiert; ob man sie nun vordergründig oder hintergründig betrachtet. Vordergründig ist alles in ihr ursachenbestimmt, hintergründig ist es antriebsbestimmt, aber es 'hat alles keinen Zweck,' und nur der Zweck könnte es sinnvoll machen." See Hof, Pessimistisch-nihilistische Strömungen, p. 99.

²"Die Früchte, die vor der zugreifenden Hand des Tantalus zurückweichen, sind nur Ausgeburten des ihn treibenden Hungers-es gibt kar keine Früchte, es gibt nur den Hunger, und der ist sinnlos." See Hof, Pessimistisch-nihilistische Strömungen, p. 98.

³It is my own impression that this "wollen" might better be rendered "desire" than "will."

⁴"Umwertung der Werte." Note well here that the implication is positive: to reevaluate morals is an affirmative act.

society too weak even to eliminate its own excretions."¹

"Fin-de-globe" was meaningful as a description of the economic and geo-political situation as well. By the end of the eighteen eighties, the liberal, capitalist, European world-order had everywhere colonized and conquered. It had reached the zenith of its expansionism, its investments, and its state-building wherever that was possible.² It had in most European countries solidified into a liberal parliamentary or a pseudo-parliamentary structure with mass party electorates. In Wilhelminian Germany, before 1890, contrary to the Western liberal governments, the exclusion laws against the Socialist movement had driven most of the opposition either underground or into political side-line activities such as political journalism.³ Whereas in France a relatively free political market-place could mount "action française" and diversified

¹In similar vein, his "Was heute am tiefsten angegriffen ist, das ist der Instinkt und Wille zur Tradition." Also: "Als Ersatz ergibt sich 'Überarbeitung, Neugierde, und Mitgefühl-unsere modernen Laster!'" Also: "Eine Art Anpassung an diese Überhäufung mit Eindrücken tritt ein, der Mensch verlernt zu agieren. Er reagiert nur noch auf Erregungen von aussen her Infolgedessen als Gegensatz der äusseren Beweglichkeit eine gewisse tiefe Schwere und Müdigkeit." Also: "Aber die moderne Gesellschaft ist keine Gesellschaft, kein Körper. . . . Die soziale Frage ist eine Folge der Dekadenz." All quotations: Weber, Abschied von der bisherigen Geschichte, pp. 166-69.

²David Landes, The Unbound Prometheus (Cambridge University Press, 1969), Ch. 5. Also "Resurgence of Economic Nationalism and National Imperialism" in Carlton J. Hayes A Generation of Materialism (New York: Harper and Row, 1963).

³Fritz Hartung, Deutsche Geschichte 1871-1919 (Stuttgart: K. F. Koehler Verlag, 1952). Also: Hajo Holborn, A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945 (New York: A. Knopf, 1969).

socialism side-by-side,¹ German censorship seemed to preclude mounting effective opposition within legal bounds. With the unification of the German Empire, the later accession of Wilhelm II to the German throne, and a "new course" at the end of the century, it seemed to many² that the Hegelian state had not only been fulfilled in might and majesty, but also in omnipotence and omnipresence.³ To destroy the existing evils, one had to destroy the very social order itself. To destroy the oppressive social framework, one had to begin by attacking unrepresentative parliamentarism, the military establishment,⁴ and over-represented bureaucracy in all facets of the civic order. These elements felt that further educational, legal, army, and social reform were needed.⁵ Radical circles, of course,

¹Eugen Weber, Action Française (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962). Also George Lichtheim, Marxism in Modern France (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966).

²Still the German reform movement had seen limited constitutionalism grow since 1850. Center, Progressives and some Conservatives were in opposition before 1876. Criticism also came from these circles which were not radical.

³Gerhard Ritter, "Die 'Militarisierung' des deutschen Bürgertums" in Staatskunst und Kriegshandwerk (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1965), Vol. II. Also Ernst Cassirer, Vom Mythos des Staates (Zurich: Artemis Verlag, 1949), "Hegel."

⁴Gordon Craig, The Politics of the German Army (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), Chap. VI. "The State Within the State: 1871-1914."

⁵Fritz Stern, "Introduction," The Politics of Cultural Despair (University of California Press: 1965). Also the same author's The Failure of Illiberalism (New York: A. Knopf, 1972), chapters entitled "Introduction" and "The Political Consequences of the Unpolitical German." Equally suggestive George Mosse, The Crisis of the German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1964).

aspired to a near-abdication of the total governmental structure.¹

The churches came under similar criticism and disenchantment of liberals, progressives, and radicals for their cooperation with repressive, state-building, and often anti-semitic tendencies.² Of equal importance in the perspective of radical critics were the anti-social and anti-communal intellectual forces which had absorbed and appropriated the social

¹The radical criticism is perpetuated in the work of the late Marxist political scientist, Franz Neumann. See his The Democratic and the Authoritarian State (New York: Macmillan Co., 1964), p. 45. In connection with this study, attention is drawn also to Neumann's "Approaches to the Study of Political Power," p. 7: "In its psychological consequences, Epicureanism is sometimes closely related to the anarchist approach. To the anarchist, political power is evil, society good; hence it is possible to organize a society without politics."

²Suggestive Franz Schnabel, Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert (Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1955), Volume IV: "Die Religiösen Kräfte, p. 577: "Dass die Erweckungsbewegung trotz aller verheissungsvollen Anfänge die deutsche bürgerliche Welt des 19. Jahrhunderts, das Zeitalter des nationalen Rechtsstaates und des wissenschaftlich-technischen Aufbaues von sich aus doch nicht hat gestalten können, ist eine Tatsache, die für die deutsche Geschichte entscheidend geworden ist und die sich schon in der vormärzlichen Zeit eindeutig entschieden hat: hierin liegt die grosse historische Bedeutung dieses Themas. Auch der deutsche Idealismus ist an der gleichen Aufgabe zu Grunde gegangen. Er hatte ein Ideengebäude aufgetürmt, eine Religion der reinen Gesinnung, der Tat, der Selbstgerechtigkeit, die vor der Wahrheit des Lebens sich nicht behaupten konnte."

See also Georg Mosse, The Culture of Western Europe (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1961), Chapter entitled "Racism." On relation of Expressionism to Theology (religion) see Wolfgang Rothe, "Der Mensch vor Gott: Expressionismus und Theologie" in the same writer's anthology entitled Expressionismus als Literatur (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1969).

exclusiveness which were an outgrowth of the Darwinian scientism. Often applied at home and abroad they fortified racist tendencies and elitist-purist groups.¹

The fin-de-siècle of 1885-1892 in which the young Gustav Landauer received his definitive Gymnasium and University education was truly a period of demythologizing and secularizing tendencies; a period in which, as Carl Schmitt states, the church was replaced by the theater, the religious fabric was converted to dramatic or operatic subject, the church was replaced by the museum, and the artist took on the sociological functions previously carried out by the minister.² The industrial

¹ See Gertrude Himmelfarb's "The Victorian Ethos" in her Victorian Minds (New York: Harper and Row, 1962). Also important in this context the same author's Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution (New York: W. W. Norton Co., 1959), p. 452: "The Origin was the cataclysm that broke up the crust of conventional opinion. It expressed and dramatized what many had obscurely felt. More than this: it legitimized what they felt. Coming from so unexceptional a source, with all the authority of science and without the taint of ulterior ideology, it became the receptacle of great hopes and great fears. . . . For most men, however, the Origin was not an isolated event with isolated consequences. It did not revolutionize their beliefs so much as give public recognition to a revolution that had already occurred. It was belief made manifest, revolution legitimized." Darwinism affected Biblical research and theology also.

Interesting in this connection, but within different context, the chapter entitled "Staat und Religion" in Richard Hamann und Jost Hermand, Naturalismus (München: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1972). Especially to the point, p. 87, citation from Ernst Troeltsch's Die Religion im deutschen Staat: "Die beiden konfessionellen Parteien (das Zentrum und die Konservativen) sind Kräfte der Autorität, des realen Machtsinnes, dem dynastischen Monarchismus, dem militärischen Gehorsamsgeiste und der metaphysischen Verklärung des Beamtentums innerlich verwandt. Sie sind es gerade im Zusammenhang mit ihren religiösen Ideen. So ist es natürlich, dass der von Bismarck geschaffene Staat heute auf sie in erster Linie sich stützt."

² See his "Romantik" (1924) in Helmut Prang, Begriffsbestimmung der Romantik (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft: 1968).

world had mounted a reactionary and a progressive romantic movement¹ to protest the mass-experience and mass-culture of the teeming cities. One was to become conservative, the other radical in its break with the existing order. The old order was growing thin and decadent.

A new spirit and a new century seemed on the horizon. "Aufbruch," l'art nouveau," "Kultur und Geist," "Die Moderne," "the snapping of the apron-strings," "élan vital," "the new spirit," eros, ethos, "Jugendstil,"² "the new vitalism," "the new woman," "das völkische," the literary and aesthetic movements commonly referred to as "Naturalismus," "Impressionismus," and "Expressionismus" were making inroads. "Dada," "the daemonic" and the "mystical" literary influences, moving film and moving stage, expressive actors and impressive "régisseurs," arts-and-crafts, a time for experimentation, the analysis of dreams and the unconscious, Dilthey's "Dichtung und Erlebnis," Proust's "Mémoire Involuntaire" shaped the intellectual climate.

¹"Die erste wollte zurück: in eine Vergangenheit, die weder die Maschine noch das isolierte Massen-Atom Mensch gekannt hatte. Die zweite drängte vorwärts zur Überwindung des 'Zeitalters der vollendeten Sündhaftigkeit' wie der Romantiker Fichte seine Zeit in der Schrift Grundzüge des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters taufte" quoted from Ludwig Marcuse's "Reaktionäre und progressive Romantik" in Prang, Begriffsbestimmung der Romantik, p. 385.

²For detailed definition, see development of chapter.

"Life-tasting" was the fashion and the rising generation felt as though they were stepping out of the cages of convention and custom into a freedom full of tremendous possibilities. In 1896 Freud spoke of "metapsychology," meaning the definition of the origins and nature of humanity. New definitions of psychology, of the sexual and social adjustment were brought into its wake. New concepts of social science were created by the work of Durkheim, Dilthey, Weber, and Pareto. Philosophical barricades were mounted for and against Mach, Harnack, and Bergson;¹ the revolting literateurs found their excited audiences, as Ibsen, Strindberg, Hauptmann, Wilde, Stendhal, Shaw, Proust, Whitman were catapulted to prominence. The "conqueror of worlds"--Kipling and the "conquerors of souls"--Tolstoi, Chekhov, and Dostoiyevsky conquered readers and publishers. The characters of Pirandello, Schnitzler and von Hofmannsthal, the expressionism of Matisse and the poetic insights of Rilke, the lyricism of Dehmel and Liliencron, the stage of Reinhardt² and of Duse, James' religious symbolism came to herald new experiences and new expectations. The twin culture-cities³ of Germany, Berlin and Munich, with their

¹Gerhard Masur, Prophets of Yesterday (New York: Harper and Row, 1961) and Georg Mosse, The Culture of Western Europe (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1961).

²Julius Bab, Das Theater der Gegenwart (Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1928).

³Gerhard Masur, Imperial Berlin (New York: Basic Books, 1970). "Die Münchener Gruppe" in Jost Herman, Jugendstil (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971).

"Secessionen" and new theatres and stages began to rival Paris, Vienna, and London in the excitement of their art, the radicalism of their social styles, the sophistication of their conservative and radical press.¹

The very eclecticism and diversity of new modes and approaches threatened to defy the imagination and make characterization and analysis difficult. Majority and minority cultures participated equally in these new ideas and trends; all classes and castes of society were swept up and affected by a "modernization" of thinking and living. The growth of Berlin, the building of railway and Stadtbahn lines, electric works and canals, the stock-market and the centralization of German banking, the growth of unions and socialist mass parties, the secularization of marriage, the expansion of the German universities, the proliferation of small literary and political journals, Berlin as a major music center, the reigning "bohême" in Munich -- all these mark and signify a new life-style and a significant break with decades left behind.

The publication in 1892 of the popular edition of Max Stirner's Der Einzige² brought to the German reading public an

¹ Emil Dofivat, "Das publizistische Leben," in Hans Herzfeld (ed) Berlin und die Provinz Brandenburg (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1968).

² For Stirner's "radical" political language see the quotation from Der Einzige in Hans G. Helms, Die Ideologie der anonymen Gesellschaft (Köln: Verlag M. Du Mont Schauberg), p. 22: "Revolution und Empörung dürfen nicht für gleichbedeutend angesehen werden. Jene besteht in der Umwälzung der Zustände, der bestehenden Zustandes oder status, des Staats oder der Gesellschaft, ist mithin eine politische oder soziale That; diese hat zwar eine Umwandlung der Zustände zur unvermeidlichen

experience in negation and renaissance which rivalled the cult of Nietzsche. Though present social theorists have paid scant attention to the "waves of popularity"¹ which carried Stirner's conceptions of "Revolution und Empörung" to ever larger numbers of readers, his influence both on Right² and Left was considerable. The "Vormärz" individualism and rebellion of Stirner saw a renaissance in the 1890's which prompted contemporaries to see him as the "man of the generation,"³ a figure unheralded in his own time, but singularly successful in a later generation. John Henry Mackay's Stirner biography

Folge, geht aber nicht von ihr, sondern von der Unzufriedenheit der Menschen mit sich aus, ist nicht eine Schilderhebung, sondern eine Erhebung des Einzelnen, ein Emporkommen, ohne Rücksicht auf die Einrichtungen, welche daraus entspriessen. Die Revolution zielte auf neue Einrichtungen, die Empörung führt dahin. Uns nicht mehr einrichten zu lassen, sondern uns selbst einzurichten. . . . Sie ist kein Kampf gegen das Bestehende, da, wenn sie gedeiht, das Bestehende von selbst zusammenstürzt, sie ist nur ein Herausarbeiten Meiner aus dem Bestehenden. . . . Da nun nicht der Umsturz eines Bestehenden mein Zweck ist, sondern meine Erhebung darüber, so ist meine Absicht und That keine politische oder sociale, sondern, als allein auf Mich und meine Eigenheit gerichtet, eine egoistische." (Note: the German words "ich," "mein," "mich" are often capitalized by Stirner to emphasize the centrality of the ego. This writer would also see Stirner and his concern for the "ego" as a forerunner of Sigmund Freud.) Central is his call for individual autonomy.

¹The Stirner cult has encompassed three-quarters of a century, much as the popularity of Maurras and Barrès as ideologues of the action française. Helms sees these periodizations of Stirner popularity (pp. 17-18): 1891-1914, 1919-1932, 1948 on (France).

²Helms prominently mentions Mussolini's interest in Stirner.

³Helms, Die Ideologie, p. 295: "Max Stirner gehört zu denjenigen Geistern, die für eine Generation schreiben, welche geboren wird, nachdem sie selbst gestorben und vergessen sind . . . der Augenblick, wo seine Ideen so allgemein und ausgedehnt zündeten, dass er als Mann einer ganzen Generation dasteht und man anfangt von 'Stirnerianern' und 'Schule' zu sprechen, ist jetzt erst gekommen."

which appeared shortly after the reissue of the latter's Der Einzige und sein Eigentum brought in its wake a European Stirner cult which saw Stirner variously as the forerunner of Nietzsche, "the father of modern anarchism," the great builder of European utopias, the herald of anti-statism and champion of Proudhonian and Girardin ideologies. Godwin, Proudhon, and Stirner became typical anarchists alongside Bakunin and Kropotkin.¹ In 1900 the French translator reported that Der Einzige was "aujourd' hui si vivante et si actuelle," for such diversified interests and personalities as Bismarck, Carl Schmitt, Ghandi, as well as the famous anarchist Enrico Malatesta, Elisee Reclus, John Most, Jean Grave, and Bruno Wille, not to speak of Gustav Landauer himself. Stirner for them was the radicalization of the political, the prophet of "Bewegung," of movement and mass-movement.

Helm's reminder that Stirner prided himself in having "totally transcended Religion and Philosophy" recalls the revolutionary thought world of Nietzsche and the early Existentialists.² "The existentialist thesis asserts that

¹ Helms, Die Ideologie, Chapter VII: "Die Stirner Renaissance (die 90er Jahre)," pp. 295-325. Seminal discussion. Helm's important work is pathbreaking in contemporary libertarian thought. One may want to recall here the influence of Sorel in a later generation.

² See the "European" reading of Existentialism by Kurt Reinhardt, The Existentialist Revolt (New York: F. Ungar Publishers, 1972) and F. H. Heinemann, Existentialism and the Modern Predicament (New York: Harper and Row, 1958), especially p. 2: ". . . it is true that the way of existentialism has led from religion through agnosticism AND ATHEISM BACK TO RELIGION." Heinemann recalls that Hegel focused significantly on the estrangement of man from God which is a religious problem and

authentic existence can only be realized in and by the solitary individual." In this new world of estrangement and loneliness, subjective truth and experience, existence and nothingness, the existential experience from Kierkegaard to Nietzsche, Heidegger, Jaspers, Sartre, Camus, and Marcel has placed modern technological man in an entirely new framework of religion and philosophy, of faith and knowledge. The centrality of the "here and now," the "one act," the "wager" of commitment, the "transitory meaning" in a meaningless world are all pieces of a new existentialist mosaic of evolving meanings or meaninglessnesses. This "freeing" of a generation from the heavy ballast of revealed religion and positivistic philosophy was experienced by many then (as now in a rebellious-generation-recaptured)¹ as a new beginning, a spiritual cleansing, a renaissance of spirit, a pure quest for authenticity, sincerity, truth, and religiosity. Petrified, archaic, age-old conceptions of a dying deity had died with the same deity. Man was free and God had to be freed also. Festivity, rebirth, joy, renewal were in the air.² Hope was a possibility, though

man from nature which is a metaphysical problem. In this connection also valuable to remind, as he does; Nietzsche's "To go his way in loneliness is the essence of a philosopher," as well as Berdyayev's akin-to-Chassidic mystical anarchism which joined voluntary acts of love and kindness to eschatological hope of redemption.

¹See Theodore Roszak, The Making of the Counter-Culture (Garden City: Doubleday, 1969). Parallels to Landauer's generation are many and well-spelled out. Philosophical currents are especially vivid in the Chapter entitled "The Dialectics of Liberation: Herbert Marcuse and Norman Brown," in their discussion of religion, myth, dreams, and vision.

²For contemporary parallel see: "Introduction,"

no assurance for the thoughtful. Men not only had to remake society; they had to remake themselves. "Wir sind die Revolution" as the newly self-fashioned anarchist, socialist, Zionist, Chassidic humanist Martin Buber was to teach and live and write. In Berlin Hegel's idealism and in Vienna Mach's positivism came under attack.¹ In Vienna Wittgenstein's mystical logic, highly subjective and experiential in expression, challenged the last vestiges of an over-ripe functionalism;² in Berlin "das neue Denken" followed the Parisian vitalism of Bergson and the aesthetic atheism of Schopenhauer and Feuerbach. William James became known for his radical empiricism in his Varieties of Religious Experience. The first birth-pangs of "Dialectical Theology" were sensed and noted. Language³ was felt, once more, to be central to the definition

"Festivity and the Death of God," "Fantasy and Utopia" in Harvey Cox, The Feast of Fools: A Theological Essay on Festivity and Fantasy (New York: Harper and Row, 1969).

¹Outstanding for philosophical and cultural panorama: Allan Janik and Stephen Toulmin, Wittgenstein's Vienna (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973). Berlin seen as center of aesthetic historicism and Vienna as center of the new romanticism in Simon Maringer, Martin Buber Metaphysik der Dialogik im Zusammenhang neuerer philosophischer und theologischer Strömungen (Köln: Buchdruckerei Steiner, 1936).

²Excellent: Chapter Five, entitled "Language, Ethics and Representation" in Janik and Toulmin, Wittgenstein's Vienna.

³Ludwig Wittgenstein: "Alle Philosophie ist Sprach-Kritik" in Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus (London: Kegan, Paul, etc., 1922) 4,0031. Earlier Fritz Mauthner, Beiträge zu einer Kritik der Sprache (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1901-3). The same author's Die Sprache (Frankfurt am Main: Ruetten & Loenig, 1906) and his later Wörterbuch der Philosophie: Neue Beiträge zu einer Kritik der Sprache (Munich: Georg Müller, 1910). Helpful: Gershon Weiler, Mauthner's Critique of Language (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970) and

of man and society. (A different reading of "In the beginning was the WORD.") The "Sprach-Humanismus" of Herder, Hamann, and von Humboldt was revived. Karl Kraus analyzed the purity of language and expression.¹ Rosenzweig called attention to the interplay between experience of the text and its translation.² The man of the word: "der Dichter" became the new high priest, the harbinger of a truer, better, and more beautiful self-realization of the common man. All the arts dealing with words and expressions saw a renaissance.³ A new generation was called to leadership: "Jugendbünde," "Jugendstil."⁴

D. F. Pears, Wittgenstein (London: Fontana, 1969). Technical: C. L. Stevenson, Ethics and Language (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960). Feuerbach is seen as originator of a new approach to "Sprachdenken." See Simon Maringer, Martin Buber, p. 126.

¹Paul Schick, Karl Kraus (Reinbeck: Rowohlt, 1965).

²Franz Rosenzweig, Briefe (Berlin: Schocken, 1935), p. 247, letter Oct. 1, 1917 to Rudolf Ehrenberg: "Das Übersetzen ist überhaupt das eigentliche Ziel des Geistes, erst wenn etwas übersetzt ist, ist es wirklich laut geworden."

³Example: Stefan George-Schrift, Ernst Cassirer: "natürliche Symbole." Wilhelm Dilthey's "Funktion der Dichtung," Roswatha Riegger-Baurmann "Schrift im Jugendstil" in Herman Jost, Jugendstil.

⁴Haman and Jost Naturalismus, p. 10: "Rebellion ohne das Pathos und die Überheblichkeit der Jugend. Die jungen Revolutionäre von 1880 verwandten daher als Ausdruck ihrer Gesinnung nicht das Schlagwort "Naturalismus," das ihnen später wie eine Schmutzfahne angehängt wurde, sondern den Begriff 'Das jüngste Deutschland'. Man berief sich auf Heine und Börne, gründete ein literarisches Revolvertum und gefiel sich am Abschlachten aller reaktionär eingestellten Talente." The most important statements of the movement are three essays by the famous Viennese essayist and literary critic, Hermann Bahr, entitled "Zur Kritik der Moderne (1890)," "Die Überwindung des Naturalismus (1891)," and "Studien zur Kritik der Moderne (1894)," reprinted in Erich Ruprecht und Dieter Bansch. Literarische Manifeste der Jahrhundertwende 1890-1900 (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1970) Bahr stresses the search for truth and spiritual cleansing, emphasizes that both das "junge Österreich" and das "jüngste Deutschland" are aping

"Jugendstil" and "jungste Deutschland" have received careful attention since the 1950's, though beyond a certain "tendency" or freshness, "Moderne" or eclecticism all "Literaturkritiker" are loath to define these styles of the period between 1880-1905. The Germans speak largely of "Jugendstil"¹ or reactions against the "Gründerzeit" (1871 on), the French refer mainly to

Paris culture; but that Berlin is more revolutionary in its aspirations, whereas Vienna is more tradition-bound. Julius Hart in his "Die Entwicklung der neueren Lyrik in Deutschland" published in Pan 1896 (see same anthology as above, p. 5) cites four characteristic aspects of this new style: "modern," national (= germanisch), "realistisch" (= naturalistisch) and "individuell" (= subjective).

¹The main city of "Jugendstil" was Munich; men carrying the new style were in addition to Stefan George and his circle, such luminaries as Kandinsky, Klee, Marc, and Kubin. Furniture and the conception of "home" and "Heim" (rather bourgeois concepts) found their culmination in the 1896 Parisian furniture show, by then correctly entitled "art nouveau" (see Kurt Bauch "Jugendstil" in Jost Jugendstil, p. 258). Oscar Wilde pioneered the movement by emphasizing its form; the American Whistler emphasized its mood, having drunk deeply of it in Paris. Worthy of mention are the men and women of "Die Brücke" and "Blaue Reiter." Often singled out are the German Käthe Kollwitz with her special empathy for suffering; equally outstanding are the Norwegian Edward Munch and the Swiss Ferdinand Hodler. "Die Grundstimmung ist Eros, das schöpferische Drängen, der Trieb und das Opfer, die Gier und die Verzweiflung" (Bausch, as above, p. 291).

Rilke's "Stundenbuch" is seen as the "theology of Jugendstil," Proust, and Dehmel, Beer-Hoffman, Tolstoi, and Maeterlinck as those who sensed and felt Godliness without God, "Religiosität" without Religion. "Was ist man nun? Man ist ein höflicher Atheist, hatte Schopenhauer gesagt, denn man sagt zwar noch Gott, aber meint ihn nicht mehr . . ." (Walter Lenning "Der literarische Jugendstil" in Jost Jugendstil, p. 368 on). On Stefan George, Alfred Mombert, Theodor Däubler and Heinrich Mann see excellent summary by Claude David "Stefan George und der Jugendstil," same anthology, p. 382 on. Suggestive also relation Dilthey and Cassirer, references to the artist as voyeur: see Dominik Jost "Zum literarischen Jugendstil," same anthology, p. 462; for the place played by the feminine and femininity in its ethereal and unreal quality see Jost Herman's "Undinen Zauber," same anthology, p. 469 on. Best general synoptic work; Dominik Jost Literarischer Jugendstil (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1969). For early Dada: a good "peek" Walter Mehring Berlin Dada (Zürich: Verlag Arche, 1959).

"art nouveau,"¹ the British to late Victorian "arts and crafts."² An extraordinary artistic and literary productivity is contained within these topical catch-words and the artists and culture-builders who contributed to this magnificent renaissance could fill volumes of description.

The emphasis of the period on youth, renewal, and rebirth was seen also as a special generation-revolt of the sons against the fathers, as occurs in every generation, but in some periods more exaggeratedly. Peter Scheibert in a new work on Russian populism entitled Von Bakunin zu Lenin³

¹Seen as having begun in French Impressionism of Georges Seurat or having made its way, inspired by Ruskin and Morris, via the Belgian Henry van de Velde, it is quite clear that by the time Aubrey Beardley's The Savoy is published in 1896, the Germans have mounted Pan in 1895, Jugend and Simplizissimus in 1896, followed by the 1897 French publications of Art et Décoration and L'art décoratif. "Jugendstil" was "en vogue" in the Paris Exposition of 1900, the Metro built its exits to suit the new style demands; Van Gogh was the highest embodiment of the "Jugendstil" vogue. There were "Secessionen" of artistic outbursts in Berlin, Vienna, and Munich, but the importance of the movement lay as much in the journals. "Die Bedeutung der deutschen Bewegung liegt in der Entwicklung von Druckschriften" (Roswitta Riegger-Baurmann, "Schrift im Jugendstil in Deutschland" in Jost Herman Jugendstil, p. 209). (Note that this was also the beginning of small movement-publications in Paris.)

Flowers, swans, lilies, fawn, pure white, Stravinsky's "firebird" and l'oiseau bleu, Skrjabin's "poème d'extase," water and water nymphs, "Floréal"--the French journal, "Evergreen"--the Scotch one, "The Germ"--Rosetti's! Ernst Haeckel and Charles Darwin are the originators of this "biological-aestheticism" of l'art nouveau and Jugendstil. Important to mention here the "élan vital" of Bergson: "Die Kraftlinien des Art Nouveau werden von der Zeit selber als Energietrager, der Künstler als abstrakte Energiequelle aufgefasst" (see Robert Schmutzler's "Der Sinn des Art Nouveau" in Jost Jugendstil, p. 296 on).

²Dandy-ism is included by some, Tiffany's building special "Atelieretagen" by others.

³Peter Scheibert, Von Bakunin zu Lenin (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970).

makes mention of the same rebellion of the youthful sons of middle-class Russian clergymen who no longer wanted to live and work within the stultified caste and mode of thinking of their fathers,¹ of the Jews of middle-class birth who converted to Christianity to affirm their spiritual at-oneness with the Russian peasantry.²

One may want to recall the conversions to a Zionist humanism of such men as Herzl and the early political Zionists out of deep empathy with their suffering Eastern-European (as well as French!) brethren.³ "The period of scientific research was over, the great work had been done-- the demand of the century was for "Populism."⁴ The sons of middle-class fathers decided to build separate life-styles: "Jugendbewegungen"--youth movements, youth cultures: revolts against smugness, dirty cities, mammon, prudish sex and family life, returns to nature, folk, root, and race, national and ethnic origins, organic bonds and unions.⁵ Feminism

¹ Scheibert, Von Bakunin zu Lenin, p. 14: "Jetzt tauchten die 'Leute vom anderen Stände' auf, wie der russische Ausdruck lautet, in erster Linie Söhne von Geistlichen, die nicht in der Kaste ihrer Väter und Grossväter weiterwirken wollten."

² Scheibert, Von Bakunin zu Lenin, p. 17.

³ Walter Laqueur, History of Zionism (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1972). Equally excellent Hans Kohn Martin Buber und seine Zeit (Heilerau: Jakob Hegner, 1930).

⁴ Scheibert, Von Bakunin zu Lenin, p. 15: "Die Zeit der Forschung sei recht eigentlich vorbei, das grosse Werk fast getan--der Geist des Jahrhunderts fordere 'Populärisierung.'"

⁵ Excellent philosophical background: Georg Lukacs Deutsche Literatur im Zeitalter des Imperialismus (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 1947). Suggestive: Eduard Spranger Humanismus

and libertarian women were similarly on the march.¹

"Nowhere else does man realize so precisely and so uniquely what he is and what he is about as in (the conception of) 'utopia,' the actual reality of the new person."² Loosely translated, this sentence by the historian of Russian populism, Peter Scheibert,³ captures the very essence of this period of "German populism" as well and is suggestive in understanding the whole intellectual upheaval of the European scene: on the Left as well as on the Right,⁴

und Jugendpsychologie (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung 1922). Youth movements and spirit: Walter Laqueur Young Germany (New York: Basic Books, 1962); Hans Blüher Die deutsche Wandervogelbewegung als erotisches Phänomen (Berlin: Friedrich Ruhland, n.d.); Harry Pross Jugend/Eros/Politik (Bern: Scherz Verlag, 1964). Insights in the Nazi-slanted Luise Fick Die deutsche Jugendbewegung (Jena: Eugen Diederich Verlag, 1939). (Has excellent journal bibliography.)

¹ Pross Jugend/Eros/Politik, pp. 35-36. Self-expression for both sexes was the demand of the hour: "Die Kultur der selbstständigen, unvoreingenommenen Persönlichkeit war höchstes Ziel" (Fick, op. cit., p. 14). Similarly: "Was wir fordern für uns ist das Recht, dass jeder Mensch seiner Eigenart gemäss leben darf."

² "Nirgendwo sonst weiss der Mensch so genau und ein für alle Mal, was er ist and was er soll, wie in der Utopie, der eigentlichen Wirklichkeit des neuen Menschen."

³ Von Bakunin zu Lenin, p. 2.

⁴ Especially suggestive here is the two-generation history of the "action française." Professor William Shanahan has kindly called the writer's attention to the late revisionist thinker Waldemar Gurian and his work on French conservatism. The 1972 Seminar on French Intellectual History, conducted by Professor Donald Harvey of the Graduate Faculty of the City University of New York, gave the writer an opportunity to begin work on Gurian's conception of the "action française," seen especially in his Der integrale Nationalismus in Frankreich: Charles Maurras und die Action Française (Frankfurt am Main: V. Klostermann Verlag, 1931), a subject on which a later essay is planned for publication. Important

for, indeed, there was much common ground and style¹ in the individualism and self-affirmation, in the positive despair and the tongue-in-cheek hopefulness with which this period mounted communal anarchism and social fascism as "healing"

to note here are the affinities in language, in political style and social composition of adherents of this "new fascist" approach to the "new anarchist" approach of the Jungen and Gustav Landauer. See Gurian op. cit., p. 95: "Gerade dadurch kann die Action Française auf intellektuelle Kreise Einfluss gewinnen, denen sie bisher infolge des sozialen Charakters ihrer Anhänger als erledigt erschien. Die Action Française tritt an Stelle der durch die Stabilisierung der parlamentarischen Republik politisch erledigten gesellschaftlich-traditionell bestimmten Monarchisten." (N.B. The writer wants to call serious attention to the fact that this short sentence reflects the very reverse of the German situation in Wilhelminian Germany and may well be utilized in reverse reasoning to establish the reason for the vitality of communal anarchism and revolutionary populism, to the extent to which these were still possible within the framework of a strict censorship.) Further, and equally interesting, Gurian states: "Aber trotzdem wäre die Wirkung der Action Française nur auf Intellektuellenkreise, denen das Treiben der ungeistigen Interessen-politiker antipathisch war, und die nach einer ebenso radikalen wie klaren Formulierung ihres anti-demokratischen Affektes suchten, beschränkt geblieben, wenn ihre Doktrin nicht den Katholizismus als entscheidenden Verbündeten verwandt hatten."

An entirely different contemporary reading of these political tendencies emerges in Helga Grebing Linksradikalismus gleich Rechtsradikalismus: Eine falsche Gleichung (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 1971) and must be considered.

¹For the style of politics, see a new look at the next generation of political reformers: Gertrude Himmelfarb's "The Intellectual in Politics: The Case of the Webbs," Journal of Contemporary History, 1971, Vol. 6, Number 3. Professor Himmelfarb speaks of Beatrice Webb's "Ego that affirms and Ego that denies," recalls that "the idea the science of society had to be implemented by a moral ideal equivalent to a religious faith"; also that Mrs. Webb's religion was both personal and mystical. She sought spiritual communion, as her husband's quest was for a "Religion of Humanity." The merging of the social and religious quest is one almost built-in to European social reform from the Comte-Saint Simon period on.

alternatives for societies seemingly "too sick" to survive. If contemporary man marvels at the optimism and the "stareyed" idealism of the generation before the first World War, which could actually believe in its own purism, it may well be the shortcoming of this generation, which after the massive inhumanity of twentieth-century totalitarianisms no longer comprehends, as Herbert Marcuse has pointed out in his considerations of Walter Benjamin's "Messianism,"¹ the meaning of such terms as "Kultur des Herzens," "Friedensliebe," "Erlösung," "Glück," "spirituelle Dinge," and the simple word "revolutionär."

The paradoxical reaction to "Massengesellschaft" in this pre and post fin de siècle generation is seen by many

¹ See his "Nachwort" to Walter Benjamin Zur Kritik der Gewalt und andere Aufsätze (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1965) especially p. 99: "Die Gewalt, die in Benjamin's Kritik gemeint ist, ist nicht jene, die allgemein kritisiert wird, und besonders dann, wenn sie von denen unten gegen die oben angewandt (oder anzuwenden versucht) wird. Diese Gewalt ist es gerade, in der Benjamin, an den exponiertesten Stellen seiner Schriften die 'reine' Gewalt sieht, die vielleicht der 'mythischen' Einhalt zu bieten vermag, die Geschichte bisher beherrschte. Die von Benjamin kritisierte Gewalt ist die des Bestehenden, die im Bestehenden selbst das Monopol der Legalität, der Wahrheit, des Rechts erhalten hat und in der der Gewaltcharacter des Rechts verschwunden ist, um in den sogenannten Ausnahmeständen (die in facto keine sind) furchtbar zu Tage zu treten." One would want to argue here that in this reading of Benjamin, Marcuse has captured an insight which is the logical conclusion to the thought-world which was begun in the generation of Landauer and came to an end, in Marcuse's reading, with Benjamin. This generation in its purism felt that it could pit itself against historicism by a Nietzschean transvaluation of "Gewalt" and social sin. It is somewhat doubtful whether Landauer felt that an ultimate breakthrough was possible; he reasoned that there were periods of "Utopie" as well as "Topie."

as the key to the negation of man-in-the-mass¹ and the affirmation of man-in-community.² This writer would like to call "Mann-im-Bund"³ a good example of the social experiment of "der" Stefan George Kreis,⁴ known for its extraordinary influence in literary aestheticism and over-romantic personal friendship-building. Die "Neue Freie Volksbühne," "Die Neue Gemeinschaft" of the Hart Brothers and the Forte Kreis,⁵ (a 1915 experiment in correspondence-friendship designed to

¹R. Hinton Thomas "Das Ich und die Welt" in Wolfgang Rothe (ed) Expressionismus als Literatur (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1969).

²Ferdinand Toennies Community and Society (English of Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1957)).

³Pinthus has referred to the common and unifying elements in the conceptions of "Mensch, Welt, Bruder, Gott." See also the radical program of Ludwig Rubiner (cited Wolfgang Rothe Expressionismus, p. 30).

"Wir sind gegen die Musik-für die Entweckung zur Gemeinschaft
Wir sind gegen das Gedicht-für die Anrufung zur Liebe.
Wir sind gegen den Roman-für die Anleitung zum Leben.
Wir sind gegen das Drama-für die Anleitung zum Handeln.
Wir sind gegen das Bild-für das Vorbild."

⁴Best descriptions of this period and the George Kreis atmosphere: Horst Schumacher Stefan George (Mühlacker: Stieglitz Verlag, 1968), Hermann Broch Hofmannsthal und seine Zeit (München: Piper Verlag, 1964). (Valuable there also Hannah Arendt's "Nachwort.") Richard Alewyn Über Hugo von Hofmannsthal (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958), Gotthart Wunberg Der frühe Hofmannsthal: Schizophrenie als dichterische Struktur (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 1963), Werner Volke Hofmannsthal (Reinbeck: Rowohlt Verlag, 1967), Klaus Wagenbach Kafka (Reinbeck: Rowohlt Verlag, 1964). Most sophisticated reading of intellectual trends and philosophical atmosphere from a Hegelian perspective Georg Lukacs The Theory of the Novel (Cambridge: M. I. T. Press, 1971).

⁵An essay on the Forte Kreis based on unpublished materials in the Archives of the Institute for Social History (Amsterdam) and Buber Archives (Jerusalem) is planned.

bring an early end to hostilities between the belligerents) show this extraordinary belief in the ability of well-meaning men to rejuvenate society by the strength of their intentions and the purity of their will. These groups indicated that the Germans of that generation as well as their co-frères of Europe were intellectually on the philosophical borderlines between the last neo-Kantian "categorical imperatives" and the first exaltations of an affirmative moral existentialism.¹

The social and communal anarchism of Landauer's generation similarly had its seedbed in the friendship of small, intimate groups which preferred the innate goodness of man to the tyranny of the mass and which strove for voluntarism and participatory democracy as against political manipulation and mass organization.² Especially in Germany where the growth of Social Democracy took place in an atmosphere of tightly-knit party control and party bureaucracy, chosen souls such as Landauer, Kampffmeyer, and Friedländer pitted themselves over and over against the emergent powerful national and international organization of Marxist socialist

¹ Wilhelm R. Beyer Vier Kritiken: Heidegger, Sartre, Adorno, Lukacz (Koln: Pahl-Riegenstein Verlag, 1970). These are heirs in style; for example (p. 17) "Heidegger glaubte 'radikal' zu fragen. Er glaubte ferner durch den Radikalismus seiner Fragestellung eine völlig neue Situation in der modernen Philosophie geschaffen zu haben." Also Gunter A. Zehm Historische Vernunft und direkte Aktion: Zur Politik und Philosophie Jean Paul Sartres (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1964).

² Julius Braunthal History of the International 1864-1914 (New York: F. Praeger Publishers, 1967) and James Joll The Second International 1889-1914 (New York: Harper and Row, 1966) especially Chapter One: "The Socialist World in 1889."

and materialist trade unions on behalf of communalism and cooperatives. As reformism and revisionism over and over again required a rethinking and redefinition of theory and goals,¹ so it was hoped, a critical anarchist-socialism would awaken humanist strivings and styles. It was the very power of the aesthetic that was thought to be revolutionary.² The anarchist alternative in Germany was a result of the crisis of conscience and suppression before and after the "Sozialistengesetz" (1878-1890). The first "secession" came with the anarchist John Most (who later emigrated) and the second occurred in the time of Landauer's youth under the leadership of the "Jungen" or Independent Socialist.³ The young and radical social-anarchists were often seen also as the carriers of the ideas and aspirations of the social critics and expressionist writers and represented a generation-conflict between the "old stalwarts" and the young, metropolitan

¹James Joll, *ibid.*, Chapter Four: Reformism and Revisionism."

²"Diese Erkenntnis führt, wenn man sie unerbittlich durchkämpft, zum Begriff des einheitlichen Lebensstils. Und dieser Begriff wiederum ist intensiv sozialistisch, denn er gestattet nicht mehr sich den Konsequenzen seines Denkens zu entziehen. Wer die Umwälzung der malerischen Perspektive betreibt (Kubismus), oder der moralischen Wertstufung, der Wertperspektive (Nietzsche, Freud, Weininger), der fordert auch die soziale Revolution." See p. 247 of Alfred Wolfenstein, *Die Erhebung* (Berlin: Fischer Verlag, 1920), essay by Adrien Turel "Jedermanns Recht auf Genialität." The call is to radical messianism (p. 254), cooperation, and unselfishness.

³Pathbreaking Ulrich Linse's Organisierter Anarchismus im Deutschen Kaiserreich von 1871 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1969). Section "Anarchismus und Sozialdemokratie."

intellectuals.¹ The communal anarchists or social anarchists considered themselves bonafide members and committed workers of the world socialist movement, and though they did not gain admittance to its ranks, continued to insist that among its many "sections" they, too, be considered as legitimate.

For Socialism in its widest sense, embraces all currents opposing private ownership of the means of production. The anarchists often called themselves 'libertarian' or 'anti-authoritarian' Socialists, and hence they were unwilling to concede to the democratic Socialists the monopoly of the concept of Socialism. In the second place, they had tacitly abandoned Bakunin's idea of an immediate anarchist revolution, which logically would entail the establishment of a dictatorship by the anarchist minority. Hence the more realistic elements among the anarchists had come to the conclusion that communist anarchism could be ushered in only after the establishment of a democratic Socialist system, a system that would enable them, through experimentation and example, gradually to persuade the majority that a form of voluntary collective ownership was preferable to a government-owned economy. They were therefore ready to serve as a sort of independent, militant, ultra-left-wing ally of the Socialists and to help them bring about a democratic revolution.²

¹Linse, Organisierter Anarchismus, p. 47: "In ihrem Glauben an den baldigen Untergang der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft wurden diese Arbeiter unterstützt durch die sozialkritischen Schriftsteller der Generation zwischen Naturalismus und Expressionismus, wie Wilhelm Bölsche, Bruno Wille, Julius und Heinrich Hart, Otto Hartleben, Otto Ernst, Richard Dehmel, Arno Holz, und Johannes Schlaf."

²Max Nomad "The Anarchist Tradition" in Milorad M. Drachkovitch (ed) The Revolutionary Internationals 1864-1943 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966). See also, Daniel Guérin Anarchismus (from the French L'anarchisme) (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1969), especially Chapter III: "Der Anarchismus in der revolutionären Praxis" (von 1880 bis 1914). Also important Rudolf Rocker Anarcho-Syndicalism (London: Secker & Warburg, 1938).

Into this period of renewal and rethinking, re-creation and reformulation of old and new utopias,¹ Gustav Landauer was to bring his own well-defined populist utopianism--radically literary and radically libertarian.

¹A hint of this writer's "slant" on Landauer in Tibor Kneif's "Ernst Bloch und der musikalische Expressionismus" in Siegfried Unseld (ed) Ernst Bloch zu ehren (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1965).. See Ernst Block, author of Geist der Utopie, Das Prinzip Hoffnung and Thomas, Munzer als Theologe der Revolution, in a Landauer thought-world. Others here prominently associated in this thought-world are Peter Hille, Kurt Pinthus and Alfred Wolfenstein.

Gustav Landauer 1870-1900

Gustav Landauer 1870-1900

The contemporary psychoanalyst, Erik Erickson, has identified the adolescent years as the period of lasting self-identification. It is these early years of young adulthood which see the building of desires, images, hopes and aspirations. It is also these years which mark the acceptance of limitations, which teach frustrations and which test personal fortitude and discipline. It is often in the young years that the very path of life is charted.

This was so for the juvenile Gustav Landauer. All of the hints of mature intellectual development are present in the literary creativity and in the personal activism of his youth in the 1880's and the 1890's. Interestingly enough, the mature years of Landauer (1900-1919) reveal the youthful idealist still fresh, the "Sturm und Drang" more tempered and weatherbeaten by life--but to the very end, and even in death, the same abiding vitality and dynamic humanity stand out.¹

In a similar vein, it is noteworthy to point out that (contrary to the assessment of most Landauer biographers) the Platonic charge to all future young and old wise-men: "Know thyself" was one that was heeded by the adolescent

¹In the "Introduction" to the Gustav Landauer-Ludwig Berndl exchange of letters in Mappe A of the Landauer Nachlass in the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, Berndl, the Austrian philosopher who befriended Landauer at the end of the century recorded: ". . . was lebte in diesen Briefen, dass keiner sie als tote Sachen betrachtete und jeder sie wie einen Schatz behütete Dieses Besondere war: in jedem dieser Briefe steckte der ganze Mensch Landauer, in jedem dieser Briefe schlug Landauers Herz. Es waren nicht tote Sachen, sondern lebensvolle Arbeiten ihres Autors, seines Charakters, seines Geistes, seiner Natur, einer Natur."

Landauer as it was to become the shining hint of immortality in the mature social philosopher in the Bavarian Revolution at the bitter end. Landauer always and at all times knew and understood himself as he knew and understood the world. This ability to know and understand the world, which he was able to cultivate from the early years of his adolescence, gave his life purpose and gave his life unity.¹ He periodically stood alone and he periodically immersed himself in the world. He lived fully in every way. In whichever posture or circumstance he was to find himself he had that sincerity and integrity that we term "authenticity"² and he had that

¹Ibid., "Denn das war er: eine Natur ein in sich ruhendes, in sich wurzelndes Sein und Wesen, ein Ganzes, mit seinem eigenen Gesetz."

²See the excellent summary on the political and politicizing intellectual in Lionel Trilling, Sincerity and Authenticity (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 26: "A salient trait of society, I have suggested, and what differentiates it from the realm or the kingdom and even from the commonwealth, is that it is available to critical examination by individual persons, especially by those who make it their business to scrutinize the polity, the class of men we now call intellectuals. The purpose of their examination is not understanding alone, but understanding as it may lead to action: the idea of society includes the assumption that a given society can be changed if the judgment passed upon it is adverse. In the framing of such judgments the ideal of sincerity is of substantial importance. It is adduced as a criterion in three considerations: (1) Of the sincerity of the person making the judgment. This must be beyond question and fully manifest. (2) Of the degree of correspondence between the principles avowed by a society and its actual conduct. (3) Of the extent to which a society fosters, or corrupts, the sincerity of its citizens." Also on p. 6: ". . . at a certain point in history certain men and classes of men conceived that the making of this effort was of supreme importance in the moral life, and the value they attached to the enterprise of sincerity became a salient, perhaps a definitive characteristic of Western culture for some four hundred years." On the historical

harmonious tension between high optimism and resigned pessimism which is vouchsafed to those few whom we call "whole," integrated, or wise. From early adolescence to manly maturity Gustav Landauer meditated and wrote on the purpose of Life and the purpose of Death with equal imagination and equal vigor.¹

Few of the Landauer biographers have concentrated their scrutiny on the writings of the adolescent Landauer and fewer still have paid even passing attention to the youthful friendships or "romantic attachments" of the juvenile Gustav. Buber started his Lebensgang in Briefen significantly with the year 1895² and recorded that a Jugendband was at the time of the collecting of the letters in 1929 being prepared by the late Landauer's son-in-law, Dr. Max Kronstein.³ It is both interesting and significant that this in-gathering was

development of "sincerity" in European literature, especially in France, see Henri Peyre, Literature and Sincerity (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963). Peyre's emphasis, especially in Chapter Eight ("The Age of Sincerity") is on the influence of Baudelaire and Nietzsche, but also of Bergson, on the early twentieth century call to "sincerité" which Peyre feels has a uniqueness not captured in "Candor," "Ehrlichkeit" or "sincerità."

¹Berndl, Landauer-Berndl Correspondence, as above, "Introduction": "Mit dem Messianismus ist der Mythos vom Opfer verbunden. Opfer die gebracht werden müssen, sind notwendig in dem Sinn, dass ohne diese Opfer, der letzte Einsatz fehlt: der letzte Ernst."

²The years 1895-99 are represented in the anthology merely for identification. The anthology of letters is intended to start with the year 1899, the year of significant attachment to Hedwig Lachmann, the second wife-to-be. Buber intended the anthology to cover twenty years: 1899-1919.

³Buber, Lebensgang in Briefen, p. VI.

never accomplished.¹ The International Institute for Social History has, as part of its Landauer Nachlass,² three Mappen of his youth-diaries and letters.³ It can also be said with some degree of authority that the four anthologies of Landauer's writings: Macht und Mächte (1903), Rechenschaft (1919), and Der werdende Mensch (1921) and Beginnen (1924) do not fully and truly reflect the totality of interest and concerns of the young Landauer.

The fourteen-year old laments how "one is always striving,"⁴ how his contemporary world has no understanding for "wie man sich für etwas begeistern könne" which has no material worth or which is not in fashion.⁵ He recalls a painful decision to burn his "early works" on religion,

¹This writer will attempt to rectify the gap by gathering early writings, among them an unpublished manuscript, entitled Geschwister now in the Buber-Landauer Archives at the National-and-Hebrew University Libraries in Jerusalem. (Grateful acknowledgement to Mrs. Margot Cohen for xerox.)

²The Landauer Nachlass was brought to Amsterdam and the Institute in 1937 from Berlin by Mrs. Annie Adema van Scheltema. Though it is more "an archive about" than by Landauer it has extensive materials gathered by Martin Buber and Ina Britschgi-Schimmer as well as Dr. Max and Charlotte Landauer-Kronstein for the collection of letters Lebensgang in Briefen.

³Useful are Mappen C, D, and X. Early diary was kept, 1894-95.

⁴. . . "man immer strebt . . ."

⁵Entry 24.11.1884: "Wie man überhaupt in unserer Zeit immer weniger begreift wie man sich für etwas begeistern könne, das doch in der That keinen materiellen Melzen einbringt oder was nicht gerade Mode ist."

Oedipus, "Ehrgeiz," and love—in painful fear of the ridicule of his youthful classmates. A "new work" was substituted—"Be a man" (Sei ein Mensch). An inspired poem on "Peace" alternates with statements that it is difficult to sleep when one must write poetry. In 1895, at the age of fifteen, young Gustav in a Platonic poem yearns to be a prince and to rule in peace.¹

There are notes on the father's chidings for Gustav's reading and writing too much. The fourteen-year old started a "Roman" on the theme of Love and Duty; also a "belehrendes Gedicht" entitled The Book in which Man is compared to his (own) Book (Das Buch in dem der Mensch mit seinem Buch verglichen wird). The customary adolescent love of the young Jewish sixteen-year old for the live-in-maid (Stubenmädcl) is recorded. In typical German fashion it is she who awakens his love for folksongs; he copies her lyrics and decides to put out an anthology of folksongs (The customary Volksliedersammlung of the German Romantics and Völkists). He plans a composition for the Choir for Schiller's "Siegerfest," wistfully confessing to his diary that it is easier to write unusual things down than to communicate them to his fellow-students. The father's probing to help awaken in young Gustav an interest in a career in dentistry or chemistry is rejected. The young fifteen-year-old does not get beyond a wholesale grocery or a bookstore—where one

¹Entry 27.4.1885.

can combine business with "Poesie." A later plan calls for studying the "new Philosophy." (How close this was all to be to true-life will be suggested later.) This literary diary (written by the youngster in the same way in which the grown man was to write his celebrated literary letters) also records the writing of a novel (drama) with the fascinating title, which is really a description of all of Landauer's later biography, Es gibt mir niemand das Geleit (No one accompanies me. N.B. Shades of early existentialism). While ranting one season against the duty of sons to have to follow what fathers think is good professionally, he sighs and corrects (as he was to do all of his life) that the saying "All beginnings are difficult" should be changed to "Only the beginning is difficult." It is only a jump from this worldly-wise philosopher of 1885 to the grown man's use and over-use of the word "Beginnen," the word which Buber was to affix to Landauer's posthumously published essays on socialism.

Gustav's report cards¹ are almost predictable: The Karlsruhe Realgymnasium reports him in 1882-83, at age 12-13, fourth out of twenty-six, and in strict German grading "good" in English; "fair" in most subjects. In 1884, he is third of twenty, "good" in English and History. At graduation time, in 1886 at age 16, with "good" in deportment and "very good" in effort, he is rated "good" in Religion, History, and English.

¹Mappe C in Landauer Archive, Institute, Amsterdam.

The customary German academic "Abitur" was passed in 1888 in the Grosses Gymnasium in Karlsruhe, showing that a humanistic course of study was envisaged for the future. The "Gymnasiast" Landauer showed sophistication and precocity in Religion and Philosophy somewhat in excess of the better-than-average, but nowhere near excellent performance in school subjects. It may be correct to conclude that already at this early date, the young Gustav showed that ability to direct his own studies alongside and parallel to his day-to-day routine that was to characterize his later auto-didacticism. In periods of strain as in relaxation, in comfortable circumstances at home as well as in cramped conditions in prison, Landauer never again lost the disciplined habits of self-study and regular literary productivity which are already so apparent in the youth, keeping regular reading notes, listing reading goals and making writing plans. The well-written and pithy summary positions of his already then clear thinking are the very "topical outlines" of the story of his later life.

At fifteen, he and someone else fought about the essence of Judaism and Christianity. Though hesitant to commit himself with finality, his own position is that "a good, almost perfect man believes in justice, because he is not in need of grace; whereas an evil person does need grace."¹ There is a note to the effect that he wants to write "an article" on "Mensch und Geist." Aware that he

¹Entry 24.5.1894 of diary Mappe D of Landauer Nachlass, Institute, Amsterdam.

might be attacked for it, he takes satisfaction from the fact that the article "would be true." He comforts himself with the thought that he has a sentence which he likes to repeat to himself, "Oh God the world is so beautiful."¹ Again and again the reader who looks at the youngster from the hindsight of history and with empathy for the graceful development of the man, must marvel at the unfolding of that emphatic persistence to record one's insight in the face of the very real possibility of ridicule and criticism, parental disapproval and peer-pressure. The sole comfort here as later is always the same: what is arrived at is true and must be communicated; the world is a place of truth and beauty--it is a privilege to be alive. The ability lovingly to empathize with others is manifest in the sixteen-year old:² "Verstehen! I believe that this is the divine love which Jesus demanded when he said 'Ye shall love your enemies!' To sink so totally into the soul of another that one can attempt to understand how he could have arrived and had to arrive at an action--that is the true love for humanity, a love about which so much is said and which is realized so rarely--a love so very different from that other, egotistical and passionate love. To disdain nothing, hate nothing, but understand everything with empathy."³ The great German

¹"Herr Gott, das Leben is doch schön."

²Entry August 1886, Mappe D, Landauer Nachlass, Institute, Amsterdam.

³"Verstehen! Ich glaube, dass ist die göttliche Liebe, die Jesus verlangte als er aussprach: Liebet Eure Feinde! Ganz

Expressionist, Arthur Holitscher, writing about a famous colleague concluded "Style is fate--we can not choose our own style."¹ It can well be said of the young Landauer that if he did not choose his style--he certainly developed it well and early.

In 1913 in his own Sozialist, Gustav Landauer wrote an essay on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Kaiser's coronation, entitled "Vor fünfundzwanzig Jahren,"² recalling the last two Gymnasium years (1887-88) as "Unter" and "Oberprimaner." He recounted there how he had been an anarchist before he had become a socialist; how he was one of the very few who had not travelled the road of social-democracy.³ There we read of the vivid impressions which Richard Wagner's "Musical dramas" had made on the fifteen-year old, how he had "gobbled" up cheap editions of Henrik Ibsen; how he had thrilled to the language, the rhythm and

sich in die Seele eines andern versenken zu können, zu begreifen suchen, wie er zu dieser Tat kommen konnte und musste, das ist die allgemeine Menschenliebe, von der so viel geredet und die so wenig augeübt wird; eine Liebe so ganz verschieden von jener andern, egoistischen, leidenschaftlichen. Nichts verabscheuen, nichts hassen, aber alles verstehen."

¹About Theodor Daubler: "Stil ist Schicksal; wir können unseren Stil nicht selber wählen."

²Included in his anthology Rechenschaft and more recently in the contemporary anthology edited by H. J. Heydorn, Zwang und Befreiung (Köln: Hegner Verlag, 1968).

³"So kam es, dass ich ohne es so zu benennen, ein Anarchist war, ehe ich ein Sozialist wurde, und dass ich einer der wenigen bin, die nicht den Weg über die Sozialdemokratie genommen habe."

dance, the devotion and impetuosity, joy and anguish in Nietzsche;¹ how he had been taught to face the reality of society in all of its ugliness--to observe, to criticize and to offer up the personal protest and revolt.² Out of the loneliness in a new gymnasium, not particularly close to any of the students and not especially imbued with that special German school-spirit and camaraderie which marked the social-life of the "in group,"³ Landauer explained that it was the theatre, music, and especially books which gave him his real "Erlebnisse." The receipt of the coveted Fichte Medal for a special honors-theme on Frederick Barbarossa and a special reception for the Grossherzog and Grossherzogin left him largely "cold." An avid and early reader

¹"Da war Lyrik, farbiger Reichtum der Sprache, üppige Bildkraft der Rede, Marschrhythmus und Tanz, Hingegebenheit und Überschwang, Wonne und Qual--und all dieses tierhaft schöne und brünstige Werben ging um die Idee. Dazu aber doch wieder wie bei Ibsen die Wendung zur Wirklichkeit hin . . ."

²"Ibsen war es, der in dem Knaben, der ich war, aus dem Traum von der Schönheit die Lust zur Verwirklichung machte, der mich mit faszinierender Gewalt zwang, die reale Grundlage, die Gesellschaft und ihre Hässlichkeit nicht zu ignorieren, sondern zu gewahren und zu kritisieren und ihr den Aufruhr und Kampf des Einzelnen entgegenzustellen."

³For the not-so-sympathetically drawn image of the young Jewish intellectual see well-documented, but tendencious Hans-Helmuth Knütter Die Juden und die deutsche Linke in der Weimarer Republik (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1971). Example of deliberate "slants", see material on Buber and KPD on p. 204. Nevertheless helpful in bibliography and footnotes and sheer "coverage" of secondary literature. Some suggestive insights.

of Schopenhauer and Spinoza, he had "long lived among the philosophers"¹ by the time he graduated the Karlsruhe Grosses Gymnasium.

The years 1888 to 1892 found Gustav Landauer, the son of bourgeois Jewish parents² a student in the leading German universities of the time. During 1888-89, he studied at Germany's most liberal university--Heidelberg. The range of courses³ which attracted his interest is wide: English and German Literature, Old English and Historical Grammar, Political Economy and European Military History, German Romanticism and the writers Kant, Goethe, and Klopstock. Though the years 1889-92 were years spent on and off at the University of Berlin in the study of Goethe and Schiller and the Romantic School, we know that Landauer matriculated in Strasburg in 1890, studied there during 1890-91 and returned to the Philosophical Faculty at the Friedrich Wilhelm University of Berlin 1891-92 to continue work on the History of German Literature, the History of Art, and Philology.

In these years of university study the political activism

¹" . . . ich lebte schon lange in den Philosophen . . ."

²Most of the sources on Landauer speak of estrangement from parents and radical alienation from the environment. See for example an article using Landauer as an example of those young students who are cast aside and declared unfit by their reactionary environment. Here, too, the reference is to "Bruch mit dem Elternhaus." Johannes Fischart: "Politiker und Publizisten" from Die Weltbühne, 15. Jahrgang, Nr. 22, 22.5.1919 cited in Knütter Die Juden und die deutsche Linke in der Weimarer Republik, p. 29.

³Mappe C Landauer Nachlass, Institute, Amsterdam.

which was to mark all of Landauer's later life was born. His radical student activities began with a visit to Zürich in 1892. The Landauer Nachlass includes a letter of Berlin students written in 1891 to a Brussels Congress of students planning university reforms and calling for solidarity in revolutionary social action with the working classes.¹ It is not clear from the manuscript whether indeed Landauer himself was the author of the resolution, but it is likely that he was a strong sympathizer with its call. In a letter, written to a friend in 1891,² he writes of his determination to be a writer, explaining that he learns most from "Street-life, the Philosophers, and Mass-meetings" ("Volksversammlungen"). It is indicative of the period in which the Socialist Exclusion Laws had just been lifted, that public gatherings of working class and leftist elements produced excitement and ideological debate.

It was the Erfurt Congress of the Social Democratic Party in 1891 which defined the direction and policy of the Social Democratic Party for years to come and which gave rise to the dissatisfaction and revolt of the "Jungen."³ The well-defined, bureaucratic, mass-party, centralized approach

¹Mappe BB ("Studentenkongresse"), Landauer Nachlass, Amsterdam. "Verëinigt Euch mit den Arbeitern aller Länder! Es lebe die internationale revolutionäre Sozial Demokratie. Es lebe der Arbeiter, Es lebe der freie Student." (N.B. The concern here significantly is for the individual worker and for the individual student. The large parties talked to classes; these groups called to individuals.

²Mappe X ("Jugendband") Institute, Amsterdam, letter to Moos, dated November 4, 1891.

³These were the rebellious, free socialists who revolted against the Centralism and bureaucracy of the German Social-Democratic Party. The "Jungen" started the Sozialist as their journal.

of strict Marxism was to alienate the literati, the radical humanists, the communal-anarchists, and other small "sections" of the Second International (of 1889) and was to lead to the founding of Der Sozialist in 1891-92 and to the abortive attempts in Zurich in 1893 and London in 1896 to modify not only the dominant German "section" but also to influence the whole European Socialist environment. It was in these years, in 1892 to be exact, that Landauer dreamt great dreams and laid out fresh paths. The Diary recorded: "Life is worth no more and no less than that it should be thrown at great things."¹ "We need greatness and freedom and determination and good cheer and seriousness. Let us recall that these live within us and that they need only to be awakened." Or again, "We want to live alive and be dead only in death." To another friend he confided in October 1892: You do know how close to my heart are the realization of the socialist idea, the emancipation of the masses, the "free" (libertarian) conception and style of life, the eradication of superstition, the destruction of all inhuman conditions.² His religious position has by this time become clear and distinct. To his first really serious Jewish girl-friend, Ida Wolf, whom

¹Mappe X ("Jugendband"), Landauer Nachlass, Institute, Amsterdam, Diary entry September 20, 1892, "Das Leben ist nicht mehr und nichtweniger wert, als das man es an grosse Dinge verschwendet . . ."

²Ibid., "Du weisst wie sehr mir diese Dinge, die Verwirklichung der sozialistischen Idee, die Aufklärung der Massen, die freie Lebensauffassung und Lebensgestaltung, die Vernichtung des Aberglaubens, die Zerstörung menschenunwürdiger Zustände und all das, was damit zusammenhängt, am Herzen liegt."

he had intended to marry--only to overthrow her impetuously for Grete Leuschner of the "Neue Freie Volksbühne" in 1892--a young, Christian proletarian whom he met at a public anarchist meeting and who sensuously overwhelmed him--he wrote: "Doubt was always a true comfort and genuine need for me, for only from it can one reach the truth."¹ Explaining that he wanted to write essays on metaphysics, art, and religion, he indicated further to the young friend from a more traditional Jewish environment, that he had been reared in a religion-less environment ("konfessionslos") but that he possessed a strong sense of religiosity which caused him to search more deeply than the orthodox members of his own faith. Going even a step further, he argued that a rabbi could not--by definition--possess "true religion," else he would not be a clergyman of an established denomination."² To this commitment to "religiosity" as the German romantics drew it from Goethe and still earlier from Spinoza³--Landauer was to remain

¹"Mir war das Zweifeln immer wahre Wohltat und Herzensbedürfnis; nur durch ihn kann man zur Wahrheit kommen."

²Mappe X ("Jugendband"), letter to Ida Wolf dated June 15, 1891. "Rabbi . . . er kann die wahre Religion nicht besitzen, sonst wäre er nicht Geistlicher einer bestehenden Konfession."

³Often referred to as "der göttliche" or der "gott-betrunkene" Spinoza. Suggestive: Robert Hering, Spinoza im jungen Goethe (Leipzig: Universität Leipzig, 1897), p. 16, use of "wirkende Natur" in Goethe as rendering of Spinoza's "natura naturans." A present-day Marxist approach: Herbert Lindner, Das Problem des Spinozismus im Schaffen Goethes und Herders (Weimar: Arion Verlag, 1960), p. 89: "Was uns bei Herder, Goethe, Lessing und anderen gleichsam als ein anderer Spinozismus entgegentritt, ist das Ergebnis einer notwendig gewordenen Umformung, ein umgeformter Spinozismus. Die

faithful. Equally unwavering was his life-time commitment to the humanist Judaism of the Biblical prophets and of Jesus, as he understood him, and to the totality of historic Israel in all of its dispersions. Though both he and Grete Leuschner officially gave up their religious affiliations when they were married in Switzerland in 1892,¹ Landauer from earliest youth to the end of his life considered himself a member of the Jewish community, an heir to its ethical and humanitarian heritage, and a man in whom Ethics, Aesthetics, and Scientific Naturalism united to make him feel "religiös." Immersing himself in the great vitalist debate of "being and becoming" of the fin-de-siècle, Landauer resolutely took his place in 1891 with the statement that the God to be believed is "the God we want to become and will become."²

In the article, "Die religiöse Jugenderziehung," as in much of the work, the activities, and the personal commitments in the period between 1890-1893, Landauer completely and systematically laid out the future course of his life,

Umformung des Spinozismus wird durch Leibniz' Philosophie eingeleitet." Significant in Landauer on Goethe as logical continuation of Spinoza, see his "Goethe's Politik," written in 1918, included in Heydorn (ed.), Zwang und Befreiung: "In den testamentarischen Sätzen, die er (Goethe) 1828 auf der Dornburg schrieb, nannte er diesen Bund die vernünftige Welt: 'Die vernünftige Welt' ist als ein grosses, unsterbliches Individuum zu betrachten, welches unaufhaltsam das Notwendige bewirkt und dadurch sich sogar über das Zufällige zum Herrn erhebt.' So fasst er die Lehre 'eines Weisen' zusammen, der doch wohl Spinoza ist."

¹Letter July 1894, Mapped G. Institute, Amsterdam; also Lunn, Prophet of Community, p. 66.

²"Die Religiöse Jugenderziehung" in Die Freie Bühne, February, 1891.

fate, and destiny. In 1890 he wrote a "Novelle" entitled significantly Die Geschwister¹ (a handwritten copy of which is still in manuscript form in the Buber Archives in Jerusalem) dealing with tragic, romantic young love in much the same vein in which he was to publish his Ein Knabenleben (based on his diary) in 1891. He made his debut in one of the leading Berlin journals, Deutschland, edited by his later mentor, Fritz Mauthner, with an impressive piece on "Über epische und dramatische Dichtung." By 1892, the literary direction was completely clear: there were two articles on "Sprache und Schrift" in Das Magazin für Litteratur, calling for a minor "revolution" in the use of language and writing, suggesting that these be simplified to make German less cumbersome and difficult to handle; in true "social science" fashion, the young Landauer called upon public speakers, university professors, political "Volksredner," and especially the stage to set the tone for a simpler spoken German. He similarly called for a "radical revision" in the use of written German, looking forward to the abandonment of Gothic script to facilitate the reading of German abroad.² Equally forward looking (and again under consideration in 1974 in the Germany of today) was the suggestion to abandon

¹The couple was a pair of lovers, not brother and sister. This curious use of words is also found in Landauer's letters to his intended, Ida Wolff. One may recall here the same usage in the "Song of Songs" of the Old Testament: "Meine Schwester, meine Braut."

²Das Magazin für Litteratur, 5 and 19 März, 1892.

the use of capitals in German script. The general message of the two articles was: to modernize and "internationalize" the German language. The year 1892 was also to be the year in which Gustav Landauer called attention to the importance of Gerhard Hauptmann,¹ destined to become a new force in literature and stage, and to emerge as "der Theaterdichter"² of that generation. In his essay, "Die Zukunft und die Kunst,"³ he "propagandized" for new "prophets in literature": Ibsen Tolstoi, and again, Hauptmann, who would fascinate the new "youth" of the world⁴ and call it to creative achievements "in life."⁵

¹Julius Bab, Das Theater der Gegenwart (Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1928). See esp. Part II, "Der naturalistische Vorstoss, 1885-1900.")

²Julius Bab, Über den Tag Hinaus (Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider, 1960), an important contribution to "Zeitgeschichte" published by der deutschen Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung. See p. 188 on "Gerhard Hauptmann, der Theaterdichter."

³Die Neue Zeit (Socialist organ, edited by Karl Kautsky, listed as contributors A. Bebel, E. Bernstein, Fr. Engels, W. Liebknecht, Fr. Mehring, Stuttgart, 1892, 16 Jahr., 1. Band.

⁴See p. 532 of article on "Die Zukunft und die Kunst": ". . . die Kunst sei schwanger und ein herrliches Knäblein werde, namentlich auf deutschem Boden, geboren werden; eine neue grosse Blütezeit solle in aller Bälde einheben." (Note here the "romantic German" use of language, a far cry from "der Moderne!") The call, however, is in a different note: "Wir haben vorherst keine Zeit mehr für die Kunst. Kunst braucht Ruhe; wir brauchen Kampf, Die Kunst auf ihrer Höhe braucht Abgeklärtheit; wir brauchen Gährung." "Der Ruf ins Leben! ist an alle ergangen . . ." (Note that this parallels exactly the call of the Narodniki or Volkstümmler in Russia whose message was "Ins Volk" and "Ins Leben.")

⁵"Wir aber wollen nicht nachmachen; nicht mit der Hand, noch mit dem Auge. Die Jugend-und wer wollte nicht jetzt jung sein mit uns?-ist kein kalter Zeichner noch ein geruhiger Zuschauer."

Deeply significant was the call to an activist involvement of youth in creative self-realization at a time which was notoriously prone to ennui, despair, and, often, suicide. It could even be said that the writers Musil, Wedekind, Hesse, and Werfel "fostered" this spirit in their writings.¹ Landauer was one of those who was active all of his life in negating suicide and death, even as he himself came to grips with the problem in his first major work, Der Totengräber. It was for this reason also that the very young Landauer of these years became interested in rural communes where, in communion with nature, a healthier life style would be achieved, to negate the Spenglerian "end-of-the-world" "Stimmung" that was all about.

The founding of the Sozialist in 1891 gave Landauer an official "political organ" for his economic and social-revolutionary views.² Variouslly identified as "anarchist-

¹Section "Schuljammer und Schulreform" in Harry Pross, Jugend/Eros/Politik (Bern: Scherz Verlag, 1964). Also valuable, Franz Baumer, Hermann Hesse (Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1959). "Stimmung" in Musil, see Marie-Louise Roth Robert Musil, Ethik und Aesthetik (München: List Verlag, 1972).

²One may want to "follow at a distance" the interpretation of Eugene Lunn in his Prophet of Community, p. 73: "Before the final split of May 1893, however, the Independents had exercised an important formative influence upon Gustav Landauer's political and intellectual development. As a dissident group that felt persecuted by the SPD central executive, the Independents had sought to find alternatives to what they regarded as the authoritarian and oligarchic results of organizational centralization. In his association with the Independents after mid-1892 Landauer inherited this interpretation of their experience in the official socialist party in the years 1890 and 1891, etc. . . ." It might be more suggestive to remain more "fluid" altogether and take

socialist," "anarchist," or "revolutionary,"¹ this Sozialist was the mouthpiece of the libertarian "Jungen" of socialist

seriously Landauer's own life-long contention that indeed Social-democratic, libertarian Socialist, and Anarchist formulations were all legitimate interpretations of the original "Socialist" quest. It would then also be easier to account for the shifting interests and ideologies in the editorial opinions of Der Sozialist. All were searching, Landauer among them. Though he was undoubtedly influenced by them, he had a great "knack" for remaining true to his original definitions. In 1893 Landauer argued at the Zurich Kongress that one could join Socialists, Communists, or Anarchists (see Staatsarchiv Potsdam, Pr. Br. Rep. 30, Tit. 94 Lit. S. 1689, vol. 2, Police report #54, July 1893). Answering an attack in Der freie Arbeiter of September 11, 1909 on his "messianism," Landauer, in the October 2 issue of the same journal, explained that his early inspiration was Ernst Busch, a follower of Proudhon, and that his own views had always followed the ideas on Socialism and Anarchism associated with Proudhon. He referred his readers to an early definitive essay, Ein Weg zur Befreiung der Arbeiterklasse (Berlin: Adolf Marreck Verlag, 1895) from the views of which he felt he had never deviated. Had Landauer been an easy "follower," he would have had fewer problems as editor. This writer had the benefit of reading the reports on the "infighting" of the various editorial boards in the reports of the Ministry of the Interior of the Prussian state in the Staatsarchiv Potsdam. These change the Lunn interpretation somewhat. See also Ulrich Linse, Organisierter Anarchismus for excellent coverage on Landauer's consistently stubborn editorial policy.

¹Washington, D.C. Library of Congress entries are as follows:

Der Sozialist - Anarchistische Monats schrift
 15 Nov. 1891 - Dez. 1899 Berlin 1891-99
 Weekly 1891 - April 1899, monthly May - Dec. 1899
 Title varies Nov. 1891 to July 15, 1893 - Der Sozialist-
 Organ der unabhängigen Sozialisten
 July 22, 1893 - Jan. 5, 1895 - Der Sozialist-Organ
 aller Revolutionäre
 Jan. 12, 1895 - Der Sozialist-Organ deutscher Anarchisten
 Aug. 17, 1895 - April 1899 - Der Sozialist-Organ für
 Anarchismus-Sozialismus.
 May-December 1899 - Der Sozialist-Anarchistische
 Monatsschrift

and anarchist persuasion who bolted the Social Democratic Party of 1891, to set up their own set of journals as they were to set up their own stage, the new, free people's stage, in an effort to gain a following and propagate their views. Though definitive systematic treatment of this group is still missing, we do now have available sufficient material in the early Sozialist and in other Socialist journals of the time to make a somewhat firmer judgment on how the "Jungen" saw themselves and how they themselves defined their political tasks to their sympathizers and to their opponents.

The availability to this writer of the State Archives of the Prussian Ministry of the Interior¹ made possible the identification of the reaction of the "authorities" to the libertarianism of the non-parliamentary splinter groups of the "Jungen" and of Landauer. Though one has to utilize carefully these secret police reports,² tendencious as they are in their very purpose, the very meticulous care with which they were documented, often gives a research clue to

¹Acknowledgment to Ministry of Interior, Ministerium des Innern, DDR and to Archiv Direktor, Dr. Falk, as well as Mr. Hausman of Prussian State Archive, Potsdam. Archives used are listed in Register of Archives and Special Collections and Libraries.

²Reports were often written by the same secret police agent for many years (identification of handwriting) and were supplemented by official documents and excerpts from newspapers, journals, fliers, and announcements of public meetings. Often "counter-reports" or reactions by competing liberal, socialist, or radical journals were clipped to give detailed reportage.

documentary material. Since the Sozialist is still not available for all issues and all "Jahrgänge,"¹ the preciseness with which the police "footnoted" their regular reports with clippings from different issues is a historical goldmine for the contemporary historian. The October 29, 1892 issue, carefully preserved, listed these principles of Der Sozialist as expressions of the ideology of the "Jungen" or "Independents" (Unabhängige): Present, bourgeois society is based on the monopoly of production and, therefore, the misery of the dispossessed. The workers can barely exist on their minimal wages. The state is the organ of the propertied class and keeps the non-propertied worker in subjection. Social reform is, therefore, ineffective. Workers should not strengthen the state, but should abrogate it totally. State socialism is undesirable. The workers can only improve their lot by conquering the means of production. "We seek with all means the abolition of capitalist society through the eradication of class-society² and of the state." Workers should use economic action (strike, boycott, "Verweigerung privatrechtlicher Bindungen") to become masters of production. Workers should demonstrate their opposition to all institutions of the present, contemporary society--church, state, military, bureaucracy, parliamentarism--and should not cooperate with any other class. To fight effectively, the

¹This writer had 1893-1899 and Landauer's Sozialist 1909-1915 (incomplete); 1891-1893 must still be secured. The Prussian Archives in Potsdam had clippings from some 1892 issues.

²"Aufhebung der Klassengesellschaft."

Independent Socialists declare their solidarity with the revolutionary--socialist movements of all countries. In union with these, Independent Socialists fight for cooperative production and the possession of the means of production, for a free society based on a democratic basis of total equality of all, regardless of sex.

The "kick-off speech," defining the platform on which the "Jungen" were to "mount the barricades" of intellectual anti-Marxists, was probably that of the Berlin radical, Bernard Friedländer, on November 22, 1891, to the "Verein unabhängiger Sozialisten" as reported in Der Sozialist, November 29, 1891¹ and as summarized in a brochure entitled Der freiheitliche Sozialismus in Gegensatz zum Staatsknechtum der Marxisten (Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Werke und Schicksale Eugen Dühring's) (Berlin: Freie Verlagsanstalt, 1892). Basing himself on the avowed pessimism of Buddha and Schopenhauer,² Friedländer stressed strongly the importance of the pessimistic (and often anti-semitic) Eugen Dühring, as intellectual leader for fin-de-siècle libertarian socialists. Friedländer defined his own position as "anti-kratisch," namely as opposed to any form of rule. Utilizing Dühring's identification of two kinds of social income--1) rent from property and 2) wages from labor--Friedländer called for

¹Prussian State Archives, Potsdam Tit. 95 Sekt 5 Lit.S. #284 15457.

²Based himself on this citation: "Das Wahre und Echte würde leichter in der Welt Raum gewinnen, wenn nicht die welche unfähig sind, es hervorzubringen, zugleich verschworen wären, es nicht aufkommen zu lassen. Dieser Umstand hat schon Manches das der Welt zu Gute kommen sollte, gehemmt und verzögert, wo nicht gar erstickt."

"socialism," defined as abolition of property rents. The means of production were to be socialized and workers were to become autonomous by the strengthening of trade unions and by workers' coalitions. This program was to be adopted and modified by Landauer himself in two sets of double articles; the first in the August 27, 1892 edition of Der Sozialist entitled "Referat über Eugen Dühring's 'Kursus der National- und Sozialökonomie" and continued in the October 22, 1892 issue entitled "Dühringianer und Marxist." This set of articles was in direct answer to Friedlander; but a later set entitled "Wie nennen wir uns" published in the April 8th and April 15, 1893 edition of Der Sozialist defined the ideology clearly and succinctly for the average, literate reader. Basing his own views on those of Stirner, Hertzka, Dühring (and Friedländer), Landauer called for a "free, ruler-less socialism" and a more soberly constituted economic base for his anarchism.¹ Revolutionary socialists of all countries should unite against bourgeois and "state-socialist" tendencies. Programming a "collectivist anarchism,"² Landauer paradoxically explained that "there are only individuals."³ "For us socialism is not an absolute end but rather a means to an end. We seek the greatest possible freedom, independence and rationality of the individual and to achieve these,

¹"Solidere ökonomische Grundlage"

²"kollektivistischer Anarchismus"

³"Es gibt nichts anderes als einzelne Menschen."

we strive for socialized production of goods. Anarchism and socialism are not antithetical concepts for those who can conceive of the realization of socialism without a ruling authority."¹

Landauer never deviated from the ideological thrust that the cooperation between anarchists and the trade unions in common agitation against capitalism and the possessing classes was the best strategy for the realization of modern socialism. To this end he supported small-groups as opposed to centralized leadership in trade unions and agitated for and urged participatory democracy and free discussion as the means of educating workers to the realization of their economic self-interest.² It has never been argued before,³ but should be injected at this point, that there is a strange congruence between the revolutionary and libertarian ideas of the Gustav Landauer of 1893 on, and those of George Sorel between 1894 and 1898, the period of the latter's major contributions to French Socialism.⁴ An heir of Proudhon and

¹Für uns ist der Sozialismus nicht absoluter Zweck, sondern nur Mittel zum Zweck. Wir erstreben die möglichst grosse Freiheit, Selbstständigkeit und Vernünftigkeit des einzelnen Menschen und treten um diese zu erreichen, für die soziale Herstellung der Güter ein. Anarchismus und Sozialismus sind eben durchaus keine Gegensätze für den, der, sich den Sozialismus verwirklicht denken kann ohne Herrschaftsubung.

²See especially Staatsarchiv Potsdam, Pr.Br.Tit. 95 Sek. 5, A 134, Die Anarchisten (Vereine) 14979 for the years 1893-1896.

³This writer holds a somewhat different interpretation than does Lunn in his Prophet of Community.

⁴George Lichtheim, Marxism in Modern France (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), p. 15 on. A parallel development must be noted in Croce and both must be related to the "Zeitgeist" which catapulted Bergsonian ideas into the

Marx in a tradition of thought not unlike that of the young Landauer, Sorel typified the coming together of many nuances of fin-de-siècle socialism, which subsequent French socialist movements were to pick up and cast off as its traditions moved forward between Marxism and Syndicalism. The German Socialist George Lichtheim, in his discussion of French Marxism at the end of the century,¹ suggested forcefully--with one major error--that the rivalry between various socialist factions in their interpretation of issues of state and society led to an eclecticism of thought and pursuits which it is difficult to sort out in hindsight, but which is characteristic of the period. He wrote:²

The complex process which between 1870 and 1905 led to the formation of a more or less unified social movement can not be described here. A point that needs stressing, because it is so often overlooked, is that the movement arose from a fusion of rival factions which could find common ground only after the historic disputes between Proudhonists and Blanquists--and subsequently between Marx and Bakunin--had begun to fade. The outlook of the growing labor movement around 1900 (including both its Socialist and its Syndicalist wing)

socialist market-place. The twentieth-century Sorel was associated with Leninist and Mussolini-type Fascist thinking, but the Sorel of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century manifested that interest in finding a synthesis between Marx and Proudhon which one senses in the young Landauer, who rebelled, this writer believes, more against what he thought were Marxist-reformist tactics than the analysis of society. Since Landauer did not have the early humanist writings of Marx at his disposal, his knowledge of Marx' thought was incomplete. For excellent discussion see Shlomo Avineri, The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), "Introduction."

¹Lichtheim, Marxism in Modern France, section "From Proudhon to Sorel."

²Ibid., pp. 14-15.

was necessarily eclectic, embodying as it did elements of all these traditions. There had been from the beginning a strong libertarian tradition, lacking in the contemporary German movement.¹ Proudhon was never forgotten, and the desire to incorporate some part of his heritage has been the distinguishing trait of French socialism, (as distinct from Communism) down to the present day.² From Paul Brousse and the other leaders of the moderate minority wing of the Commune, to Jaurès, and--in neighboring Belgium--from Caesar de Paepe to Vandervelde, the effort was obstinately pursued. Men like Brousse and Malon, who tried to find a middle ground between Marxist centralism and Proudhonist pluralism, were no less important than Guesde and Lafargue on the other wing. They have not received their due. To present-day Communists, they are suspect as "reformists." To academic historians they are a puzzle, notably outside France, where the filiation of ideas from Saint-Simon via Proudhon to Marx is seldom understood. In consequence the formative period between 1880 and 1905, when the French labor movement by way of innumerable splits, dissensions, and doctrinal quarrels worked out its characteristic attitude to the major issues of state and society, tends to be treated as a mere propaedeutic to the political upheavals that followed. Yet for anyone concerned with the manner in which basic attitudes (as distinct from mere ideological notions) determine the character of political movements, these years are crucial, for it was then that French socialism received the stamp it has never lost."

German Socialism--contrary to Lichtheim's insights-- did manifest, between 1891 and 1896 especially, the same soul-searching analysis and ideological splits as its French counterpart. The intellectual appropriation of the critical thought

¹This is Lichtheim's error and at the very heart of this writer's intention to demonstrate. When a more substantial assessment of the "Jungen" and their importance will be available, it will show that a great congruence of French and German developments, so that one may be able to show a European development at the fin de siècle. Landauer will then have to emerge in the history of European Socialism, as he already does in the History of European Anarchism as a seminal ideologue.

²Landauer the great Proudhon translator brought this tradition to Germany. Excellent in this context Peter Heintz Die Autoritätsproblematik bei Proudhon (Köln: Verlag für Politik und Wissenschaft, 1956).

of Proudhon, Marx Bakunin, Stirner, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche shook the German Socialist movement to the core. What has rarely been realized, however, is the central role which Proudhon played in the German debate. It is really with the person of Gustav Landauer that both Kropotkin¹ and Proudhon entered the German libertarian tradition² as a result of his formidable contribution as a translator of their writings. An anthology of translations of Proudhon's work by Landauer had once been projected, but this, too, now awaits the enthusiasm of twentieth century social scientists. In addition to stressing the role which Landauer played in making the French Proudhon accessible to a German-reading public, it is important to note that he himself had great affinities to Proudhonism and Proudhon's basic approaches to the definition of social problems and to their solution. Most of the preserved Proudhon translations are to be found in Landauer's own Sozialist of the years after 1909,³ in a period in which

¹For Landauer's translations of works of Kropotkin, see "Gustav Landauer's Works" as identified by this writer. Translation of socio-economic essays of Kropotkin by Landauer, already began in 1895 (see list of Landauer essays and translations identified by this writer), showing again that Landauer made it a point to "encounter" the thinking of definitive social reformers at a very young age.

²Benedict Friedländer, Gustav Landauer's mentor, specifically stated in his work on Dühring, Der freiheitliche Sozialismus, p. 104, that he was not acquainted with the original of Proudhon's work: "Ich bemerke, dass ich die Werke Proudhon's im Original nicht kenne." Men considered Proudhonians at the end of the century were Ludwig Pfau and Arthur Mülberger, though the History of German Socialism has given very limited prominence to their importance. Dühring stressed Proudhon.

³See List of Landauer's essays after 1909, but especially

his definitions of anarcho-socialism had well passed the stage of formulation and had entered into their ultimate refinement. Though in hindsight Landauer considered himself a perennial Proudhonian, the disciplined work of translation and perhaps ultimate evaluation was to be a product of the mature years.

What is, however, more to the point of interest than whether Landauer's social philosophy was built upon or was built parallel to that of Proudhon is the very affinity between them. Just as the Proudhonian system was briefly to engage the Congresses of the First International between 1864 and 1869,¹ so Landauer's attempt to arouse the attention of the 1893 and 1896 Congresses of the Second International was to prove of historical interest but was to remain theoretical. In both instances, current interpretations of Marxism won out.²

A cursory review of the affinities of the two thinkers, which were already well-spelled out in Landauer's thought and activities in the formative years 1892-1896 would be subsumed under the general topics of anti-authoritarianism,³ creative

in 1909: from *Idée générale*, from the letters on education, etc., 1910; almost all translations in *Sozialist* are from Proudhon, 1911: translations are from Proudhon's journal, *Le Peuple*; 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915 formidable excerpts thought to be in remarkably excellent style.

¹Julius Braunthal, *History of the International 1864-1914*, Vol. I, Chapter, "Ideological and Political Problems in the International," pp. 120-141.

²James Joll, *The Second International 1889-1914*, "The Struggle with the Anarchists," pp. 56-76.

³Differentiate between authoritarian and anarchist thinking as contemporary sociologists and psychologists differentiate between authoritarian and autonomous free (or liberated)

affirmation of life,¹ aversion to system and systematization,² negation and revolt as revolutionary activity,³ paradoxical and polarized thinking as life-sustaining activity.⁴ It is

personality. In this and subsequent footnotes, writer follows insightful discussion. Peter Heintz, Die Autoritätsproblematik bei Proudhon pp. 9-11, pp. 176-177, pp. 209-210. On authenticity and sincerité, see p. 181.

¹Ibid., p. 11. La caractéristique essentielle de Proudhon, par opposition au monisme hegelien, est l'affirmation constante, dans le monde moral comme dans le monde physique . . . (quoted from Armand Cuvillier). Or p. 23, from Lucien Maury: "Il est un révolutionnaire pur, c'est à-dire l'homme qui envisage le réel en sa profondeur mouvante, déjà étrangère au présent, l'homme qui souhaite, prévoit, annonce une transformation nécessaire, inévitable et pour ainsi dire radicale des mœurs, des institutions et de l'individu." On "federalism" and "mutualism" which follow from this conception, see p. 178. Also relevant, "La société, c'est l'infini" (p. 44).

²Ibid., p. 7: "Le proudhonisme n'est pas un système, une idéologie aux articulations nettes; c'est plutôt un certain ton, une certaine expérience professionnelle, une certaine attitude devant la vie." Rejected systematization in his work, see p. 190.

³Much as in Camus' *L'homme révolté* (quoted by Heintz, p. 195): "Si elle (la révolte) veut une révolution, elle la veut en faveur de la vie, non contre elle." Proudhon as "philosopher of revolution," came to proclaim revolution; this his life's purpose. His revolution is an anarchistic revolution, brings about the self-consciousness of the people, and their ultimate sense of freedom, their sovereignty, their sense of responsibility. Revolt is freeing in its loneliness and its tragedy and suffering. (Though not clearly spelled out--suggestion of redemptive quality of painful revolt.) Suggestion of a "permanent, perpetual revolution," linked to vitalism, p. 195. Suggestive, p. 42: "Die dialektische Umkehr der Geschichte, der eigentliche Entwicklungsschritt ist durch die Revolte bedingt. Die Revolte ist ein Stoß ins Unbekannte, zu dem sich jener Mensch entschließen kann, der sich in einer verzweifeltsten Lage befindet." In very early "existentialist" language, predating Camus by 100 years, "Diese Verzweiflung trägt das Mass der Revolte in sich selbst, und dieses Mass ist das Humane als solches," p. 43. Revolution is destruction and recreation, p. 44. Also l'esprit de révolte of French Revolution, see p. 212.

⁴His sense of paradox is based on a conception of

the mood and the structure of the dialectic itself in both Proudhon and Landauer which made both of these thinkers-- for a short time--powerful intellectual alternatives to the various "Marxisms" which were later to carry the day of mass-party successes. It has been suggested that Proudhon was the "father of anarchism." For the German anarchist hegemony, Landauer was a strong rival.

Central to the questions of anarchist-socialism in which Gustav Landauer, much as another German-Jew, Moses Hess,¹ was to be influenced by French "activist thinking," was the area of money and land-rents, among the most basic questions of modern economic reform.

The "activism" of these circles based itself on new formulations of "Socialist Action" (Die That), "Socialist Society" and "Socialist Community or Communalism." Landauer took an active part in the 1895 founding of the Consumers

perpetual fluidity, movement, change, and metamorphosis; see Heintz, p. 168: "Nous ne marchons pas à une perfection idéale, à un état définitif, qu'il dépendrait de nous d'atteindre en un moment, en fraissant par la mort l'intervalle qui nous en sépare. Nous sommes emportés avec l'univers dans une métamorphose incessante . . ." Also, we find anarchism and libertarianism coupled--as is often suggested for Landauer--as "mysticism": "La conscience qu'avait Proudhon du mystère de choses, impossible à pénétrer entièrement par la raison, a même conduit certains commentateurs à parler de son 'mysticisme'" (quoted from G. Guy-Grand by Heintz on p. 193). Mysticism here follows definition of resolution of opposites or normally paradoxical states or conditions. On his paradoxical treatment of fear and hope, see p. 20. Characteristic "Lire Proudhon, c'est vivre avec lui dans l'angoisse de la contradiction" (quoted, p. 20). In the name of Buber from Pfade in Utopia, p. 48, "Proudhon war ein Mann, der die Kraft und den Mut hatte, sich in den Widerstand zu setzen und ihn auszuhalten."

¹Frits Kool und Werner Krause (ed), Die Frühen Sozialisten (Olten: Walter Verlag, 1967), p. 62.

Cooperative, "Befreiung" (note the striking name for a relatively ordinary association), convinced by this time that only gradualism and immediate economic action would build working-class solidarity.¹ Aware that French syndicalism was not a genuine German alternative,² Landauer then, as later, always joined or created a social medium to carry his ideology forward. In a very real sense his affiliation with Der Sozialist, die Freie Neue Volksbühne, the Consumers' Cooperative Befreiung, his first marriage to a proletarian in the anarchist movement, his activism in the 1893 and 1896 World Congresses of the Second International, as well as his three prison terms show quite clearly that Landauer was personally consequent and committed--engagé as the modern French existentialist tradition has it--and that for him the medium itself was always the message. The economic articles in Der Sozialist of the year 1893 on Landagitation,³ and Trade-Union agitation,⁴ in 1895 on Henry George,⁵ and in 1896 on his mentor, Moritz von Egidy,⁶ are all real enough proof of

¹For Landauer's association with consumer cooperative, see Lunn Prophet of Community, pp. 93-103.

²General German situation, see Landauer, Ein Weg zur Befreiung der Arbeiterklasse, 1895. Background, Carl Schorske German Social Democracy (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), pp. 12-14.

³Der Sozialist, June 24, 1893.

⁴Same issue as above.

⁵Der Sozialist, August 17, 1895.

⁶von Egidy was active in the Cooperative Befreiung and the Berlin Freie anarchistic-sozialistische Vereinigung. He

how actively involved Landauer was in the issues of the day that were at the heart of the economic question in a period of bitter restlessness and economic strife. The years 1893-1894 saw genuine misery for all workers; the period from 1895 on, though already part of a general economic upswing, was a time of increasing immiseration for the Berlin textile workers, who comprised a large part of the working force in a basic metropolitan industry. Landauer participated actively in trying to ameliorate these conditions among the needle-trades but became more and more convinced that Kropotkin's union of small handicrafts with communal suburban and rural communal living had much to offer modern technological society. Landauer concentrated attention early to all ideologies promising social betterment. With von Egidy and the Ethical Culturists¹ he engaged in debates on humanist Christianity, pacifism, and Kantian ethical categories; in the company of the free-thinking intellectuals in Friedrichshagen,² Landauer

delighted in the atmosphere of German localism, which found many adherents in romantic-folkish circles and the mood of which Landauer often seemed to share. It is from von Egidy that Landauer received much inspiration for his ideas on participatory democracy and decision-making. They shared a common appreciation of the importance of the "natural," traditional bonds of family, local community, and creative ethnicity about which Landauer began writing after von Egidy's death and after his romantic involvement with his second wife. The January 1899 issue of Der Sozialist reflects the extraordinary love and affection in which Landauer held Egidy.

¹ See Der Sozialist, October 19, 1895, "Christentum and Anarchismus" (Eine Auseinandersetzung mit Egidy).

² For a marvellous recollection and reliving of this period, see Franz Oppenheimer Erlebtes-Erstrebtes-Erreichtes (Berlin: Welt Verlag, 1931), p. 123 on; p. 151 on and also

found that academic discussion about social reform, which he normally would have had as a university student, was denied him after 1893 when the Prussian Ministry of Culture of the University of Berlin barred him from all universities.¹

Though Landauer declined to debate Franz Oppenheimer, except on one occasion, he must have then and later been aware how great a bridge the latter² was in the Germany of that and the next generation to the ideas of Hertzka, (Henry) George, and Dühring (as carried mainly by Benedikt and Emanuel Friedländer). The group around Ernst Busch, composed of humanist anarchists, concentrated on consumer cooperatives³ and abstained

Stefan Grossmann, Ich war begeistert (Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1931), which warmly recaptures the early friendship (later to sour) with Landauer, the latter's proverbial hospitality and vivaciousness--so often the subject of comment by those who felt close to him. Grossmann is excellent in showing the different spirit in the literary clubs and "Kaffeehäuser" of Vienna and Berlin. Extraordinary in its picturesqueness is the description of Landauer's Christ-like appearance, pp. 64-65.

¹Report of political police, August 24, 1893: ". . . wegen Mangel an sittlicher Befähigung ("lack of ethical qualification") in State Archive Potsdam Pr. Br. Rep. 30 Berlin C Polizeipräsidium Tit. 95 Sek. 8 16346 Lit L 29 entitled "Der Schriftsteller Gustav Landauer 1892-1902." This prohibition came after his marriage to Grete Leuschner in Zürich in 1892, several lecture trips to London (one in May 1893), his short-lived editorship of Der Sozialist from March to July 1893, his attendance at and exclusion from the Zurich Congress of the International in the Summer of 1893, his reports of the Congress. He was arrested in October 1893 and charged with incitement on the basis of an article and a report of the Congress.

²For Franz Oppenheimer, see in this connection, his Wege zur Gemeinschaft (Vol. I of Collected Works), (München: Verlag der Hochschulbuchhandlung Max Hueber, 1924) and Soziologische Streifzüge (München: Max Huber Verlag 1927).

³See Oppenheimer, Erlebtes, etc. "Kreise."

from the "Propaganda der That" which the European anarchist movement was championing in active discussion¹ in the mid-nineties to the great horror of city dwellers and the great fear of repressive police agencies, who were able to mount an impressive establishment of security and defense of "Law and Order" in the fin-de-siècle and to the very beginning of the first World War.²

Franz Oppenheimer,³ later collaborator of Theodore Herzl

¹ See Daniel Guérin, Anarchismus (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1969), pp. 74-75, emphasis on Kropotkin as teacher of permanent revolution, "Propaganda der That." Much discussion went on as to whether this activism was pacifistic or revolutionary whether collective revolt was intended or individual acts of sabotage or assassination were needed. The discussion which began in European History with the French Commune activism of 1871 is bounded by the 1905 Russian Revolution, the Kronstadt Rebellion of 1921, and finds its great expression in the Barcelona uprising of 1909. These are revolts which can be said to have had "anarchist ideologies" as leven.

² The Secret Police or Political Police Archives of the Prussian Government as presently kept in Potsdam and Merseburg are examples of the great care and expense to which the modern state is willing and able to go in order to "shadow" subversive or radical elements. There are many reports of communication with the secret service apparati of other European powers.

³ For economic background see his Der Ausweg (Jena: Verlag Gustav Fischer, 1919). Most basic for his political anti-statism is his The State (New York: 1922). Examples of "definitions" which Landauer must have shared, p. IV. "The state may be defined as an organization of one class domination over the other classes. Such class organization can come about in one way only, namely through conquest and subjugation of ethnic groups by the dominating group." Evaluation of his contributions, Franz Oppenheimer in Commemoration of his Hundredth Birthday (Tel Aviv University). Also, G. Kressel, Franz Oppenheimer (Tel Aviv: Yavneh Publishing House, 1972). Important his "Nationalökonomie, Sociologie Anthropologie" in Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft, III, Band Hefte 7 und 8 and 9, 1900.

in the economic planning of the World Zionist movement, projected a systematic program of anti-statism, peaceful land expropriation and "reassignment," abolition of ground rents, "Siedlungsgenossenschaften" (cooperative colonization and settlement, relocation of unemployed workers (and after World War I also veterans), self-help agencies for workers--all in an effort to tide the flow of unskilled farmworkers to the cities and in a parallel effort to repopulate the land and raise agricultural salaries. This "reverse emigration," back to the land, was at the heart of his efforts to abolish capitalism by legal means and change the very economic basis of society and its "government." Deeply committed to voluntarism, individualism and mutualism, Oppenheimer, the first professor to hold a chair in Sociology (University of Frankfurt) was later to put some of these ideas and ideals into practice in the adverse circumstances of the Jewish communal settlements in Palestine.¹ Though Landauer negated the "scientific basis" upon which Oppenheimer, as medical doctor and later academician of social science, argued, he must have profited intellectually to an extraordinary extent from the informed discussion and experimental, social science approach which such path-breakers as Oppenheimer brought into these small "circles" and discussion groups. One may want to argue that though the contribution of Simmel² is widely acknowledged,

¹See Oppenheimer's Co-operative Colonization in Palestine (The Hague: N.D.).

²Georg Simmel, Philosophische Kultur (Potsdam: Gustav

the importance of Oppenheimer's work in many, many areas of political economy and social philosophy in the time of Landauer and way beyond still awaits appreciation and sympathetic evaluation. Efforts have recently been made by the University of Frankfurt to emphasize his importance and an archive is being planned in Frankfurt to gather his corpus.¹

The great Central European literary critic and historian Georg Lukacs, in his famous article "On the Ideology of the German Intellectual in the Imperialist Period," has argued that the whole movement of German literary expressionism is an expression of anarchism or anarcho-socialism. For him this means a romantic protest against bourgeois society, a protest which paradoxically shares the very key ideological assumptions of that society; namely, a belief in radical individualism.² He sees the general ideological revolt expressed in the literary revolt³ and the failure of the revolt of the

Kieperheuer Verlag, 1923) and his Kant und Goethe (Berlin: Bard Marquardt & Co., 1906?). Also his Sociology of Religion (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959). Thesis that religion is based on social relationships. Landauer shared emphasis on community; would have differed somewhat on nature of religious experience. Also important, Kurt Wolff (ed), Essays on Sociology, Philosophy, and Aesthetics (New York: Harper and Row, 1959) and Horst Müller, Lebensphilosophie und Religion bei Georg Simmel (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1960) and well as Hans Liebeschütz, Von Georg Simmel zu Franz Rosenzweig (Tubingen: J. C. B. Mohr Verlag, 1970).

¹Franz Oppenheimer zum Gedächtnis (Frankfurter Universitätsreden) (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann Verlag, 1964).

²Essay from "Sociologie de la littérature" quoted by George A. Huaco "Ideology and Literature," New Literary History, Vol. IV, #3, Spring 1973.

³See his Deutsche Literatur im Zeitalter des Imperialismus, pp. 12-34.

"Jungen" (especially) as signaling the end of the socialist wave in literature in general.¹ Further still, he argues, in the period after Bismarck, true democrats should be considered as "the last of the Mohicans." Radical as these statements may be about the period itself, they do hold within them a set of significant insights, which also apply to key utopian figures in the period, like Landauer. The establishment and the anti-establishment shared hidden intellectual assumptions and also shared not-so-hidden tactics. The bourgeois Gustav Landauer in the formative years under discussion was distinctly unbourgeois in his life-style even as he wrote in the highly elitist literary style of the individualistic literati, mirroring with ease and enjoyment all of those privileges which came with an elitist university education and with the sometimes strangely-free political expression which was the peculiar characteristic of "repressive" Wilhelminian Germany. This coming together of centrifugal tendencies is perhaps best illustrated in the letters which Landauer sent from prison² which show how on the one hand he had time to study freely and express himself in letters,³ on the other hand how viciously the

¹Ibid., p. 19.

²Aus meinem Gefängnis-Tagebuch in Der Sozialistische Akademiker I, 1895, Hefte 13-18 (Five installments). Der Sozialistische Akademiker is identified as Organ der sozialistischen Studirenden und Studirten deutscher Zunge. (Note well the aristocratic character of the publication; not only academic students but also academic graduates.)

³Landauer in October and December 1893 was cited for agitation and incitement to revolutionary action. He spent the period from November 1893 to October 1894 in prison. During

authorities punished all seditious and even potentially radical expression. Most significant is the police characterization of Landauer as a force in and philosopher of radical socialism as it was given to the court at the time of Landauer's trial in November 1893. This period was one of general "crackdown" on the editors of Der Sozialist, though the "great catch" was always Landauer himself. During the years 1893 and 1894, some sixteen editors were imprisoned; the term of "responsible" (verantwortlicher oder unterschreibender Redakteur) editor usually lasted two to three months. The idealism of the men often lasted through two imprisonments, rarely more. In spite of the fact that terrorism was never condoned in Der Sozialist, the authorities were interested in innuendo and style of writing as well as in the type of agitation which might arise out of the public appearances of such radicals as Landauer at the various "Volksversammlungen" which were conducted prior to and after the World Conferences of the International in London in 1893, since the main pitch was against parliamentarism and for revolutionary action (whatever that meant to Landauer and his colleagues).

The Political Police of Prussia¹ saw in Landauer the

that period his first daughter was born to Grete Leuschner; named Charlotte, she was later to become the wife of Dr. Max Kronstein. Another daughter was born to Grete Leuschner Landauer, who died in infancy. On the conditions in prison, he wrote: "Ich lese Bücher, Zeitungen, das Essen ist nicht schlecht, ich kann schreiben . . ."

¹See Potsdam State Archives Pr. Br. Rep. 30, Berlin C Polizei Präs. 16346 Der Schriftsteller Gustav Landauer 1892-1902 "Landauer ist in ganz Deutschland der bedeutenste Agitator der radical-revolutionären Bewegung. In zahlreichen Versammlungen und als geistiger Leiter des Sozialist hat er in radical-revolutionärem Sinne agitiert und seinem Einfluss ist es zu danken, dass die zahmen Elemente der Jungenbewegung sich von den radicalen

leading agitator of the radical-revolutionary movement. They viewed him as the "spiritual leader" of the "Young Socialists" ("Die Jungen") who had bolted the German Social-Democratic party in a reformist spirit but who were being increasingly radicalized by Landauer's agitation, critical essays in Der Sozialist, and outspoken anti-Establishment speeches at public forums. The Police cited¹ Landauer's election as delegate to the 1893 International Congress in Zurich and his extraordinary talent at calling an anarchist "Anti-Congress" when the "Jungen" were expelled by the "Alten" of the German Party. It was further pointed out that the Italian anarchist Merlinov and the "Nihilist und Schriftsteller" Kropotkin had confidence in Landauer. The court cited especially an article written by Landauer, in which the people were asked to gather themselves and ready themselves for self-help and to cease being wage-slaves.²

It was held against Landauer that he was an agitator, that he was committed to the overthrow of the existing order.³ It was

loslössten und dass die radicalen Elemente wieder sich mit der anarchistischen zu einer vereinigten, "Further": Wie der Sozialist nun gemeinsames Organ der radicalen "Jungen" und Anarchisten wurde, eine radicale Schreibweise annahm, so ging die ganze radical-revolutionäre Bewegung in ein radicaleres Fahrwasser über."

¹"Dieses Vertrauen hat er auch m.E. gerechtfertigt und gezeigt, dass er nebenbei auch ein organisatorisches Talent ist; denn nachdem die Anarchisten und Jungen vom Congress der "Alten" ausgeschlossen waren, organisierte Landauer mit grosser Schnelligkeit und Geschwindigkeit einen Nebencongress der Ausgewiesenen Elemente."

² . . . "sich aufzuraffen und zur Selbsthilfe zusammen zu thun. . . ." "Ihr seid Lohnsklaven, seid es nicht mehr." (Cited from Sozialist, July 8, 1893.)

³The article in the July 1893 Sozialist, which was the main material used against Landauer at the trial closed with these characteristic, poetic lines:

significantly pointed out that he was not yet a "Propagandist der That" as the terrorist element was known to the authorities. An important summary which the police recorded of his August 23 and 29, 1893 speeches listed these items: Landauer thinks that the present social order is unjust, that in the future social order all men are to have equal social property (Landauer always believed as did Proudhon that limited property was to be held by all) that "mass action" such as mass strike and revolution would bring about a new order, that he would not plan any "Propagandä der That, but that he would not condemn such, that the existing order should be put down with all means possible, that the proletariat must be "shaken up," that reform only enslaves the proletariat further.

The report further cited that Landauer agitated against the bourgeoisie in a period of great social and economic differentiation and that there was always the possibility because of his academic education and his ability as an orator that he would sway his companions to revolutionary action.

It is in prison¹ that Landauer defined the next stage of his own social activism, came to grips with those aspects of terrorist anarchism,² which he was to negate for the rest

"Wenn die Fürsten nicht mehr regieren
 Und die Führer nicht mehr führen
 Wenn die Kirchenglocken lauten
 Und die Ausbeuter nicht ausbeuten
 Wenn das Privateigentum nicht mehr privat ist
 Unterdrückend nicht mehr der Staat ist
 Sind die Herren nicht mehr Herrn
 Dann ist das Paradies nicht fern."

¹ He read Turgenev, Kielland, E. de Goncourt, Shelley, Borne, Fritz Reuter, Nietzsche, Stirner.

² Landauer's formulation of the relation between freedom, goodness, and anarchism was also reflected in the way in which he read the lives of the great anarchists such as Bakunin. To him Bakunin is largely the lonely pessimist, the resigned man of integrity and authenticity who already in 1849 said "Alles

of his life, threw off the idolization of the heroic in Nietzsche¹--to which his contemporaries were so addicted--wrote a short romantic novel,² reacted against a scientifically grounded ethics,³ and kept himself generally

wird untergehen, nur die Neunte Symphonie wird bleiben." Landauer took from him one main guideline, as he stated, this was "Das Leben an eine Idee zu setzen." Bakunin's life, according to Landauer, can be summed up with "Sturm und Leben," his significance lay in his heroism, the cleanness of his fight and of means, his appeal to the nameless strong of all generations. He represents the heritage of a past period: the period of the deed. This period has given way to the period of "business" and activity. "Es wird gebaut, aber ohne schaffende Lust." (For all this in greater detail see Landauer's "Nachwort" in Max Nettlau's Michael Bakunin, Berlin: Verlag von Paul Pawlowitsch, 1901).

¹See his "Aus meinem Gefängnis-Tagebuch" in Der Sozialistische Akademiker, p. 319. "Idealist war ich immer, Idealist bin ich und das will ich bleiben. Amen. Nietzsche in Ehren, aber es ist nichts mit der Bosheit, ich kann es nicht. Güte, grosse, unendliche Güte--das thut uns noth, und die will heute so warm aus mir hinausstromen in alle Welt." This is a strong committed statement for an imprisoned man to write.

²Arnold Himmelheber, published in Macht und Mächte, 1903.

³Suggestive in flipness: "Kant war nur in Schopenhauers Bureau als Vorarbeiter beschäftigt. Schopenhauer aber war ein ganz Grosser, mit dem man sich wundervoll herumzanken kann." More serious, p. 239, "Lieber Schatz, Du musst Dostojewsky's Idioten lesen da findest Du-Liebe, mehr als im Neuen Testament, das nicht mehr sonderlich zu uns spricht. Ich habe es hier, es hat mich allzuviel kalt gelassen . . . Unsere Weltanschauung ist nicht Wissenschaft, nicht Theorie, nicht blos Kopf--sie ist Leben, Herz-Liebe. Und Stirner und Mackay und Nietzsche? . . . Auch sie sind Liebende, nur schämen sie sich, und verstecken ihr Herz hinter ihrem Kopf." (p. 258) His real contempt, freely flowing, is lavished on the "deutsche Gesellschaft fuer ethische Kultur (Tugendbund)" which had then sponsored an essay contest for a handbook of ethics which would "auf wissenschaftlicher Grundlage" give instruction to parents how to teach ethics to their children. Landauer in the non-too-poetic language of a twenty-four year old let out his genuine venom on the ethical culture movement (p. 343). All page references to "Aus meinem Gefängnis-Tagebuch," Sozialistischer Akademiker, 1895 (reprinted from his 1893-1894 handwritten manuscript).

cheerful, an ability which was to stand him in good stead. It is correct to say with Lunn that these years need to be studied; less correct to explain that "the full definition of his romantic socialism was spelled out only in the last twelve years of his life, 1907-1919."¹ The period between 1893-1900 was devoted to a systematic definition of what anarchism was to be and was not to be,² a systematic collaboration in the philosophical and linguistic work³ of Fritz Mauthner⁴ which absorbed Landauer from 1895 til the 1903

¹Lunn, Prophet of Community, p. 15.

²See in Der Sozialist: July 29 and August 5, 1893 essays, "An den Züricher Kongress" (which became also Flugschriften), August 26, 1893, "Der Züricher Kongress," September 2, 1893, "Anarchismus im Detail"; further "Der Anarchismus in Deutschland," Die Zukunft, 5. Jan. 1895; "Anarchismus-Sozialismus," Der Sozialistische Akademiker, Band II, 1896; "Anarchistenhetze in Spanien," Sozialistische Monatshefte I, 1897; also the much-publicized indictment of German-Social Democracy from an anarchist perspective, published as a monograph, Social Democracy in Germany (London, 1896) which was delivered as the report of the radical, libertarian section of the Independent German Socialists at the 1896 International Congress of the International in London, in 1896. Later still "Anarchische Gedanken über den Anarchismus" in Die Zukunft, 1901, 37. Band. The 1896 Congress, as the 1893 Congress before it, rejected the anarchists, ousted them, and Landauer again created an anti-Congress of libertarians and anarchists.

³Early Landauer appreciations of Mauthner: "Fritz Mauthner," Die Zukunft 29. Band, 1899; "Mauthner's Sprachkritik," Die Zukunft, 35. Band, 1901; "Die Welt als Zeit," Die Zukunft, 39. Band, 1902; summary position on Sprachkunst, "Zur Kritik der Sprachkunst," Kritik der Kritik, 2. Band, 1908. On Landauer's own researches on philosophy, mysticism and language as based on Mauthner, see Skepsis und Mystik.

⁴For this study of relevance, Fritz Mauthner (Prager Jugendjahre (München: Georg Müller, 1918) (extraordinarily sensitive reportage on the youth of a middle-class Bohemian-Czech Jew at the fin de siècle), his Die Sprache (Frankfurt am Main: Rütten & Loening, 1906) in the series which Buber edited for Die Gesellschaft, in which Simmel's book, on Die

publication of his own Skepsis und Mystik, and a systematic "redefinition" and redirection of Landauer's personal life as he separated from Grete Leuschner Landauer¹ and built lasting ties to his second-wife-to-be, Hedwig Lachmann.²

Religion, Landauer's Die Revolution, Sombart's Das Proletariat, Bernstein's Der Streik, J.J. David's Die Zeitung, Wirth's Der Weltverkehr, Calwel's Der Handel (and others) also appeared; his Drei Bilder der Welt (Erlangen: Verlag der Philosophischen Akademie, 1925; his Beiträge zu einer Kritik der Sprache, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1901-1903); important but less so for Landauer, his Wörterbuch der Philosophie (München: Georg Müller, 1910). For Mauthner's importance see Gershon Weiler Mauthner's Critique of Language (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970) and Allan Janik and Stephen Toulmin Wittgenstein's Vienna (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973), especially the chapter entitled, "Language, Ethics, and Representation."

¹See letters to Hedwig Lachmann in Landauer Nachlass, Institute, Amsterdam, and letters which Buber published in Vol. I of Lebensgang in Briefen.

²Born in 1865 (five years older than Gustav Landauer) the daughter of a cantor in Schwaben, Hedwig Lachmann had been courted by the great German poet, Richard Dehmel. Harry Slochower, Richard Dehmel: der Mensch und der Denker (Dresden: Carl Reissner Verlag, 1928). (Franz Oppenheimer married Dehmel's sister.) A poetess and famous translator in her own right, Hedwig Lachmann was to go with Landauer to London to escape idle gossip and to return with him to Berlin to give birth to their first daughter and then to marry him. Conveniently, Landauer had been spared a difficult divorce by the death of Grete Leuschner Landauer from tuberculosis. Hedwig Lachmann Landauer took the daughter of the first marriage into her new home, and herself became the mother of two daughters, Gudula and Brigitte. All three survived their mother's death in 1918. Landauer wrote a report of his wife's death, published as Privatdruck and entitled Wie Hedwig Lachmann starb.

Catalogue of die Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin-Ost, (in its excellent catalogue), lists the following entries for Hedwig Lachmann: Gesammelte Gedichte (Eigenes und Nachdichtung, Potsdam: 1919); (Note that this date is posthumous for her and possibly for Gustav Landauer, no note is found anywhere on who edited this anthology.) The following translations by her: Balzac, Honoré de, Facino und Sarasine (Leipzig: Insel Bucherei, 1912) and his Die Frau von dreissig

The period immediately before the turn of the century and after in the life of Gustav Landauer also showed him as

Jahren (Weimar: 1916), Franklin, Benjamin: Jugenderinnerungen (Leipzig: Insel Verlag: 1917), Malory, Sir Thomas Der Tod Arthur's (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1913), Napoleon's Briefe (Leipzig: 1912), Poe, Edgar Allan, Works (Vol. 6) in collaboration with Hedda Moeller-Bruck (Minden: 1911-1914). (His Works were continued by her alone and published 1914-1922.) Strauss, David, Krieg und Frieden (1915). Strauss, Richard, Salome (Berlin: 1905, Berlin and Paris: 1910-1911, Leipzig: 1907, and Berlin: 1955), and in collaboration with Gustav Landauer, Oscar Wilde's Das Bild des Dorian Grey (Leipzig: 1909). Alone, Wilde's Das Granatappelhaus, published in 1923.

S. Winger in Grosse Jüdische National-Biography reports that she translated Swinburne in 1891, as well as the Hungarian poets, Petöfi, Vörösmarty, and Joseph Kiss. Winger also links her to a publication of Drei politische Schriften Friedrich des Grossen in 1912. Famous are her "Lied der Mutter," "Auswanderer," and appreciation of her husband. It is to her influence that his later warmth for Jewish causes is cited; but this is probably not correct. The reverse is more likely, namely that his estrangement from his proletarian, non-intellectual, Christian wife made him return to a more bourgeois, educated, Jewish environment to seek a second wife. The fact that Hedwig Landauer was self-supporting and moved in learned circles is also not to be discounted as an influence, especially since in 1899, when the two absented themselves for the suburbs of London to lead a life of study and love, Landauer had spent his third session in jail, after the Ziethen Prozess.

Born in Stolp (Pomerania), Hedwig passed an examination for teacher of language in 1880 in Augsburg, taught in England in 1882, and spent the years 1885-1888 in Dresden and Budapest, settling in 1889 in Berlin. Her cosmopolitan background and mature wisdom and great devotion to Landauer were to fascinate him all of his life. Visits to Krumbach in Schwaben, where her father had been a cantor, made it possible for Landauer to reach out often to a locale in Germany, which he loved greatly. There were, then, many natural points of contact which Landauer's biographer's have missed or of which they were not aware. Hedwig Lachmann engaged both the heart, mind, and Lebensstil of Gustav Landauer.

a philosophical utopian¹ and libertarian journalist² within another context. Landauer aspired to create new men. In this connection he sought to change the conditions of society wherever and whenever that was possible. Having been imprisoned once more in 1896 for radical activities and agitation,³ Landauer, on the whole, was more careful, except in 1898, at which time he courted arrest and martyrdom to recreate a Dreyfus-type⁴ agitation on behalf of an innocently-sentenced man. Landauer provoked the authorities in an effort to obtain justice, and saw himself as a German Zola. It was this last term in prison, which carried Landauer over to the twentieth century, his second marriage, the collaboration with Mauthner, and which marked the termination of Der Sozialist in 1899. The man who, in 1901 took residence in a London suburb to start a set of new tasks was fully mature.

¹"Zukunftsmenschen," Die Zukunft, 31. Band, 1900; Das Reich der Erfüllung (Leipzig: Eugen Diederichs, 1901); "Ein Wort über Weltanschauung," Der arme Teufel, 1902; "Die neue Welterkenntnis," Die Kultur, 1 Jahr, Heft 10, 1902.

²Der Fall Ziethen: Ein Appell an die öffentliche Meinung (Berlin: Verlag von Hugo Metscher, 1898).

³See Buber's notes in Ein Lebensgang, Vol. I. See also Potsdam State Archives Pr.Br.Rep.30 C Polizei Präs. 16346 Der Schriftsteller Gustav Landauer 1892-1902.

⁴See his essay "Der Dichter als Ankläger," mentioned by Buber, Lebensgang, p. 37.

Gustav Landauer 1900-1919

GUSTAV LANDAUER 1900-1919

The period 1900 to 1914 saw the emergence of the mature personality and the mature work of Gustav Landauer. He established a settled and reasonably secure family life and devoted himself to his writing and his organizational activity. It is in this period that he emerged as a leading social thinker, reformer and utopian¹ and established his reputation as leading socialist-anarchist² theoretician. Much of what had previously been experimental and youthful, solidified, and matured and deepened. The concern with and interest in the social thinkers of different national backgrounds was shown in translations. New friendships and relationships were built--suitable to both Landauer and his sensitive and educated wife. The period of 1915 to 1919 saw the emergence of Landauer as Shakespeare critic and revolutionary activist.

¹Suggestive in this connection are the conceptions of "Sozialutopien," "technische Utopien," "architektonische Utopien," "geographische Utopien" in Ernst Bloch Das Prinzip Hoffnung, Zweiter Band (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 1955). Also important Frank E. Manuel Utopias and Utopian Thought (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967); George Kateb (ed.) Utopia (New York: Atherton Press, 1971); Karl Kränzle Utopie und Ideologie: Gesellschaftskritik und politisches Engagement im Werk Ernst Blochs (Bern: Verlag Herbert Lang & Cie, 1970).

²For periods earlier than Landauer, see Max Nettlau Der Vorfrühling der Anarchie (Ihre historische Entwicklung von den Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1864) (Berlin: Verlag Der Syndikalist, 1925) and the same author's Der Anarchismus von Proudhon zu Kropotkin (Seine historische Entwicklung in den Jahren 1859-1880) (Glashütten im Taunus: Verlag Detlev Auvermann, 1972).

To see the mature Landauer it is best to move from conclusion to chronicle.

In a 1914 debate with one of his critics, Landauer received the suggestion to cut himself up in several pieces and have each piece of himself act independently.¹ The pieces which are listed as possible viable entities of the whole man are that of a social-democratic delegate or parliamentarian, that of a radical editor, that of "theosophist" with an enthusiastic following, that of a "monist," and that of an organizer of communal settlements. In the memoirs of his sometime-friend, Stefan Grossmann, in which Landauer is picturesquely remembered at the turn of the century as "lost in reality--permanently lost" ("So war er: in die Wirklichkeit verirrt, so ist er geblieben"),² it is suggested that he would have become one of Germany's leading university professors, had he had the opportunity to be one. Erich Mühsam, one of his most devoted devotés, who cried out, "my friend and leader, my teacher and comrade,"³ when informed in prison on May 6, 1919

¹ Helmut Rüdiger, Gustav Landauer: Worte der Würdigung (Darmstadt: Die freie Gesellschaft, 1951?), p. 14.

² Stefan Grossmann, Ich war begeistert, p. 65.

³ Erich Mühsam, Tagebücher, Microfilm III 3051, item #9 (from Gorki Archive Moscow, copies Literatur Archive, Akademie der Künste, Berlin-Ost). Acknowledgement is made to the Ministry of the Interior of the German Democratic Republic for permission to visit and utilize these materials; to the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, especially to Dr. Jerome Hochbaum and Dr. Arnulf Pins--for a research grant to complete this research and to Mr. Horst Schurig and Ms. Gerda Weissenfels of the Akademie der Künste for expeditiously making the microfilm available at some inconvenience to themselves.

that Landauer had been brutally murdered, saw Landauer as the perennial revolutionary.¹

When in March 1919 the German Socialist-Zionist organizations on the inspiration of Buber²--significantly in the very middle and height of the Bavarian Revolution--wanted to call a special conference to clarify their relation to socialist settlement in Palestine, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, still prominent in 1974 as President of the World Zionist Organization, invited Gustav Landauer to read a definitive paper ("Referat") on the problem of the centralized and decentralized society, on the question of nationalization of the land, and on the nature of industry and international exchange in a projected Jewish socialist state.³ The very choice of Landauer, who was not affiliated in any way with Zionist organizations, was significant. Much more significant was the choice of subject matter assigned to Landauer for definitive discussion. It is an indication of the seriousness with which Landauer's "utopianism" as a program and blueprint was treated by those

¹Most scholarly of his summaries on Landauer is his "Der revolutionäre Mensch Gustav Landauer," Fanal (his own journal, "Organ der Anarchistischen Vereinigung," largely written by him) 3.Jahrg. No. 8, 1929.

²It is always maintained that Martin Buber was extraordinarily busy with philosophy and religion and theology in the revolutionary period, writing his I and Thou. This may have to be historically modified somewhat.

³Letter from Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Berlin, to Gustav Landauer, München (interestingly addressed to Hotel Wolff, Arnulfstrasse) dated March 14, 1919, in Buber Archive, Landauer Nachlass, National and Hebrew University Library, Jerusalem. Ms.Ver. 432,167,8. Acknowledgement for xerox to Mrs. Margot Cohen.

Jewish socialist circles of the time, who were attempting to build in modern Palestine a voluntaristic, mutualistic, "free" society, that he of all available conscious Jews should have been invited to address this gathering. Just as it had not been an obvious choice for Theodore Herzl to choose Franz Oppenheimer as his socio-economic advisor, so Gustav Landauer would not seem, on first analysis, to have been the likeliest collaborator for Nahum Goldmann's conference. When, however, one reads closely in the letter¹--and between the lines of the letter--inviting Landauer, one realizes that the very "utopia" about which these Jewish intellectuals were dreaming, had a close affinity to the social constructs with which Landauer's name had become associated both in Germany and abroad as a result of his writings and his political activities.

It would, in hindsight, be correct to follow out Mühsam's anarchist-libertarian insight and to conclude that if Trotsky was the foremost twentieth-century theorist of the "permanent revolution," Landauer was the greatest philosopher of "the permanent revolutionary" of the twentieth century.² Or if one were to follow out the logical implications of the thinking

¹"Wir sind uns hier alle in dem Wunsche einig, dass die Siedlung nach den Prinzipien einer dezentralisierten Gemeinschaftsordnung aufgebaut werde, in der der Schwerpunkt bei den Einzelgemeinden liegt, in denen die Menschen in unmittelbarer Beziehung zueinander leben können." Also, "Die Wenigsten von uns sind Marxisten in dem Sinne, dass sie eine Vergesellschaftung der Produktionsmittel verlangen. Uns allen schwebt so etwas wie eine genossenschaftlich organisierte Fabrik vor, an der die Arbeiter ebenso wie der Unternehmer beteiligt sind . . ."

²This would be this writer's own conclusions.

of the German-Jewish utopian socialists of the period, one could conclude equally correctly that Landauer's populist utopianism by the end of his life in 1919 had become the most suggestive "blueprint" for utopia since Hertzka's Freiland of the 19th century. It is of some importance to recapture historically within a context different from the ones used by present-day scholars,¹ who have written on Landauer, how the contemporaries of the mature Landauer saw his role, his path, his influence and his teaching in the two decades of the twentieth century. For it is, as the late Mühsam correctly concluded, Landauer, the "permanent revolutionary," who is transmitted in the history of twentieth century anarchism; and it is Landauer, the utopian par excellence, as Goldmann sensed correctly, whom the history of twentieth century libertarian socialism will some day have to recall to legitimacy.

What is so unique in Mühsam's friend, the perennial revolutionary, is Landauer's conception of "orderly freedom": "Anarchism is order (created) by "free Bünde."² Landauer tried to create voluntary structures and human relationships in a hopeful and optimistic mood, even as he existentially was aware that the ultimate materialization and reification of society³ had brought Death to genuine humaneness.⁴

¹ Kalz, Gustav Landauer; Lunn, Prophet of Community; Maurer, Call to Revolution.

² Mühsam, "Der revolutionäre Mensch Gustav Landauer," p. 170.

³ Shades of Marx and Max Weber.

⁴ Mühsam, "Der revolutionäre" pp. 170-171. Mühsam uses the words "vorausleben," "vorausstreben," and "vorausdenken" in reference to Landauer.

What is equally unique in Landauer's quest for change and freedom is his understanding that there is no permanent structure possible, that no one social order, no one social class, no one social theory is final, definitive, or permanent. All revolutionary movements must rise from the bottom, must have small beginnings, and may be condemned to minimal results. There is nothing inevitable about revolution and socialism; they must not come; they may come and they should come, but they may come to be lost again and to be refound,¹ in an endless cycle of rebirths and what one may want to call "redeaths." It has never been suggested before, but may be helpful to point out at this juncture, that Landauer in his conception of "revolution"² may have been deeply influenced by and indebted to Eastern Oriental patterns of thought that entered German philosophy with Schopenhauer. The idea of perennial recurrence is not a form within which most Western social scientists framed their conceptions of social improvement. Landauer called for the significant, small deed and the spontaneity of concrete individualistic action and single acts.

What is unique in the ideologue whom Goldmann invited for a conference which never took place, is Landauer's three-fold emphasis on the nature of economic evil³ in modern society:

¹Best summary uniqueness of Landauer's thought Diego A. de Santillan, in Gustav Landauer: Worte der Würdigung. de Santillan translated Landauer's Aufruf zum Sozialismus in 1931 and published a second Spanish edition in 1947 (Incitacion al socialismo).

²Die Revolution (Frankfurt am Main: Rütten & Loenig, 1919).

³See his Aufruf zum Sozialismus (Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1967.).

1) private ownership of land, 2) money as a means of exchange, and 3) economic surplus ("Mehrwert"). It is these that lie at the heart of social slavery and economic exploitation. Not original in his indebtedness to Ricardo, Marx, and Proudhon, Landauer is unique in the combinations which he made and the conclusions which he drew. For his socialism, lacking the scientific basis which he refused to assign it all of his life, was experimental, relative, transitional, and "generational." Undogmatic in its formulation, it did pit itself against the formal dogmatism of class war, the proletariat as the chosen class, and the historical inevitability of social progress.¹

In his search for true community and communality the mature Landauer differentiated three main ones: the relationship to self and one's innermost being, the relationship to the external world--state and society--which is "given" to everyone as his social "reality," and the relationship to that which is yet to come: the creation of free temporary associations of

¹Important conclusion Rüdiger, Gustav Landauer: Worte der Würdigung, p. 24: "Gustav Landauer war der einzige unter den bedeutenden Sozialisten der Epoche vor der 1914 anbrechenden Weltkatastrophe, der die Illusion des materialistischen Entwicklungssozialismus klar durchschaute und die komplizierte geistige Situation der sozialen Erneuerungsbewegung in der zweiten Hälfte des neuen Jahrhunderts vorausahnte. Er trug seine Ablehnung des Marxismus mit einer Leidenschaft vor, die vielleicht damals manchem den Weg zu ihm versperrt haben mag, aber heute, nach 40 Jahren angesichts der fast totalen Auflösung aller herkömmlichen sozialen Begriffe, nach so vielfaltigem Fiasko des Staatssozialismus, verständlicher erscheinen mag als zu seinen Lebzeiten, da er selbst seine engeren Gesinnungsfreunde im anarchistisch-sozialistischen Lager befremdete."

like-minded individuals.¹ It is very significant to note at this juncture that the ideal community and association of free individuals envisaged by Landauer is a temporary one, based on mutual interest.² The very fluidity and spontaneity of the ideal association based on "enlightened self interest" not only showed Landauer to have been--via Goethe--a direct descendant of Spinozism, but demonstrated theoretically what was always true for Landauer practically--that relationships

¹"Durch Absonderung zur Gemeinschaft" in Heinrich und Julius Hart, Das Reich der Erfüllung (Flugschriften zur Begründung einer neuen Weltanschauung) Heft 2 (Leipzig: Eugen Diederichs, 1901). This is Landauer's famous contribution to the work of Die neue Gemeinschaft, which Landauer left in very short order, finding it too speculative, unrealistic, and dream-like. It is important to point out, however, that Landauer always thought in terms of joining and withdrawing or resigning. The tension between being an active leader and a passive follower was one which was never resolved; witness the struggles on the editorial board of the Sozialist in 1893, 1895, and 1899 (valuable for this Linse Organisierter Anarchismus). A similar ability to withdraw with grace, firmness, and realistic appraisal characterized Landauer's relationship to the Forte Kreis, a "Bund" intended to gather like-minded men of good will and peaceful intentions in 1915 at a conference to have been held in Forte, Italy. (Excellent materials never adequately utilized in Landauer Archive, Institute for Social History, Amsterdam and Buber-Landauer Archive, National and Hebrew University Library, Jerusalem.) Landauer's periodic "approaches and withdrawals" to and from small Kreise and Bünde is reminiscent of Goethe's "Wahlverwandtschaften": the game of sympathy and antipathy. For this see Gerhard Schneege Zu Goethes Spinozismus (Breslau: Otto Gutschman, 1910). Landauer must, in many ways, be restudied as deeply embodied within the German Goethe tradition. In this context see also Gerhard Schneege, Goethe's Verhältnis zu Spinoza (Pless: A. Krummer, 1890).

²"Die erste dieser drei Gemeinschaften nennt man gewöhnlich das Individuum, das aber wie ich zeigen will, zugleich eine Funktion oder Erscheinungsform des unendlichen Weltalls ist; die zweite ist die Zwangsgemeinschaft der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft und Staaten, die dritte Gemeinschaft ist die, die erst kommen soll, und die wir Ersten gleich jetzt anbahnen und beginnen wollen."

held fast as long as they satisfied a real need for him. When he had transcended the need or the affinity, he let go with ease, resignation, or enlightened wisdom. There was no lengthy agony over such decisions. It is with ease that Landauer let go of Miss Wolff, to whom he considered himself betrothed, to marry Grete Leuschner; it was with enlightened insight that he determined that he had outlived the marital relationship with Grete Leuschner; it was with grateful feeling to the Gods that he romantically befriended Margarete Faas,¹ a devoted co-worker in the anarchist and Sozialist cause of the years 1909 to 1911.² When the relationship became

¹Through the kind courtesy of Mr. Theodor Pinkus of the Limmat Verlag, Zurich, and of the "Studienbibliothek zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung" there, it was possible for this writer to read and xerox an extraordinary "find": the few remaining letters which Landauer had written to Margarete Faas, which the latter had not wanted to turn over to Martin Buber at the time at which he gathered correspondence for inclusion into the anthology of letters, Lebensgang in Briefen. Buber was also reticent to include materials thought to be highly personal. Actually the letters in Mr. Pinkus' possession are, as all of those in the Amsterdam "Nachlass" and the Buber-Landauer Archive in Jerusalem, not so much embarrassingly personal, as beautifully revealing of Landauer's total personality: a mixture of warm-hearted, romantic empathy, and business-like, calculated, disciplined professionalism in the vocation of writing for, agitating for, and working for libertarian causes. Margarete Faas, as Grete Leuschner, and Hedwig Lachmann was a like-minded soul-mate whom Landauer met in the course of his Swiss travels. For greater particulars, see Briefe nach der Schweiz: Gustav Landauer, Erich Muhsam, Max Holz, Peter Kropotkin (Zurich: Limmat Verlag, 1972).

²One of the most beautiful letters which Landauer wrote to anyone is the letter which he addressed to Margarete Faas on January 2, 1909, Letter #32 in Pinkus collection, Zürich (well worthy of being published): "Meine liebe, liebe Margrit, Du thust mir das Schonste, Du bist bei mir. Du sagst mir die Dinge von Dir, die ich alle schon wusste, aber sie greifen mir sehr ans Herz, da Du sie so sagst. Aber ich glaube, Du weisst, wie ich: jetzt, in dem Augenblick, da Du Dich so

complicated humanly and professionally, Landauer "dropped her" with relative ease; resigned to the fact that Life had given him in middlelife an interlude at romance; content that he had openly shared this friendship with his wife, colleagues and family, and equally content that the warmth of the affection between them had died for him and that the difficulties of trying to publish in Switzerland and Germany at the same time had come to a suitable end. It is with equal ability to see formidable differences and to acknowledge unbridgeable breaks and discontinuities that Landauer formally broke with

schilderst, giebst Du das Bild Deiner Vergangenheit. Du bist im Wachsen, liebes, heiliges Kind; und ich mochte noch viel mehr als ich es bin, Erde sein, braune, fast schwarze, feuchte, duftende Muttererde, damit Du in mich wachsest. Damit Du mich aber recht verstehst und siehst, wie nah wir einander sind, hore etwas über mein und Dein Verhältnis zu den Verwandten, den Angehörigen. Denn wir sind da einander sehr nahe, und genau wie Du's sagst, sagte es meine Jugend. Jetzt, sage ich von Dir und mir: wir Produktiven, wir Geistigen sind in der Jugend gewissenhaft (?) Verereinsamte, in dieser unsrer Zeit. Wir verhärten unser Herz, und müssen es, gegen alles was nicht unsres Geistes ist. Und wir begegnen welchen, da wir so inständig liebebedürftig doch sind, da wir die Gleichen doch suchen, die wir für unsre Menschen halten, und die uns früher oder später enttäuschen; wir lassen sie fallen. Und dann treffen wir auch die, die ganz zu uns gehören, die uns in jeder Regung, in jedem Stückchen Leben lieb sind. So habe ich Dich gefunden, so halte ich Dich, und so wusste ich als ich Dich nach jener durchwachten Nacht in Zürich noch einmal zu mir rief: es ist für's Leben. "Woher weißt Du das?" fragte dein Grauen. Liebe, wir wissen es . . ." (The letter continues in like vein, and is, in its entirety probably the single most revealing piece of personal writing on deeply-felt human relationship we have from the mature Landauer. The tone is somewhat schoolmasterly; many of Landauer's peers have recalled his tendency to be the pedantic German schoolmaster. His loveletters to Hedwig Lachmann, as in Lebensgang in Briefen and in Landauer Nachlass, Institute, Amsterdam, have less self-assurance, since Hedwig Lachmann was not so easily won over.

Marxist-Communist forces in the latter part of the Bavarian Revolution, at the time at which these gained the upper hand.

The congruence between Landauer the man and Landauer the theoretician must forcefully confront the present-day reader in Landauer's conception of History¹ as it did in his conception of Community. Both topics, Community and History, were at the heart of the philosophical and sociological debates of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries² and it will increasingly be the task of European social and

¹The trumpet blast of discontinuity in conceptions of history was struck before Alfred Weber wrote: "Wir haben Abschied zu nehmen von der bisherigen Geschichte," Der dritte oder der vierte Mensch: vom Sinn des geschichtlichen Daseins (Munich: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1953), p. 9 and way before Kurt Sontheimer could cite from Friedrich Sieburg the accusing summary: "Unser Verhältnis zur Geschichte verdiente kaum mehr den Namen eines Verhältnisses, es sei eine 'tiefsitzende Störung unseres Lebens in der Zeit.'" See his Deutschland zwischen Demokratie und Antidemokratie: Studien zum politischen Bewusstsein der Deutschen (Munich: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1971).

²For German background, useful in this context Helmuth Plessner, Die verspätete Nation (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 1954). On conceptions of community in social science, best discussion in chapter on "Community" (as one of unit ideas in sociology) in Robert Nisbet, The Sociological Tradition (New York: Basic Books, 1966) and the discussion on methodological backgrounds in "Idealism" of Talcott Parsons, The Structure of Social Action Vol. I (New York: The Free Press, 1968 edition). On Weber, especially important Vol. II of Raymond Aron, Main Currents in Sociological Thought (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1970). More in line with this writer's intellectual "intentions and directions" and as yet inaccessible to the non-German reader "Soziologische und geschichtliche Staatsauffassung: Zu Franz Oppenheimer's System der Soziologie" in Otto Hintze, Soziologie und Geschichte (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964)... Well-known for definitive insights H. Stuart Hughes, Consciousness and Society (New York: Random House, 1958), chapter on "Neo-Idealism in History" which concentrates on Dilthey and Croce. Professor Peter Gay has indicated in private discussion (1963) that Dilthey still awaits the scholar with the proper linguistic equipment to "mine" his treasures.

intellectual history as well as the task of philosophical sociology to integrate the German developments imaginatively into the general European framework. When that task has been completed with scholarly thoroughness, it will be seen that Landauer, the social scientist, added valuable chapters in the discussions on the nature of community, the centrality of history, and the conception of language.

Landauer is one of that generation¹ which helped to deal the death-blow to the subservience which the Germans had had since the nineteenth century to the primacy and the authority of the worldly or secular powers: the state and the realm of science.² Landauer had use for science in a technical, functionalistic sense; as a means to a larger and more significant end.³

The state he negated as the most crushing, diabolic instrument of governing functionalism--the very instrument of repression. It is eminently logical, therefore, that he should early have broken faith with the German statist, "Staatsraison," and Historicism ideologues. He, as Ernst

¹ Alfred Weber, Die Krise des modernen Staatsgedankens in Europa (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1925).

² Plessner, Die verspätete Nation, p. 130.

³ Muhsam, "Der revolutionäre Mensch Gustav Landauer," Fanal, Mai 1929, p. 173: "Seine Schrift Die Revolution beweist zwar, in wie meisterhafter Weise er fähig war ganz abstrakt an das Problem der Revolution heranzugehen, aber sie zeigt auch, wie sehr ihm Abstraktion, Wissenschaftlichkeit (note Muhsam's cynicism in coining a "new word") kritische Feststellung, wozu ihm an Gewissenhaftigkeit und logischer Kraft niemand übertrifft, nur immer Mittel war um zum Wirken und Schaffen zu rufen und schaffende Wirksamkeit vorzubereiten."

Troeltsch after him, searched for a transcendence ("Überwindung") of the Historicist tradition in German life.¹ To attempt this was to challenge the very intellectual "idols" on which German civic life and civic virtue rested since well before Hegel, in the days of Frederick the Great, and way after him into the "enlightened" *raison d'état* of Friedrich Meinecke.²

In challenging the state and historicism, Landauer challenged the very core of the German-Hegelian conception of History with its endless unfolding and refolding of World-Spirit. The very premonition, determinism, progress, redemption, and purposive leadership of historical forces was intellectually annihilated at the very outset of conception. It is here that many of the intellectual biographers of Landauer have missed the "Zeitgeist" in which he wrote and toward which he wrote. It was within an indigenous atmosphere of philosophical rebellion against accepted German structures of thought and tradition that Landauer and others revived more limited perspectives of regional and national, federative and decentralized cultural perspectives. The Spenglerian perspective and mood had no room for eternal verities in social life; all cultures, nations, and ethnic

¹ Sontheimer Deutschland zwischen Demokratie und Antidemokratie, p. 21.

² As seen in his seminal works: Die Idee der Staatsraison, Die Entstehung des Historismus, Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat, and Zur Geschichte der Geschichtsschreibung.

units were subject to growth and decay, rise and fall.¹ Plessner has shown² that Heidegger's Sein und Zeit and Spengler's Untergang des Abendlandes contributed mightily to this post-World War I intellectual climate; it is correct and important to see that choice spirits, as Landauer, had paved the way systematically since the end of the previous century. When Landauer in 1908 was able to write at the very beginning of his Die Revolution: "Since History creates no theoretical theorems, it is no science; history, however, creates something else--practical powers."³ With this sentence, this writer argues, we are well into philosophical anthropology.

Die Revolution, published and republished by Buber in his series of socio-psychological monographs in 1908, 1919, and 1923 was originally intended by Landauer to be dedicated⁴

¹Landauer called this Topie and Utopie, a kind of rise and fall of societies and authorities.

²Helmut Plessner, Zwischen Philosophie und Gesellschaft (Bern: Francke Verlag, n.d.), p. 13.

³p. 9: "Da die Geschichte also keine Theoreme des Geistes schafft, ist sie keine Wissenschaft; sie schafft aber etwas anderes; nämlich Mächte der Praxis." (Note here Landauer's definite intellectual indebtedness to Marx's categories of thought and expression. "Praxis" may here be used in apposition to "That" which, in Goethe's language, recurs over and over in Landauer's writing. Goethe always emphasized that in his reading, the quotation from John should be rendered "Im Anfang war die That." Landauer here is consequent. One could just substitute, "Im Anfang war die Praxis," or better still, "Am Ende ist die Praxis.")

⁴See letter to Mauthner, April 1907, Lebensgang in Briefen, pp. 163-164.

to Fritz Mauthner¹ and Constantin Brunner.² Landauer intended originally to repeat the dedication to Mauthner which his Skepsis und Mystik³ had carried in 1903, but dropped this intention when Mauthner's own Die Sprache appeared in 1906,⁴ with a dedication to himself.⁵ Just as the book must have seemed complicated and somewhat confusing to collaborators of Landauer at the time of its writing,⁶ so the modern reader on first perusal has difficulty in orienting himself both to structure and subject matter. Landauer intended to show that "revolution is not what the revolutionaries think it to be."⁷

He thought of Die Revolution as one more statement of his credo, begun with the introduction to the translation

¹Text of dedication: Fritz Mauthner
Constantin Brunner
zweien die sich nicht kennen
die aber mir vereint sind
durch Geist und Liebe
gewidmet

²In a 1908 letter to Margarete Faas (Hardegger), Landauer wrote that the three men who were spiritually and humanly his greatest friends were the philosopher Constantin Brunner (author of Die Lehre von den Geistigen und vom Volke), a Spinoza scholar; Fritz Mauthner, the philosopher (author of Sprachkritik); and Martin Buber, translator of eighteenth century Jewish mysticism (legends of the Baal Shem Tov and Rabbi Nachman of Bratslav). See Lebensgang in Briefen, p. 218.

³Skepsis und Mystik: Versuche im Anschluss an Mauthners Sprachkritik.

⁴Frankfurt am Main: Rütten & Loening.

⁵"Gustav Landauer zugeeignet."

⁶Letter to Fritz Mauthner, 5 October 1907, Lebensgang in Briefen, pp. 170-172.

⁷Ibid., p. 172.

of Meister Eckhart's Mystical Writings,¹ continued in his Skepsis and Mystik, and his Dreissig sozialistischen Thesen,² focussing on the teachings of those men who, by "Negation," had spoken Truth: Heraclitus, Plato, Christ and his followers, Buddha, and Spinoza.³ The novelty of Die Revolution, to him, lay in pointing "toward something which was yet to come--not yet in the world." The work has an extraordinary passage from Maximus Tyrius at its beginning. "Here, now, you will see the road of passion, which you call 'destruction,' because you make your judgment based on those who have already passed away on it--which I, however, call 'salvation,' basing myself on the order of those yet to come."⁴ In this often-cited introduction at the very outset of the book, Landauer pointed to the eschatological, redemptive conception of revolutionary change, in which he mirrored so much of the mood of the "Heilsgeschichte" of the theologians as well as the "redemptive history" of the Nietzscheans.⁵

¹Meister Eckharts Mystische Schriften, Berlin, 1903. 2 Auflage 1922.

²Published in Zukunft, 58. Band, 56-57.

³See letter to Constantin Brunner, 17 December, 1907, Lebensgang in Briefen, pp. 182-183.

⁴"Hier siehst du nun den Passionsweg, den du Untergang nennst, der du nach dem Wege derer urteilst, die schon auf ihm fortgegangen sind, ich aber Rettung, da ich nach der Folge derer urteile, die da kommen werden."

⁵On Ecce Homo, Zarathustra and redemption, see excellent discussion Karl Löwith, From Hegel to Nietzsche (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1967), pp. 191-198.

Aware that he had written a work, poised between optimism and pessimism, Landauer, who wrote the work in a time of great financial crisis (having just lost a two-year affiliation with the firm of Schnabel, a bookstore-publisher, for whom Landauer worked between 1904 and 1907),¹ wrote in response to an invitation rather than from an inner need, as this writer would like to emphasize. It is probably correct to state that this is the only one of Landauer's books which was commissioned. Its very origin and superficial confusion are an invitation to greater analysis. Die Revolution, following Skepsis and Mystik, the radical critique of language, man, and society, is indeed a precursor of the Landauer's other "systematic writings": Dreissig sozialistische Thesen² (1907), the original political actions program, "Die zwölf Artikel des Sozialistischen Bundes" (1908),³ the summary of his political program in reductionist form, and his full political socialism in Aufruf zum Sozialismus (1911).⁴ Die Revolution must also be seen in relation to the 1908 founding of der Sozialistische Bund and the 1909 founding of Landauer's own (reactivated) Der Sozialist. Hastily written, Die Revolution, shows Landauer and his times "at work."

¹State Archives, Zentralarchiv Merseburg, Ministerium des Innern, Central Bureau, "Anarchistische Bewegung in Berlin, Rep. 77 Tit. 2512, No. 6, Vol. II, 1899-1913, pp. 199-226, reportage on Anarchism.

²As above, footnote #2.

³Included in Gustav Landauer, Aufruf zum Sozialismus (Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1967).

⁴Ibid.

Die Revolution must also be seen, as all of Landauer's writings, in relation to his pursuits as translator of seminal works and thinkers. In this period, Landauer distinguished himself as the translator of his friend, collaborator, and fellow-anarchist, Peter Kropotkin. 1904 saw the appearance of the latter's Landwirtschaft, Industrie und Handwerk¹ as well as his Gegenseitige Hilfe in der Tier und Menschenwelt,² which were followed in 1909 by the two volumes on Die Französische Revolution 1789-1793.³ Landauer had met Kropotkin in 1896 on the occasion of the London Congress of International⁴ in that year and had participated actively on that occasion in the setting up of a protest meeting which was attended by most of the "Notables of International Anarchism: Malatesta, Niewenhuis, Gori, Reclus, Tortelier and Louise Michel, joined by the British Socialists Keir Hardie and Tom Mann. In the Anarchist Congress which followed the protest meeting, Kropotkin did not join Landauer because of his own poor health. The two, however, did refresh their acquaintance

¹ Berlin, 1904; 2. Auflage Berlin, 1910.

² Leipzig, 1904; 2. Auflage Leipzig, 1908.

³ Leipzig, 1909; 2. Auflage Leipzig, 1948; 3. Auflage, Hamburg, 1961.

⁴ George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, The Anarchist Prince (New York: Schocken Publishers, 1971), p. 254. Very important and little known in this context, Joseph Leftwich, "Introduction" and Herbert Read, "Foreword" to Rudolph Rocker, The London Years (London: Robert Anscombe & Co., 1956), focussing on the Anarchist and Zionist East End of the turn of the century and beyond; focus on the anarchist journals Germinal, Arbeter Shtimme, Arbeter Fraint; the anarchists Malatesta, Kropotkin, Landauer, and Rocker; and the anarchist Socialist-Zionists Brenner and A. D. Gordon who left to colonize in Palestine.

in Bromley (Kent),¹ the town in which Kropotkin wrote Gegen-seitige Hilfe and to which Landauer and his second-wife-to-be moved in the fall of 1901 to enjoy his "retirement" from his first wife, to work on the implications of Mauthner's Sprachkritik, to refine his thoughts on theoretical anarchism,² to break with the "Neue Gemeinschaft"³ and to fail in their attempt to make England their new refuge.

The London years and the acquaintance with the large and definitive works of Kropotkin were to be the bridge between the many squabbles with the non-intellectual editorial boards of the Sozialist of the late 90's⁴ and the theoretical writings on socialism of which Die Revolution was the first. Though Landauer had translated Kropotkin as early as 1895,⁵ before the 1896 Congress catapulted him into European prominence as defender of anarchist socialism,⁶ it was in 1900 that Landauer wrote his first appreciation of the anarchist

¹Letter to Erich Mühsam, 28. February 1902, Lebensgang in Briefen, pp. 103-104.

²"Anarchische Gedanken über den Anarchismus," Die Zukunft, 37. Band, pp. 134-140.

³Letter to Fritz Mauthner, 28. November 1901, Lebensgang in Briefen, pp. 100-101.

⁴Especially good summary, Rudolf Rocker, The London Years, pp. 90-91.

⁵Translation of Kropotkin's, "Die wirtschaftlichen Besserungsversuche" from Temps Nouveaux in Sozialist, August 31, September 14, September 21, October 5, 1895.

⁶Stenographic reports of the Congress in several European languages, Sozialarchiv, Zürich.

anti-Darwinian,¹ and in 1909 that he resumed translation of Kropotkin's work in his own, new Sozialist.²

Though the outlines and structures of Landauer's thought were well defined by the time he came into contact with Kropotkin's writings and the man himself, the convergence of their ideas must have deepened and strengthened Landauer's own work. Kropotkin's stress on the need to combine industry and agriculture and his emphasis on cooperative, humanistic mutualism, brought an Eastern, populist, rural experience to Landauer's aspirations for Western, anti-statist, back-to-small, Bündisch-type settlements. Kropotkin's emphasis on social survival through love, sympathy, and mutual cooperation³-- though drawn from Slavic sources, were to find a warm echo in Landauer's heart.

What is perhaps even more significant for a discussion of the influences on Landauer's Die Revolution, is Kropotkin's whole elaborate discussion of the cooperative, self-help structures of the Middle Ages as these are found in Gegenseitige Hilfe⁴ as well as the treatment of strikes, cooperative, and mutual associations in the Modern period.⁵ The

¹"Furst Petere Kropotkin," Die Neue Zeit, Nr. 325.

²"Distrikte und Sektionen in Paris in 1789," "Der Polizeiterrorismus in Russland" (1909); "Die Verteilung der Industrie über das Land" (1910); "Die Kleinindustrien in Frankreich und Deutschland" (1912); "Der moderne Staat" (1913).

³Kropotkin, Gegenseitige Hilfe, pp. 274-275

⁴Chapters Five and Six ("Gegenseitige Hilfe in der Stadt des Mittelalters").

⁵Chapters Seven and Eight ("Gegenseitige Hilfe in unserer Zeit").

fact that Kropotkin from his own observations of nature related both human and animal societies in their approaches to enlightened social interest must have fortified that very anti-science, anti-social Darwinism which lurked so strong in Landauer's own approaches to philosophical anthropology and sociology. The writings and teachings of both the young and the mature Landauer show a marked affinity to the work of those Volkstümler (Populists) and Slavophiles who preached that one must organize all the peasants ("the whole folk") in their own self interest to cooperate, take over the governing authorities and "work up toward a revolution" rather than "making a revolution" through the activist, conspiratorial action of a chosen group or class. In this type of thinking it was the existing agrarian communes which were to become the basis for the restructuring of society--much as Landauer was to agitate for Siedlungen and Gemeinden as the basis for social regeneration and local autonomy. In admiring the corporative and cooperative spirit of the Middle Ages,¹

¹Die Revolution, p. 43: "Die christliche Zeit wird repräsentiert nicht durch das Feudalsystem; nicht durch die Dorf-und Markgenossenschaft mit ihrem Gemeinbesitz an Grund und Boden und gemeinsamer Wirtschaft; nicht durch die Reichsversammlung; nicht durch Kirche und Kloster; nicht durch Gilden, Zünfte und Bruderschaften der Städte mit ihrer eigenen Gerichtsbarkeit; nicht durch die selbständigen Strassen, Sprengel und Kirchspiele dieser Städte; nicht durch die Städtebünde und Ritterbünde--und wieviel konnte noch an solchen ausschliesslichen und selbständigen Gebilden aufgezählt werden: die christliche Zeit wird charakterisiert eben durch diese Gesamtheit von Selbständigkeiten, die sich gegenseitig durchdrängen, die sich duracheinander schichteten, ohne dass daraus eine Pyramide oder irgendwelche Gesamtgewalt geworden wäre. Die Form des Mittelalters war nicht der Staat, sondern die Gesellschaft, die Gesellschaft von Gesellschaften."

Landauer was not trying to recapture a historical period, but analyzing on what basis communalism and societal structure rested in the past. For him, the Middle Ages were indeed the period of this "society of societies," and, as one may suggest, also the period of the "autonomy of autonomies"-- the recognition of the pluralistic interests and the legitimacy of expression of these interests as constituted in corporations.

Die Revolution, though poorly constructed, is really an attempt at a philosophy of history, though neither Landauer nor anyone after him ever really analyzed the work as such. It is a short "treatise" presenting a cyclical view of history and written against the "progress-minded" Darwinians and "progress-minded" Hegelians. Landauer is probably closest here to Burckhardt who saw history not as an objective study of facts, but as the "record of facts which one generation finds remarkable in another."¹ There is a permanence and continuity in history, but mainly because man chooses to recall by an act of will--by remembering and renewing our traditional ties.² In Burckhardt, as in Landauer, there are no ultimate meanings and purposes, there is no fulfillment beyond the "ripeness" of every stage; the flux of history has no beginning and no end.³ Landauer must also be

¹ Excellent discussion, see Chapter "Burckhardt" in Karl Löwith's Meaning in History (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949).

² Ibid., pp. 20-21.

³ Ibid., pp. 25-26.

related to the Nietzschean view of history--"the eternal recurrence"--that was prevalent then. Nietzsche himself wrote: "The universe exists; it is nothing that grows into existence and that passes out of existence. Or, better still, it develops, it passes away, but it never began to develop, and has never ceased from passing away; it maintains itself in both states" ¹

For Landauer all History was "Becoming" ("Werden") or "Realization," ² as he liked to coin the German term from the English usage. The ordinary period of social stability, economic give-and-take and general human intercourse, Landauer called "Topie," a word that he had made up half in jest but later found useful for his Weber-like "model building" in trying to find an antithesis to "Utopie," which he used from the literature. ³ When a social equilibrium or satiation point is reached, a reaction sets in: "Utopie"--a desire for perfection of individualistic strivings and for the perfect society negates the existing situation. A period of temporary but necessary revolution and excitement of dissatisfaction ("Wahn") sets in, which at the termination of social upheaval leads to a new "Topie." "Revolution is the period between

¹"Eternal Recurrence" in Monroe Beardsley (ed.), The European Philosophers from Descartes to Nietzsche (New York: Random House, 1960), p. 854.

²Die Revolution, Pp. 6-7.

³Letter to Fritz Mauthner, 5. Oct. 1907, Lebensgang in Briefen, p. 172: "Das Wort 'Topie' habe ich halb im Spass als Gegensatz zu Utopie gebildet, es dann aber im Ernst brauchbar gefunden."

fading of old Topie and the coming of the new one"¹ or "Revolution is the way from one Topie to another."² The idealistic striving for social change or "Utopie" includes within itself, at every point of history, a recapturing of all the social idealism and all of the utopias that have ever been created. In this "dialectic of history" Landauer, even as he thought he negated the Hegelians, very much recaptured their models of "being," "becoming," and a further stage of both-in true triadic fashion, even as he firmly stated that there was no progressive or forward-moving pattern intended.³

Landauer's discussion of periodization in History recalls present-day discussions in philosophical anthropology. Though there is no progress in History, certain nations do cease to be. This discontinuity is explained as cultural assimilation. Nations cease to be by mingling with other nations; there is a common humanity and there are no isolated nations; cultural combinations come and go; and are born to die. The past record of mankind has to be understood in a continual effort at recapture of common memories. It too, is in flux, "the past is not a conclusion but a becoming"; it changes in every stage of history as we develop more imaginative insights and as it acts within us. All men are

¹Die Revolution, p. 14.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.: ". . . dass es aber für keinerlei Geschichte einen Anfang gibt; das liegt schon im Begriff des Geschehens, denn was anfangen kann, ist in sich beschlossen und zu Ende und hat keinerlei Fortgang oder Veränderung."

in some sense contemporaneous; and all men are in some sense as "old" as all others--for they share a common humanity.

Most of Die Revolution is devoted to a discussion of what this writer would call "modernity."¹ For Landauer this began with the Reformation and continued for several hundred years. Landauer understood this as a transitional period--a revolution--in which we still find ourselves and which we must conclude. The "Reformation" about which Landauer wrote brought in secularization and state-building, the peasant wars, the "English revolution," the Thirty Years' War, the American War for Independence, and the great French Revolution to which we are significant heirs.² A new conception of law, of the state, and a modern definition of nationalism were brought to Europe. Absolutism was born. The "Reformation" or Modernity brought with it atomized human masses and ego-tistical individualism.³ The high level of spirituality and mutualism which the Christian ethos of the Middle Ages has

¹Die Revolution, p. 29: "Was in uns von Kenntnis der Revolution ruht, der Begriff Revolution, wie er sich in der revolutionären Epoche, in dem Zeitalter des Übergangs, das man gewöhnlich Neuzeit nennt, herausgestaltet hat, besagt in der Tat, dass wir in diesen Jahrhunderten aus einer relativen Stabilität am Stecken wechselndes Ideals in die andere und so immer weiter getappt sind. Vor diesem Alter des Übergangs, in dem wir uns noch befinden . . . "

²Ibid., p. 25.

³For Reformation, see George Mosse, The Reformation (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1953); "Introduction" in Hans Hillerbrand, The Protestant Reformation (New York: Harper & Row, 1968). Also R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (New York: Harcourt Brace, World, Inc., 1926) and Karl Hall, The Cultural Significance of the Reformation (New York: Meridian Books, 1959).

provided was lost to the period that followed. Whereas previously religion had spoken to and from idealism, as Landauer maintained with Dilthey,¹ so now a transition period without religious and idealistic inspiration was ushered in. A period of "revolution" was ushered in during which men pitted themselves with courage, defiance, and rebelliousness against the traditions which they had inherited. A period of "revolution" was ushered in which brought transition, loss, search, force, and suppression. The state ranked supreme, and once again men must, in utopian fashion, stand and fight for their freedom until a new "Topie" of balance and purposive structure can be found. This modern challenge is best characterized in the successful stages of the French Revolution--the great revolution of our modernity. In the very formulation of modern revolutionary ideology--in the negation of the modern absolutist nation-state--a conception of "le Contr'Etat" ("der Nichtstaat") is created. This Contr'Etat of Landauer's, based on the conception of "le Contr'un"² ("der Nichteine," that is the people), is Society. It is the essence of corporate, pluralistic mutualism which

¹Wilhelm Dilthey, "The Interpretation and Analysis of Man in the 15th and 16th Centuries," in Lewis Spitz (ed.), The Reformation (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1962).

²Die Revolution, p. 104, Etienne de la Boetie, author about 1550 of Discours de la Servitude Volontaire. See "Die Monarchomachen und Etienne de la Boetie" written bei Landauer in Die freie Generation, Band 2 Heft 2 August, pp. 17-20; Heft 3 September, pp. 80-87; Heft 5, November, pp. 113-119, all in 1907. See also Landauer's translation of Discours in Der Sozialist, starting with the September issue, 1910.

the Middle Ages had which needs to be updated or recaptured in new forms as voluntaristic socialism. Landauer saw the necessity of two forms of revolution: an anti-statism and a regeneration of society.¹ In the one he had and would continue to clothe his anarchism and the other had constituted and would continue to inspire his socialism.² His active "negation" or his conscious "passive resistance" Landauer drew from de la Boetie.

For Landauer, de la Boetie was the figure who represented the spiritual element in negation and showed that all spirit is itself ultimately negation.³ The essay from which

¹Well summarized in Wolf Kalz, Gustav Landauer: Kultur-sozialist und Anarchist (Meisenheim: Verlag Anton Hain, 1967), Chapter entitled "Landauer's Theorie der Revolution."

²See also his Aufruf zum Sozialismus

³See Die Revolution, pp. 90-91: "Er repräsentiert den Geist dem wir sagen, dass er Geist ist nur in der Negation, dass es aber in der Negation Geist ist: die Ahnung und der noch nicht auszusprechende Ausdruck des Positiven, das heraufkommt. Dieser Essay verkündigt, was in andern Sprachen später Godwin und Stirner und Proudhon und Bakunin und Tolstoi sagen werden: in euch sitzt es, es ist nicht draussen; ihr selbst seid es; die Menschen sollten nicht durch Herrschaft gebunden sein, sondern als Brüder verbunden." (Note the extraordinarily poetic play on "gebunden" [tied in knots, chains, bonds, or enslaved] and on "verbunden" [tied in bonds of love and understanding and mutuality]). Ohne Herrschaft; Anarchie (Recall here influence of early exchanges with Benedikt Friedländer). Aber das Bewusstsein fehlt oder ist kümmerlich entwickelt dass es heissen muss: Nicht durch Herrschaft, sondern-. Wohl is die Negation dieser empörten Naturen erfüllt von Liebe, die Kraft ist, aber doch nur in dem Sinne, wie Bakunin es prachtvoll gesagt hat: Die Lust des Zerstörens ist eine schaffende Lust. Wohl wissen sie, dass Menschen Brüder sind; aber sie glauben, sie seien es schon wieder, wenn die Hemmnisse und Gewalten entfernt sind. In Wahrheit sind sie es nur während der Zeit, in der sie die Hemmnisse und Gewalten bekämpfen und heben. In Wahrheit lebt der Geist nur in der Revolution; aber er kommt nicht zum Leben durch die Revolution, er lebt nach ihr schon wieder nicht mehr."

he took his inspiration was read by Landauer as a precursor of the thoughts which Godwin, Stirner, Proudhon, Bakunin, and Tolstoi were to teach later. The message of these rebels is to individuals--to the strong, gay,¹ generous, pure, courageous, authentic, and sincere individuals to whom Nietzsche addressed his existentialist revolt.² For Landauer, true spirit and spirituality ("Geist") existed only in revolutionary times and in the exuberance of revolutionary times. Those who over and over see Landauer's participation in the Munich Revolution as an aberration of spirit, have not read his works with sensitivity and perception. He was quite consequent and authentic in his participation in the German

¹Analogous to the stress placed by Nietzsche on the play and game element as basic in human creativity is the discussion in J. Huizinga, Homo Ludens; A Study of the Play-Element in Culture (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955). Also important in this context are discussions of fantasy and utopia, radical theology and renewal (Jürgen Moltmann, Gerhard Sauter, Johannes Metz in H. Cox, The Feast of Fools: A Theological Essay on Festivity and Fantasy (New York: Harper and Row, 1970).

²Grateful appreciation to University Professor of General and Jewish Philosophy (and Visiting Professor of Philosophy--Columbia), Arthur Hyman of Yeshiva University for pointing to luminous discussion of these elements in Nietzsche in Etienne Gilson, Thomas Langan, Armand Maurer, Recent Philosophy: Hegel to the Present (New York: Random House, 1962), chapter entitled "The Original Existentialist Revolt" in Part One devoted to German Philosophy.

What is suggestive in the discussion of Professor Thomas Langan in the above work is the reading of modern existentialism equally from a Kierkegaard and from a Nietzsche tradition. For "tones" and "Stimmungen" in Landauer this is of some genuine consequence and it is here noted as deserving of scholarly appraisal.

Suggestive source reading this mood from Darwin and Nietzsche: Langdon Gilkey, "Secularism's Impact on Contemporary Theology" in C. W. Christian and Glenn R. Wittig (eds.), Radical Theology: Phase Two (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott, 1967).

Revolution of 1919--to pour out one's love and mania ("Wahn") was a dialectical prerequisite for being one of the "greats," one of the heroic figures, one of the choice spirits who hang their all on eternity and on eternal verities. It was of the essence of strength and not of weakness to stand in place, to heed the call to sacrifice, and to pay the ultimate price for the one moment of symbolizing true generosity and freedom of spirit.¹

The two-volume Briefe aus der Französischen Revolution, which Landauer edited during the German Revolution and published in 1918-1919 show how very well he understood the

¹The writer, at this point and within this context, wants to acknowledge indebtedness to Professor Paul Oskar Kristeller, Woodbridge Professor Emeritus of Philosophy at Columbia University (and Visiting Professor of Philosophy at the City University of New York). This part of the discussion on the "existentialist tones" in Landauer goes to the heart of the debate on whether and to what extent one can speak of existentialism in the fin de siècle and the pre-World War I period. Acknowledgment is made also to Professor of the Philosophy of Religion Fritz Rothschild of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America for discussions relating to the definitions of modern existentialism found in the work of Professor of Philosophy (and former Rector) Nathan Rotenstreich of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

Best single summary of existentialism for our purpose, John Wild, The Challenge of Existentialism (Bloomington, Indiana: University Press, 1959). Useful in this context also, M. Warnock, Existentialist Ethics (London: Macmillan, 1967) and William Barrett, Irrational Man (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1962).

Important existentialist texts which may be compared to some of Landauer's essays in Walter Kaufmann (ed.), Existentialism from Dostoevski to Sarte (Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1956). Radical political and aesthetic existentialism in contemporary "genre" resembling Landauer's intellectual combinations in "The Wager of our Generation" and "Create Dangerously," written by Albert Camus and included in his Resistance, Rebellion, and Death (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1961).

dynamics of revolutionary activity and the inability of revolutionary groups to participate in a common struggle. In his "Vorwort" he pointed out how the French Revolution failed to transform the organs of society, because the revolutionary struggle became mixed up with questions of external war and considerations of internal security, which led to authoritarianism and repression.¹ Landauer also emphasized that the revolutionary forces themselves were carried on "waves" of social unrest and were not able to chart their own independent course of action. The contemporary reader who reviews the few pages written as a resumé of the French Revolution has the distinct impression that Landauer is "using" the events of the French Revolution to give his own hidden commentary on the German Revolution of 1918-1919. Landauer explained that his anthology was intended to contain first-hand, eye-witness and personal accounts of the participants in the Revolution--letters from all classes and groups of society: the great, the average, and the insignificant--much as contemporary social science research highlights the views and the emotions of participants in unusual

¹"... eine so sichere Klarheit kann die intime Kenntnis der Menschen und Vorgänge aus der Revolutionszeit, zu der, glaube ich diese Briefe verhelfen können, uns geben: dass die innigsten Vertreter der Revolution in ihren reinen Stunden, gleichviel, in welches Lager sie schliesslich von den tobenden Wogen geworfen wurden, glaubten und wollten, sie solle die Menschheit zu einer Wiedergeburt führen; dass es aber nicht dazu kam und sie zugleich sich gegenseitig daran hemmten und einander die Schuld beimassen, weil die Revolution sich mit dem Krieg, mit der Gewalt, mit der Befehlsorganisation und autoritären Unterdrückung, mit der Politik verband," p. XIII, Briefe.

events. Landauer, by his own admission, chose not those who had a significant political role as much as those who were "caught up," involved, and "alive" to the momentous events into which the Revolution had catapulted them. Here, too, is the "Nietzschean" Landauer, who weighed and measured the authenticity of the "revolutionary" by his mania, his "engagement," and his "Wahn." The largest number of letters are from Mirabeau, who represented for Landauer the epitomy of the great Frenchman in the Revolution: representative of his great nation at its best, he planned with realism and resignation, with concrete yet limited measures. Enthusiastic and skeptical, revolutionary and political, dry and withdrawn-- Mirabeau tried to take a giant step forward and attempted to halt with it. The other revolutionaries, far less measured and repressed, went "for the whole," acted out their hostility, and in effect lost the French Revolution in their own lack of prudence.¹ It has never been so stated before, but it seems to this writer that Landauer has written into this pithy summary of the great French Revolution his own reasoned assessment of the events of his own last days.² True politics to

¹ See Briefe, pp. XIII-XIV.

² See hint in letter to Georg Springer dated 13. December 1918 in Lebensgang in Briefen, vol. II, p. 338: "Schaffen sie sich meine zwei Bände 'Briefe aus der französischen Revolution' an; ich darf ruhig sagen: das ist ein Werk zur rechten Zeit; wenn die Menschen nur bis in Tat und Scham hinein verstehen wollten, was die intime Kenntnis jener Zeit sie lehrt."

Landauer's anguished understanding of the failure of the German Revolution is contained in his "Vorwort zur zweiten Auflage" of his Aufruf zum Sozialismus, written in January 1919:

him was the "art of the impossible"--the politics of Jesus, Laotse, and Buddha.¹

The "Vorworte" to his anthology of letters from the French Revolution and his Aufruf are probably the best and last testaments to his mature belief that though the enthusiasm and mania of the Revolution create the natural excitement within which events go forward, unless a strong and realistic program for social regeneration is mounted from below in a spirit of true participatory democracy,² they labor but in

"Die Revolution is gekommen, die ich nicht so vorausgesehen habe. Der Krieg ist gekommen, den ich vorausgesehen habe; und in ihm habe ich dann frühzeitig schon Zusammenbruch und Revolution unaufhaltsam sich vorbereiten sehen.

Mit einer wharhaft grenzenlosen Bitterkeit spreche ich aus: es zeigt sich, dass ich in allem Wesentlichen Recht hatte mit dem, was ich vor langer Zeit in diesem "Aufruf" und in den Aufsätzen meines "Sozialist" gesagt habe. Eine politische Revolution in Deutschland stand noch aus; nun ist sie gründlich vollbracht, und nur die Unfähigkeit der Revolutionäre beim Aufbau einer neuen Wirtschaft vor allem und auch der neuen Freiheit und Selbstbestimmung konnte schuld sein, dass eine Reaktion käme und die Einistung neuer Gewalten des Privilegs. Dass die marxistisch-sozialdemokratischen Parteien in ihren sämtlichen Tönungen unfähig zur politischen Praxis, zur Konstitution der Menschheit und ihrer Volkseinrichtungen, zur Begründung eines Reiches der Arbeit und des Friedens, und gleichermassen unfähig zur theoretischen Erfassung der sozialen Tatsachen sind, haben sie überall aus grässlichste, im Krieg, vor ihm und nach ihm, von Deutschland bis Russland, von der Kriegsbegeisterung bis zum geistlos unschöpferischen Schreckensregiment, zwischen welchen Wesensverwandtschaft ist und ja auch seltsame Verbundung war, gezeigt."

¹Note dialectical literary twist on "politics is the art of the possible."

²For Landauer's conception of Räte-democracy, see letter dated 20. March 1919 to Hans Cornelius, Lebensgang in Briefen, Vol. II, pp. 402-404, and his essay "Von der Rätedemokratie und dem Weg der Revolution" in Neue Zeitung, 29. March, 1919.

vain who attempt political and economic changes by revolutionary edict and fiat.¹ True socialism and social change can come only through love, work, and in quiet devotion.² The Revolution must create Religion--A religion of activity, of life, and of a soulful, redemptive, and transcendent love.³ Political activity is necessary but it does not bring about socialism.⁴

Landauer himself thought his Aufruf zum Sozialismus⁵ the best of his works,⁶ the one calling for cultural socialism within a realistic framework and based upon human desires rather than class warfare, much sought after in 1918 in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland.⁷ In the "Vorwort" to the first,

¹Aufruf, p. 49.

²Ibid., p. 50: "Aber die ungeheuerere Gefahr ist, dass Schlendrian und Nachahmung sich auch der Revolutionäre bemächtigen und sie zu Philistern des Radikalismus, des töhrenden Worts und der Gewaltgebärde machen; dass sie nicht wissen und nicht wissen wollen: die Umwandlung der Gesellschaft kann nur in Liebe, in Arbeit, in Stille kommen."

³Ibid., p. 55: ". . . möge uns aus der Revolution Religion kommen; Religion des Tuns, des Lebens, der Liebe, die beseligt, die erlöst, die überwindet. Was liegt am Leben? Wir sterben bald, wir sterben alle, wir leben gar nicht. Nichts lebt, als was wir aus uns machen, was wir mit uns beginnen; die Schöpfung lebt; das Geschöpf nicht; nur der Schöpfer. Nichts lebt als die Tat ehrlicher Hände und das Walten reinen wahrhaften Geistes."

⁴State Archives, Zentralarchiv Merseburg, Königl. Ministerium des Innern, Berlin, Abteilung CB Acta, p. 64. Der Schriftsteller Gustav Landauer, see clipping, October 2, 1909, p. 30 of Acta.

⁵Based upon a 1908 lecture series, first published 1911, second edition 1919, third edition 1967; variously translated, see Works of Gustav Landauer, this manuscript.

⁶Letter to Leo Kestenberg dated 16. October, 1918 in Lebensgang in Briefen, p. 278.

⁷Ibid.

1911 edition, which was less pregnant with the excitement of cataclysmic events, Landauer made it quite clear that though he was writing from a theoretical point of view, he actually expected to realize his goal of socialism,¹ precisely because he defined socialism as the will and the commitment to create this new world order: "Socialism is the directed will of like-minded people to create new forms for the sake of an ideal."² And again: "Socialism is the desire to create a new reality with the help of an ideal."³ Actually, most of the book, written with care and in stages, is a definitive critique of Marxist Socialism, coming at the end of twenty full years of agitatory and literary activity on behalf of libertarian democratic societal forces.

Whatever had been hasty in the writing or editing of Die Revolution reads smoothly and easily in Aufruf zum Sozialismus. It is a mature, though popular, analysis of the basic thought-forms of Marxism and was intended by Landauer to become the definitive program for his Sozialistischer Bund, an organization of autonomous, decentralized "sects" or "cells" of a new socialist organization, which Landauer hoped would create a new atmosphere for free socialism in German-speaking countries.⁴

¹ Aufruf, 1967 edition, p. 57.

² Ibid., p. 60: "Sozialismus ist die Willenstendenz geeinter Menschen, um eines Ideals willen Neues zu schaffen."

³ Ibid., p. 58: "Der Sozialismus ist ein Bestreben, mit Hilfe eines Ideals eine neue Wirklichkeit zu schaffen."

⁴ Letter dated September 13, 1908 to Margarete Faas (courtesy Faas collection, Mr. Theodor Pinkus of Limmat

Founded in 1908, it was Landauer's own "Neue Gemeinschaft," which at its high point had twenty groups or cells in Germany.¹ Its first publishing effort was a large programmatic Flugblatt in an edition of 10,000 copies which was later joined by two other similar Flugblätter.² The model for Landauer were the sections and districts which were organized in the French Revolution³ and it is important to

Verlag, Zürich): "Propagandistisch wäre es wertvoll, wenn die Gruppen Bern und Zurich schon jetzt sich in den Rubriken "Sozialistischer Bund," die wir im "Freien Arbeiter" und "Revolutionär" (both anarchist papers of the period) durchgesetzt haben, in ähnlicher Weise, wie die anderen Gruppen publizieren liessen. Es kommen noch mehr dazu, und es geht schneller wenn Ihr vorausgeht. Schreibe recht schnell wieder. Du machst mich glücklich und ich küsse Dich aus heiterster Seele aber in Sehnsucht nach Deiner Nähe." This is the beginning of the short-lived but highly active cooperation between Landauer and his lady-friend in the setting up of groups and in the writing of the Swiss version of Der Sozialist. A similar Austrian effort was planned, based in Vienna and headed there by Pierre Ramus. See same letter: "Das Circular sollte verschickt werden, sobald die Abmachung perfekt ist . . . Als Titel schlage ich vor: in grossfetterm Druck lediglich: Der Sozialist. Und dann in viel kleinerer Schrift, mehr schon als Mitteilung: Herausgegeben von den Schweizer . . . für die Länder deutscher Zunge. Und darüber oder daneben, in kleinem Druck: Publikationsorgan des Sozialistischen Bundes. Für die Punkte . . . mögt Ihr Euch entschliessen, ob Ihr wählen wollt: Sozialist-Anarchisten (mir das liebste) oder Sozialisten oder Anarchisten oder blos Genossen (Kameraden)."

¹ Reported by Heinz Joachim Heydorn in "Vorwort" to the 1967 edition of the Aufruf, p. 11.

² Erste Flugblatt: "Was will der Sozialistische Bund"; zweite Flugblatt: "Was ist zunächst zu tun?"; dritte Flugblatt: "Die Siedlung." All three along with other programmatic writings and essays collected and edited posthumously by Martin Buber in Beginnen: Aufsätze über Sozialismus (Köln, 1924).

³ See specially Albert Soboul, The Parisian Sans-Culottes and the French Revolution (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964) and George Rudé, The Crowd in the French Revolution (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).

recall that at this time Landauer was busy with the translation of Peter Kropotkin's Die französische Revolution 1789-1793, in which the revolutionary sections and districts figured prominently and that he wrote an article in his own Der Sozialist in 1909 entitled "Distrikte und Sektionen in Paris 1789," which was a translation of Kropotkin.

A third, short but important part of the Aufruf zum Sozialismus was a section on the contribution of Proudhon to libertarian Socialism, which for Landauer was the later "synthetic" approach. "The man Proudhon knew what we today know all over again: that Socialism is possible and is impossible at all times; it is possible when there are people who want it and are willing to act; and it is impossible when people are unwilling or are only willing and not able to act . . ."¹ Landauer's model is distinctly the Proudhon of 1848-1851, the years of ideological greatness and optimism. The criticism levelled against Proudhon by the Marxists, to the effect that he agitated for the petit bourgeoisie and for the small peasantry²--Landauer (who himself was eager to recreate rural communities) considered the greatest compliment that one could have bestowed on the French thinker whom he himself considered the great "Volkssozialist" of his people. Not only in his writings, but also in his popular lectures and political addresses of these years on behalf of his own

¹Aufruf, 1867 edition, p. 146.

²Ibid. Landauer's emphasis here is more agrarian than in earlier periods.

Bund, Landauer came out for a Proudhonian approach.¹ Anarchism-- or for that matter Socialism--is not an industrial but an agrarian question." This insight was perpetuated not only in Landauer's writings but also in his participation in "Siedlungen" efforts.² Landauer's Bund participated actively in a settlement fund with the utopian colony "Eden" which was organized by followers of Hertzka near Berlin, in the small town of Oranienburg. It is probably this strong belief in the possibility of social rebirth of modern culture through a back-to-the-land and back-to-nature movement which united Landauer (late in life--but long beyond death) with the same aspirations in the humanist-socialist-Zionist movement of such men as A.D. Gordon, Brenner, and Arlosoroff. The latter's work, published in Berlin in 1919, entitled Der jüdische Volkssozialismus,³ is so full of such Landauer "chestnuts" as

¹In a letter to Erich Mühsam, dated April 11, 1907, of some interest in connection with the definition of Landauer's socialism and his relation to the French socialist tradition, Landauer listed three possible positions: 1) Grave--or Communist-anarchism like Kropotkin's; 2) Pouget--or Syndicalism; and 3) Fauve--or Anti-clericalism. Landauer stated that he was least sympathetic to the Syndicalists, because like the German Social-democrats, the latter rely on demagogic means and compromise methods. (Mühsam Tagebücher 1910-1933 [from the Gorki-Collection, Moscow] Microfilms, Akademie der Künste, Berlin-Ost).

²See his article "Die Siedlung," Der Sozialist, July 1909 and the pamphlet Die Siedlung, printed in Martin Buber (ed.), Beginnen, as Flugblatt #3.

³Examples: p. 28: Der jüdische Sozialismus--will er wirklich jüdisch und wirklich Sozialismus sein--kann nur ein Volkssozialismus sein. P. 28: "Seine Erfüllung ist nicht eine Erfüllung, eine Umgestaltung des Lebens im Sinne und im Interesse einer Klasse--das ist doch das Ziel des sozial-demokratischen Klassenkampfes--sondern das Werk und das Ziel

return to nature, the land as source of creativity, the importance of producers' and consumers' collectives, the importance of "Gemeinschaftsgesinnung" over class hate or class rule, the importance of spiritual and cultural creativity for the Jewish masses in Palestine, the importance of an inner sense of socialism which transforms the work of all into the work for all--that one can only marvel at the common core of their thinking or at the extraordinary strength of the "Zeitgeist" as it informed equally German-Jewish and Jewish-Zionist thinking from the same inspiration and the same ideologies. It is perhaps more toward the socialist-utopian than to the specifically Jewish character of the Zionist effort to which Landauer was drawn when he accepted the invitation of Nahum Goldman to appear as the main speaker for the Conference of German-Jewish Zionist-Socialists planned for Munich in Spring 1919.¹ It is to a group of such a humanist-

des ganzen sich befreienden Volkes." Pp. 40-41: "Es ist Zeit, dass die sozialistische Bewegung sich auf die höhere Aufgaben besinne, auf die Erhöhung des Menschen--Kultur und der Gerechtigkeit. Es ist Zeit, dass die arbeitenden Menschen sich ermannen und sagen "Auch wir sind Menschen mit einer Seele und mit einem Recht auf die Seele . . . Gewiss ist das wirtschaftliche ein bedeutender Faktor der Menschengeschichte. Gewiss bildet der ökonomische Aufstieg eine Grundlage des höheren Lebens, aber nur das. Die Grosstaten des Menschengeschlechts hat er weder bewirkt noch gebracht. Jede Revolution, jede Umgestaltung des Lebens, jeder Fortschritt der Völker ist der Sieg einer Idee, für die Menschen kämpfen und für die sie sich freien Willens opfert, einer Idee die langsam sich durchdrang bis zu ihrem grossen Sieg." Clue to this affinity lies in characterization of Arlosoroff's "worlds": see Chaim Arlosoroff: Leben und Werk (Berlin, 1936), in which point is made that he lived in an atmosphere of the romantic intuitionism of the German Bohème (p. 29) with its luminous warm atmosphere . As Landauer, Arlosoroff was murdered at a young age for his political views in Palestine.

¹Previous reference; also important letter to Martin Buber, 20. March 1918, Lebensgang in Briefen, Vol. II, pp. 401-402.

socialist persuasion that Landauer addressed his short lecture on "Judaism and Socialism,"¹ which is at once a fine definition of the "Jewish renaissance"² (to which Landauer never gave the word "Zionism"). Addressing himself to the possibility that some Jews may want to create their own settlements, Landauer kept open the equal and distinct possibility that others would find "Exile" among the nations--in a very missionary and messianic sense--a convenient and appealing form of realizing their Socialism and their Jewishness.³

Landauer here, in a very short lecture, gave a very profound interpretation of the meaning of Jewish history and the meaning of Jewish existence in the modern world. There are two options which are equally possible: the reconstituted Jewish nationalism in its homeland and the lonely mission of the Diaspora. The one, national and cultural renaissance, which brings

¹Typescript of lecture to the "Zionistische Ortsgruppe West Berlin" given on February 12, 1912--Sonderbericht der Selbstwehr. Notes of Prof. Hugo Bergmann.

²"Dieses Judentum ist zunächst eine grosse Tatsächlichkeit, eine natürliche Eigenschaft derer, die da Juden sind 'etwas', das uns Juden von Natur aus zu einander bindet. Man ist Jude, auch wenn man es nicht weiss oder nicht bekennen will . . . Denn wenn eine Nation wieder einmal an einem Wendepunkt steht, wenn sie das erst werden soll, was sie ihrer Möglichkeit nach ist, dann sind die Dichter, dann die Propheten nötig.'"

³"Der Sozialismus ist zunächst eine Zusammenfassung eines grossen Wollens und es ist natürlich, dass die nationale Gemeinschaft die Grundlage für die Bildung der neuen Gesellschaft abgeben wird. Also, werden viele jüdische Sozialisten schliessen, brauchen wir zunächst die jüdische Gemeinschaft. Aber für andere wird der Galuth, das Exil als innere Stimmung der Vereinsamung und der Sehnsucht, das Allererste sein, was ihnen Judentum und Sozialismus verbindet. Für diese aber wird Judentum und Sozialismus dasselbe sein, sie werden wissen, dass ihnen als Juden wie als Sozialisten auferlegt ist, die Einigkeit, die Gerechtigkeit, zu verlangen.

forth new poets and new prophets in a reborn Israel. The other which creates lonely, inspired souls wedded to the commitment of increasing brotherhood and justice in the world; individuals to whom the Jewish and the Socialist message are one and indivisible. It is quite clear from the text (cf. footnote 3 previous page) to which group Landauer himself felt the greater affinity. It is also clear from the transmissions of Landauer's socialist and "Jewish" message how profoundly moved Zionist socialists were by his conception of the mission of Exile and "Galuth" (dispersion among the nations). It is important to mention in this context that the only historical figures of Jewish history and fate about whom Landauer wrote and to whom his works have relation are the two "heretics" of Jewish history: Jesus and Spinoza. It is they, who for him, represent the alternate stream of Jewish continuity--the lonely, inspired martyred figures, who even as they became social and philosophical outcasts among their co-religionists and even as they were rejected and despised by the majority cultures of their own time, by their written legacy and the charisma of their consequent and authentic personalities inspired and influenced men posthumously. It is of the very essence of Landauer's relationship to Judaism that even as his good friend Buber likened his fate and the message of his death to that of Jesus, the intimate friends of his youth remarked over and over on his Christ-like appearance and Christ-like expressions.¹

¹"Damals stellte Fritz von Uhde ein Christusbild aus,

The mature Gustav Landauer saw his distinct mission in furthering both the "renewal" of the Jewish spirit and in the building of bridges between the Jewish Biblical ethic and the socialist utopian aspirations of modern Europe. The "re-birth" of Jewish existence to which Landauer had reference in his assessment of Buber,¹ took its place with the "renewal" of the German spirit in "Jugendstil" as it did with the "renouveau" or the "renaissance française" of the French generation which sought the "new men" after the bitter disillusionment of the

das Jesus unter den Seinen in der damals modernen Tracht, aber doch ein wenig romantisierend, also im Havelock darstellte. Eine solche Christuserscheinung im Havelock ist Landauer, . . ." in Stefan Grossman, Ich war begeistert, pp. 64-65.

¹Guſtav Landauer, "Martin Buber," Neue Blätter, 1913. Extraordinary insight in seeing that Buber's nationalism might not have been entirely authentic and may again be swept away: "Aber möchte selbst, was schwer zu glauben ist, die Züge wieder ausgelöst werden (note here Landauer's emphasis on eternal recurrence in history), in denen Buber jüdisches Wesen gezeichnet hat, möchte gar ein völlig anderes Judentum für Vergangenheit und Zukunft festgestellt werden (shows that he had doubts of Buber's lack of scientific insights) eines wird bleiben, eines, das Buber nicht geschaffen, das er geschaut und in sich gefunden und mit dem Zwange und der Stärke der Wirklichkeit gestaltet hat: dass dieses Volk vor sich selbst und den andern in Reinheit steht (note here his anti-Marxism; Marx in his writings having cast aspersions on the morality of the Jewish social ethic) und dass die Menschheit in diesem wie in jedem echten und lebendigen Volke sich selbst und ein Abbild ihres Wesens gespiegelt findet." (Note here the task of all modern nationalism: that the ethnic group must realize its own destiny but must also participate in the common brotherhood of humanity.) Lunn, in his Prophet of Community, basing himself on current interpretations of "Volk" and "völkisch" has not significantly stressed the double track of Landauer's nationalism. Landauer's intellectual guidelines for German and Jewish nationalism lay in the classical period of German literature in which "völkisch" and "weltbürgerlich" were equal cultural mandates.

Dreyfus years.¹ It is significant that Landauer used the word "Erneuerung" with equal passion for Jewish cultural nationalism as he did for the German national youth movement,² which was anti-totalitarian.³ As Bergson carried the

¹ Insightful discussion of French renewal from fin de siècle to World War I in "Einleitung," Ernst Robert Curtius, Französischer Geist im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1952).

² See his "Martin Buber" in Neue Blätter, 1913, Pa. 91 for the Jewish "Erneuerung" and his "Stelle Dich, Sozialist!" in Aufbruch: Monatsblätter der Jugendbewegung (editor was Ernst Joel), 1. Jahrgang Heft 1. (Note that he was contributor to first issue. Some have argued that toward the end of his life, Landauer was removed from political and social movements. This is an error. He remained to his end caught up in every effort of renewal and rebellion which had humanistic over-tones.)

³ Landauer refused his participation in an all-German Youth day of the various youth movements because anti-semitic student groups were invited. See his letter to Heinrich Dehmel, 16. October 1913 in Lebensgang in Briefen, Vol. I, pp. 447-448: "Zweitens könnt Ihr meinetwegen zwanzigerlei Parteien zur gemeinsamen Arbeit zusammen bringen." (Was planned for Grosse Meissner meeting in October 1913. See Walter Laquer, Young Germany: A History of the German Youth Movement (New York: Basic Books, 1962, Chapters Eight through Eleven). "Eine aber darf für mich natürlich nicht darunter sein; der Antisemit, der ganz etwas anderes vorstellt, als jede der anderen Richtungen, da er einen bestimmten Volks- und Menschheits--teil, zu dem ich zudem noch gehöre, auf Grund einer unausrottbaren Qualität, des Judentums, verfehmt." This interpretation is at some variance with the contemporary one of Professor George Mosse in his "The Influence of the Völkish Idea on German Jewry" in Germans and Jews (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1970). Landauer maintained cordial relations, within a private context, with Hans Blüher of the German Youth movement, whose writings were distinctly unfriendly and unfair to Jews and the Jewish experience, but publicly Landauer would not endorse any of his programs or activities.

vitalism of the French effort, so the young Jewish socialists of what this writer would call the "Eastern-German" cities of Vienna and Prague (for the Jewish bourgeoisie of those cities spoke German) carried the message of the new Jewish rebirth.¹

With that distinct empathy, finesse, and sensitivity which characterized his relationship to all philosophical and social problems, Landauer met the issues arising out of the new relationships between Eastern and Western Jews. The presence of German and German-Jewish troops in the Eastern provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the occupation of Russo-Polish territories by Germans brought Jews of assimilated Western and German middle class background into contact with their "less fortunate" but often more vibrantly Jewish "brethren": the Jewish "Volksmassen" of the occupied territories. This was either a great psychic shock for assimilated German-Jewish soldiers and officers² or it was seen

¹Useful in this context, Hans Kohn, Karl Kraus--Arthur Schnitzler--Otto Weininger: Aus dem jüdischen Wien der Jahrhundertwende (Tubingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1962) and Janik and Toulmin, Wittgenstein's Vienna. Especially insightful for this period, Elkana Margalit's "Introduction" to his Hashomer Hazair--From Youth Community to Revolutionary Marxism (1913-1936) (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University and Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1971). The writer is especially indebted to Professor Shlomo Avineri, Dean of the Kaplan School for Social Sciences and Professor of Political Science at the Hebrew University (formerly Visiting Professor of the Institute of the Humanities at Connecticut Wesleyan University) for a long consultation in which "notes were compared" on the implications of the writer's research and those of Professor Margalit, which were intimately known to Professor Avineri. For the non-Hebrew reading audience, it is sufficient to state here that there is important overlapping of insights in this and the Margalit study.

²Especially poignant letters from the front in Franz Rosenzweig, Briefe (Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1935).

as a golden opportunity to participate in a Jewish renewal and "reacquaintance" effort with Jewish values, traditions, and utopian Zionist aspirations. The German military effort in the East also brought German-Jewish soldiers and officers into contact for the first time with the misery and squalor and overt anti-semitism both on the part of the fleeing Czarist as well as the occupying German troops. For many German Jews in the military forces this experience was to be as crucial an experience in self-identification as was the attendance of Theodor Herzl, essayist and reporter of the Wiener Neue Freie Press, at the Dreyfus trial in Paris, which caused him to found political Zionism.¹ It was in Paris that Herzl understood the true implications of the anti-semitism of Dühring and Drumont, and it was there that his Jewish utopia Der Judenstaat was born. Gustav Landauer, who participated actively in the setting up of a "Volksheim" for Jewish adolescents in Berlin, which was to bring together youngsters from Eastern and Western Jewish homes in a common youth community² under the leadership of the then emerging "enlightened Jewish orthodoxy" of Dr. Siegfried

¹Alex Bein, Theodor Herzl (Wien: FIBA Verlag, 1934) and Marvin Lowenthal, The Diaries of Theodor Herzl (New York: Dial Press, 1956).

²An idea which was later enlarged in Palestine to the idea of a youth-village for orphaned or parentless German-Jewish refugee children from Nazi German. Named variously "Das Kinder" or "das Jugenddorf Ben Shemen," this experiment of a rural, autonomous youth-community bears the influence of its founder, Siegfried Lehmann, as well as the abiding influence of Gustav Landauer. It still awaits its historian as Siegfried Lehmann awaits his sympathetic biographer.

Lehmann, cautioned in an extraordinarily perceptive letter¹ against "cultural elitism" and snobbishness. He rather pedantically warned the director, before assuring his support (which he finally gave by speaking at the dedication ceremonies), that he be less haughty about who was going to learn from whom. The tacit implication had been that the Eastern Jews would learn from the metropolitan Berlin environment. Landauer cautioned that the authenticity and freshness of "jüdischer Geist" of the "Easterners" should neither be suppressed nor underestimated. Further, Landauer cautioned against the view that all Jewish regeneration and national reawakening be automatically thought to be Palestine or Zion-centered. Landauer felt that the road of the Gentile and Jewish German student to the Jewish students of Eastern heritage had to come via European culture and in Europe.² As the best example of building intellectual bridges to Eastern experiences, Landauer cited Goethe's "West-östlichen Diwan."³ Landauer left a typical and consistent message for Lehmann and the "Volksheim": the way to make Jewishness a Volk-experience was to integrate it among the national experiences of the

¹In Der junge Jude (Berlin) 2. Jahrg; November 1929.

²"Will der deutsche und jüdische Student sich seinen jüdischen Brüdern widmen, so geht der Weg, mag er noch so sehr Palästina im Sinne tragen, über Europa. Will er das nicht, so unterdrückt er aus Doktrinarismus seine beste Kraft in sich selbst."

³". . . Innere Entfremdung von Deutschland steht nicht auf meinem Programm; und z. B. der West-östliche Diwan des Deutschen und Europaers Goethe steht meinem Herzen unsäglich näher als jedes verfälschende Entweder-Oder, mit dem ein Zionist mich zwischen Deutsch und Jüdisch, Europäisch und Orientalisch wählen heisst."

nations, not to separate this ethnicity falsely from cultural intercourse with other national groups.¹ As always, Landauer was here clearly paradoxical: on the one hand the conservative, traditional pose of back-to-the sources and to-the-roots of Jewish folk experience of the Ages and of the confined settlements of Eastern Europe--on the other hand a radically modern upgrading and modernization of Jewish ritual and religious traditions that separated the religious and social life of the Jews from that of other nations and ethnic groups. Landauer was to repeat the same theme in his other writings and the "Stimmung" which he created in literary, religious, and political circles was uniformly humanistic and pluralistic in its populist inspirations.² Of equal importance is the

¹"Es ist ein grosser Irrtum zu glauben, im Juden das Jüdische zu erwecken, heisse eine Kluft graben zu den andern Nationen. Im Gegenteil! Im Juden das Jüdische wieder wahrhaft lebendig machen heisst das Judentum zum Volk unter Völkern machen, während es jetzt verquickt ist mit abergläubischen Bräuchen, die den Juden aufs gehässige von der übrigen Menschheit trennen."

²A rare letter of Martin Buber to Ina Britschgi-Schimmer dated 19.11.125 is found in Buber-Landauer Archive, National and University Library, Jerusalem. This letter lists ten items for a bibliography of Landauer's writings pertaining to Jewish subjects. This writer has verified this list--the items are correct (Buber wrote them from memory) and furthermore--the bibliography appended to this manuscript entitled Works of Gustav Landauer does not include any new entries on Jewish subjects. Buber, in this letter, explained that he was searching for the typescript which was prepared by Professor Emeritus of Philosophy Hugo Bergmann of the Hebrew University, which this writer has now located and has discussed above. A summary of it is found also in the 1916 Arbeit (Organ der zionistischen Volkssozialistischen Partei) and the 1920 edition of the same journal. Significant subjects of Jewish interest are the essay "Strindberg's historische Miniaturen in Der Jude, 2. Jahrg., Heft 1/2, April-Mai; "Die Poesie der Juden" in Freistatt I, 5. Heft, issue of Aug. 8,

periodization of his so-called "Jewish" interests. Some have unduly stressed that they are most frequent in the period between 1913-1916 and that they reflect a particularly significant expression of the mature Landauer. Others have argued that Landauer's marriage to a vibrant Jewish writer from a traditional environment made him more conscious of and sympathetic to his Jewish heritage. This writer has pointed out that this approach, held by those who were not able to consult archival materials, is not useful and is significantly incorrect.

Landauer's youthful literary efforts, his mature writings, and his social contacts demonstrate his consistent, unbroken interest in Jews, subjects of Jewish interest and concern, and themes touching on Jews in world literature. The fact that Landauer is recorded as having had more contact with organizations and movements of the Jewish renaissance and Jewish survival after the turn of the twentieth century is simply that there were more of them and that those which were formed came more and more from socialist-humanist circles with which Landauer felt at home, with which he associated his humanitarian efforts and in many of which he was to be perpetuated.

1913; the essay (originally a lecture delivered as part of a 21-lecture Shakespeare cycle which Landauer gave during the war to cast Shakespeare in the role of the great liberator and humanist of the 17th century and to relate him to the work of the two other 17th-century figures whom Landauer admired for the same traits and the same historic significance: Rembrandt and Spinoza) entitled "Der Kaufmann von Venedig" in his two-volume Shakespeare: Dargestellt in Vorträgen (Frankfurt am Main: Rutten & Loening, 1920, published posthumously by Martin Buber; new German editions, Potsdam, 1948 and Hamburg, 1962 and presently being translated for an American edition).

Landauer always was a man of his time--he made his time and he was made by it. The period before World War I saw an enormous political, social, and literary effort of young, educated, thinking Jewish students and intellectuals. Many of them heard a distinctly "Jewish call" to perfect the world and the conditions in it. Some thought in separatist, nationalistic terms, others contained within their libertarian strivings yearnings for undifferentiated brotherhood. Landauer understood both, associated with both, helped both, and ultimately must be thought to be immortalized within both. These strivings and efforts were a significant part of the intellectual European scene--they made it and were made by it. This is one of the great periods of Jewish culture in Western Europe. It has yet to find its historian who will sift through the "artifacts" of the period between 1870 and 1930 which mark the two generations of Jewish cultural and scientific productivity before the gas ovens were turned on.

Significant themes of modern Jewish interest were the anti-semitism of contemporary society, a subject to which Landauer devoted a special issue of Der Sozialist in 1913 entitled "Zum Beilisprozess," in which he came to grips with the extraordinary accusations levelled against Jews of twentieth-century blood-murder¹ (a medieval accusation which

¹Accusation of ritual murder in Kiev in 1913 which was part of repressive wave to hit Russia in period following 1905 revolution. The significance in this trial, as in the Dreyfus trial, lay in the fact that the government and all governmental agencies used this "myth" to threaten the security of the Jewish community and to fan anti-semitism. The

Jews thought they had left far behind in history), and "internal Jewish discrimination" in his article "Ostjuden und Deutsches Reich."¹ This article strongly chided German Jews for suspecting that their Eastern brethren, who often were refugees from persecution and came to the large German metropolitan centers in search of refuge and permanent settlement, were the cause of anti-semitism in Germany. Landauer saw in 1916 with the eyes of the "prophet" that the national origins of Jews and the country of their birth was not a factor in modern German anti-semitism. Another important contribution, hardly ever mentioned in a list of subjects of Jewish interest, was Landauer's translation of Proudhon's 1896 "Jésus et les origines du christianisme" entitled by himself simple "Jesus" and published in the 1913 Der Sozialist. The year 1913, so significant for Landauer's thinking about Jewish subjects and so pregnant with the social problems of European Jewry² on the

whole of the Jewish literary and religious tradition was used against Beilis, who in this manner, was used to attack Judaism and Jewry in general. Beilis was finally set free, emigrated to Palestine, and in 1925 wrote up the story, entitled The Story of my Suffering, which was published in New York. For excellent essay, see "Beilis Prozess," written by the great Russian historian Isaac Lewin in Jüdisches Lexicon (Berlin: Judischer Verlag, 1927), Band I.

¹Der Jude, 1. Jahrg. Heft 1, 1916. (This was the publication of which Martin Buber was the editor. Note that for the first issue he invited a contribution by Landauer, who responded. This article was also published in Liberales Judentum, organ of the progressive German-Jewish circles.) (Frankfurt: 8 Jahrg., 1916). It was Landauer's custom and evidently accepted usage to publish the same material with minor or no changes in several publications.

²See "Introduction," by Charles Péguy, to Bernard Lazare's Job's Dungheap (New York: Schocken Publishers, 1948).

eve of the first World War (which Landauer foretold in 1911 and which he sensed would be a turning point in World History)¹ also saw the publication of his "Sind das Ketzergedanken,"² probably his most poetic "credo" as a Jew. The Jewish experience is characterized in it as a moral cleansing of the world,³ a messianic task which was put upon the Jewish tradition from its inception as a historic unity in Biblical and Prophetic times. The message of Judaism was the message of the unity of all men and the promise of their ultimate redemption. The more the Jewish experience realized its original trust and heritage, the more it could become an ultimate force for holiness and healing in the world. However, it was incumbent upon Jews not to remain a separate entity but to become the "messiah in exile, awaiting dispersion." The Jew could be redeemed only with all of humanity, not alone.⁴ The Jews had a task and a mission. In

¹Essays on war in his Rechenschaft (1. Auflage Berlin: Cassirer Verlag: 1919; 2. Auflage Köln: 1924; 3. Auflage Berlin: 1930).

²In Vom Judentum (Prague: Bar Kochba judischer Studentenverein, 1913), also in Das freie Wort (editor Hans Kohn), 13. Jahrg., 1913.

³See "Sind das Ketzergedanken" in Gustav Landauer, Zwang und Befreiung (Köln: Verlag Jakob Hegner, 1968).

⁴Ibid., pp. 197-198: "Wie ein wilder Schrei über die Welt hin und wie eine kaum flüsternde Stimme in unserem Innersten sagt uns unabweisbar eine Stimme, dass der Jude nur zugleich mit der Menschheit erlöst werden kann und dass es ein und dasselbe ist: auf den Messias in Verbannung und Zerstreuung zu harren und der Messias der Völker zu sein."

true sociological fashion, Landauer saw every ethnic group appointed to a vocation: that of the Jews was to be of service to mankind. The importance of its nationalism was to create spirit--spirit in society, in the folk, in corporations, and in social organisms.¹ "To be a nation is to have a task."² And further still, to be a nation is to be a "Bund" of like-minded individuals who accept their task.³ Every person had to engage in the task and become active; it is not enough to be a bridge between generations and to be a precursor of or seed-bed for the future. The tradition which is being perpetuated is of the very essence of revolution for and regeneration of Mankind.

Landauer experienced his Jewishness and his Germanic heritage as mutually complementary, two parallel experiences which moved side by side without conflict. This "Neben-einander" ("parallelism") he felt was an enrichment of his humanity; he was loth to assign either heritage a primary or secondary role. The very complexity was an enrichment of his personality and efforts at simplification of such an intellectual complex, Landauer felt, would do violence to the very essence of his personality.⁴ Landauer remained aware

¹Zwang und Befreiung, p. 137.

²Ibid. "Nation sein heisst ein Amt haben." (Note: Shades of Max Weber and contemporary social theory--"to play a part" or "to assume a role.")

³"Denn was anders ist die Nation, als ein Bund solcher, die von verbindendem Geist geeint in sich eine besondere Aufgabe für die Menschheit spüren."

⁴". . . die Schickungen nehme und bin ich, wie sie sind,

of the changing nature of the Jewish experience. Change was always part of his expectation; flux was of the very essence of history. The Jews as a historical people knew periods of ascendancy and regression.¹ The period in which Landauer lived was experienced by him and others as an extraordinary period of revitalization, the scope of which had not been defined as yet. Landauer foresaw and intuited the possibility that the German and the Russian elements in the Jewish experience would go under; he sensed that a "Hebraization" of the Jewish people might be at hand which would sweep the Yiddish experience before it in the vastness of its dynamic.² (How marvellous were so many of the historical expectations of Landauer. He, in his own person, was the very proof-text of the efficacy of Dilthey's call for the historian as the bearer of an intuitive sense of historical

und mein Deutschtum und Judentum tun einander nichts zuleid und viel zulieb. Wie zwei Brüder, ein Erstgeborener und ein Benjamin, von einer Mutter nicht in gleicher Art, aber im gleichen Masse geliebt werden, und wie diese beiden Brüder einträchtig mit einander leben, wo sie sich berühren und auch, wo jeder für sich seinen Weg geht, so erlebe ich dieses selbtsame und vertraute Nebeneinander als ein Köstliches und kenne in diesem Verhältnis nichts Primäres oder Sekundäres. Ich habe nie das Bedürfnis gehabt, mich zu simplifizieren oder durch Verleugnung meiner selbst zu unifizieren; ich akzeptiere den Komplex, der ich bin, und hoffe noch vielfältiger eins zu sein als ich weiss."

¹The great Philosopher and Historian of Jewish Mysticism, Professor Gershon Scholem at the first World Conference of the (American) Central Conference of American Rabbis in Jerusalem in 1970 (Hebrew University) lectured on the renewed historicity of the Jewish experience with the coming of Zionism and modern Jewish secularism.

²Mag sein, dass eine Entwicklung kommt, die das Jüdische so um sich greifen lässt, dass unser Deutschtum, jenes Russentum erdrückt wird; mag sein, dass ein hebraisches Judentum kommt, das das jiddische vertilgt."

development. In Landauer so much of contemporary history was a matter of true "Dichtung Und Erlebnis.") But no matter how dynamic and persuasive the historical experience of the group, the call of history and morality was always to the individual and to his conscience. Everyone was enjoined to take himself along into the Promised Land, everyone had to realize in his own thinking and his own activity the unity and simultaneity of the past, the present, and the future.

The two most interesting and most incomplete experiences in renewal and reconstruction are Landauer's intellectual attempt to join Fritz Mauthner¹ in bringing about a philosophical revolution and readiness to join Kurt Eisner² in furthering the political revolution in Munich in 1918-1919.³ The one led him to write, in 1903, a heavily disjointed and structurally difficult book entitled Skepsis und Mystik, the other led him to accept various positions of leadership in the Munich Revolution between December 1918 and his murder in May 1919. It is the contention of this writer that the creativity and the complexity of Landauer's personality are nowhere as manifest and nowhere as interesting as in these two activities of his mature years. The book was written as the

¹Interesting and helpful for this discussion, Gershon Weiler, "Mauthner and Linguistic Philosophy" in Mauthner's Critique of Language (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

²Franz Schade, Kurt Eisner und die Bayerische Sozialdemokratie (Hannover: Verlag fur Literatur und Zeitgeschehen, 1961).

³Best single work, Allan Mitchell, Revolution in Bavaria 1918-1919 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).

first major work after Landauer's marriage to Hedwig Lachmann in a period which was rich in joy and union; the participation in the revolutionary effort, in which both he and the friend were to find their end, came at a period of deep anguish after the death of Hedwig Lachmann in February 1918.¹ Many have interpreted Landauer's participation in the revolution as an act of ultimate despair, as a passive listlessness being driven forward by some dynamic ennui; others have interpreted it as an act of virtual suicide and recklessness.² Many have been confused by the paradox of a man deeply committed to fighting all Social Democrats of Marxist persuasion

¹See his Wie Hedwig Lachmann starb (Privatdruck).

²See letter of Louise Dumont (who headed the Dusseldorf theatre to which Landauer had been called as dramaturgist in 1918, a position which Landauer forwent in order to participate in the Munich Revolution) of May 6, 1919 (a few days after Landauer's murder) in Martin Beradt and Lotte Bloch-Zavrel (ed.), Briefe an Auguste Hauschner (Berlin: Rowohlt Verlag, 1929 (Auguste Hauschner, a cousin of Fritz Mauthner, supported Landauer and his lady-love, Hedwig, in 1902 by the grant of a very generous loan. See letters from Bromley-Kent sent by Landauer to Auguste Hauschner on November 10, 1901 and March 4, 1902 in Briefe an Auguste Hauschner, pp. 54 and 57): ". . . kein Sterben seither, das mich nicht mit gönnendem Neid erfüllt hatte--dennoch bin ich entschlossen mit jedem Atemzug für die geistige Zukunft der Menschen weiter zu kämpfen, im festen Glauben an sie! Diese unerschütterliche Überzeugung einte mich so sehr mit Landauer, dass ich so gut sein Eintreten in die Münchener Bewegung verstehe; wenn auch ihm die Möglichkeit gering schien, er musste sie nutzen; ich verstehe Buber's Anschauung (in den Masken) gut--aber ich bin auch da nicht seiner Ansicht--stehe vielmehr ganz absolut auf Landauer's Seite; wo nur ein schwacher Schein einer Verwirklichungsmöglichkeit der Idee, die uns leitet besteht--da muss auch das praktisch Unmögliche versucht werden. Mit all dem was Spartakisten und anderen Versuche dabei war, hat L. ja nichts zu tun, er wollte Geistiges bauen--einbauen. Nein, er ist gewiss auch von Ihnen nicht weit fortgegangen, wenn auch politisch sich Ihnen manches anders darstellt."

joining enthusiastically in a revolution made by these very elements. It is important to note that as the most philosophical and revolutionary book of Landauer's was entitled Skepsis und Mystik, so might his participation and ultimate self-sacrifice in the Revolution equally have been entitled Skepsis und Mystik--doubt and redemptive fulfillment.

In Skepsis und Mystik, Landauer called with Nietzsche for a radical "transvaluation of values"¹--a reading not only of ethics and morality but of all fields of human knowledge and all manner of human communication and human conceptualization. (What is sickness? Life? Individuality? Function? Memory?) The reinterpretation of all science is necessary as a result of Darwinism. The world has to be understood in a new way; nature has to be approached all over again.² Basic to this reinterpretation of human knowledge is the understanding after Kant, that there is no ultimate knowledge, that there is no true knowledge, that what is asserted is always conjectural, in flux, true only in negation.³ "Your world is (only) the grammar of your speech."⁴ All knowledge is ultimately speech, and speech is merely our memory--our collective memory. We can only intuit and we can only know

¹Skepsis, p. 65.

²Ibid., pp. 67-68.

³Ibid., p. 5: "Es steckt nichts hinter unseren Worten." See also Fritz Mauthner, "Die drei neuen Kategorien," in his Die drei Bilder der Welt (Erlangen: Verlag der Philosophischen Akademie, 1925).

⁴Skepsis und Mystik, pp. 5-6.

likeness. All language is only a picture of reality, a mere picture of pictures. All picture-making, all fantasy is mere myth-building. "All our conceptions, religions, and sciences are mere poetry and play."¹ "The seriousness, the debate, the mask must be stripped from words and concepts." A great freeing for the game of life must take place--one must free oneself to be alone, without certainty, prepared to ride the high seas of postulates and fantasy.² One must sacrifice the certainty of one's being in order to be able to tolerate living.³ One can build a new world on the understanding that it is based on mere necessity but no certainty. It is a self-built and self-willed world.

Was it prophetic that it is in this book--with its attempt to find mystic meaning and attachment in an essentially lonely and often inhuman universe--that Landauer wrote the often-overlooked words, "As a suicide jumps into the water, so I jump downward into the world--but I do not find Death, I find Life."⁴

Landauer jumped into the water of revolution in December 1918 to find Life. He was acutely aware that he would be

¹Ibid.: "Mauthner aber hat keine Zeit zum Spielen; erst muss der Ernst so gründlich besorgt werden, dass wir einsehen: unsere Weltanschauungen, unsere Religionen, unsere Wissenschaften sind Dichtung und Spiel."

²Ibid., p. 6.

³"Ich verzichte auf die Gewissheit meines Ichs, damit ich das Leben ertragen kann."

⁴Ibid., p. 8: "Wie ein Selbstmörder sich ins Wasser stürzt, so stürze ich mich senkrecht in die Welt hinab, aber ich finde in ihr nicht den Tod, sondern das Leben. Das Ich tötet sich, damit Weltlich leben kann."

prepared to give his ultimate.¹ The Revolution to come would be cleansing and rebuilding. (The language and the imagery is almost Biblical in its priestly and prophetic contours. The work at hand was a work of holiness and spirituality.) He saw anguish and confusion at hand and yet rejoiced in the opportunity to be of service in what he anticipated to be a great opportunity to change social forms and structures, to build a more beautiful life, to go beyond party strife.² To live in the period of such creative upheaval was to experience an act of grace.

In Munich Landauer served as official orator or propagandist, as a member of the Revolutionary Workers' Council of Fifty, and as one of the ten members of the "Provisional National

¹Letter to Fritz Mauthner on 16 May, 1918 in Lebensgang in Briefen, Vol. II, pp. 238-239: "Ich lade Dich nicht ein, dabeizusein; ich bin ja wohl schon vorher gewesen, was man so einen Anarchisten, Sozialisten und Revolutionär nennt; die Entscheidung, die ich von mir und den Meinigen fordere hängt mit dem Krieg und nicht mit meinem Allerschwersten zusammen, und wenn zu alledem für mich nun noch eine besondere Verstärkung kommt, so wird sie wohl, wenn man genau zusieht, zuletzt auf Schonungslosigkeit gegen mich hinauslaufen." And earlier in the same letter: "Unerbittlich sein will ich in der Sache, die nun unser Amt ist; nenne sie Reinigung, Revolution, oder Aufbau; ich weiss was bevorsteht und schon da ist."

²Letter to George Springer, 27 November, 1918: "Ich sehe schauerhafte Verwirrungen und Nöte voraus und bin frohen Mutes. Ich weiss nicht, ob Sie diesen nur scheinbaren Widerspruch verstehen. Jetzt geht es um Sinn, um die höchsten Dinge der Menschheit, um gerechten Ausgleich und vernünftiges, schönes Leben: um den Kampf gegen jegliches Parteiwesens, um das Neue, Verborgene, das erst werden will. Weh uns, wenn so ein humoristischer Putsch unsere Revolution gewesen wäre! Die grossen Entscheidungen stehen erst bevor, wir sind in der Revolution, und so wir die Reinigung, die Erhebung, die höchste Zeit sein; es ist eine Gnade, dass wir sie erleben."

Council" during the tenure of the Eisner regime.¹ It is to be noted that he "joined the revolution," so to speak, at its most radical and libertine expression, considerably freer than Eisner's position and program tolerated. A staunch believer in the participatory democracy of the council system,² of federalism, and of local control, Landauer was far more interested in furthering these than in mounting efforts to call a national assembly. So great an agitator was Landauer for the cause of the workers' (and peasants'!) councils that he actively opposed the "normalization" which he feared would come with early elections--a political position which caused the Eisner regime to put Landauer and his supporters temporarily in protective custody, so that the Munich elections would be held in January 1919 without the threat of disturbance and disunity. Landauer and Eisner differed in their conceptions of the Councils-system from the very beginning: Eisner projected a supervisory role with full sovereignty for the elected parliament,³ Landauer aspired to a true councils' system.⁴

¹ See Franz Schade, Kurt Eisner und die bayerische Sozialdemokratie.

² For discussion of council system at its inception in German Revolution, see this writer's unpublished 1964 M.A. essay, entitled "The Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils in Berlin December 16-21, 1918." in Special Collections, Library, Columbia University.

³ "Eisner's Konzeption von den 'Räten'" in Franz Schade, Kurt Eisner und die bayerische Sozialdemokratie.

⁴ For council system see Walter Tormin, Zwischen Rätediktatur und sozialer Demokratie (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag), Eberhard Kolb, Die Arbeiterräte in der deutschen Innenpolitik 1918-1919 (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag), Peter

It is interesting to recall a fact which is only rarely noted, namely that Landauer was close to the position of the Russian populists who saw revolutionary democratization largely in terms of agrarian or peasant councils. The German Revolution-- it is important to note--did not bring forward a "self-conscious" libertarian or reformist peasants' movement. Landauer was a lone voice calling for a German counterpart to what for him had been the great revolutionary force of the French Revolution--the peasantry. Landauer's greatest efforts were spent in trying to "push the Revolution forward";¹ he warned Eisner in January 1919 that elections would bring in a "Reaktion" and that a counter-revolution would drive Eisner completely out.² This proved to be prophetic in February 1919 with the assassination of Eisner. Landauer delivered the eulogy for Eisner and, on February 21, 1919, joined those forces which were committed to Eisner's revolutionary program. To safeguard the revolution, these forces called for the "Second Revolution" in Munich.

P. von Oertzen Betriebsräte in der Novemberrevolution (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag). For Landauer see Franz Schade, Kurt Eisner und die bayerische Sozialdemokratie, Footnote 122, p. 154; Allan Mitchell, Revolution in Bavaria 1918-1919, p. 194 and Buber's Lebensgang in Briefen, Vol. II, pp. 340, 350-351, 354, 362-365.

¹"Und als diese Untat geschah, als man uns den Führer zur Revolution und in der Revolution wegnahm, da ist mit einer grossen Geschlossenheit das Munchener Volk, das Munchener arbeitende Volk aufgestanden und hat das Werk der Revolution gegen die Gegenrevolution in der einzigen Art gerettet, in der man eine Revolution retten kann. Eine Revolution ist nurch dadurch zu retten, dass man sie weiterführt . . ." Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen des Kongresses der Arbeiter-Bauern-und Soldatenrate, 25, February, 1919.

²Lebensgang in Briefen, pp. 354-355.

Strongly pacifistic all of life, Landauer had written a letter to President Wilson in 1916 urging that an armistice be arranged. He strongly opposed Prussian hegemony for the future. He sought instead to set up a federation of united German republics and in 1918 wrote a plan entitled "Die vereinigten Republiken Deutschlands und ihre Verfassung." Similarly innovative in his special metier in the Revolution, the school system, Landauer wrote a most innovative plan for School Reform of the whole German educational structure from elementary school through Graduate and Post-graduate programs of the university level.¹ To a generation familiar with the aspirations of radical French, German, and American students, Landauer's program is the young person's dream. Sensitive to the needs of the average student of limited ability, the program projected at the same time a sophisticated scholarly emphasis for the intellectual elite. It could well serve as a model for a present-day double-track system of education.

During the short-lived Räterepublik in early April, Landauer served as minister of culture. This was his only cabinet post in the Revolution. The Communist or "Third Revolution" which lasted for most of April did not pick up Landauer's offer of help or service.² The Dictatorship of

¹This plan, still in manuscript form, is worthy of publication. It has been largely realized in the contemporary American educational system--but goes beyond it. Manuscript in Landauer Nachlass, Institute for Social History, Amsterdam.

²See Buber's footnote, Lebensgang in Briefen, Vol. II, pp. 418 and 422.

the Red Army and the approaching troops of the Reichswehr attempting to take Munich for the Central Government¹ found Landauer unwilling to flee. He found his end on May 2, 1919 in the courtyard at Stadelheim Prison to which he had been brought from the residence of Eisner's widow where he had made his home. It is reported that his end came after he called to the men who were slowly clubbing and booting² him to death, "Erschlagt mich doch! Dass Ihr Menschen seid."³ His last remains have "wandered," fulfilling the prophecy of Ezekiel. Originally interred in the Waldfriedhof in Munich, they now rest--by Nazi edict--in a common grave with the remains of Kurt Eisner, in a special section of the Jewish cemetery in Munich. A portion of the large broken obelisk which the syndicalist workers of Munich had placed at the graveside at great financial sacrifice in 1925 has been transferred to this new site.

¹The severity of the vengeance which the troops let out on Landauer has always mystified his biographers. Attention is called to a penciled note attached to portions of the Muhsam Diaries now in possession of the Akademie der Kunste, Berlin-Ost, in microfilm. This note, resembling Landauer's handwriting, speaks of orders that should be given to publicize arrests. Whether indeed this note was or was not written by Landauer himself is difficult for a conscientious researcher to ascertain. Final verdict must await the publication of the full and original Muhsam Diaries by the Gorki Collection in Moscow. To date we have no authentic material which delineates the degree of political decision-making which Landauer had in the Munich Revolution.

²See Paul Werner (=Paul Frölich) Die Bayerische Räte-Republik (Leipzig: Franke Verlag, 1920) and Rosa Meyer-Leviné Leviné (Carl Hanser Verlag, 1972).

³"Go on beat me to death--so that you will remain human." For details of death and burial, see Buber's notes, Lebensgang in Briefen, pp. 421-424.

More forcefully even, the assessment of the Life and Fate of Gustav Landauer and those like-minded souls who shared his dream must stand the challenging indictment that the very revolution which Landauer helped to make--in the final analysis killed him. It was, as must be recalled, troops of the German Social democratic republic¹ who, with the full support of that democratic establishment, clubbed Landauer to death in a courtyard in broad daylight with spectators and participants--a scene to become a commonplace in the Holocaust.

The Nazis had a sufficiently well developed sense of history to recall the urn of ashes of a libertarian who thought himself a true heir of the founder of Christianity, of the medieval heretical Christian mystics, and of the German classical period--as he experienced himself a living link in the chain of Jewish tradition from the prophets to the Jewish utopians of his day. At the same time at which they reduced all of Jewish existence within their power to ashes, they methodically and efficiently "transferred" the ashes of Gustav Landauer to a somewhat peculiar spot in the Jewish cemetery. The corners of the rows of graves on Jewish cemeteries are by tradition reserved for men of great learning and great piety. The grave of Landauer--and Eisner--under a

¹Professor Arthur Hyman has recalled to the writer what had been overlooked by all previous biographers and by all of his devotees, that the legally constituted forces of law and order of the German social-democratic republic in what was a public ceremony thought that they had made a permanent end to Gustav Landauer. The troops which were employed to put down the Communist regime were federal and provincial and are often called "die weisse Garde" (The White Guard).

large tree is set back somewhat from the row of graves adjoining, and the grave is in the row and yet not in the row of the Jewish dead who found their last resting place in this cemetery, as though someone had planned that the memorial be a place of honor and yet was not quite certain of the appropriateness of that particular spot. The living Landauer was a man of eternal paradox, of eternal mystic passion, and of eternal redemptive hope. The dead Landauer has been reinterred by Nazis to remain a figure of eternal paradox, of eternal mystic passion and of eternal redemptive hope.

Gustav Landauer in Historical Literature

Gustav Landauer in Historical Literature

When, in 1919, the forty-nine-year old Gustav Landauer found his death at the hands of over-agitated troops, most of his work had been written and published and his two-volume Shakespeare, comprising popular lectures delivered during World War I, was ready to be printed. His printed corpus in 1919 comprised his early novel and novellas: Der Todesprediger¹ and Macht und Mächte² (including "Lebendig tot" und "Arnold Himmelheber") all three dealing with subjects of love and regeneration; his early political and social tracts ("Flugschriften"): An den Zuericher Kongress (1893), Ein Weg zur Befreiung der Arbeiterklasse (1895), Von Zuerich bis London (1896); his two major essays³ on true anarchism ("Die sind frei, die selbst keine Gewalt mehr ueben"); his philosophical Skepsis und Mystik⁴ an outgrowth of his collaboration with Fritz Mauthner on the latter's Sprachkritik; his definitive, mature studies on community, revolution, anarchism, and socialism, entitled Die Revolution⁵ and Auruf zum

¹Dresden and Leipzig, 1893, Koeln, 1923.

²Berlin, 1903; Koeln, 1923.

³Published in Zukunft January 5, 1895 and October 26, 1901; discussed by Martin Buber in Die Zeit (Vienna) June 11, 1904, "Gustav Landauer."

⁴Berlin, 1903; Koeln, 1923.

⁵Frankfurt, 1907; 1919, 1923.

Sozialismus;¹ a volume of his essays previously published on politics, war and peace: Rechenschaft,² his many works of translation: Meister Eckhart's Mystische Schriften, Peter Kropotkin's Landwirtschaft, Industrie und Handel, his Gegenseitige Hilfe, and Die Franzoesische Revolution; George Bernard Shaw's Sozialismus fuer Millionare; Walt Whitman's Der Wunderarzt and Oscar Wilde's Zwei Gespraechе von der Kunst, und vom Leben; Landauer's two-volume anthology of Briefe aus der fransoesischen Revolution; the translations of Tagore's Das Postamt and Der Koenig der Dunkel Kammern, Wilde's Das Bildnis des Dorian Gray and Der Sozialismus und die Seele des Menschen in which Landauer and his wife, the poetess Hedwig Lachmann Landauer, collaborated.

The corpus of his published works also included hundreds of essays on politics, philosophy, social science, and literature, book reviews of well-known and little-known authors; appreciative translations of radical authors, among which those of Proudhon are the finest; polemical editorials and some open letters and rejoinders to editors and authors, identification of many of which will be made for the first time in this book.³ Most of these essays and translations were published in Der Sozialist (both in "erste"⁴ and

¹Berlin, 1911; 1919; Koeln, 1925.

²Berlin, 1919; Koeln, 1924.

³Identification of Landauer's essays was aided by materials in "Mappe (Diversen)" in the Landauer "Nachlass" of the Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, Holland.

⁴1892-95.

"neue Folge"¹) of the years 1892-99 as well as in Landauer's "own" or "third" Sozialist, which he virtually edited and wrote alone from 1909 to 1915. He was, furthermore, a prolific and courted contributor to some fifty or sixty small journals, in which his fine style and sensitive translation found dedicated readers. The notes of many of his lectures have been preserved;² some abstracts of them in secret police archives, to which the writer has had access.³ It can be stated unequivocally that the writer, the critic, the theoretician, the editor and essayist Gustav Landauer was well-known to many small circles who were devotées of the avant-garde and expressionist journals of Wilhelminian Germany.⁴ These devotées, numbering several thousand, had a regular acquaintance with the early radical Sozialist and later became readers or subscribers to the more

¹1895-99.

²These are now in the Buber Archives in Jerusalem, Israel.

³The Ministry of the Interior of the German Democratic Republic granted access to the Secret Police files of the German Empire and the Prussian State, housed in the old royal domains in Sans Souci, Potsdam. Detailed acknowledgement is made regarding specific materials cited. Landauer's political activities were observed and carefully noted for most of his life.

⁴See Raabe, Paul, Die Zeitschriften und Sammlungen des literarischen Expressionismus (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964).

⁵StaatsArchiv Potsdam, Pr.Br.Rep.30 Tit.95 Sect.4 1809 14870, Der Sozialist, Vol.1, 1891-96 reports 10,000 issues of Der Sozialist printed for May Day 1892; reports on November 11, 1892: 1120 subscribers in Germany, total list 2725.

StaatsArchiv Potsdam, Pr.Br.Rep.30 Tit.95 Sect.4 1809 14873 Der Sozialist, Vol.IV, 1898-1900 police reports on

literary Sozialist penned by Landauer from 1909 to 1915. Though we do not have precise publishers' figures, the fact that most of Landauer's books went into two and some into three editions leads us to think that his literary as well as his political essays fulfilled an educative function for a small, but alert group of middle class as well as working men.

Landauer's role in the Bavarian Revolution of 1918-1919, in which he held various offices and in which he found his death, catapulted him to a limited national prominence in the Germany of the time and gave rise to public expressions of both regret and a restrained gloating, best expressed in the German term "Schadenfreude." The spoken and published eulogies of his closest friends and associates such as the radical poet, Erich Muehsam, the critic Julius Bab, the writer Auguste Hauschner, the philosophers Fritz Mauthner and Martin Buber in 1919¹ are moving lines of deep pain

August 22, 1898 that 2000-2500 issues of Sozialist are printed; in July 1899, that 1500 are printed and about 400 remain unsold. StaatsArchiv Potsdam, Pr.Br.Rep.30 Tit.95 Sect.4 1809 14872 Der Sozialist, Vol.III 1895-98 police lists subscribers, among them the following foreign and domestic journals: Die Hilfe, Frankfurt; Recht vor Allen, Amsterdam; Freidenker, Milwaukee; Vorbote, Chicago; Tageblatt, San Francisco; San Francisco Col. (sic) L'Action Sociale, Les Temps Nouveaux, La Revue Socialiste, all in Paris; Deutsch-Sozialdemokratisch Lesebibliothek, Paris; La Débâcle Sociale, Belgium; The Torch, London; The Firebrand, Portland, Oregon; Arbeiterstimme, Zürich; Ethische Kultur, Freiburg; Most(?) Zeitungs Amt, Berlin.

¹Masken (Halbmonatsschrift des Duesseldorfer Schauspielhaus), XIV, Jahrg., 1918-19. Also: Julius Bab, Gustav Landauer (Berlin: Cassirer, 1919).

and penetrating bitterness against a time and a fate which took one whom they recalled as a man of the spirit, a martyr, an apostle, a Jesus-like figure, a maligned prophet and teacher, a mentor of the generation, a visionary and seer. In these early efforts to give expression to great personal loss and bereavement, the natural emphasis is on the recollection of Landauer's personal charisma and dynamism, the originality of his task, the worth of his literary contributions, and the meaning of his tragic death. They are obviously not writings of analysis and critical evaluation of the corpus of Landauer's work and chosen tasks. Though the philosophical Fritz Mauthner, who had drawn the young Landauer close to his own journal Deutschland, had made him a collaborator in his work on SprachKritik, and had encouraged his cousin, Auguste Hauschner, to support him generously, had hoped to write a book on Landauer,¹ the task of doing justice to the young friend was evidently too great an emotional burden. A similar hope of the historian, Hans Kohn, whose Martin Buber² offers wealths of insight on this period, was not to be realized. The historic eulogizer of Gustav Landauer was to be his literary executor, Martin Buber, who spent a decade in reissuing all of Landauer's major writings, in gathering two additional anthologies of essays: Der werdende Mensch and Beginnen, and

¹ Masken (Halbmonatsschrift des Dueseldorfer Schauspielhauses) XIV. Jahrg. (1918-1930).

² Hans Kohn, Martin Buber: Le Sein, Werk und Seine, Zeiter (Hellerau: Hegner Verlag, 1930).

(in collaboration with Ina Britschgi Schimmer), issuing a two-volume edition of Landauer's letters entitled Gustav Landauer: Sein Lebensgang in Briefen.¹ Buber originally projected a volume of Landauer's speeches during the Revolution of 1918-19, but he was never able to secure the stenographic reports of these.² Subsequent researches, including

¹Gustav Landauer: Sein Lebensgang in Briefen, unter Mitwirkung von Ina Britschgi-Schimmer herausgegeben von Martin Buber (Frankfurt am Main: Ruetten & Loening Verlag, 1929). The exact wording of the title page was a matter of great concern to Buber. Plans for the two volumes are especially detailed in the following letters exchanged by Buber and Britschgi-Schimmer, which are found in "Mappe Het 684" of the Buber Archives in Jerusalem: December 14, 1925, March 3, 1926, November 30, 1927, November 6, 1928.

²For a detailed exchange of letters on Buber's plans for the Landauer "Nachlass," see Weltbuehne, December 7 and 21, 1926. Plans for an anthology of letters were made early. See notice in Der Syndikalist, December 12, 1921 placed by Martin Buber requesting letters. Similar request appeared December 12, 1921 Muenchener Morgenpost.

The exchange is significant. December 7, 1926 under entry "MAX POLITZER." Sie schreiben uns: "Martin Buber hat im Jahre 1920 Gustav Landauers Aufsätze gesammelt und auch versprochen, noch zwei Bände über den Sozialismus und andere politische Fragen sowie Landauers Nachlass herauszugeben. Seitdem sind sechs Jahre vergangen. Seit sechs Jahren wächst in uns und unter uns die zentrale Idee Gustav Landauers, dass nichts mit wissenschaftlicher Notwendigkeit entstehen muss; dass nichts anfängt, bevor wir anfangen; dass es gilt, die Beziehungen der Menschen, nicht die Institutionen zu ändern. Sechs Jahre lang haben wir vergebens gewartet, haben Ereignisse werden sehen, was Landauer prophezeit hat, haben eintreten sehen, wovon er gewarnt hat. Warum enthält uns Buber vor, was wir so nötig brauchen? Warum müssen wir uns den alten, schwer erreichbaren Bänden des "Sozialisten" zusammensuchen? Bei aller Verehrung, die wir für Buber hegen, glauben wir ihn fragen zu dürfen, ob er der Ansicht ist, dass wir heute der wirkenden Macht, der ordnenden und erziehenden Gewalt eines Geistes wie Gustav Landauer entraten können." Sie wünschen, dass wir Ihre Frage, wenn sie uns begründet erscheint, an Martin Buber weiterleiten und ihn um eine öffentliche Antwort bitten. Was wir also hiermit tun.

A long reply to the editor and to Max Politzer followed

those of the writer, have located only some; never enough of them to warrant a volume. Buber also wrote of his intention

on December 21, 1926 under entry MARTIN BUBER. Sie schreiben mir: "Herr Max Politzer weist darauf hin, dass ich im Vorwort der von mir aus Gustav Landauers Nachlass herausgegebenen Aufsatzsammlung "Der werdende Mensch" (bei Kiepenheuer, 1921) versprochen haette, "noch zwei Baende ueber den Sozialismus und andere politische Fragen sowie Landauers Nachlass herauszugeben." So wars nicht. Ich hatte geschrieben: "der Darlegung ueber den Aufbau des Sozialismus under der Aeusserungen zu politischen Fragen," denn was Landauer Sozialismus nannte, war fuer ihn, wie er immer wieder betonte, keine politische Frage, sondern eine des Lebensaufbaus; also waren auch in der Veroeffentlichung der Hinterlassenen Schriften Sozialismus und politische Aktion zu trennen und je einem in sich geschlossenen Band zuzuteilen. Dem handschriftlichen Nachlass war in dem Band "Der werdende Mensch" Einiges entnommen, aus ihm habe ich das zweibaendige Shakespeare-Werk herausgegeben (bei Ruetten & Loenig), aus ihm die Uebersetzung von Whitman's "Gesaengen und Inschriften" (bei Kurt Wolff), ihn fuer die Ergaenzung der Neuauflage von "Skepsis und Mystik" (bei Marcan in Koeln) und fuer die Textverbesserung der Neuauflage von "Meister Eckharts mystische Schriften" (bei Karl Schnabel) herangezogen. Ich habe bisher 7 Baende herausgegeben, in denen Teile von Landauers handschriftlichen Nachlass abgedruckt oder verwertet sind. Herr Politzer schreibt weiter: "Seitdem sind sechs Jahre vergangen . . . sechs Jahre haben wir vergebens gewartet." Wer is dieser Wir? Wer statt zu warten sich umtat, etwa indem er sich in eine Buchhandlung begab, besitzt seit drei Jahren den einen der beiden von mir versprochenen Aufsatzbaende, betitelt: "Beginnen, Aufsaezte ueber Sozialismus." Dieses Buch ist bei Marcan in Koeln erschienen, also in demselben Verlag, in dem ich die Neuauflagen von Landauers "Aufruf zum Sozialismus," von seiner "Rechen-schaft," von seinen beiden erzaehlenden Werken und von "Skep-sis und Mystik" habe erscheinen lassen. Dass der andere von mir angekuendigte Band, die Aufsaezte und Reden zur politischen Aktion umfassend, nicht ebenfalls veroeffentlich ist, liegt hauptsaechtlich daran, dass ich noch immer die Hoffnung nicht aufgegeben habe, die verschollnen Stenogramme von Reden Landauers aus der letzten Zeit seines Lebens aufzufinden (Bisher haber ich nur die in Protokollen und Zeitungen gedruckten). Daneben liegt es auch in den gegenwaertigen Verhaeltnissen im deutschen Buchverlag. Und das bedeutet: am deutschen Publikum! Herr Politzer fragt: "Warum enthaelt uns Buber vor, was wir so noetig brauchen?" Wenn man doch diese Uns mobilisieren koennte, dass sie sich nehmen was sie brauchen! Haette das deutsche Publikum die (in normaler Hoehe ausgegebene) Erstaufgabe des Buchs. "Der werdende Mensch" aufgekauft, so wuerde jetzt eine

to issue a volume of Landauer's translations of Proudhon; this well-intentioned goal is also still outstanding and awaits a dedicated intellectual historian. Dr. Max Kronstein,¹ Landauer's son-in-law and one of the few present living members of the family, who had assisted Buber in recalling hundreds of letters to and from the deceased Landauer for inclusion in Gustav Landauer: Sein Lebensgang in Briefen, was working on a "Jugendband" of Landauer's writings, which was to include his diaries, his early articles in Der Sozialist 1892-99, and some of the letters published before the turn of the century, which mark the dividing line between

erheblich erweiterte Neuauflage vorliegen, da ich inzwischen--grossteils dank dem Such--und Sammeleifer von Max Kronstein, Landauers Schwiegersohn--vielles wertvolle Material hinzubekommen habe. Hoffentlich braucht sie nicht mehr lange auf sich warten lassen. Ich erwahne noch, dass die mit mannigfaltigen Schwierigkeiten verknuepfte Sammlung von Landauers Briefen, von denen ich unter Mitwirkung von Ina Britschgi-Schimmer eine Auswahl in zwei Baenden herauszugeben gedenke, nunmehr so weit gediehen ist, dass mit der Drucklegung in einigen Monaten begonnen werden kann. Briefe und Tagebuecher aus der Jugend, die einen ergaenzenden Band bilden sollen, stellt Max Kronstein zusammen. Auch eine Publikation von Landauers Proudhon-Uebersetzungen wird vorbereitet."

No complete stenographic reports of Landauer's political speeches in the Bavarian Revolution have been found anywhere, but we have more excerpts than Buber had in 1926. A German "Jugendband" would do for the "Young Landauer" what was accomplished for the "Young Marx" with the publication of his early manuscripts. Telephone conversation with Dr. Kronstein in Fall 1973 has, however, yielded the information that he burned some Landauer materials on the accession of the Nazis to power, in an effort to shield friends of Landauer.

¹See "Mappen Het 385 and 684" Buber Archives. See also Buber letter August 11, 1925 and Kronstein letter September 23, 1925.

the experiences of the young and the mature Gustav Landauer.

It was Buber's self-imposed task--his last great act of friendship--to perpetuate the friend in the latter's writings and to draw a last portrait of him from his own letters. In the work, Buber paid careful heed to Landauer's request to exercise caution in the publication of letters containing materials and expressions which would cause embarrassment to survivors. Buber was cautious in the selection of materials which were of a personal as well as those which were of a political nature. The letters, then, do not deal with the Landauer before the age of twenty-nine; do not give us any insight into the extraordinarily fruitful period of his youth, his literary unfolding, his first marriage, his early and highly respected political activism in the world socialist and anarchist movement, his religious stirrings and philosophical striving, his original editorial work and political activism, for both of which he paid dearly with repeated imprisonment. The letters similarly reflect relationships and friendships with circles which Buber found significant when he gathered the letters in the mid- and late-nineteen twenties. Most of the radical circles with which Landauer maintained contact did not find their places in the two volumes. It was left to others to perpetuate the socialist and anarchist friend.

This task also awaits the dedication of a younger generation. Most of the material has been lost to posterity, but the present work has gone far (for the first time) in

identifying hundreds of essays and notes which the young Landauer wrote in the first and second Sozialist of the years prior to 1899 and in gathering--with great historical care--the most complete list on translations and appreciation of Landauer's early writings in German, Spanish, Dutch, Swedish, Yiddish, Hebrew, and French attempted to date.¹

Though Buber himself never wrote a full-length study or appreciation of the beloved friend and the historical essay² outlined by Ina Britschgi-Schimmer was never published, Zionist-Socialist circles, whose ideology was potently influenced by Buber's teaching, increasingly appropriated Landauer's social and political heritage.

The "Zionistische Volkssozialistische Partei" (Hapoel Hazair),³ active in 1919-20 in Palestine and Central Europe, but especially in Berlin and Prague, taught a program of Jewish rejuvenation and renaissance built upon community, self-labor, religiosity, and spiritual nationalism.⁴ Headed by the well-known figures of A. D. Gordon and Viktor Chaim Arlosoroff, this group perpetuated much of the populism and

¹ Appendix of present work.

² For outline of proposed article see Buber-Britschgi-Schimmer correspondence, November 2, 1928 in Buber Archives, "Mappe Het 684."

³ Adolf Boehm, Die zionistische Bewegung (Berlin: Juedischer Verlag, 1935), pp. 538-39.

⁴ Walter Laqueur, A History of Zionism (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1972). See Chapter 6 especially; a "miniature monograph" of intellectual history, tracing inter-relationship of European and Zionist cultural and political currents.

anti-statism which Landauer taught and Buber subsequently translated into the "Volkssozialismus" of post-World War I Palestine. The 1920 Juniheft of Die Arbeit, official organ of Hapoel Hazair published in Berlin, is entitled Gustav Landauer Gedenkheft. Besides republishing some of Landauer's essays which dealt with the Jewish experience and with the need for communal land settlements, this Gedenkheft, for the first time, carried a "programmatic" Landauer whom Buber tried to immortalize. In a short essay, entitled "Der heimliche Fuehrer" and based on a eulogy which Buber had delivered at the Prague World Conference of Hapoel Hazair, there occurred these forceful remarks:

Gustav Landauer was a predestined leader of the new Judaism

Landauer's idea was our idea.

He had often heard that Something New had arisen in Judaism; he had heard about it from me, but it was not an immediate presence for him¹

. . . for the very week in which Gustav Landauer had entered the government, for that very week a conference of Jewish-socialist youth had been convened in Munich by Landauer and myself.

In the short appreciation of the then-still-Zionist²

¹"Er hat oft davon gehoert, dass es ein Neues im Judentum gibt; er hat durch mich oft davon gehoert, aber es war nicht unmittelbare Gegenwart fuer ihn"

²Arnold Zweig, deeply disturbed by European anti-semitism turned to Jewish mysticism and Chassidism and supported movements for Jewish agrarian socialism in the national homeland. His strongly developed Marxism brought him into conflict with Jewish survivalism and he later went into exile in the German Democratic Republic. His essay "Gustav Landauer zum Gedaechtnis" written in 1949 bears traces of this

poet and writer, Arnold Zweig in the Gedenkheft, there is the first hint that even Landauer's own generation was able to sense the uniqueness of Landauer's fate:

He, Gustav Landauer, was the only true revolutionary during that time, because he knew that one had-- firstly and lastly--to restrain oneself from using force; in order to be truly revolutionary, one had to start here and now

So he perished, Gustav Landauer, a heroic and a tragic figure, true to the Jews who gave him birth and to the Germans, whom he loved and who killed him.

In the probing, searching contribution of the then-still-socialist-Zionist historian¹ Hans Kohn there is this evaluation:

At the very moment in which the German Revolution seemed a mere possibility--which was without a doubt true only in Munich--he had to be actively with it, leading, fighting, suffering and dying. Evading force and noise, dirt and disagreement--and yet taking on the heavy yoke in the name of that which is greater than the purity of the individual.²

discomfort in its treatment of Landauer's anti-Marxism. See his Ueber Schriftsteller (Berlin and Weimar: Aufbau Verlag, 1967).

¹Hans Kohn, Buerger vieler Welten: Ein Leben im Zeitalter der Welt-revolution (Frauenfeld: Verlag Huber, 1965). The Buber-Britschgi-Schimmer Correspondence also carries reference to Kohn's interest in writing a Landauer biography--a wish that was never realized.

²"In dem Augenblick deutsche Revolution auch nur moeglich, schien--was zweifellos nur in Muenchen der Fall war--musste er taetig mit dabei sein, fuehrend, kaempfend, leidend und sterbend. Gewalt und Laerm, Schmutz und Zank verabscheuend und doch, im Nahmen dessen, das da groesser ist als die Reinheit des Einzelnen, ihr hartes Joch auf sich nehmend. Weil er das getan hat, weil er sein Inneres ueberwunden, weil er seine Reinheit, weil er die Schlummernden Moeglichkeiten Welterloesung preisgegeben hat, gruessen wir in ihm den Heros, den Erfueller der Sehnsuechte Beethovenscher Symphonien."

A more structured appreciation of the person and the work of Gustav Landauer from a Zionist perspective appeared in 1921-22 in Martin Buber's periodical Der Jude from the pen of Ernst Simon¹ entitled "Der werdende Mensch² und der werdende Jude." This fifteen-page essay went beyond sentimental appreciation in its attempt to place Landauer as a German Dichter, as a follower of Proudhon, as a pathbreaker akin to Buber in opening new vistas in mythology and in linguistics, as a political utopian and social rejuvenator. It probed Landauer's relation to German culture³ and it probed his Jewish attachments.⁴ It related both of these to Landauer's tragic fate⁵ and this, in turn, to Landauer's

¹Presently Professor Emeritus of Education, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. For relationship to Martin Buber see Grete Schaefer, Martin Buber: Hebraeischer Humanismus (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1966) and Grete Schaefer, Martin Buber: Briefwechsel aus sieben Jahrzehnten (Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider, 1972), Volume I, 1897-1918, "Geleitwort" by Ernst Simon.

²Obvious relation to Landauer's own collection of essays intended.

³"Mein Deutschtum und mein Judentum tun einander nichts zuleid und vieles zulieb"--er wollte von keinem "Entweder-Oder" hoeren und glaubte bei einem "Und-Und" bleiben zu koennen . . .

⁴"Er starb im fremden Volke und auf dem Boden fremden Geistes und Leibes." It would be important to point out that Landauer himself never felt this estrangement of which Simon speaks.

⁵". . . sein Schicksal war Irrtum und nicht Erfuellung, es war nicht tragisch, obwohl es traurig war." And again: "Er uebertrug juedische Innbrunst und juedisches Tempo des Lebens und der Wandlung auf langsamere und schwerfaelligere Menschen. An diesem Zwiespalt ist sein Werk zerbrochen."

inability to enter wholeheartedly into a national Jewish renewal in the emergent Zionist movement.¹ It raised a series of suggestive questions and indicated lines of thought to be pursued in future researches on Landauer's work, but it failed to see the uniqueness of Landauer's path as German and Jew.

This unique interplay between Jewish moralism and Germanic culture was more perceptively captured in a Hebrew essay, entitled "Gustav Landauer," published in 1923-24 by the philosopher Simon Rawidowicz in Warsaw.² He celebrated Landauer as the great synthesizer and creative intuitionist,³ "who saw the past and the future, himself and the whole world,⁴ whose unique personality and whose uniquely luminous, classical style found no peer or equal in his generation."⁵

¹Gustav Landauer ist gerade deshalb gestorben, weil er den Zionismus nicht in seiner lebendigen Schwere sah, weil er an ihn die lichte Forderung stellte, Maerchenwelt und Wahn zu sein. Einmal hat er es sich zu leicht gemacht--und fuer diesen einen Irrtum ist er gestorben."

²The writer is indebted greatly to Professor Benjamin Ravid of Brandeis University, son of the philosopher, for calling attention to this little-known essay, published in HaTkufah; and to Dr. Menachem Schmelzer, Librarian of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York for making available a xerox of this rare article for translation and citation.

Translations from this article, as all translations of quotations from other languages, are original.

³"Haya ish-synthesa, ish ha-intuitia ha-yotseret . . ."

⁴". . . she-lóro haya roeh et ha-avar v'et he-atid, et atsmo v'et ha-olam kulo. Din prat lo k'din k'lal, din adam k'din olam."

⁵". . . so ha-pashtut, pashtut ha-lashon uv'hirut ha-makhashavah, hashve l'chol nefesh, so ha-azzilut v'hod mal'chut ha-makhashavah she-al kol hegeh v'al kol niv . . . Mi b'hibare Germania yeshave lo kol ele?'"

"In a faithless generation, in a period torn by doubt Landauer again called out to Man."¹ "He called out, because he believed in the power of 'The Call!'"² He called out to the man who was organically a part of society; he called out to Man; because he had a fundamental belief in Man and his regenerative powers. Rawidowicz saw Landauer as a poet and a fighter.³ He singled out Landauer's own Sozialist, the translations of Oscar Wilde, the transmission of Peter Kropotkin to the Western reader, and the unique reading of Shakespeare in his lectures and his essays⁴ as great literary contributions of Landauer to German and European culture. The fighter, the revolutionary Landauer, was manifest in his conception of the cleansing of spirit that came with great social upheavals and which Landauer hoped would bring a true Germanic renewal in the Bavarian Revolution of 1919. Rawidowicz related Landauer's early distance from the Jewish experience in the years in which Landauer was caught up in

¹"Bador lo-emunah bo, ba-tkufah akulat s'fekot . . . hees Landauer likro shuv la-adam."

²" . . . v'kore la-khayim ha-dashim, koreh la-adam lashuv l'makor-ha-khayim."

³"She y'sodot b'nafsho, sh'nayim sh'hem ekhad:shirah umilkhamah." Also: "shirat ha-khayim umilkhamat ha-khayim-achat hen": "The poetry of Life and the fight for Life are one and the same." Also: "Roeh hu ba-revolutsia at haratson ha-khai, ha-poel . . .": "He sees the Revolution as living working will."

⁴Landauer thought of Shakespeare as the greatest of all Socialists; cited by Rawidowicz: "Hazehu Shakespeare? Shakespeare kazeh, Shakespeare 'Sozialiston' od lo haya ba-olam."

the overriding concern with the German poor and the enslaved masses. Under Buber's tutelage, Landauer was brought closer to Jewish peoplehood and aspirations, to the point at which he saw his way clear to calling a conference of Socialist-Zionist leaders to Munich in 1919. Rawidowicz noted a parallel to the person and outlook of Moses Hess of the previous century, who also sought a synthesis of Socialism and Nationalism. In his sacrificial death Landauer, the lonely fighter, was caught up in the suffering of the common man of the Munich Revolution. "With Landauer's murder, Western Socialist Prophecy came to an end."¹ "The great seer has vanished."² In Rawidowicz the modern reader senses a contemporary who understood how uniquely Landauer was wedded to Jewish Diaspora ethics and to German humanist "Dichtung," how uniquely the harbinger of "Geist" was able to sacrifice himself in the cause of revolutionary activism.

A similar clean, clear reading of the various intellectual contributions of Landauer as well as of the harmonious symbiosis of his European roots and Jewish inspirations is found in the Yiddish introduction, entitled "Gustav Landauer: Der Mentsch, der Sozialist, der Id" which one of the translators, H. Franck, prefaced to his translation of

¹"K'shenirtsakh Landauer, poskah ha-n'vuah ha-sotsialistit ha-maaravit."

²"Ha-khoseh ha-gadol eynenu." In similar vein: "Semel l'dorot umorehderech l'doro": "A symbol for the generations (to come) and a trail-blazer for his own generation."

Landauer's Aufruf zum Sozialismus in 1921.¹ "Gustav Landauer, as Moses Hess, belongs to that type of Jewish Socialists, who understand the true greatness of Historical Judaism as a great culture. The contribution of these socialists lies in the fact that they proved the possibility of a free and thinking Jew's being able to live in the spirit of populism without being crushed (in the expression) of his own autonomous spirit."² He belonged at once to the forward-looking new European awakening which had been brought about by the French Revolution and participated, at the same time, in the perpetuation of the age-old "categorical-revolutionary" thought-world of the Jewish prophets.³ Landauer's calls to renewal of spirit and of freedom, the twin ideas of his philosophy, characterized his writing in all the many fields which harbored his original and creative thought: Political Economy and Sociology, Literary Criticism and Philosophy, Philology and History, Art and Biology. His formulation of Humanitarian

¹Ovfruf tsum sozialismus (Berlin, Welt-verlag, 1921). (Iybersetzt fun deutsch durch H. Franck un B. Rosenthal, mit an eynfiyrung iyn Gustav Landauer's leben un schaffung fun H. Franck.) See also Dr. Herman Franck: Anarcho-sozialistische iyden un havequngen bey yiden. (Byalistok, Freye Tribune, 1951) (Paris, Tel Aviv).

²"Gustav Landauer gehert, wiy Moses Hess, tsu jenen miyn yidishe sozialisten, velcher farstet diy emese groys fun dem historishen identum-der groyser kultur--oyftu fun diy dosige sozialisten beshet in dem, vos zey hoben beviyzen diy meglichkeit far a freyen un denkenden iyden tsu leben in geist fun folk und darbey nit seyn unterdrickt in dem eygenem individuelen geyst."

³The humanizing factors of social life are human speech, social mores and customs, and art.

Socialism came to his generation like a new religion, organic and natural in its thinking. Few were the followers, but such as were there followed like apostles of a new faith. The broad masses of active Socialists did not know his work; for the few who did--he remained a literateur, an art-critic, and an intellectual. "He fell, a victim of the civil war of German Social-Democracy, in which the Political Revolution found its terrible end in Germany."¹ Though for nearly thirty years he consistently fought this Social-democracy, paradoxically he found his own end in close connection with this political movement with which he consciously associated himself at the end of his life in the Bavarian Revolution. His fight was an unending quest for love, cooperation, and justice. His conception of socialism was the synthesis between inner conscience and outer (external) conditions of humane, creative social life.

The most significant Buberian in the Buber-influenced transmission of Landauer was Martin Buber himself. An early, 1904, appreciation of Landauer's work published in the Viennese Die Zeit, celebrated Landauer's anarchical spirit and skeptical, individualist style: the drive to destroy in order to rebuild, Buber perceptively caught at this early date the paradox which many others were later to delineate more succinctly, namely the radicalism in political and philosophical outlook

¹"Gustav Landauer is gefallen a korban in'm tragishen bruder-kampf fun der deitscher sozial-demokratie, mit welchem s'hat zich a-zoy shoyderlich farendigt diy politische revolutsye in deitschland."

coupled with a more conservative, tradition-bound aestheticism in the literary pursuits. Buber predicted that Landauer's development would later incline direction of a freer conception of "Kunst," to the point at which one would in a future period be able to discuss Landauer as "Gustav Landauer or the Anarchist." It is interesting to note that although the anarchist and socialist movements often saw Landauer as "the anarchist" or "the socialist" or the "socialist philosopher," Buber himself was never to write a full appreciation of Landauer's life and work. The 1949 Paths in Utopia,¹ which dealt with modern utopian socialists, is an adequate and true reading of Landauer, but does not begin to suggest to the reader the synthetic and definitive appreciation of the friend of which Buber may be thought to have been capable. It must, however, be noted that, indeed, the paradox of a radical and destroying critique of the social order was to go hand-in-hand with an aesthetic elitism in art and literature to Landauer's dying day. It is this paradox and the complexities of conception which follow from it which make analysis and portraiture of Landauer and his work at once exciting and frustrating. As Buber understood early, Landauer did not then, nor later, emerge as a consistent anarchist and negator of the existing order in all of its traditions. Buber as early as 1904 pointed out the extraordinary sensitivity with which

¹First published in English by Routledge and Kegan Paul in London.

Landauer wrote about human relationships: love and friendship.¹

Many of those who were later to review the anthologies of Landauer's letters would remark about this ability to address friends and colleagues in true mutuality and deep affection. All of those who had cause to write about Landauer's relationship to his second wife, Hedwig Lachmann-Landauer, the poetess and translator, treated with admiration and a certain German "Wehmut" this same "to and fro" of two harmonious spirits, this coming together in true spiritual harmony of two devoted souls. Landauer himself was capable of communion even as he tried to reach out to the masses in an effort to have them build communities.

Essays and eulogies which Buber later wrote about Landauer evoke disappointment and seem slight. The 1918-19 Masken carried the romantic but critical "Landauer and the Revolution," reprinted in the Tel Aviv 1919-20 issue of Ha-adamah, in which Buber clearly took "political leave" of his friend for participating in the Munich Revolution. In 1929 Buber wrote a philosophical-theological piece entitled "The Holy Way," which he dedicated to Landauer in a memorial volume, marking the tenth anniversary of his death, edited by Professors Hugo Bergmann and Hans Kohn.² "Reminiscences of

¹"Landauer's hoechste Meisterschaft ist seine feine heimlich klangvolle Art, das Zueinander und Ineinander zweier Menschen darzustellen. Was von einem zum andern an Ungesagtem und Unsagbarem zieht, was an stillem Rausch und gluehendstem Herzenslied die goldenem Momente mit Ewigkeit fuellt . . ."

²"Derekh Hakodesh," L'zichro shel Gustav Landauer (Hozaat Hapoel Hazair).

a Death" was also published in 1929 in German in the educational journal, Das werdende Zeitalter¹ and in Hebrew in Labor-Zionist, Tel-Aviv journal Hapoel Hazair.² The 1953 collection of essays written by Buber between 1909 and 1953 also contains this essay.³ Its most noteworthy, sermon-like sentence is the cryptic "Landauer fought in the Revolution against the Revolution for the sake of the Revolution." More thoughtfully, but equally unanalytically, the essay concluded with this observation; "The Revolution will not thank him; he will be thanked by those who fight like him, and perhaps some day by those for whose sake the fight is conducted." It is not quite clear to the reader whether Buber considered himself among the fighters, among those for whom the fight is being waged, or whether indeed in either group.

It is clear from telegrams which were sent to appeal to the government on behalf of Landauer and preparations which were made by Buber⁴ more than two weeks before Landauer

¹Eine Monatsschrift fuer Erneuerung der Erziehung. This edition (May-June 1929) carried appreciations and excerpts from Landauer's writings pertaining to education, especially communally-funded private schools.

²"L'zecher mot ekhod."

³"Erinnerungen an einen Tod," Hinweise (Zuerich, Manesse Verlag).

⁴A letter from Martin Buber to Auguste Hauschner, dated March 15, 1919 included in Martin Beradt and Lotte Bloch-Zavrel. Briefe an Auguste Hauschner (Berlin, Ernst Rowohlt Verlag, 1929), p. 184: "Liebe Frau Huaschner, Eine Aktion ist, wie ich Ihnen gleichzeitig telegrafiere, in diesem Augenblick nicht moeglich, weil die Situation noch nicht geklaert ist und wir daher nicht eindeutig genug formulieren

found his death at the hands of assassins that the deepest affection and concern must have motivated the friend who remained to become executor of the estate and a true mentor to the daughters who were orphaned after the death of their father.¹ Yet the objective reader must note the reserved style, the great distance, the more-than-objective and often casual assessments in Buber's recollections and summary positions. By contrast, Landauer who also was fairly careful not to overpraise Buber's literary gifts and place in German scholarship,² did--from time to time--review for himself and posterity the influence which Buber had on

koeennten, was wir fordern. Sie muesste auch, solange der Kampf noch in irgendeiner Form fortduert, voellig unwirksam bleiben. Degegen muessen wir fuer den Augenblick, wo ein oeffentlicher Appell etwa notwendig sein wird, ihn schon jetzt vorbereiten. Zu diesem Zweck soll sich sogleich aus dem Freundeskreis ein Ausschuss bilden, der sich an die in Betracht kommenden Persoenlichkeiten Deutschlands und Deutsch-Oesterreichs mit dem Ersuchen wendet, ihre Namen unter einen etwa notwendigen Appell setzen zu duerfen. Diesem Ausschuss sollten etwa angehoren: Sie, ich, Dehmel, Einstein, Dumont, Mauthner, Mombert, Sussman (A telegram was sent, but it arrived too late).

¹Buber was much concerned that the income from the books would be the girls' only income. Lengthy legal actions followed the assassination of Landauer on behalf of monetary claims which the orphaned children may have had against the state or the state of Bavaria in light of the fact that their father had presumably been manhandled and murdered without authorization and without military orders to do so. A fact-finding commission was also appointed, but this writer could find no record of monetary claims ever having been paid out. Dr. Max Kronstein reported in personal conversation (phone) that Buber maintained close contacts with Landauer's daughters for many years after the latter's death.

²See Landauer's review, "Die Legende des Baalschem," Das Literarische Echo, October 1, 1910. Also G. Landauer, "Martin Buber," Neue Blaetter, 1913.

him and the intellectual debt which he had or felt.¹

In the many books and essays which Buber penned during and after Landauer's lifetime, there are no hints or express statements of indebtedness or mutual influence or records of fruitful interchanges. The men wrote often and regularly, were members of the same organizations ("Neue Freie Volksbuehne," "Die Freie Gemeinschaft," "Der Forte Kreis," "Der Sozialistische Bund") yet the "Lieber Buber" and "Lieber Landauer" never changed to "Lieber Martin" or "Lieber Gustav" to the very end, and the formal German "Sie" was never modified to the more intimate "Du" in a relationship of friendship which spanned a quarter-century. The lengthy memorial volume which the General Federation of Israeli Labor put out in 1939 in tribute to the memory of Gustav Landauer, which contained all three of Buber's previously published eulogies (and which evidently did not even merit a special and fresh contribution) makes no mention in any of its essays by any author of the many points of contact which Buber and Landauer had. It is curious how author after author placed Landauer with sensitivity and imagination into the framework of European

¹Undated handwritten manuscript, #141, Buber Archives, Mappe $\frac{13}{5}$, Ein paar Worte des Dankes an Martin Buber, der seinen Geschichten des Rabbi Nachman sein Buch "Die Legende des Baal-schem" hat nachfolgen lassen. Als ich ein studierender Juengling war, geschah mir das grosse Erlebnis, dass ich in der Losgeloestheit und Wurzellosigkeit, die man gewoehnlicj Radikalismus nennt, und dem geistigen Hunger des Proletariats ein neues Kulturelement fand, das mir vorher ganz unbekannt geblieben war, etwas Fremdes zwar, das aber Keime neuen Volkstums trug, in denen meine Sehnsucht, wenigstens, wenn schon nicht meine Natur aufzugehen begehrte. . . ."

"Literaturkritik," Political Economy, the History of Socialism, and above all--Jewish National-Utopianism. Yet not a one even hesitated to investigate the close affinities in the interests and the ideologies of the man who bequeathed Landauer to Jewish Utopianism and the "hidden leader" who was so bequeathed to posterity.

How differently one reads today the short essay of reminiscence, recollection, and haunting soul-searching which accompany the collections of republished essays with which Professor Gershom Scholem slowly brings back the memory of the beloved friend, Dr. Walter Benjamin, to posterity. This effort coming to major fruition within two decades after Benjamin's death shows a much greater personal involvement and acknowledged cross-fertilization of the two "Jugendfreunde" and their works than the two previously discussed.¹ Though it would not be fruitful to probe Buber's motives too deeply, it is necessary to be fair and to acknowledge that it has been far easier politically for Gershom Scholem to perpetuate the work of Walter Benjamin in the nineteen-sixties than it would have been for Martin Buber to

¹ See Gershom Scholem, "Walter Benjamin" in Ueber Walter Benjamin (Frankfurt-am-Main, Suhrkamp Verlag, 1968). Also Gershom Scholem, "Nachwort" in Walter Benjamin, Berliner Chronik (Frankfurt-am-Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1970). For a scholarly assessment of the intellectual affinities between Scholem and Benjamin from different perspectives, see Hannah Arendt, "Reflections," The New Yorker (October 19, 1968) and Barukh Kurzweil, B'maavak al ar-khe ha-vahadut (Jerusalem: Schocken Publishing House, 1969), pp. 123-25; 201-03; 212-20. I am indebted to Dr. Judith Berlin Lieberman, Dean of the Shulamith School for Girls in New York, for calling my attention to the Kurzweil work and to Professor David Halivni Weiss of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America for making his personal copy available to me.

relate openly and intimately to Landauerian influences in the late Weimar and early Nazi periods. Still, one would have wished that at least the nineteen-fifties might have brought up a fresh assessment and evaluation of Landauer under Buber's tutelage and paternalistic patronage. To the extent to which Buber did not contribute this insight and this interest do the books on Landauer in those years suffer in yielding only partial insights into the totality of Landauer's work and importance.¹ We deal with reminiscences of reminiscences and fragmented essays. Other transmissions perpetuated the political Gustav Landauer.²

The first of these political biographies was a not-so-small volume written in 1920 in Swedish in a series called "Revolutionens Foerkaempfar," by the former President of the German Anarchist-Syndicalist Union, Augustin Souchy.³ This volume, entitled Gustav Landauer: Revolutions Filosof,⁴ was, interestingly enough, never translated and made accessible

¹Professor Paul Flohr of the Hebrew University has recently touched upon affinities between Buber's work and that of his contemporaries. See Alexander Altmann "Leo Baeck and the Jewish Mystical Tradition" (Leo Baeck Memorial Lecture #17) (New York: Leo Baeck Institute, 1973), p. 24, footnote 28.

²An enlarged version of this paper tracing the political transmissions of Gustav Landauer will be published in the Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research, Vol. 42, 1973.

³This writer had the good fortune to interview Mr. Souchy in his home in Munich in August 1972.

⁴Published in Stockholm by Axel Holmstroems Foerlag.

in any other European language, although Mr. Souchy is fluent in German and to this day expresses himself with ease and possesses distinct linguistic ability. The series, in which Mr. Souchy also contributed a study on American Anarchism,¹ includes studies on the lives of libertarians such as Louise Michel, Proudhon, William Godwin, Johann Most, Alexander Herzen, Robert Owen, and Enrico Malatesta. Souchy's study, which encompasses one-hundred-fifty-one pages was the first attempt to write a chronological account of Landauer's life and writings. Souchy² was a young man at the time at which Landauer's ideas had been well-formed, yet had the benefit of personal association with the subject of his study. A skilled worker, Augustin Souchy later contributed a number of monographs on subjects of interest to radicals. His study of Landauer, however, relied largely on the latter's life and writings. It is significant, because it is the only study we have which came directly out of the labor movement and the text of which related the corpus of Landauer's work to the events of his life.

Souchy used an article which Landauer had written in 1913 on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Kaiser Wilhelm's coronation to introduce the world in which the young Landauer had been reared and educated.³ Then he focused on the definitive influences of Landauer's sojourn in Zürich,

¹Anarkistmartyerna i Chicago.

²He is now in mid-eighties.

³"Vor fuenfundzwanzig Jahren."

1890-91, and his studies in philosophy, world literature and the history of art. Souchy dated his creativity as a writer to those years. He is also the only biographer of Landauer who, at this very early part of Landauer's creativity, saw a paradoxical influence on the young Landauer: Schopenhauer's pessimism and Bergson's vitalism.¹ In the Berlin years which follow from 1892 on, Souchy correctly singled out the influence of Benedikt Friedlaender, a close follower of Eugen Duehring. Influenced by Friedlaender, Landauer entered the circle of "Die Jungen,"² radical socialists like Bruno Wille, Wilhelm

¹Souchy, Gustav Landauer: Revolutions Filosof, pp. 18-19, 28.

²A grant from the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture enabled the writer to accept an invitation from the Ministry of the Interior of the German Democratic Republic to consult the archives of the Prussian Secret Police now being kept in the Staatsarchiv Merseburg and the Staatsarchiv Potsdam. The Archiv-direktor, Dr. Falck, kindly made available among many, many others the records of Der Sozialist as kept by the Secret Police of the Ministry of the Interior. Pr.Br. Rep. 30 Tit.95 Sect.4 14871 and Pr.Br. Rep.30 Tit.94 Lit.S 1689 #13272 Vol. 1 has a most authoritative essay on "Die Bewegung der sozial-demokratischen Jungen." This section bases itself on material published in the German Social-Democratic journal Vorwaerts, especially the issue of October 21, 1891, as well as material published by Landauer in Der Sozialist in 1893. It is a detailed report on the early history of the German Social-Democratic party which is difficult to find in the secondary literature. It traces the break between "die Jungen" and the main-line part to the Erfurt Party Congress of October 20, 1891 in which Bebel used the Socialist Exclusion Law ("Sozialistengesetz") against his own colleagues in the movement, who considered themselves "revolutionary Social-Democrats." The police records list as members of this faction Vollmar, Wille, Kampfmeyer, Paul Ernst, Schwabe, Auerbach, Wildberger, and Baginski. These wanted to agitate for the freedom of the proletariat without the party discipline of the mass party, without a centralized leadership, without participation in German constitutionalism. They negated the Bebelian tight organization with tight party discipline. They called for a separate "Verein," separate party journals, and a purely

Boelsche, and Wilhelm Spohr, who actively propagated a free, anti-parliamentarian, anarchist-syndicalist group which was

revolutionary party, stressing economic mass-action, making the workers masters of the means of production. The "Jungen" were particularly strong in Berlin and already in 1890 Bebel had to fight very hard to unseat the Jungen editors of the Magdeburger Volksstimme and the Saechsische Arbeiterzeitung. The party congress in Erfurt in 1891 sounded the significant parole of Bebel which was to characterize the German Social-democratic political actions program for the whole of its future and which was to indicate the permanent dissatisfaction which Landauer was to have with it: "Eroberung der politischen Macht ist das erste und das Hauptziel." The Marxist Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung (Berlin: Institute fuer Marxismus-Leninismus, 1965) Vol. I, pp. 161-64 suggests that the significance of the removal of the "Jungen" lies in Bebel's "Durchsetzung des Marxismus." According to the Berlin Boersen Courier of November 8, 1891 the "Jungen," having found themselves in unbridgible opposition, constituted themselves the "Verein unabhaengiger Sozialisten," in a social hall, to which were admitted only card-carrying Socialists. In the presence of 1500 people, with no women present, this splinter group was founded. The "Jungen" and the free anarchists entered and periodically also controlled the "Neue Freie Volksbuehne," the meetings of which gave them an opportunity to gain members and co-workers for their libertarian theater but also to missionize for their particularistic political interests in German Socialism. The police records about Landauer are very specific but paradoxical as they are recorded in Pr.Br.Rep. Tit.94 Lit.S 1689, Vol. 2. The report on P. #33 described the internal editorial dissatisfactions which Landauer provoked by closing articles with "Hoch die Anarchie" and with citing philosophical, anarchist literature. He emerges as chided by his colleagues for regarding the paper as his own "Eigentum" rather than as a party-organ. Police report P. #54 of two months later, however, told a somewhat different story, listing Landauer definitely as belonging in the "Jungen" and not the anarchist faction; as having been delegated by the "Jungen" as representing their faction at the Zurich Socialist Congress of 1893 ("Arbeiterkongress") at which the radical socialists, once more on order of Bebel, were hounded out of the Congress. The police correctly concluded that the winning of a mandate from what was an open "Volksversammlung," a manner in which the "Jungen" always constituted themselves to demonstrate their emphasis on spontaneity, showed that Landauer indeed enjoyed the confidence of most of the Berlin "Jungen" despite his conflicts in the journal leadership. The police singled out a very important early essay which Landauer wrote for the January 2, 1893 issue of Der Sozialist entitled "Zum Program

to interest him in writing for the first Der Sozialist.¹ Also cited are middle-class salon discussions in Berlin and the activities around the "Neue Freie Volksbuehne" in the year 1892. At the age of only twenty-two, Landauer had well laid out the path he felt he had to follow, and toward which he felt a missionary "calling."² The association with Fritz Mauthner and linguistic analysis dated from this period. Landauer's confrontation with Bebel in the 1893 Congress of

der Opposition." Stressing anti-parliamentarianism and mass economic action, Landauer called for radical opposition to the monopoly of capitalists. He writes that the Social-democrats want political power for the masses, whereas "die Jungen" want economic power. They stand clearly for opposition against statist and clerical institutions, and against all inherited ethical and legal conceptions ("Rechtstvorstellungen"). They ". . . betrachten den Sozialismus als eine neue grosse weltanschauung, die einen Untergang der himmlischen und irdischen Goetter, eine wehre Goetterdaemmerung herbeifuehren soll." It is important here to note the strong language, recalling Wagner, Spengler, and Nietzsche, and to remind readers again that Landauer was only twenty-three years old when he wrote of this conception of socialism as a virtual "Human Rebirth." Souchy in his Gustav Landauer also used this type of language about his friend and mentor. On p. 4 he wrote: "Vad var detta foer en roest, vad var denne foer ein maenniska? En oevermaenniska, en profet?" ("A superman [or as Walter Kaufmann would have had it "an overman"] or a prophet?").

¹Landauer himself had not quite overcome (and never was to overcome) the philosophical content of anti-parliamentarism and anti-politicism. See Souchy, p. 19: "Landauer bekaenner sig haer framfoer allt till antiparlamentarismen och alltsa till antipolitiken."

²Souchy, p. 51: "Landauer aer alltsa revolutionaer av princip." See also reference pp. 26-27 to Landauer's use of Schiller about himself:

"Es liegt nicht draussen, da sucht es der Tor
Es liegt in Dir, du bringst es ewig hervor."
Landauer also relied on Goethe to draw affinities. See Souchy citation p. 24: "So musst du sein, dir kannst du nicht entfliehn, so sagten schon Sibyllen und Propheten;
Und keine Zeit und keine Macht zerstueckelt
gepraegte Form, die lebend sich entwickelt."

the Socialist Movement followed, the year 1895 is cited by Souchy as significant for the publication of Landauer's brochure, Ein Weg zur Befreiung der Arbeiterklassen. 1897 is significant for its debates and fights among the staff members of the Sozialist as regards the literary style and choice of literary material to be published since Landauer was deemed a "highbrow" and middle-class literateur, problems resulted.¹

Landauer's philosophy Souchy divided into a negative and a positive part.² The negative part was his scepticism: his reliance on the atheistic, sceptical paths outlined by Mauthner and followed by Landauer in his own Skepsis und Mystik.³ The more positive part was his anarchism and his reliance on the role of the "artist" ("der Dichter"), a very special German

¹ Souchy, p. 30 on, also writer's footnote #1.

² Souchy, p. 38 on.

³ This period saw close affinities between radical, individualistic skepticism and mystical speculation. For analogies to other traditions, see Gershom Scholem, On the Kabbalah and its Symbolism (New York: Schocken, 1965) especially Chapter 1 "Religious Authority and Mysticism." For a contemporary definition of "Scepticism" as it might have applied to Mauthner and Landauer see Richard Popkin, The History of Scepticism (New York: Harper and Row, 1964). For the antecedents of radical mysticism to which Landauer was heir see Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millenium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961). For related definitions of Mysticism, see Evelyn Underhill, Mysticism (New York: Noonday Press, 1965). For a seminal treatment of mysticism and its relationship to true science and logic, see Bertrand Russell, Mysticism and Logic (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1917).

conception of the high moral and aesthetic function of the artist, following Goethe, Schiller, and many German romantics, in addition to Landauer's own conception of the "calling" of such folk-writers as Shakespeare. The period also saw Rembrandt as a similar folk-artist, inspiring and educating multitudes.¹ Souchy saw Landauer in the free, individualistic, anarchist tradition of Godwin, Proudhon, Stirner, and Bakunin.² The convergence of utopia and revolution occur at this point and in explanation, Souchy relied heavily on Landauer's own, Die Revolution,³ a work of negation and of hope.

Max Nordau, the German-Jewish Jeremiah of the 1890's (of the fin-de-siècle) described the period between 1890 and 1900 as follows: "The disposition of the times is curiously confused, a compound of feverish restlessness and blunted discouragement, of fearful presage and hand-dog denunciation. The prevalent feeling is that of imminent perdition and extinction. Fin-de-siècle is at once confession and complaint. The old northern faith contained the fearsome doctrine of the Dusk of the Gods."⁴ This mood is not entirely

¹See Fritz Stern, "Introduction" in his The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology (New York: Anchor Books, 1965). Stern significantly begins with the quotation from Charles Péguy "Tout commence en mystique et tout finit en politique" which not only well describes the styles of the Right on which he concentrates, but also those of the Left such as Landauer.

²Souchy, pp. 45-48.

³Souchy, p. 45 on.

⁴Holbrook Jackson, The Eighteen Nineties (New York: Capricorn Books, 1966), p. 18.

correct historically speaking, however. There is another reading. "The Eighteen Nineties were so tolerant of novelty in art and ideas that it would seem as though the declining century wished to make amends for several decades of intellectual and artistic monotony. It may indeed be something more than coincidence that placed this decade at the close of a century, and fin-de-siècle may have been at one and the same time a swan song and a death-bed repentance."¹ The mental activity, the searching for social service and a fuller communal life, the quickening of imagination and questioning of accepted values were intellectual signs many were looking inward, were rebelling against fearful inequality, were rebellious against the established order. E. J. Hobsbawm has recently reminded us that the very voluntarism and primitiveness of theory that characterized many anarchists and libertarians before the first World War was their very asset.² Their revolution would come because they wanted it to come; now, instantly.³ Commitment, public action, seeing the human condition in its totality and writing from the perspective of sincere authenticity are the correct mental

¹Jackson, P., Chapters 1, 2, and 3. Also H. Stuart Hughes, Consciousness and Society (New York: Alfred Knopf and Random House, 1958) Chapter 2. And Gerhard Masur, Prophets of Yesterday (New York: Harper and Row, 1961).

²E. J. Hobsbawm, Revolutionaries (New York: Random House, 1973), Chapter 9, "Reflections on Anarchism."

³Note here Theodor Herzl on Zionism: "If you will it, it is no legend."

positions to take.¹ As the young Buber once correctly put it, "We are the revolution." Men of the calibre of Buber and Landauer were prepared to turn themselves into the living revolution by a concerted program of "copting out." Herbert Marcuse has called this political pose "the liberating function of negation."

The belief of intellectuals that individuals could lead happy, enlightened, autonomous lives, though not a monopoly of individualist anarchism, had its high point in the pre-1914 world in which Landauer wrote and taught. This individualism meant "putting anarchist ideas immediately into practice and not waiting for society to change."² In a seminal article, James Joll has characterized this position as "Anarchism between Communism and Individualism."³ Joll writes that the new concept of individualism in anarchist-socialism comes from two main sources: from the reaction against the disciplined and dogmatic German Social-Democratic mass party of the 1890's and from the Nietzschean criticism of bourgeois society.⁴

¹David Cauter, The Illusion: An Essay on Politics, Theatre and the Novel (New York: Harper and Row, 1971).

²Roderick Kedward, The Anarchists (London: St Giles House, 1971), p. 14.

³The writer records a personal debt to Professor Joll for a long and scholarly session in London in 1972 in which Professor Joll made numerous suggestions for this work, which he encouraged. The article was part of a symposium on "Anarchici e Anarchia nel Mondo Contemporaneo" (Atti del Convegno promosso dalla Fondazione Luigi Einaudi, Turin, 1971).

⁴Ibid., p. 271.

As has been indicated here, Joll also finds the "Jungen" to be key elements in attempting to radicalize the main-stream socialist tradition of Europe. Except for occasional references, they have not yet found their true historian. With their emphasis on voluntarism, the spontaneous economic strike, loose "Buende," "Vereine," cooperatives, and "Communes," the "Jungen" and their co-frères--the syndicalist-anarchists-- had the problems of non-totalitarian revolution, of egalitarian non-proletarian rule, of party or movement authority. The Revolution of 1905 in Russia was to catapult some of these issues into prominence.¹

"Populism" was an educative, humanitarian, "go-to-the-people" movement; it had to face the issues of change and revolution, of violence and pacifistic sentiment. Though often having common concerns with Marxists and raising economic issues and political considerations, which ran parallel to Marx's and Engel's battles against alienation and proletarian powerlessness, on the whole the "Jungen" and the Anarchists travelled socialist roads which had been more closely trod by the anti-Marxists, Duehring, Proudhon, and the later French Syndicalists.² To the extent to which the young Landauer

¹See Paul Avrich, The Russian Anarchists (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967). See also Franco Venturi's magisterial Roots of Revolution: A History of the Populist and Socialist Movements in Nineteenth Century Russia (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1966), especially "Introduction" by Isaiah Berlin, and Chapters 13, 10, 20, and 21.

²For background material see especially George Lichtheim, Marxism (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1965). Detailed and

raised these issues, to the extent to which he was a working and thinking member of these groups and these circles, and to the extent to which, in later years he had to rethink over and over again the changing pre-suppositions of these early formulations--is he a major figure in fin-de-siècle and early twentieth-century socialism and anarchism.¹ Souchy was the first to record this.² Souchy's book in addition helps to place Landauer and to evaluate him in the spectrum of European socialism. In his anti-communism, anti-bolshevism,

path-breaking: Ulrich Linse, Organisierter Anarchismus im Deutschen Kaiserreich von 1871 (Berlin: Dunker und Humblot, 1969), especially Chapter B, entitled "Anarchismus und Sozialdemokratie." Significant is that this study confines itself to Germany alone and does not even attempt to place these political developments within a European setting.

¹The writer wants to acknowledge indebtedness to Professor George Mosse of the University of Wisconsin (and Visiting Professor at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem 1969-70) for suggesting and encouraging this study as well as for focusing the writer's attention on the fin-de-siècle, "young Landauer" as a scholarly "terra incognita." A note of deep appreciation is due to Professor Shalom Spiegel of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America who amended the writer's lecture before the American Academy for Jewish Research in 1972 in its characterization of Landauer as a seminal secondary figure in German thought to an awareness that "first-rate thinkers whose work remains unfinished due to tragic death, do not thereby become secondary figures; they remain--as Landauer--first-rate figures, cut off before their time."

²My attention was drawn to the Swedish study of Augustin Souchy and to his person by Rudolf de Jong of the Institute for Social History in Amsterdam, who kindly arranged the Munich meeting and gave inestimable help in evaluating the "Landauer Nachlass" in the Amsterdam Institute, Summer 1972. The research was subvented by a grant from the National Foundation for Jewish Culture, herewith acknowledged with appreciation.

and anti-Marxism, Landauer is best characterized as a populist, or as Souchy had it as a "communalist."¹ The book is also suggestive in pointing to the two irreducible elements which lurked in Landauer's personality: his quietistic, mild warmth on the one hand and his activist, burning prophetic radicalism on the other hand.² Both were to show in all of Landauer's writings,³ associations, and decisions. Both can be traced in his last involvements and last withdrawals in the German revolution of 1918-19 in Munich. Since this writer located only one copy of this book, it must be assumed that a very small number was originally printed and that it did not enjoy a very wide circulation. Perhaps it can even be said that

¹Souchy, p. 100: ". . . med en exact beteckning; kommunalist." This same shading of "communalism" is found in the word "k'hilya" (Hebrew for communal settlement) coined by the early Hashomer Hatsair movement in Palestine in the years 1917-20, in which this movement was heavily influenced by the type of search for ethical community, individualistic self-realization and regeneration, and anarchistic socialism which Landauer taught. For carefully documented material, see Elkanah Margalit, Hashomer Hatsair: 1913-36 (Tel Aviv: University of Tel Aviv and Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1971) especially pp. 36 and 43; also footnote 115 on p. 315. Compare Russian populism: Peter Scheibert, Von Bakunin zu Lenin (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970).

²Souchy, p. 133: "Ja, det var tva sjaelar, som bodde i hans broest: den ena fredlig, stilla, full av saktmod, kaerlek och mildhet; blott skapad till kaerleksfullt, haengivet arbete; den andra starkt brusande, oppfyld med profetisk kraft, gloeheande het skaparkraft . . ."

³The first complete bibliography of the Landauerian oeuvres will be published by the writer elsewhere. It will be based on materials collected in the Archives of the Institute for Social History in Amsterdam, supplemented by those of the Buber Archives in the National and University Libraries, Jerusalem. Assistance of Dr. Rudolf de Jong and Mrs. Margot Cohen is acknowledged.

its insights did not travel very far into the Landauer transmissions. At this point it is important to point out that these insights in hindsight offer the contemporary researcher important clues to how Landauer's contemporaries, who were sympathetic to his political message, used his work and reacted to his person.

We have a similar reportage in Dutch from the pen of an involved anarcho-socialist, active in the European movement: Gustaaf Landauer: Zijn Levensgang en Levenswerk by Henriette Roland Holst.¹ This book, of similar size as the one by Souchy, was published by "Arbeidersgemeenschap der Woodbrookers in Holland" in a series entitled "Religieus-Socialistische Vragen," an indication that Landauer's life's work had begun to penetrate into religious movements not only in Jewish-Palestinian circles but Protestant-European groups as well. The author offered the book as a testament, "een bekentenis." In her introduction, she related that Landauer's "tragic martyr's-death had made a deep impression upon her."² The book itself had originally appeared as a series of several articles in the Dutch Barchembladen journal in issues from February to June, 1930.³ In addition to most of his published works and letters, the author seems to have had the very rare

¹Henriette Roland Holst, Gustaaf Landauer: Zijn Levensgang en Levenswerk (Arnhem: Van Loghum Slaterus: 1931).

²Holst, p. 8: "Ook zijn tragische martelaarsdood had geen diepen indruk op mij gemaakt."

³Ibid., p. 9.

stenographic reports of the revolutionary Workers'-Peasants'-and Soldiers' Councils meetings held during the Bavarian Revolution.¹ (February-March 1919). These were evidently made available to her by Dr. Max Kronstein, Landauer's son-in-law. They would have given some insight into Landauer's speeches during the Revolution. To what extent they were complete can not be ascertained from the book. We know that Martin Buber never succeeded in getting the full stenographic record; this writer was able to locate reports of only a few speeches. (February 25, March 8, 1919).² The book contains, to mention a rarity, the only available photograph of the majestic tombstone which the German syndicalist workers set Landauer as a graveside monument.³ (This was later destroyed.)

The novelty of this rich volume lay in its critical analysis⁴ of Landauer's abiding anti-Marxism (an attitude which Holst attributes to Landauer's missing the point of Marx's humanism);⁵ in its sympathetic understanding of

¹Holst, p. 9.

²Stenographischer Bericht ueber die Verhandlungen des Kongresses der Arbeiter-, Bauern- und Soldatenraete (vom 25. Februar bis 8. Maerz, 1919) The original can be found in the Bavarian Staatsbibliothek. This writer had the use of a copy belonging to the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem Ms. No. 432, 140 of the Buber Archives.

³Holst, pp. 40-41.

⁴Ibid., especially Chapter III: "Landauer et het Marxisme."

⁵Ibid., p. 73 on. "Maar heirin deed Landauer toch Marx weer onrecht: dat hij het grootmenschelijke, profetische, messianistische in diens levenswerk niet wilde of niet kon

Landauer's charismatic personality;¹ but most important of all (and uniquely its own) in its characterization of Landauer's socialism as at once religious and mystical.² Holst, as probably no other writer on Landauer, placed him within the framework of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century mystical stirrings in philosophy and theology. Though the characterization is not a scholarly one, the insights into the material are correct and are useful in bringing to the fore an aspect of Landauer's style, ethos, and devotion which bound him to theologians such as Buber³ and to poets such as Dehmel, Rilke,

erkennen." See also Hans Kohn, Martin Buber (Hellerau: Verlag Jacob Hegner, 1930), p. 195: "In dieser Anschauung unterscheidet sich Buber's Sozialismus vom Marxismus. Der Unterschied liegt nicht im Endziel. Der Sozialismus von Marx hat das gleiche Endziel wie der Anarchismus, dem sich Gustav Landauer zurechnet, der auf Buber's Sozialphilosophie einen entscheidenden Einfluss ausgeübt hat. Landauer's Angriffe gegen den Marxismus, die vor allem in seinem Aufruf zum Sozialismus enthalten sind und dessen schwächste Stellen bilden, gehen irre, wenn sie sich gegen das von Marx aufgestellte Endziel zu richten glauben. Auch Marx will die staatenlose, apolitische, freie Assoziation, die wahre Gemeinschaft, die vollendete Gesellschaft aller Menschen. Schon am Schluss des Kommunistischen Manifests ist das deutlich gesagt. Landauer's und Buber's Sozialismus entscheiden sich vom Marxismus nicht im Ziel, sondern in der historischen Grundlegung und in den Mitteln der Verwirklichung."

¹Holst, Chapter I, "Landauer's Levensgang, uitgebeeld in zijn Brieven."

²Ibid., p. 84: "Landauer's diepste wezen was gedrenkt met joodsch mysticisme en Messianisme."

³On Buber's mysticism see the excellent discussions in Hans Kohn, Martin Buber, especially his concept of "activist mysticism." Kohn reminds that Buber and Landauer shared an interest in Christian mysticism at the turn of the century. Buber published an essay on "Jakob Boehme" in the Wiener Rundschau of June 15, 1901; his Ph.D. dissertation in 1904 dealt with "Zur Geschichte des Individuationsproblem (Nikolaus von Cues und Jakob Boehme)." Buber was intellectually indebted

and Liliencron.¹ The "new Mysticism" captured strong forms of intellectual and cultural influence in philosophy² and

to Dilthey's conception of "Erlebnis" and Simmel's conception of "religiosity as a category of feeling." Buber was strongly influenced by the writings of Meister Eckhart in whom he found a special conception of the communion between man and God. This conception became important in Buber's studies on Jewish Kabbalah. Buber's early interest in mystical ecstasy later changed to an interest in mystical teaching (Die Lehre). At the "Soziologentag" of October 1910 Troeltsch and Buber crossed swords about the timelessness or time-bound quality of mystical categories. Landauer's interest in Meister Eckhart became manifest with his 1903 translation from his mystical writings. Landauer--as many at the turn of the century--saw Meister Eckhardt as a pantheistic, medieval radical and heretic. Present-day scholarship has become more conservative. Grete Schaeder in Martin Buber: Hebraeischer Humanismus (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1966) believes that Buber and Landauer were brought together in life-long friendship by their common interest in Eckhart (p. 70). The book is excellent in tracing the mystic tendencies in Rilke, Mombert, the George Kreis, and in focusing also on the "voelkisch" elements in Landauer's and Buber's mysticism, in its emphasis on the true Volk, a feeling shared by conservative thinkers.

¹Excellent discussion in a "European" reading of this period are found in the series, entitled "Epochen der deutschen Kultur," especially Richard Hamann und Jost Hermand Naturalismus, Impressionismus, and Stilkunst um 1900 (Muenchen: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung: 1972 and 1973). These are probably the most comprehensive works on German literary and intellectual history, encompassing the insights of science and social science, attempted in recent years. Unfortunately no scholarly apparatus is provided.

²See the magisterial work by Ernst Cassirer: Wesen und Wirkung des Symbolbegriffs (Oxford: Bruno Cassirere, 1956). This encompasses the 3 studies published for the Bibliothek Warburg in 1922, 1925, 1921-22 entitled respectively: "Die Begriffsform des mythischen Denkens," "Sprache und Mythos," "Der Begriff der symbolischen Form im Aufbau der Geisteswissenschaften" as well as the lecture given for the University of Goeteborg in 1938 on "Zur Logik des Symbolbegriffs." Equally important in this connection is the English access to the author's as yet inaccessible German Die Philosophie der Symbolischen Formen, namely Language and Myth (New York: Harper and Row, 1946). The period is also characterized in Cassirer's Vom Mythos des Staates (Zuerich: Artemis Verlag: 1949) especially the section entitled "Was ist

religion as well as in art and literature. As a bridge-builder from sceptical-radicalism to mystical, linguistic analysis¹ and as translator of mystical literature,² Landauer

Mythus." Present-day research focuses on the mythical elements in the thinking of the seminal philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein in his Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus (London: Routledge, Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1922). For good analyses, see Allan Janik and Stephen Toulmin, Wittgenstein's Vienna (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973) and David Pears Ludwig Wittgenstein (New York: Viking Press, 1969). Also suggestive George Steiner Language and Silence (New York: Atheneum, 1967), especially the chapters called "The Retreat from the World" and "Silence and the Poet." As in all of his work, Steiner is very good in showing the total European artistic, philosophical, and literary scene. ". . . the retreat from the authority and range of verbal language plays a tremendous role in the history and character of modern art."

¹See his Skepsis und Mystik: Versuche im Anschluss an Mauthner's Sprachkritik. First edition was published by F. Fontane & Co. in Berlin in 1903. Landauer added materials in 1905 and Martin Buber published a second edition in the Marcan-Block Verlag in Koeln in 1923.

²Gustav Landauer translated the sermons of Meister Eckhart, a 14th century German Dominican monk, whose mystic radicalism in reading the unity of man and the divine caused him to posit a heretical, pantheistic concept of God-man. On Meister Eckhart, see two good articles in Josiah Royce, Studies in Good and Evil (New York: Appleton, 1906) and Rufus Jones The Flowering of Mysticism (New York: Macmillan, 1939). In the 19th century, Franz von Baader, Hegel's friend, discovered Eckhart for German idealism. His thought is close to that of Lao Tzu and Buddha. The translation which Landauer published from the Middle High German is variously recorded as having been brought out by Karl Schnabel Verlag in Berlin in 1903 or 1906 (Buber's footnote on p. 47 of Lebensgang in Briefen, Volume I, cites 1906). The Nazis were later to appropriate some of Eckhart's thought as "true" German mysticism. For this see Raymond Blakney Meister Eckhart: A Modern Translation (New York: Harper and Row, 1941), "Introduction," p. XV. Landauer treasured Eckhart for his clear prose, his realism, and his sober, rational thinking. On this see Lebensgang in Briefen, Volume I, p. 47. Modern scholarship has retraced Eckhart's lines of thought and his pantheistic heresies. For references, see Grete Schaeder Martin Buber, pp. 53 and 395. For Landauer's own affinity to atheistic mysticism see Heinz Joachim Heydorn in Gustav Landauer: Zwang

is a true son of his generation.¹

In addition to a Swedish and a Dutch transmission, there exists also a very respectable Spanish Landauer assessment, by the noted historian of anarchism, Max Nettlau,² entitled La vida de Gustav Landauer según su correspondencia,

und Befreiung (Koeln: Verlag Jakob Hegner, 1968), p. 15. Ernst Simon speaks of Landauer's "social mysticism." See Martin Buber: Briefwechsel aus sieben Jahrzehnten, Volume I, p. 63. Hans Kohn made reference to Landauer's interest to bring the personality of Eckhart to the reader's attention--not to treat him as a subject of historical scrutiny. See Kohn, Martin Buber, p. 293, citing Landauer's prospectus for the translation: "Es ist die Wiederkunft eines Verschollenen, der nicht historisch gewuerdigt, sondern lebendig erfuehlt werden soll." Similarities are here noted to Buber's "Introduction" to his Ekstatische Konfessionen (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1909), p. V: "Der Ekstatiker mag psychologisch, physiologisch, pathologisch erkluert werden; uns ist das wesentlich was jenseits der Erkluerung bleibt: sein Erlebnis." (I am deeply indebted to the late Professor Abraham Joshua Heschel for leading me to this early statement as the best short summary of a position which Landauer and Buber shared in their work as translators of the great mystics.)

¹The interest in communication in this period is demonstrated by its interest in the nature of language, of dreams and fantasies, of theatrical styles and movements, and in translation (communication from language to language), and in typography. Highly characteristic for this period is the translator (with Buber) of the Bible, Franz Rosenzweig in his Briefe: "Das Uebersetzen ist ueberhaupt das eigentliche Ziel des Geistes; erst wenn etwas uebersetzt ist, ist es wirklich laut geworden, nicht mehr aus der Welt zu schaffen. Erst in der Septuagint ist die Offenbarung ganz heimisch in der Welt geworden, und so lange der Homer noch nicht lateinisch sprach, war er noch keine Tatsache." (From a letter to Rudolf Ehrenberg, dated October 1, 1917.)

²See the manuscript written in the 1930's, now in the International Institute for Social History (Nettlau Archive) entitled Anarchisten un Sozialrevolutionaere, 1886-1914. Also useful are the author's Der Anarchismus von Proudhon zu Kropotkin (Berlin: Verlag "Der Syndikalist," 1927) and Anarchisten und Sozialrevolutionaere: Die historische Entwicklung des Anarchismus in den Jahren 1880-1886 (Berlin: Asy Verlag, 1931).

published in Buenos Aires in 1929.¹ Especially valuable in placing the young Landauer within the circle of anarchist free thinkers in the Friedrichshagen community (near Berlin) of 1890-92, in the circle of the Harts and the "Neue Gemeinschaft" of the same years, and the thought-world of Stirner, Ibsen, and Nietzsche, Max Nettlau contributed an additional insight which later biographers often overlooked or misinterpreted: Landauer's early interest in communal settlements and "Gartenstaedte." Here he was heir to much of the thought of Duehring, his colleague Friedlaender, and Theodor Hertzka, the author of "Freiland."² It is not correct to conclude that Landauer's anti-urban and anti-metropolitan stance was a position of his later, less idealistic (or less pugnacious) years, as has been argued recently.³ It is far more correct

¹ La Protesta, July 31, 1929.

² Well-known modern utopia: Freiland: Ein Zukunftsbild (Leipzig, 1890). Sixth edition was published 1892, the tenth in 1896, proving its mass interest.

³ Eugene Lunn Prophet of Community (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973) especially Chapter 4 entitled "The Romantic as Socialist." A similarly mistaken reading of Landauer's "Siedlungsgedanken" from the oeuvres of the period after 1908 occurs in Wolf Kalz Gustav Landauer: Kultursozialist und Anarchist (Meisenheim: Verlag Anton Hain, 1967) p. 18 on. Though Kalz states correctly that "Es ist methodisch gesehensmangels umfassender theoretischer Abhandlungen unerlaesslich, die verstreuten und haeufig ad hoc geaeusserten Gedanken Landauers zu einer allgemeinen Theorie seiner sozialen Ordnung zusammenzufassen. Es versteht sich dabei von selbst, dass auch die Einfluesse jener Sozialisten miteinbezogen werden, die, wie Proudhon und Kropotkin, Landauer's Theorie wesentlich praegen halfen" (p. 20). This is a major error; firstly, because Landauer himself argued strongly that his theories were well-developed at the time at which Landauer came into serious confrontation with these ideologies. Secondly, reference to Landauer's own early work shows that his intellectual

to accept the Nettlau thesis that these early ideological influences were decisive and sustained.¹ The present writer

indebtedness in his formative years was to the thoughts of Friedlaender, Duehring, and Hertzka. In the Germany of the fin-de-siècle it was these ideologies with which the "Jungen" and the libertarian "Unabhaengigen" shaped their programs of communalism and free socialism. For another example of this type of anti-statist, anti-Marxist, anti-mass-party utopian communalism see the work of the German-Jewish economist and social scientist Dr. Franz Oppenheimer. Suggestive here is the chapter entitled "Soziale Experimente" in his autobiographie Erlebtes, Erstrebtes, Erreichtes (Berlin: Welt-Verlag, 1931), which describes in great detail the small circles which were formed in and around Berlin to agitate for ideas found in the writings of Hertzka, Henry George, and Duehring. Oppenheimer carried these ideas, many of which Landauer shared, to the United States and to Palestine. See especially Franz Oppenheimer "Cooperative Farm Communities" in Bulletin of the University of Georgia, Volume XXXVI, May, 1936. The call for Siedlungen, Gartenstaedte, working-men's suburbs was part of the general protest against impersonal metropolitan living. It is one of the characteristic moods of the period before the turn of the century. For a contemporary thinker, who understands well this coming together or revolutionary alienation and fanciful utopia-building, which characterized the period of Landauer's youth, see "Fantasy and Utopia" in Harvey Cox The Feast of Fools (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969).

A similar lack of insight into Landauer's ideas on communal settlements characterizes Charles Maurer Call to Revolution: The Mystical Anarchism of Gustav Landauer (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1971). Promising in its title, Maurer nowhere spells out the relationship between Landauer's early thought and his interest in communities. The chapters on "The Socialist Years 1891-1900" and "Mauthner and Mysticism 1900-1906" carry no information or suggestion of this very important early interest. The chapter on "The Socialist Bund 1908-14" (much as Kalz) begins the discussion as though Landauer discovered the idea of community and communality during the period during which he began to found organs and institutions such as "Der sozialistische Bund" and his own "Der Sozialist." He who does not understand the young Landauer of 1890 to 1896 can never hope to comprehend his mature writings and activities.

¹ Nettlau, p. 383 on. For a helpful typology of "negative" and "positive" anarchism, which does not deal with the work of Landauer, but might well yield helpful ways of characterizing his consistent thinking see Peter Heintz Anarchismus und Gegenwart (Zuerich: Regio-Verlag, 1951).

would add here that it is precisely this early inclination to populist ("back to the land") movements which built the later bridges to Buber and Nahum Goldman in their efforts to create a European Socialist Zionism, with its call to a return to the land. What is also of importance to the history of the Landauer's transmissions is Nettlau's periodization of the development of the horizons of the young Landauer and his revolt (around 1892-94) against what Nettlau called "ego-centric intellectualism." From the point-of-view of the history of socialist anarchism, Nettlau's characterization of Landauer's contribution as that of "socialismo constructivo y experimental" explained better than many contemporary biographers have understood¹ the tension in Landauer between the immediate, realistic program and the larger, theoretical, conceptual framework of social reorganization.

¹See Footnote #3 above. We would interpret differently (in accordance with the serious reading of the young Landauer here proposed) the statement of Walter T. Angress in his essay "Juden im politischen Leben der Revolutionszeit" in Werner Mosse's "Sammelband" entitled Deutsches Judentum in Krieg und Revolution, 1916-23 (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1971): "Daher hat Landauer sich stets als Anarchist bezeichnet. Jedoch bis zum November 1918 hielt er sich in seinen Schriften, besonders dem im Jahre 1911 zu erst veroeffentlichten Aufruf zum Sozialismus, trotz seiner theoretischen Beschaeftigung mit politischen Fragen der Tagespolitik fern" (p. 254). Landauer's interest in social experimentation, his activism in the European socialist movement on behalf of the libertarian-anarchist position, as well as his literary free-thinking efforts all consistently and most devotedly speak to and agitate for "Tagespolitik." A careful reading of the titles of essays published by the young Landauer during the fin-de-siècle, which can be found in the Appendix of this work, will demonstrate how intimate is the relation between the young Landauer's theoretical interest and his active "Tagespolitik" for which he consistently and "self-consciously" went to jail before the turn of the century.

Nettlau wrote another short appreciation of Landauer in Nervio (a supplement to La Protesta in 1929, but reserved a full-scale appreciation for the "Foreword" to the remarkable Yiddish edition of Landauer's Die Revolution, entitled Die Revolutje, published in Berlin in 1931.¹ Nettlau made special mention of the fact that with this edition Landauer would be entered into the Yiddish-speaking world at the same time in which a Spanish edition of the same work was being prepared. This edition has, however, to date not been located. Nettlau's "Foreword" reviewed the relationship which tied him to Landauer from 1892 until 1913; but it did more than that. It attempted to harmonize the libertarian socialist tendencies of the late nineteenth century and to relate them to the on-going socialist movement. It is really taken on face value the best short integration of the anarchist socialist position into the history of European socialism. Landauer's place emerged in this short, well-reasoned historical treatment secure, well-defined, well-understood in the large, diversified, and manifold world of European socialist ideologies. Nettlau, better than anyone else, made room in his analysis for many strains and many strands of libertarianism and social radicalisms. He cited the fact that until 1933 no biography of Landauer had been written, because the diversity of interests and competences which Landauer had, had found no one anywhere able to assess his full importance. Nettlau cited the harmony

¹Translated by I. Steinberg, Berlin, 1933.

and the "wholeness" and completeness of Landauer's thinking-- its integrated unity in moral purpose and aesthetic form. Nettlau sensed correctly that only a later age would be able to evaluate the record in its totality. This promise has, unfortunately, not yet been fulfilled, but a part of the inability to understand the world of Landauer lies in our meager monograph literature pertaining to the radical world of 1890 Berlin. "The Jungen," in particular, have nowhere come into their own. When they do--Landauer with them will appear less fragmented and solitary a figure and it will increasingly become clear that these very seemingly lonely, existentially troubled, Berlin libertarians were a very significant group in post-Nietzschean Germany.¹ Nettlau better than anyone else also captured the sense of eclectic search in European libertarian Socialism as seen in rebellion against mass-party, doctrinaire dogmatism, and slavish party activism. Nettlau also understood better than other historians of socialism how much Landauer and his associates attempted to build socialist spontaneity, unity, and common goals into what they thought was already a petrified structure. Nothing is as clear from these few pages by Nettlau than that he thought that Landauer and his peers were indeed the "generation rebellion" of the European socialist movement.² When seen in this context, many of the paradoxes which writers

¹Nietzsche here reads as first German existentialist.

²Nettlau, p. 12 on.

have found in Landauer suddenly fall into natural place, sequence, and meaning. Nettlau coined a new word for what he thought Landauer was all about; he thought that Landauer desperately but consistently tried to build a new "revolutionary-socialistic 'Ideenpartei'." Landauer was then the man, in effect, who tried to do for his generation what Marx had done for his. Landauer was the man who preached a new, great fluidity in world socialism; for him socialism was the great key which unlocked doors of possibility. In this reading, Landauer is the precursor of Ernst Bloch's Das Prinzip Hoffnung. He is also spiritually related to Freud. Freedom had to be created in the individual human soul before it could aspire to be objectified in society.¹ First self-development, then social activism. No social regeneration could come until individuals had given up their own voluntary slavery and subservience. Nettlau understood Landauer well. He understood him as the bridge between a dying century and a burgeoning new one; he understood him as a strong link in the chain of European socialism; he wrote him into the history of the great social ideologues of the Western world.

¹Nettlau, p. 16.

Libraries and Archives

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

Amsterdam--Institute for Social History

Mappe Y (G. L. Manuskripte)
C (Diaries and Personalia)
D (Diaries and Personalia)
CC (Articles)
DD (Articles)
B (In memoriam)
X (Letters)
A (Berndl Manuscript)
E (Correspondence)
EE (Memorial Volume)
BB (Studentenkongresse)
Z (Forte Kreiss)
AA (Munich 1919)
M (Correspondence)
Q-W (Correspondence)
Nettlau Nachlass
Ramus Nachlass
Rocker Memoirs
Der Sozialist

Ann Arbor, Michigan--Library of the University of Michigan

Berlin--Bibliothek der Freien Universität

Berlin--Preussische Staatsbibliothek

Berlin (Ost)--Deutsche Akademie der Künste, Abteilung
Literatur Archiv Nachlass Erich Mühsam (from Gorke
Archives, Moscow)

Bern--Swiss State Archives

Frankfurt a. M.--Deutsche Bibliothek

Jerusalem--National and Hebrew University Library
Landauer Archive (Buber Archive)

Jerusalem--Zionist Archives

Merseburg--Zentral Archiv

Königliches Ministerium des Innern

Abteilung CB, Acta S

No. 139	Bekannte Anarchisten in Berlin
No. 434	"Der Sozialist"
No. 461	Beschlagnahmung des Sozialist
No. 561 ^I	Anarchische Vereine
No. 561 ^{II}	Anarchische Vereine
No. 632	Der arme Konrad app. 1896

Central Bureau, Acta

Rep. 77 Tit. 2512 no. 1	Anarchistische Bewegungen in Preussen "Die Anarchie"
Vol. 3	1900-1910
Vol. 4	1901-1903
Vol. 5	1903-1907
Vol. 6	1907-1911

Central Bureau, Acta (continued)

Rep. 77 Tit. 2512 No. 6 Anarchistische Bewegungen in
Berlin

Vol. I 1894-1899

Vol. II 1899-1913

München--Allgemeines Staatsarchiv

München--Geheimes Staatsarchiv

München--Stadtbibliothek

New Haven, Conn.--Yale University Library, Special Collection

New York--Library of Leo Baeck Institute

New York--Columbia University Library, Special Collection

New York--Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary

New York--New York Public Library

Potsdam--Akten des Staatsarchiv Potsdam

Pr. Br. Rep. 30 Berlin C Polizeipräsidium

Tit. 95 Sect. 8

16346 Lit. L. 29 Vol. 1: Der Schriftsteller Gustav
Landauer 1892-1902

13 16347 Lit. L. 30 Vol. 2: Der Schriftsteller Gustav
Landauer 1902-1918

16484 Lit. M. 24 Vol. 1: Der Schriftsteller Erich
Mühsam 1903-1911

Potsdam--Akten des Staatsarchiv Potsdam (continued)

Tit. 95 Sect. 8 (continued)

- 16385 Lit. M. 24 Vol. 2: Der Schriftsteller Erich
Mühsam 1911-1918
- 16579 Lit. S. 114 Der Dreher August Suchy 1912-1918

Tit. 95 Sect. 4

- 14870 1809 Vol. 1: Der Sozialist 1891-1892
- 14871 1809 Vol. 2: Der Sozialist 1892-1895
- 14872 1809 Vol. 3: Der Sozialist 1895-1898
- 14873 1809 Vol. 4: Der Sozialist 1898-1900
- 14874-14886 Die Beschlagnahme des Sozialist
1893-1898
- 14874 1809 a Der Sozialist 1893
- 14875 1809 b Der Sozialist 1893-1896
- 14876 1809 c Der Sozialist 1894-1896
- 14877 1809 d Der Sozialist 1894-1896
- 14878 1809 e Der Sozialist 1895
- 14879 1809 f Der Sozialist 1895-1896
- 14880 1809 g Der Sozialist 1896-1897
- 14881 1809 h Der Sozialist 1896
- 14882 1809 i Der Sozialist 1895
- 14883 1809 k Der Sozialist 1895-1896
- 14884 1809 l Der Sozialist 1896-1897
- 14885 1809 m Der Sozialist 1897-1898
- 14886 1809 n Der Sozialist 1897-1898

Tit. 95 Sect. 5

14919	Lit. A	134	Arbeiter Dersammlungen
14985	Lit. A	158	Freie anarchistische sozialistische Vereinigung 1896-1898
14990	Lit. A	237	Der anarchistische Agitationsverein für Berlin und Umgegend 1906
15457	Lit. S	284	Die unabhängigen Sozialisten

Tit. 95 Sect. 6

15632	Lit. A	13	Anarchistische Bewegung
15636	Lit. A	16	Anarchistische Agitation
15645	Lit. A	25	Die anarchistische Vereinigung Berlins und die anarchistische Gruppe Jugend 1912-1917

Tit. 94

8720	Lit. A	326	Vol. 1: Die anarchistische Bewegung in Berlin 1880-1886
8721	Lit. A	326	Vol. 2: Die anarchistische Bewegung in Berlin 1886-1892
8722	Lit. A	326	Vol. 3: Die anarchistische Bewegung in Berlin 1893-1895
8723	Lit. A	326	Vol. 4: Die anarchistische Bewegung in Berlin 1894-1897
8724	Lit. A	326	Vol. 5: Die anarchistische Bewegung in Berlin 1895-1896
8725	Lit. A	326	Vol. 6: Die anarchistische Bewegung in Berlin 1896

Tit. 94 (continued)

- | | | | |
|-------|--------|------|---|
| 8726 | Lit. A | 326 | Vol. 7: Die anarchistische
Bewegung in Berlin 1896-1898 |
| 8727 | Lit. A | 326 | Vol. 8: Die anarchistische
Bewegung in Berlin 1898-1899 |
| 8728 | Lit. A | 326 | Vol. 9: Die anarchistische
Bewegung in Berlin 1900-1901 |
| 8825 | Lit. A | 415 | Anarchistische Jugendorganisationen
1907-1909 |
| 9750 | Lit. E | 278 | Oberstlieutnant a. D. Moritz von
Egidy 1891-1899 |
| 9764 | Lit. E | 298 | Gerichtsassessor und Privatdozent
Dr. Paul Eltzbacher |
| 10007 | Lit. F | 564 | Die Berliner Föderation revo-
lutionärer Arbeiter 1902-1903 |
| 10010 | Lit. F | 564 | Vol. 1: Die anarchistische
Föderation Deutschlands 1903-1907 |
| 10011 | Lit. F | 564 | Vol. 2: Die anarchistische
Föderation Deutschlands 1907-1910 |
| 10012 | Lit. F | 564 | Vol. 3: Die anarchistische
Föderation Deutschlands 1910 |
| 12325 | Lit. P | 685 | Vol. 1: Der Schlosser Paul Hermann
Pawlowitsch 1892-1903 |
| 12326 | Lit. P | 685 | Vol. 2: Der Schlosser Paul Hermann
Pawlowitsch 1903-1910 |
| 12276 | Lit. P | 519 | Der Maler Josef Peuckert 1881-1914 |
| 13629 | Lit. S | 2097 | Der Sozialistische Bund 1908-1910 |
| 14213 | Lit. W | 777 | Der Buchdrucker und Redakteur Albert
Wilhelm Weidner 1891-1913 |

Washington--Library of Congress

Zürich, Sozialarchiv

Works by Gustav Landauer

WORKS BY GUSTAV LANDAUER

Books, Pamphlets, and Flugschriften

An den Züricher Kongress: Bericht über die deutsche Arbeiterbewegung. Berlin: W. Werner Verlag, 1893.

Die Abschaffung des Krieges durch die Selbstbestimmung des Volkes. Fragen an die deutschen Arbeiter, Berlin, 1911.

Aufruf zum Sozialismus (appeared in Kain, Zeitschrift für Menschlichkeit, Herausg. Erich Mühsam, Jahrg. 1 No. 3, Juni 1911, S. 33-39). 2. Aufl. Berlin: Paul Cassirer Verlag, 1919. 3. Aufl. Köln, 1925, Wien, 1967.

Beginnen: Aufsätze über Sozialismus. Herausg. M. Buber, Köln: Marean Block Verlag, 1924.

Ein Weg deutschen Geistes. Sonderabdruck aus der Frankfurter Zeitung. Erstes Morgenblatt vom. 6 Februar 1916.

Ein Weg zur Befreiung der Arbeiterklasse. Berlin: Verlag von Adolf Marreck, 1895.

Der Fall Ziethen. Ein Appell an die öffentliche Meinung. Berlin: Hugo Metscher Verlag, 1898.

Gustav Landauer, Sein Lebensgang in Briefen. Hrsg. M. Buber. 2 Bände. Frankfurt a. M.: Verlag Rütten und Loening, 1929.

Macht und Mächte. Berlin: Verlag Egon Fleischel, 1903. 2. Aufl. Köln, 1923.

Rechenschaft. Berlin: Paul Cassirer Verlag, 1919. 2. Aufl. Köln, 1924. 2. Aufl. Berlin, 1930.

Die Revolution. Frankfurt a. M.: Verlag Rütten und Loening, 1908. 2. Aufl. 1919. 3. Aufl. 1923.

Shakespeare; dargestellt in Vorträgen. Hrsg. M. Buber. 2 Bände. Frankfurt a. M.: Verlag Rütten und Loening, 1920. 2. Aufl. 1923. Potsdam, 1948. Hamburg, 1962.

Skepsis und Mystik: Versuche im Anschluss an Mauthners Sprachkritik. Berlin, 1903. 2. Aufl. Köln, 1923.

Social Democracy in Germany. London, 1896.

Der Todesprediger (Roman). Dresden und Leipzig, 1893.
2. Aufl. 1903. 3 Aufl. Köln, 1923.

Die vereinigten Republiken Deutschlands und ihre Verfassung.
Das Flugblatt, Heft 3., Frankfurt a. M.: Tiedemann
und Uzielli, 1918.

Von Zürich bis London, 1896 (De Zurich à Londres. Rapport
sur le mouvement allemand au Congrès international
de Londres. Paris, 1896).

Der werdende Mensch: Aussätze über Leben und Schrifttum.
Hrsg. M. Buber. Potsdam: G. Kiepenheuer Verlag,
1921.

Zwang und Befreiung. Eine Auswahl aus seinem Werk. Hgg.
v. Heinz-Joachim Heydorn. Köln, 1968.

Translations

Briefe aus der französischen Revolution. 2 Bände. Frankfurt
a. M.: Verlag Rütten und Loening, 1918. 2. Aufl.,
1922. Potsdam, 1948. Neuauflage, Frankfurt, 1961.

Kropotkin, Peter. Die französische Revolution, 1789-1793.
2 Bände. Leipzig: Theodor Thomas Verlag, 1909.
1948. Hamburg, 1961.

_____. Gegenseitige Hilfe in der Entwicklung (Gegenseitige
Hilfe in der Tier- und Menschenwelt). Leipzig, 1904.
2. Auflage, Leipzig 1908.

_____. Landwirtschaft, Industrie, und Handwerk. Berlin,
1904. 2. Aufl. Berlin, 1910.

Meister Eckharts Mystische Schriften. Berlin, 1903.
2. Auflage, 1922.

Shaw, Bernard. Sozialismus für Millionäre. Berlin: Verlag
Hermann Ehbork, 1907.

Tagore, Rabintranath. Das Postamt; Der König der dunkeln
Kammern. Leipzig, 1915. 2. Aufl., 1918.

Whitman, Walt. Gesänge und Inschriften. München, 1921.

_____. Der Wunderarzt. Zurich, 1919.

Wilde, Oscar. Der Sozialismus und die Seele des Menschen; Aus
dem Zuchthaus zu Reading; Ästhetisches Manifest. Übers.
mit Hedwig Lachman. Vorbemerkung bei G. Landauer.
Berlin: Karl Schaubel Verlag, 1904.

Zwei Gespräche von der Kunst und vom Leben; Das Bildnis des Dorian Grey. Übers. mit Hedwig Lachman. Leipzig, 1907.

Essays

1890

"Über epische und dramatische Dichtung," Deutschland, 4 und 11. März.

"Geschwister," eine Novelle, Juni-August, 1890 (unpublished handwritten manuscript in the Buber Archives, Jerusalem).

1891

"Die religiöse Jugenderziehung," Freie Bühne für modernes Leben, 11. Februar.

"Weihnachtsgeschenke und Weihnachtsliteratur," Das Magazin für Litteratur, 10. Jahrg. Nr. 51, 19. Dez., 800-811.

1892

"Sprache und Schrift," Das Magazin für Litteratur, 5. März, 155-156.

"Sprache und Schrift," Das Magazin für Litteratur, 19. März 189-191.

"Die Zukunft und die Kunst," Die Neue Zeit, X, 532-535.

"Gerhard Hauptmann," Die Neue Zeit, X, 612-621.

Sozialist, August 27, 1892

2. Jahrg. Heft 35

"Referat ueber Eugen Duehrings 'Kursus der National-- und Sozialoekonomie.'"

Sozialist, October 22, 1892

2. Jahrg. Heft 43.

"Dueringianer und Marxist" ("Erwiderung" an Benedikt Friedlaender to essay in 2. Jahrg., Heft 40, October 1, 1892.

1893

"Bürgerliche Kunst und besitzlose Klasse," Die Neue Zeit, XI, 334.

1893 (continued)

- Sozialist, March 4, 1893
3. Jahrg. Heft 9
"Majestaet Masse"
- Sozialist, April 1, 1893
3. Jahrg. Heft 14
"Wie nennen wir uns?"
- Sozialist, April 8, 1893
3. Jahrg. Heft 15
"Zur Frage: Wie nennen wir uns?"
- Sozialist, April 15, 1893
3. Jahrg. Heft 16
"Zur Frage: Wie nennen wir uns?"
- Sozialist, May 27, 1893
3. Jahrg. Heft 22
"Stimmungsmache und die Autoritaet der Gruende"
"Entgegnung"
- Sozialist, June 3, 1893
3. Jahrg. Heft 23
"Die schwarze Liste der deutschen Sozialdemokratie"
"Rohe Gewalt"
- Sozialist, June 10, 1893
3. Jahrg. Heft 24
"Die Sozialdemckratische Wahlagitation"
"Belgien auf der Wacht"
- Sozialist, June 17, 1893
3. Jahrg. Heft 25
"Die sozialdemokratische Wahlagitation II"
- Sozialist, June 24, 1893
3. Jahrg. Heft 26
"Nach den Wahlen"
"Manchesterfreiheit--Staatshilfe--Anarchie"
"Landagitation"
"Gewerkschaftskampf"
- Sozialist, July 1, 1893
3. Jahrg. Heft 27
"Zum Berner Krawall"
"Bilder aus der Gesellschaft"

1893 (continued)

Sozialist, July 8, 1893
3. Jahrg. Heft 28
"Begnadigt"

Sozialist, July 15, 1893
3. Jahrg. Heft 29
"Wirtschaftlicher Aufschwung"
"Erklaerung"
"Die geschmaechte Philosophie"

Sozialist, July 22, 1893
3. Jahrg. Heft 30
"Der Nachwuchs in der deutschen Sozialdemokratie
Anmerkung an einen Brief" G.L.

Sozialist, July 29, 1893
3. Jahrg. Heft 31
"An den Zuericher Kongress" (auch als Flugschrift
verbreitet)

Sozialist, August 5, 1893
3. Jahrg. Heft 31
"An den Zuericher Kongress II" (auch als Flugschrift
verbreitet)
"Etwas ueber Moral"

Sozialist, August 12, 1893
3. Jahrg. Heft 33
"Wie der alte Liebknecht aus dem Schlafe hallt"

Sozialist, August 26, 1893
3. Jahrg. Heft 35
"Kulis und Proletarier"
"Der Zuericher Kongress"
"Offener Brief an Herrn August Bebel"

Sozialist, September 2, 1893
3. Jahrg. Heft 36
"Anarchismus im Detail"

Sozialist, September 9, 1893
3. Jahrg. Heft 37
"Kinderraub"
"Die direkte Gesetzgebung durch das Volk"

Sozialist, September 23, 1893
3. Jahrg. Heft 39
"Herrn Bebels Urteil ueber sich selbst"

1893 (continued)Sozialist, September 30, 1893

3. Jahrg. Heft 40

"Morgen oder uebermorgen"

"Ein peinlicher Zwischenfall"

Sozialist, October 7, 1893

3. Jahrg. Heft 41

"Individuelle Taktik"

Sozialist, October 14, 1893

3. Jahrg. Heft 42

"Kritische Bemerkungen zu Mackays Anarchisten"

Sozialist, October 21, 1893

3. Jahrg. Heft 43

"Enthaelt die Notitz ueber seine Verhaftung"

Sozialist, November 4, 1893

3. Jahrg. Heft 45

"Notiz ueber das erste Urteil"

Sozialist, December 30, 1893

3. Jahrg. Heft 53

"Notiz ueber das zweite Urteil"

1894

"Geschichte unserer Liebe. Meiner geliebten Marguerite zum Geburtstag." May, 1894.

Unpublished copies:

Institute for Social History
 Amsterdam
 Landauer Nachlass
 National-Hebrew University
 Jerusalem
 Landauer-Archiv

1895"Mautners Kraft," Die Natur, 12, Jahrg. Nr. 17, 26. Januar, 244-46."Aus Meinem Gefängnis-Tagebuch," Der Sozialistische Akademiker, I, Hefte 13-18 (5 installments).

1895 (continued)

"Der Anarchismus in Deutschland," Die Zukunft, 5. Januar.

Neue Folge

Sozialist, January 5, 1895

5. Jahrg. Heft 1

"Die Demagogen der Reformationszeit I"

(Teil II in Neue Folge 5. Jahrg. Aug. 24, 1895)

Sozialist, August 17, 1895

5. Jahrg. Heft 1

"Die Kriegsfeier"

"Aus einer Sitzung der sozialdemokratischen Agrarkommission" (von unserm eigenen Parlamentsberichterstatter erfunden)

"Die Wiedergeburt des Sozialist"

"Henry George und der sozialdemokratische Agrarprogramentwurf"

Kleine Notizen "Aus der Zeit"

Litterarische Beilage: "Zum Beginn der Litterarischen Beilage zum Sozialist"

"Vorbemerkung zu Bonaventura, 'Nachtwachen'"

Sozialist, August 24, 1895

5. Jahrg. Heft 2

"Die Demogogen der Reformationszeit II" (Zur Charakteristik des Demagogen Luther) (Fortsetzung aus 5. Jahrg. Heft 1 des alten Sozialist)

"Der lebendige Katholizismus" (Ein Beitrag zum Bauernprogram)

"Entwurf eines Gesetzes zur dauernden Etablierung der christlich-monarchisch-kapitalistischen Gesellschaft" (von Benedictus Stumm)

"Aufruf an alle Arbeiter und kaufmaennischen Angestellten"

"Die unmoralische Weltordnung"

Sozialist, August 31, 1895

5. Jahrg. Heft 3

"Die Internationale des Gewissens"

1895 (continued)

"Austritt aus der Staatsgemeinschaft"

"Friedrich Engels und die materialistische
Geschichtsauffassung"

Translation: Krapotkin, "Die wirtschaftlichen
Besserungsversuche" (aus Temps Nouveaux)

Sozialist, Sept. 7, 1895

5. Jahrg. Heft 4

"Anarchismus-Sozialismus"

"A. W. zum Gedächtniss"

Sozialist, September 14, 1895

5. Jahrg. Heft 5

"Eines Anarchisten Antwort auf die Rede des Kaisers"

"Das europäische Gelaechter"

Translation: Krapotkin, "Die wirtschaftlichen
Besserungsversuche II" (Genossenschaftssozialismus)

Sozialist, September 21, 1895

5. Jahrg. Heft 6

"Unsere nächste Aufgabe"

"Das Petroleum-Weltmonopol"

Translation: Krapotkin, "Die wirtschaftlichen
Besserungsversuche III" (Wohin Führen die
Palliativmittel?)

Sozialist, September 28, 1895

5. Jahrg. Heft 7

"Arbeiter aller Länder vereinigt Euch!"

Translation: Krapotkin, "Die wirtschaftlichen
Besserungsversuche IV" (Das Freibrot und der Staat)

Sozialist, October 5, 1895

5. Jahrg. Heft 8

"Herr Auer und die Sedanfeier"

Translation: Krapotkin, "Die wirtschaftlichen
Besserungsversuche IV" (Das Freibrot und der Staat)
Fortsetzung

1895 (continued)Sozialist, October 12, 1895

5. Jahrg. Heft 9

"Jeder fuer sich?"

"Alles oder nichts"

"An die Genossen" (Notiz ueber Redaktion Wechsel)

Sozialist, October 19, 1895

5. Jahrg. Heft 10

"Christentum und Anarchismus" (Auseinandersetzung mit Egidy)

"Der Breslauer Parteitag"

Sozialist, October 26, 1895

5. Jahrg. Heft 11

"Erinnerungen aus Ausnahmegesetz"

Sozialist, November 2, 1895

5. Jahrg. Heft 12

"Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Individuums I"

Sozialist, November 9, 1895

5. Jahrg. Heft 13

"Zum elften November"

"Ein Klassenkampf"

"Zur angeregten Konferenz"

Sozialist, November 16, 1895

5. Jahrg. Heft 14

"Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Individuums II"

Sozialist, November 23, 1895

5. Jahrg. Heft 15

"Von Herrn von Wachter . . ." (In Anschluss an eine Notiz: "Herr Theodor von Wachter, ein Christ" in Nr. 14 v. 16. 11.95)

"Fort mit den Resten des Marxismus"

Sozialist, November 30, 1895

5. Jahrg. Heft 16

"Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Individuums III"

Sozialist, December 7, 1895

5. Jahrg. Heft 17

"Die Verfolgung der Sozialdemokratie"

1896

"M. von Egidy und der 'Sozialistische Akademiker,'" Der Sozialistische Akademiker, II, 186-187 (Note).

"Anarchismus-Sozialismus," Der Sozialistische Akademiker, II, 751-754.

Lebenskunst, Novelle, Literarische Beilage zum Sozialist,
2. Jahrg. Nr. 40-51 und 3. Jahrg. Nr. 12-23 (1896-97).

Der arme Konrad, December 1896

1. Jahrg. No. 13

"Das Duell"

1. Jahrg. No. 17 and 18

"Der Reichstagabgeordnete Bebel als Denunziant"

Sozialist, January 11, 1896

6. Jahrg. Heft 2

In Lit. Beil (II, 2): "Florian Geyer, ein Buehnenspiel"

"Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Individuums IV"

Sozialist, January 18, 1896

6. Jahrg. Heft 3

"Zum 18. Januar"

Sozialist, February 1, 1896

6. Jahrg. Heft 5

"Die Bewegung under den Konfektionsschneidern"

Sozialist, February 8, 1896

6. Jahrg. Heft 6

"Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Individuums V"

Sozialist, March 7, 1896

6. Jahrg. Heft 10

"Sur Ehrenrettung Severines"

"An unsere Genossen und alle Freunde freiheitlicher
Entwicklung" (Gruendung der freien anarchistisch-
sozialistischen Vereinung)

Sozialist, March 21, 1896

6. Jahrg. Heft 12

"In eigener Sache"

Sozialist, March 28, 1896

6. Jahrg. Heft 13

"Die Bedeutung des Streiks"

1896 (continued)

Sozialist, April 4, 1896
6. Jahrg. Heft 14
"Vom Duell"

"Verantwortung"

Sozialist, April 11, 1896
6. Jahrg. Heft 15
"Frankreich geht voran"

Sozialist, April 18, 1896
6. Jahrg. Heft 16
In Lit. Beil (II, 16): "Sturmglöcken"

"Stellungnahme zum Internationalen Kongress"

Sozialist, April 25, 1896
6. Jahrg. Heft 17
"Der Fall Schaber: Ein Beitrag zur Kennzeichnung des
Rechtswesen I" (enthält Aufzeichnungen eines 1869
Verurteilten)

Sozialist, May 1, 1896
6. Jahrg. Heft 18
"Der Fall Schaber II"

Sozialist, May 9, 1896
6. Jahrg. Heft 19
"Der Fall Schaber III"

Sozialist, May 23, 1896
6. Jahrg. Heft 21
"Der Fall Schaber IV"

"International Gaebrung im Anarchismus"

Sozialist, May 30, 1896
6. Jahrg. Heft 22
"Die blutige Maiwoche"

Sozialist, May 30 (?), 1896
6. Jahrg.
"Der Streit um Bernstein"

Sozialist, June 13 (?), 1896
6. Jahrg. Heft 24
"Der Streit um Bernstein" (continued)

Sozialist, June 20, 1896
6. Jahrg. Heft 25
"Girondismus-Jakobinismus"

1896 (continued)

Sozialist, June 27, 1896
6. Jahrg. Heft 26
"Casino"

Sozialist, August 15 and 22, 1896
"Der Londoner Kongress und die Anarchie"

Sozialist, August 29, 1896
"Der Fall Liebknecht"

Sozialist, September (?), 1896
"Im Namen des Königs"

1897

Rezension: "Die Berliner Anarchisten," Hannoverscher
Courier, 6. November.

"Anarchistenhetze in Spanien," Sozialistische Monatshefte, I,
561-563.

Book Review: "Jakob Reumann" Die Heimarbeit in Oesterreich,"
Sozialistische Monatshefte, I, 571.

Book Review: "Wilhelm Weitling: Das Evagelium eines armen
Sunders," Sozialistische Monatshefte, I, 571-572.

Book Review: "Zur Lage der Arbeiter im Schneider--und
Schumachergewerbe in Frankfurt a. M." Sozialistische
Monatshefte, I, 572.

Der arme Konrad, 2. Jahrg. No. 23

"Über unsere Kraft"

Sozialist, October 23 and November 27, 1897.

"Reiseberichte"

1898

"Das Liebesleben in der Natur," Die Gesellschaft (Leipzig),
14. Jahrg. Heft 24, 400-403.

"Der Sozialismus und die Studenten," Sozialistische
Monatshefte, II, 381-383.

1898 (continued)

"Zur Psychologie activer Naturen," Wiener Rundschau, Bd. 2, 667 (Abschrift).

Letter: "Sehr geehrter Herr!" Berlin, 1. Sept. (sent to every member of the newly elected Reichstag).

Der arme Konrad, 3. Jahrg. No. 2
"Wer ist verantwortlich?"

Der arme Konrad, 3. Jahrg. No. 32
"Bismark"

Der arme Konrad, 3. Jahrg. No. 48
"In Sachen Malthus (?)"

Sozialist, Feb. 26.
"Vortragscyklus zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur"

Sozialist, June 4.
"Die Krise in der revolutionären Bewegung"

Sozialist, August 8.
"Von Micheln und Antmicheln"

Sozialist, August 13.
"Der gallische Hahn und der deutsche Esel"

1899

"Gegenwart." Verlag der Gegenwart, Berlin, Nr. 42.

"Der neue Gott von Julius Hart," Die Gesellschaft, 119-122.

"Der deutsche Multatuli," Die Gesellschaft, 230-236.

"Die blaue Blume," Die Nation, 17. Jahrg. Nr. 28, 395-397 (1899-1900).

"Multatuli," Nationale Wochenschrift für Politik, Volkswirtschaft und Literatur, Berlin, 17. Jahrg. Nr. 7.

"Dostojewski," Das Neue Jahrhundert, 2. Halbjahrband.

"Börne und der Anarchismus," Sozialistische Monatshefte, 353-355.

Varia (Notes): "In Sachen Ziethen," (S. 357-358); "Duplizität der Ereignisse," (S. 358), Sozialistische Monatshefte.

1899 (continued)

"Wesen und Aussichten des Revolutionärismus," Die Welt am Montag, 10. Mai.

"Fritz Mauthner," Die Zukunft, 29. Bd., 296-305.

Der arme Konrad, 4. Jahrg. Nr. 21/22
"Konkursverwalter Bernstein"

Der arme Konrad, 4. Jahrg. Nr. 24/25
"Millerand"

Der arme Konrad, 4. Jahrg. Nr. 27/28
"Börne und der Anarchismus"

Sozialist, 9. Jahrg. Heft 2
"Im Kampf um die Weltanschauung: Stimmungen zu
M. von Egidy's Tod"

Sozialist, August, Heft 1-16
"Goethe"

1900

"Friedrich Nietzsche," Ateneum (Helsingfors), 15. Dez. 1900,
327-335 (Swedish).

"Die deutsche Multatuli-Ausgabe," Die Gesellschaft, 174-179.

"Fürst Peter Kropotkin," Die Neue Zeit, Nr. 325.

"Ludwig Börne," Popularwissenschaftliche Monatsblätter zur
Belehrung über das Judentum, 2. Jahrg., 54-57.

"Josef Dejacque," Die Zeit, 16. Juni, 163-164.

"Memoiren eines Revolutionären," Die Zeit, 22. Dez.

"Zukunft-Menschen," Die Zukunft, 31. Bd. 529-534.

"Der erste Mai," Die Welt am Montag, Berlin, 30. April.

1901

- "Mauthners Sprachkritik," Die Zukunft, 35. Bd., 134-140.
- "Anarchische Gedanken über den Anarchismus," Die Zukunft, 37. Bd., 134-140.
- "Mauthners Sprachwissenschaft," Die Zukunft, 37. Bd., 312-323.
- Nachwort zu Max Nettelau, Michael Bakunin, Berlin, 1901, 56-58.

1902

- "Ein Wort über Weltanschauung," Der arme Teufel, 1. Jahrg. Nr. 2 und 5 (manuscript).
- "Die neue Welterkenntnis," Die Kultur, 1. Jahrg. Heft 10, 607-617.
- "Die Welt als Zeit," Die Zukunft, 39. Bd., 265-276.

1903

- "Mauthners Werk," Die Zukunft, 42. Bd., 455-464.

1904

- Translations: Peter Kropotkin, Herbert Spencer, "Der Arme Teufel", 3. Jahrg. Nr. 3, 9. Juli.
- Book Review: "Einfälle und Betrachtungen: Philosophische und Weltliche Gedanken von Mathias Auerbach," Das Literarische Echo, 7. Jahrg. Heft 4, 15. Nov., 299.
- "Ignatius A. Fessler," Vossische Zeitung, Berlin, Nr. 26, 27.

1905

- Book Review: "Essays von Ellen Key über Liebe und Ehe," Das literarische Echo, 7. Jahrg. Heft 12, 15. März, 888.
- Book Review: "De Profundis: Aufzeichnungen und Briefe aus dem Zuchthaus in Reading von Oscar Wilde," Das literarische Echo, 7. Jahrg. Heft 19, 1. Juli, 1442-1443.
- Book Review: "Nachbildung der im Jahre 1902 noch erhaltenen eigenhändigen Briefe des Benedictus Despinosa," Das literarische Echo, 7. Jahrg. Heft 20, 15. Juli, 1520-1521.

1905 (continued)

- "Paracelsus," Das literarische Echo, 7. Jahrg. Heft 21, 1. Aug., 1559-1562.
- "Die neue freie Volksbühne," Die Schaubühne, 1. Jahrg. Nr. 7, 19. Okt., 192-194.
- "Musik der Welt," Die Zukunft, 52. Bd., 174-176.

1906

- "Richard Dehmel," Das Blaubuch, 1. Nov., 1685-1694.
- Letter to the Editor: "Sehr geehrter Herr Jacobsen," Die Schaubühne, 2. Jahrg. Nr. 5, 1. Febr., 150.
- "Drei Dramen und ihre Richter," Die Schaubühne, 2. Jahrg. Nr. 6, 8. Febr.

1907

- "Walter Calé," Das Blaubuch, 2. Jahrg. No. 1, 14-18.
- "Kultur des Mittelalters," Das Blaubuch, 2. Jahrg. No. 15, 16.
- "Abrüstung," Das Blaubuch, 2. Jahrg. No. 19, 9. Mai, 573-579.
- "Parlamentskritik," Das Blaubuch, 2. Jahrg. No. 22, 30. Mai, 663-669.
- "Hofmannsthals 'Odipus,'" Das Blaubuch, 1. Juli.
- "Ausserordentlicher Parteitag der sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands," Die freie Generation, Bd. 1 Heft 8, Februar, 4-12.
- "Lernt nicht Esperanto," Die freie Generation, Bd. 1 Heft 8, Februar, 147-150.
- "Die Monarchomachen und Etienne de la Boetie," Die freie Generation, Band 2 Heft 2, August, 17-20; Heft 3, September, 80-87; Heft 5, November, 113-119.
- "Streit um Whitman," Das literarische Echo, 1528.
- Translation: Pierre J. Proudhon, "Und noch immer die Marseillaise" (Ausatz vom April 1848), Die Unabhängigen, herausg. A. Weidner, 15 April 1907.

1907 (continued)

"Algernon Charles Swinburne. Zu seinem 70. Geburtstag (5. April),
Der Zeitgeist, Nr. 13, Berliner Tageblatt, 1. April
(manuscript).

"Dreissig sozialistische Thesen," Die Zukunft, 58. Band, 56-57.

1908

"Zur Kritik der Sprachkunst," Kritik der Kritik, Bd. 2 Heft
12, 283-336.

"Emanuel von Bodman," Das literarische Echo, 10. Jahrg. Heft
15, 1045-1052.

"Was für Zustände," Der Morgen, Berlin, 20. November.

"Verwirklichung heisst die Lösung," Der Morgen, 11. Dez.

"Geburt der Gesellschaft," Die Zukunft, 62. Bd., 202-208.

1909

"Liebe Kameraden!" Freie Arbeiter, 5. Juni.

Book Review: "Felix Paul Greve, ed., Jonathan Swifts
Prosaschriften," Das literarische Echo, 11. Jahrg.
Heft 11, 1. März, 817-818.

"Die Lehre von den Geistigen und vom Volke," Die Zukunft,
Bd. 66, 16. Jan., 99-106.

Nachwort zu W. Tscherkesoff, Die Krise in Russland, Berlin:
Verlag des Sozialistischen Bund, 20-23 ("Soziale und
politische Revolution").

Der Sozialist (Organ des Sozialistischen Bundes)

Articles

"Die beiden Märztage."

"Beschreibung unserer Zeit."

"Bilder: aus der Krise."

"Eine sozialistische Bank."

1909 (continued)

- "Einkehr."
- "Der erste Mai."
- "Ferrer."
- "Die Fortführung von Ferrers Werk."
- "Frankreich."
- "Die französischen Syndikalisten."
- "Die Gefahren des Bergbaues."
- "Der Krieg."
- "Marxismus und Sozialismus."
- "Organisationsfragen."
- "Die Partei."
- "Proudhon und Bakunin."
- "Sätze vom Sozialistischen Bund."
- "Die Siedlung."
- "Sozialistisches Beginnen."
- "Vom Schnee und vom König von England."
- "Vom Weg des Sozialismus."
- "Zur Geschichte des Wortes 'Anarchie.'"
- "Die zwei Seiten."

Translations

- "Aus Proudhons Briefen."
- "Biographie des Wuchers (Proudhon: Intérêt et principal, 1850)."
- "Die Botschaft Christi (See also his translation. O. Wilde: Der Sozialismus und die Seele des Menschen, Berlin, 1904)."

1909 (continued)

- "Distrikte und Sektionen in Paris 1789 (See also his translation... Kropotkin: Die Französische Revolution 1789-1793, Leipzig, 1909)."
- "Die Grundursachen des Krieges und sein Ende (Proudhon: Krieg und Frieden, Untersuchungen über Prinzip und Verfassung des Völkerrechts, 1861)."
- "Die Justiz (Proudhon: Idée générale de la révolution au XIX^e siècle, 1851)."
- "Der Polizeiterrorismus in Russland (Kropotkin: Die Schrecken in Rußland, London, 1909)."
- "Proudhons philosophische Grundlagen (Proudhon: Philosophie due progrès, 1851)."
- "Von der Schule (Proudhon, ohne Ortsangabe)."

1910

- "Preussen," Diskussion: Eine Monatsschrift für aktuelle Kulturfragen, Heft 2, 66-70.
- "Das gleiche Wahlrecht," Diskussion.
- "Volk und Publikum," Das literarische Echo, 12, Jahrg. Heft 17, 1. Juni, 1205-1210.
- "Besprechung über Martin Bubers Buch: Die Legende des Baaschem," Das literarische Echo, 1. Oktober.
- "Der gelbe Stein," Die Zukunft, 71. Bd., 323-327.

Der SozialistArticles

- "Ein Beispiel."
- "Ein Brief über die anarchistischen Kommunisten."
- "Flugblatt des Sozialistischen Bundes: Die Siedlung."
- "Die Gespenster."
- "Lew Nikolajewitsch Tolstoi."

1910 (continued)

- "Marxismus und Sozialismus."
- "Marz, 1910."
- "Multatuli."
- "Die politische Polizei."
- "Polizisten und Morder."
- "Preussen."
- "Der Schlendrian."
- "Schwache Staatsmänner, schwächeres Volk!"
- "Sozialismus und Genossenschaft."
- "Tarnowska."
- "Tendenzprozess in Japan."
- "Vom Wahn und vom Staat."
- "Von der Ehe."
- "Vorläufiges vom Neumalthusianismus."
- "Die Zwölf Artikel des Sozialistischen Bundes."

Der SozialistTranslations

- "Das Erbe der Revolution (Proudhon, ohne Ortsangabe)."
- "Gegen das Vertretungssystem (Proudhon: Die soziale Revolution, aufgezeigt am Staatsstreich des 2. Dezember 1851)."
- "Die Gesellschaft ohne Autorität (Proudhon: Die Generalidee der Revolution im 19. Jahrhundert, 1851)."
- "Das Gesetz der Armut (Proudhon: Krieg und Frieden)."
- "Die Malthusianer (Proudhon: Idées révolutionnaires, 1849)."
- "Sozialismus gegen Politik (Proudhon, ohne Ortsangabe)."
- "Die Verteilung der Industrie über das Land (Kropotkin: Landwirtschaft, Industrie und Handwerk, deutsch: Berlin, 1904)."

1911

Book Review: "Hinter Schloss und Riegel" bei Albert Langen,
Das literarische Echo, 13. Jahrg. Heft 9, 1. Februar,
685-687.

Book Review: "Der gefesselte Faust" bei Johannes Gaulke, Das literarische Echo, 13. Jahrg. Heft 11, 1. März, 835-837.

Note: "Zuschriften" answer to Johannes Gaulke, Das literarische Echo, 13. Jahrg. Heft 14, 1066-1067.

"Holzamers Lebensbuch," Das literarische Echo, 13. Jahrg.
Heft 20, 15. Juli, 1443-1447.

Book Review: "Deutsche Freundsbriefe aus sechs Jahrhunderten"
bei Julius Zeitler und "Frauenbriefe aller Zeiten" ed.
Bernhard Ihringer, Das literarische Echo, 13. Jahrg.
Heft 21, 1. August, 1562-1564.

Der Sozialist

"Der Aufruhr in der Champagne."

"Aus Mexiko."

"Bairam und Schlichting."

"Brot."

"Einige Bemerkungen über die Psychoanalyse."

"Ferdinand Huber. Ein Nachruf."

"Freiheit."

"Gerichte."

"Gott und der Sozialismus"

"Gnuss und Aufruf."

"Individualismus."

"Japan."

"Marokko."

"Nach vierzig Jahren."

"Die Niederlage von Jena."

1911 (continued)

- "Rede von der Reichstagsgalerie."
- "Tuckers Eroffnung."
- "Vierzig Jahre nachher. Die Arbeit der Kommune."
- "Vom Dilettantismus."
- "Vom freien Arbeitertag."
- "Vom geistigen Privileg."
- "Wer soll anfangen?"
- "Wohin?"
- "Zum dritten Jahrgang."
- "Zum .40. Gedenktag der Pariser Kommune."
- "Zur Revolution in Mexiko."

Translations in Der Sozialist

- "Ketzergedanken" (Freedom, Anarchistische Monatszeitschrift, London, August 1911).
- "Neue Formen des Streiks" (Max Clair, ohne Ortsangabe).
- "Der Tag des Menschen" (Max Clair, ohne Ortsangabe).
- "Theoretische und praktische Demonstration des Sozialismus oder Die Revolution durch den Kredit (Proudhon: erschienen in seiner Zeitschrift 'Le Peuple.'")

1912

- "Fritz Mauthners Buddha-Dichtung." Berliner Tageblatt, 13. Dezember.
- "Die Botschaft der Titanic," Frankfurter Zeitung, 21. April.
- "Wilhelm Tell: Zur Zeit der Schreckenswirtschaft," Frankfurter Zeitung, 26. Sept.
- "Arbeitselig," Frankfurter Zeitung, 25. Dezember.
- "Alexander Herzen" (for his 100th birthday), Hannoverscher Kurrier, 22. Marz.

1912 (continued)

Book Review: Biornstjerne Bjornsens "Briefe an seine Tochter Bergliot Ibsen," Das literarische Echo. 14. Jahr Heft 13, 1. April, 942-943.

"Holzamers Nachlass," Das literarische Echo, "15. Jahrg. Heft 3, 1. November, 153-155.

"Judentum und Sozialismus," Selbstwehr, Sonderbericht, 7. Februar.

Printed letter inviting contributions for a journal addressed to young people commissioned by the "Sozialistischer Bund." Januar 1912.

Der Sozialist

"Die Abschaffung des Krieges durch die Selbstbestimmung des Volkes."

"Der Arbeitstag."

"Antwort auf einen kritischen Brief."

"Bayreuth."

"Die Botschaft der 'Titanic.'"

"Das glückhafte Schiff."

"Dem grossten Schweizer."

"Mac Namara."

"Organisierte Reaktion."

"Peter Kropotkin."

"Pfungstkongresse."

"Revolution, Nation und Krieg."

"Rückkehr in die Grosstadt."

"Die Sozialdemokratie und der Krieg."

"Der Staatsstreich."

"Vom Krieg."

"Von der Dummheit und von der Wahl."

1912 (continued)

"Zum 25. Gedenktag des Justizmords von Chicago."

"Zum Thema: Sozialismus und Wissenschaft."

"Zum vierten Jahrgang."

"Die zwölf Artikel des Sozialistischen Bundes."

Translations from Der Sozialist

Anarchie (Elysée Reclus: The Contemporary Review, Zeitschrift, 1848).

"Aus Proudhons Tagebüchern."

"Kleiner Katechismus der Politik" (Proudhon: Die Gerechtigkeit in der Revolution und in der Kirche, 6 Bde. 1859/60).

"Die Kleinindustrien in Frankreich und Deutschland" (Kropotkin: Landwirtschaft, Industrie und Handwerk, deutsche: Berlin 1904).

"Organization des Kredits und der Zirkulation" (Proudhon: Organisation des Kredits und der Zirkulation und die Lösung der sozialen Frage, 1848).

1913

"Ketzergedanken," Das freie Wort, ed. Hans Kohn, 13. Jahrg. 250-257.

"Zur Poesie der Juden," Freistatt, 22. August.

"Martin Buber," Neue Blätter, 3. Folge, 1. und 2. Heft, 90-107.

"Zum Beilisprozess," Sonderheft Der Sozialist, November.

"Selbstmord der Jugend," Statistische Korrespondenz, Jg. 1913 6. Heft, 20-26.

"Sind das Ketzergedanken?" Vom Judentum, hrsg. vom jüdischen Studentenverein Bar Kochba, Prag.

Vorwort zu Erinnerungen eines Proletariers aus der revolutionären Arbeiterbewegung, von Josef Peukert, Berlin, 1913, I-XV.

1913 (continued)

- "August Bebel."
- "Deutschland, Frankreich und der Krieg."
- "Die drei Flugblätter des Sozialistischen Bundes."
- "Drittes Flugblatt: Die Siedlung."
- "Erstes Flugblatt: Was will der Sozialistische Bund?"
- "Fichte 1813."
- "Der Kanzler des deutschen Volkes."
- "Kiew."
- "Kriegsanstifter."
- "Die Lehre vom Rassen kampf."
- "Peter Kropotkin."
- "Hilfster über dir, Hauptmann!"
- "Der 'Pionier' und die Pioniere."
- "Die preussischen Wahlen."
- "Vor fünfundzwanzig Jahren."
- "Walt Whitman."
- "Zweites Flugblatt: Was is zunächst zu tun?"
- "Die zwölf Artikel des Sozialistischen Bundes (1912)."

Translations in Der Sozialist

- "Der gegenseitige Unterricht der Volker (Proudhon, ohne Ortsangabe)."
- "Jesus (Proudhon: Jésus et les origines du christianisme, 1896)."
- "Der moderne Staat (Kropotkin: Die moderne Wissenschaft und der Anarchismus, Paris 1913)."

1914

"A Social Democracia na Alemanha." Lisboa.

"Wie die Franzosen Rom bombardierten," Frankfurter Zeitung,
4. April.

"An Romain Rolland," Die Schaubühne, 24. September.

"Aus unstillbaren Verlangen," Zeit-Echo, I, (1914/15),
188-191.

Der Sozialist

"Aus dem weltlichen Konfirmandenunterricht für die
Arbeiterjugend."

"Die Erschiessung des österreichischen Thronfolgers."

"Der europäische Krieg."

"Fritz Brubacher, ein Symptom."

"Mexiko."

"Puppen."

"Die Spitze."

"Veitstag."

"Versuch einer kritischen Darstellung der Verhaftung
John Neves."

"Zum Gedächtnis."

"Zu Michael Bakunins hundertstem Geburtstag."

"Zum sechsten Jahrgang."

(Im 7. Jg. 1915 unterließ es Landauer, eigene Aufsätze zu
veröffentlichen.)

Translations in Der Sozialist

"Die Tauschbank (Proudhon, ohne Ortsangabe)."

1915

"Stelle dich, Sozialist," Der Aufbruch, 1. Jahrg. Heft 1, Juli 1915, 14-19.

Translations: Walt Whitman, Gedichte von Traum und Tat, Der Aufbruch, Heft 2/3, August/ September, 25-31 ("Der mystische Trompeter," "Helle Mitternacht," "Wandl ich durch die breit majestatischen Tage," "Staub toter Soldaten," "Jahre des Modernen.")

"Zum Problem der Nation: Ein Brief an Herrn Professor Matthieu in Zurich," Der Aufbruch, 1. Jahrg. Heft 2/3, August/September, 59-66.

"Vom Sozialismus und der Siedlung: Thesen zur Wirklichkeit und Verwirklichung," Der Aufbruch, 1. Jahrg. Heft 4, November, 86-93.

"Die Konzerte im eigenen Haus," Die Volksbühne, Juli.

"Krieg und Bühne," Die Volksbühne, November-Dezember.

Translations: Walt Whitman, Krieg, Die Weissen Blätter, 2, 385-397 ("Ich sitze und schaue," 385; "Der Grundstein aller Metaphysik," 386; "Als ich lag, meinen in deinen Schoos, Camerado . . . , 387; "Ich sah in Louisiana eine Eiche wachsen," 388; "Heimkehr der Helden," 389; "Leb wohl, Soldat," 390; "Wende dich, Freiheit," 391; "Salut au Monde," 392-393; "Und nun von Stund an," 394; "Lied der Landstrasse," 394-396; "Erschienen jetzt tausend vollkommene Männer," 394-395; "Allons. Durch Streit Krieg . . . , 396; "Dank in hohem Alter," 397.)

Translations in Der Sozialist

"Politische Widerspruche (Proudhon: Contradictions politiques, 1870)."

"Theorie der Friedensvertrage (Proudhon: Si les traités de 1815 ont cessé d'exister, 1863)."

1916

"Judentum und Sozialismus," Arbeit. Organ der zionistischen Volkssozialistischen Partei.

"Ein Weg deutschen Geistes," Frankfurter Zeitung, 6. Februar (Ein Weg deutschen Geistes, No. 2 of Kleine Schriften, herausg. Wilhelm Herzog, München: Forum Verlag, 1916).

1916 (continued)

"Ostjuden und Deutsches Reich," Der Jude, 1. Jahrg Heft 1, April, 13-19 (Liberales Judentum, Frankfurt, 8. Jahrg., 433-439).

"Strindberg," Neue Jugend, I, 135-136.

Translation: Walt Whitman, "Widmungen," Neue Jugend, I, 167-168.

"Rabindranath Tagore," Das Programm: Blätter der Münchener Kammerspiele, Nr. 10, Sept.-Okt., 6-8.

"Friedrich Hölderlin in seinen Gedichten," Die weissen Blätter, 3. Jahrg., April-Juni, 183-213 (Neuaufgabe, Potsdam, 1922).

1917

"Strindbergs historische Miniaturen," Der Jude, 2. Jahrg. Heft 1/2, April/Mai, 97-109.

"Die Zukunft der deutschen Bühne," Masken.

1918

"Ums Düsseldorf Schauspielfhaus," Berliner Borsencourier, 6. Nov.

"Einleitung für den 3. Goethe Morgen des Schauspielfhaus," Düsseldorf Schauspielfhaus, 6. Oktober.

"Deutschland und seine Revolution," Erkenntnis und Befreiung, I, nos. 6, 7, 9.

"Brief aus der französischen Revolution," Das Forum, 3, 50-58.

"Einleitung in Strindbergs Gespenstersonate," Das Forum, 3, 415-427.

"Goethes Politik," Masken, 14. Jahrg. Heft 9, 14. Januar.

"Strindbergs Traumspeil," Masken, Oktober, 49-64.

"Zur Uraufführung von Georg Kaisers 'Gas'," Masken.

"Zur Wirtschaftslage in Bayern," Neue Zeitung, München, Nr. 2, 21 Dezember (manuscript).

1918 (continued)

- "Von der tierischen Grundlage," Die Schaubühne, 14. Jahrg.
Nu. 27, 4. Juli 3-9.
- "Zu Tolstois Tagebuch," Die Weltbühne, 9. Mai, 333-337.
- "Wie Hedwig Lachmann starb (Privatdruck).

1919

- "Gedächtnisrede bei der Beisetzung Kurt Eisners am 26.
Februar, 1919, in der Halle des Ostfriedhofs,"
Arbeit und Zukunft, 1. Jahrg. Nr. 7, 28. Februar,
50-53.
- "Troilus und Cressida," Deutsche Bühne, 1, 177-217.
- "Eine Ansprache an die Dichter," Die Erhebung, Jahrbuch
für Neue Dichtung und Wertung, 296-304.
- "Deutschland und seine Revolution," Erkenntnis und Befreiung,
1. Jahrg. Nr. 6, 15-28. Februar, 8-11; 16.
Marz, 13-15.
- "Einleitung in Strindbergs Gespenstersonate," Das Forum, 3.
Jahrg. Heft 6, Marz, 415-427.
- "Ansprache," Jahrbuch der Halbmonatszeitschrift 'Das
literarische Echo', Berlin.
- "Vorbemerkungen zu einer Rede Kurt Eisners über 'Staat und
Kunst,'" Masken, 14. Jahrg. Heft 11.
- "Gedächtnisrede auf Kurt Eisner," Masken, 14. Jahrg Heft 13.
- "50 sozialistische Thesen," Der Mitmensch, 1. Jahrg. 1 Heft,
Juli, 5-7, 22.
- "Von der Räte-demokratie und dem Weg der Revolution," (eine
Brief), Neue Zeitung, München, 29. Marz (Also in
Schlesischen Arbeiterzeitung vom 8. Mai 1919).
- "Die Revolution und die Verwirklichung des Sozialismus,"
Neue Zeitung, München, 2. April.
- "Überschätzung der Wahlen," Die Republik, 21. Januar.
- "Aufruf zum Sozialismus," Der Schrey, 1, 26-27.
- "Die Abschaffung des Krieges durch die Selbstbestimmung des
deutschen Volkes," Der Syndikalist, 1. Jahrg. Nr. 24.

1920

"Judentum und Sozialismus," Die Arbeit: Organ der Zionistischen Volkssozialistischen Partei, Juni.

"Thesen zur Wirklichkeit und Verwirklichung," (1915) Ein Fragment au dem Nachlass Gustav Landauers, mit einem Nachwort von Alfred Wolfenstein, Die Erhebung, Jahrbuch für neue Dichtung und Wertung, 318-322.

"Kulturprogramm," Fidelis, Forum 4 Heft 8, Mai, 582-599.

1921

"Der Kommunismus in München: Letzter Brief Landauers an den Aktionsausschuss," Escherich-Hefte, 5. Teil, 8-9.

1922

"Über die Ehe," Die neue Generation, 18. Jahrg. 6. Heft, Juli/August, 246-252.

1923

"Briefe aus der deutschen Revolution," Neue Rundschau, 2. Jahrg., 900-910.

1927

Vorwort zu Alexander Berkman, Die Tat, Gefängniserrinerungen eines Anarchisten, Berlin, 9-10.

1929

"Vom Sinn der Revolution," Der junge Jude, 2. Jahrg., Juni, 1929, 37-38.

"Der Weg der Revolution," Der junge Jude, Juni, 39.

"Brief Landauers an seine Tochter Gudula," Der junge Jude, Juni, 44.

"Aus einem begonnenen Tagebuch Landauers," Der junge Jude, Juni, 49.

"Brief an Dr. Siegfried Lehmann," Der junge Jude, 2. Jahrg., November, 114-115 (written: 30. November, 1915).

1966

"La Revolution et l'esprit unifiant," in Le Monde Libertaire,
Nr. 126 (nov.) and Nr. 127 (déc.).

Works on Gustav Landauer

WORKS ON GUSTAV LANDAUER

- B. Alfe. "Gustav Landauer's Macht und Mächte." Allgemeine Zeitung (München) Nr. 185 Beilage 1903.
- Angel, Ernst. "In memoriam Gustav Landauer," Die Aktion, 9, 1919.
- _____. "Gustav Landauer." Der freie Arbeiter. 2 Jahrg, Nr. 21 and 22, 24 Mai and 13 Juni, 1919.
- _____. "In memoriam Gustav Landauer." Der Friede, 3, 1919 (Poem).
- Angress, W.T. "Juden im politischen Leben der Revolutionzeit," in Werner Mosse, ed. Deutsches Judentum in Krieg und Revolution: 1916-23. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1971.
- Anonymous, "Wie Kann der Sozialismus Kommen." Der Anarchist. Leipzig: 4 Jahrg, Nr. 8-10, 1912.
- _____. "Gustav Landauer aktuell på nytt." Arbetaren. Stockholm: Nr. 8, Febr. 23-29, 1968.
- _____. "Wahlrechtsbewegung, Revolution und Sozialismus." Der Anarchist. Leipzig: 2 Jahrg, Nr. 20, 1910.
(Summary of a lecture by Landauer on Aug 5, 1910 in Leipzig.)
- _____. "Gustav Landauer's Skepsis und Mystik in Erwinia (?) (Journal of Elsabund?) Strassburg: (Verlag Schlosser & Schweilhardt), XI, Nr. 83, 1903.
- _____. "An die Genossen." Der freie Arbeiter. 15 Mai, 1909.
- _____. "Gustav Landauer und die sozialistische Siedlungsaktion." Der freie Arbeiter. 13 Jahrg, Nr. 26-29, 1920.
- _____. "Genosse Gustav Landauer wurde aus Preussen verbannt." Freiheit. New York: 20 Jahrg, 1898.
- _____. "Ein neuer Feldzugsplan." Freiheit. 30 Jahrg, No. 16, 1908.
- _____. "Was will der Sozialistische Bund." Freiheit. 30 Jahrg, Nr. 23, 1908.
- _____. "Der wiedererscheinende 'Sozialist,'" Freiheit. 31 Jahrg, Nr. 5, 1909.

- _____. "Gustav Landauer's Skepsis und Mystik." Gral,
No. 17, 1923.
- _____. "Zum Berliner Anarchisten-prozess." Hannoverscher
Courier, 16, April, 1897.
- _____. "Gustav Landauer's Skepsis und Mystik." Leipziger
Zeitung. Wissenschaftliche Beilage, 1903.
- _____. "Gustav Landauer et la Révolution allemande."
Le Monde Libertain, No. 128, janvier, 1967.
- _____. "Gustav Landauer." Neue Bahnen, Heilbronn, 5. Juni,
1919.
- _____. "Gustav Landauer's Skepsis und Mystik" Neue
Rundschau, 1903.
- _____. "Die Münchener Kommune." Die Republik, Tageszeitung
für die deutschen Arbeiterräte. 2. Jahrg, Nr. 113, 6 Juni,
1919.
- _____. "Der bestialische Mord an Landauer." Die Republik,
2. Jahrg, Nr. 115, 10 Juni, 1919.
- Bab, Julius. Gustav Landauer. Berlin: Cassirer, 1919.
2. Aufl., Nürnberg, 1924.
- Behl, C.F.W. "Gustav Landauer," Das Junge Deutschland. 2,
1919 (Poem)
- Beradt, Martin und Lotte Blochlavrel. Briefe an Auguste
Hauschner. Berlin: Ernst Rowohlt Verlag, 1929.
- Bartsch, Gunther. "Gustav Landauer: Der Edelanarchist."
Geist und Tat: Vierteljahrschrift für Politik und
Kultur.
- Berg, Heiner. "Das Judentum in der Kunst." Die freie
Gesellschaft. 1. Jahrg, Juli, 1950.
- Bergmann, Hugo and Hans Kohn. "Derekh Hakodesh." Le-zichro
shel Gustav Landauer. Hozaat Hapöel Hazair, 1929.
- Bergsträsser, L. "Gustav Landauer's Briefe aus der französischen
Revolution." LXB, 1918.
- Bernhart, J. "Gustav Landauer's Eckharts mystische Schriften."
Hockland, Mai, 1914.
- Blei, Franz. "Gustav Landauer's Tod." Die Rettung, 2, 1919/20.
- Borries, Achim von. "Gustav Landauer." Werkhefte, Zeitschrift
für die Probleme der Gesellschaft und die Katholizismus,
24 Jahrg, Heft 5, 1970.

Breines, Paul. "The Jew as Revolutionary" The Case of Gustav Landauer." Leo Baeck Yearbook, XII, 1967.

Briefe nach der Schweiz: Gustav Landauer, Erich Mühsam, Max Höelz, Peter Kropotkin. Zürich: Limmat-Verlag, 1972.

Brown (?) Gustav Landauer's Skepsis und Mystik. Umschau, 1903.

Buber, Martin. "Erinnerungen an einen Tod," Das werdende Zeitalter. Mai-June, 1929. (Reprinted in Hinweise. Zürich: Manesse Verlag, 1953; in Hebrew in Hapoel Hazair. Tel Aviv; 27 June 1939 and in Pointing the Way. New York: Harper Brothers, 1957.)

_____. "Gustav Landauer." Die Zeit. Wien, 11. Juni, 1906.

_____. "Landauer we-ha Mahapekhhah." Ha-Adamah, I, 1919-20. (Hebrew version of "Landauer und die Revolution.")

_____. Notice. Münchener Morgenpost. 12. Dez., 1921.

_____. Notice. Der Syndikalist. 12. Dez., 1921.

_____. Notice. Die Weltbühne. 7 und 21 Dez., 1926.

_____. Paths in Utopia. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 2nd ed. Boston: Beacon Press, 1960.

Cossmann "Gustav Landauer's Skepsis und Mystik. Liberarische Echo 6 (1903).

Dehn, G. "Vergebliche Flamme: zum Bilde Gustav Landauers Eckart. Blätter der evangelischen Geistesarbeit, 6. Jahrg, 1930.

Eichenlaub, René. "L'Anarchisme en Allemagne." Revue d'Allemagne, 3, 1971.

Einstein, Norbert. "Gustav Landauers Mission." Der Revolutionar. 2. Jahrg, Nr. 24, 1920.

_____. "Gustav Landauer." (Nachrut) Der Schrey, 1, 1919.

Eleosser, A. "Gustav Landauer's Macht und Mächte. Neue Rundschau, 1904.

Ermers, Max. Neue Zeitung. München: 25. Juni, 1919. (About Landauer's death.)

Fidelis, "Gustav Landauers Kulturprogram." Das Forum. 4. Jahrg, Heft 8, Mai, 1920.

- Forain, René. "Gustav Landauer et la régénération sociale." Le Monde Libertaire, 125 (Sept-Oct. 1966).
- Fraenkl, Victor. "Zum Gedächtnis Gustav Landauers." Der Syndikalist, 1. Jahrg, Nr. 26, 1919. (Ansprache gehalten am 1. Juni in der Berliner Stadthalle).
- Franck, H. Anarcho-sizialistische yiden un bavegungen bey yiden. Byalistok: Freye Tribune, 1951 (Paris, Tel Aviv) (Yiddish).
- "Preface." Oyfruf tsum sozialismus. Berlin: Weltverlag, 1921. ("Preface" to Yiddish translation of Aufruf zum Sozialismus.)
- Friedrich, Karl Josef. "Zu Gustav Landauers Tod." Kunstwart Zweites Maiheft, 1919.
- Gehring. "Gustav Landauer's Verruff der Fremden." Theologischer Literaturbericht (Gütersloh) 1916.
- Giesau, Hermann. "Erinnerungen an Gustav Landauer." Besinnung und Aufbruch. Berlin, 1. Mai, 1. Juni, 1929.
- Gleichen-Russwurm, Alexander von. "Landauer, Gustav: Briefe aus der französischen Revolution." Die neue Bucherschau, 1. Jahrg. Heft 2, 1919.
- Grabowsky, A. "Gustav Landauer." März. 10. Oktober, 1911.
- Grossman, Stefan. "Gustav Landauer." Das Tagebuch, 4. Mai, 1929.
- Gumbel, E.J. "Zwei Jahre Mord." Der Kritiker, 3, 1921.
- "Gustav Landauers Ende." Die Weltbühne, No. 7, 1924.
- "Gustav Landauer Gedenkheft." Die Arbeit, Juni, 1920.
- Gustav Landauer: Kämpfer und Kündler der Freiheit. Darmstadt: Verlag die Freie Gesellschaft, 1951.
- Hahnewald, Edgar. "Landauers französische Revolutions-briefe." Neue Zeit, 16. Mai, 1919.
- Hakohen, Meir. "Gustav Landauer." Der junge Jude, 2. Jahrg, Juni, 1929.
- Hauschner, Auguste. Berliner Tageblatt. Zeitgeist, 41, 1911 (About Landauer's "Aufruf zum Sozialismus").
- "Gustav Landauer." Die Zukunft, 23, Januar 1904.

- Heine, Wolfgang. "Ziethen und Landauer," Sozialistische Monatshefte, Dritter Jahrgang, 1899.
- Hesse, A. "Gustav Landauer's Shakespeare" Der neue Merkur. München; Aug. 1921.
- "Gustav Landauer's Der werdende Mensch." Viroscopio vocco. Leipzig, 2, 1921.
- Heuss, Theodor. "Gustav Landauer's Aufruf zum Sozialismus." Literarisches Echo, 1918.
- "Gustav Landauers politischer Nachlass." Literarische Echo, XXI, 1919.
- Heydorn, Heinz Joachim. Introduction to Gustav Landauer, Aufruf zum Sozialismus, 3. Aufl. Frankfurt A.M.: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1967.
- Gustav Landauer: Zwang und Befreiung. Köln: Verlag Jakob Hegner, 1968.
- Heyman, L.G. "Gustav Landauer zum Gedächtnis." Die Frau im Staat. 11. Jahrg, 1929.
- Holst, Henriette Roland. Gustaaf Landauer: Zijn Levensgang en Levenswerk. Arnheim: Van Loghum Slaterus, 1931.
- Imberg, E. "Gustav Landauers Ferruf der Fremden." Nord und Süd, July, 1916.
- Jakob, K. "Gustav Landauers Briefe aus der französischen Revolution." Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, 9a. Leipzig, 1919.
- Gustav Landauer
- K.E. "Gustav Landauers Skepsis und Mystik." Neue Rundschau, 1903.
- Kalz, Wolf. Gustav Landauer: Kultursozialist und Anarchist. Meisenheim: Verlag Anton Hain, 1967.
- Keller, Alfred. "Revolutionsbriefe." Sozialistische Monatshefte, I, 1919.
- Kettenbach, August. "Einige Worte zum Streit zwischen zwei angeblichen Richtungen." Der Pionier, 3, Jahrg, Nr. 45, 1913.
- Knudsen, H. "Gustav Landauers 'F. Hölderlin in seinen Gedichten'" MLZB92B3, 1923.
- Kohn, "Gustav Landauer." Jüdische Rundschau. Berlin, 1929.

- Kohli, Hans. "Gustav Landauer." Selbstwehr: Jüdisches Volkblatt, 16. Mai, 1924.
- Sinn und Schicksal der Revolution. Wien: Verlag E.P. Tal, 1923.
- Kranold, Albert. Zwang und Freiheit im Sozialismus. Jena: Thüringer Verlagsanstalt, 1925.
- Kulka, Georg. "Dem Geiste Gustav Landauer." Die Aktion, 1919.
- L., B. "Gustav Landauer, Gest. 2. Mai 1919." Das Forum, 6. Jahrg, Heft 8-9, Mai-Juni, 1922.
- Lambrecht, L. "Die schöpferische Prosa Gustav Landauers Nietzsche Rezeption und Künstlerische Gestalt," Studien Germania Gandensia, 12, 1970.
- Lapp, Adolf. "Landauers Shakespearebuch." Neue Blätter für Kunst und Literatur, 4, 1921/22.
- Leskien, Johannes. "Ein Feinderl mehr (polemische Auseinandersetzung mit L.) Beilage zu Der Pionier. Berlin: 3. Jahrg Nr. 43, 1913.
- Levy, R. "Gustav Landauer und wir." Jüdische Rundschau. Berlin: 25. Jahrg, 1926.
- Lewy, Walter. "Literatur der Gegenwart II." Der Kritiker, 3, 1921.
- "Neue Literatur." Der Kritiker, 4, 1922.
- Lipzin, Solomon. Germany's Stepchildren: An Examination of the Conflict of German and Jewish Identity in more than Twenty Creative Figures. 2nd ed. Cleveland and New York: Meridian Books, 1961.
- Loewenberg, Richard Detler. "Gustav Landauer zum Gedächtnis." Der Morgen, IV, Jahrgang, Dez., 1928.
- Ludwig, A. "Gustav Landauers Shakespeare." Tagebuch. Berlin: 1921. Also reprinted in Frankfurter Zeitung, 19.7.1921.
- Lunn, Eugen. Prophet of Community. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.
- M.,C. "Gustav Landauer." Freedom, anarchist weekly. London: Vol. 33, No. 16, April 15, 1972.
- M (...) W (...). "Gustav Landauer und der Sozialismus." Die Einigkeit. Berlin: 17. Jahrg, Nr. 49-51, 1913.

- Martens, K. "Gustav Landauers Weg des deutschen Geistes." Literarisches Echo, 1917.
- Die Masken: Halbmonatsschrift des Düsseldorf Schauspiels-
haus. 14. Jahrg, Nr. 18-19, 1918-19. (Landauer
memorial issue.)
- Maurer, Charles. Call to Revolution: The Mystical Anarchism
of Gustav Landauer. Detroit: Wayne State University
Press, 1971.
- Meisels, S. "Gustav Landauer." Jüdische Rundschau. Berlin,
1929.
- Michel, Wilhelm. "Essays über Gustav Landauer." (and others)
Silbergäule, Band 33-33a, 1920.
- Michel Wilhelm. "Gustav Landauer." Die neue Bücherschau, 11,
1919.
- Mühsam, Erich. "Aufruf zum Sozialismus." Kain, Zeitschrift
für Menschlichkeit, 1, Jahrg. No. 3, Juni, 1911.
- "Gustav Landauer." Gedenkblatt zu seinem 50.
Geburtstag: 7. April, 1920." Das Forum, 4, 1919/20.
- "Gustav Landauer und die bayrische Revolution."
Der freie Arbeiter, 13. Jahrg, Nr. 36, 1920.
- "Landauers 'Aufruf zum Sozialismus.'" Der freie
Arbeiter, 16. Jahrg, Nr. 28, 1923.
- "Der revolutionäre Mensch Gustav Landauer." Fanal,
Jahrg, 3, No. 8, Mai, 1929.
- "Lügen um Landauer." Weltbühne, 22, 1929.
-; (Rocker, Rudolf; Rüdiger, Helmut; and de Santillan,
Diego Abad). "Gustav Landauer" Die freie Gesellschaft,
1951 (?)
- N. N. "Die Ermordung Landauers." Das Tribunal, 1, 1919.
- Nettlau, Max. Nervio (a supplement to La Protesta), 1929.
- "Foreword." to Die Revolution. Translated by I.
Steinberg. Berlin: 1933. (Yiddish)
- La vida de Gustav Landauer según su correspondencia.
La Protesta, Buenos Aires, 1929.

- Nikolaus, Paul. "Aufruf." Der Revolutionär, 1, 1919.
- Oerter, Fritz. "Gustav Landauer." Die Internationale,
Organ der internationalen Arbeiterassoziation, 1,
Jahrg, Nr. 4, 1925.
- "Gustav Landauer." Der Syndikalist, 1, Jahrg, 1919.
- Pfemfert, Franz. "Den Mörder Gustav Landauers . . ."
Die Aktion, 10, 1920.
- Politzer, Max. Notice. Die Weltbühne, 7. Dez. 1926.
- Pross, Harry. "Der Staat gilt als der Erzfeind." Feuilleton
zu Frankfurter Rundschau, Nr. 235, 10. Oktober, 1970.
- Ramus, Pierre. "Ein Brief über den Sozialistischen Bund."
Jahrbuch der freien Generation, für 1912. Neue Folge,
dritter Band, 1912.
- "Dem Gedächtnis zweier Revolutionäre." Die
Schöpfung. Dusseldorf, 28. Juni, 1923.
- Rawidowicz, Simon. "Gustav Landauer." Ha'kufah,. Warsaw,
1923-24. (Hebrew)
- Rilla, Walther. "Gustav Landauer." Die Erde, 1. Jahrg,
10. Heft, Mai, 1919.
- "Monumentum aere perennius." Die Erde, 1, 1919.
- Rocker, R. "Gustav Landauer." Der freie Arbeiter, 12 Jahrg,
Nr. 4, Mai, 1919.
- Roften, Elisabeth. "Durch Absonderung zur Gemeinschaft."
Das werdende Zeitalter, VIII, Mai-Juni, 1929.
- Sandbank, Jacob. Gustav Landauer. Tel Aviv: 1939.
(memorial volume on the occasion of the 20th anniversary
of his death - in Hebrew.)
- Sänger, S. "Gustav Landauers 'Die Revolution!'" Neue Rundschau,
1908.
- Schreder, Grete. Martin Buber: Briefwechsel aus sieben
Jahrzehnten. Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider,
1972 (Vol. 1, 1897-1918.)
- Martin Buber. 30 Hebräischer Humanismus Göttingen:
Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1966.

- Schikele, Rene. "Ein Aufruf von Gustav Landauer." Die Weissen Blätter, 2, 1915.
- "Gustav Landauer schreibt mir. . . ." (Die Weissen Blätter, 4, Jahrg, Nr. 2, 1917.
- Schmidt, E. "Gustav Landauers . ." Literarischer Handweiser (Münster), 1915.
- Schnabel, E.G. "Gustav Landauer." Junge Menschen: Blatt der deutschen Jugend. 3. Jahrg, Heft 5, 7-8, März, April, 1922.
- Schwab, "Landauers Shakespeare." Kunstwart, 34. Jahrg, Heft 10, Juli, 1921.
- Schwenger, Hannes. "Totengräber der Demokratie?" Berliner Feuilleton, Nr. 9, 1969.
- Simon, Ernst. "Der werdende Mensch und der werdende Jude." Der Jude, VI, 1921-22.
- Simonson, E. "Gustav Landauer als Vorbild . . ." Jüdische Rundschau. Berlin, 25 Jahrg, 1926.
- Souchy, Augustin. Gustav Landauer: Revolutions Philosoph. Stockholm: Axel Holmstroems Foerlag, 1920. (Landauer, el filósofo de la revolucion. Translated by D.A. de Santillan, Buenos Aires: Ediciones Iman, 1936.)
- "Meine Begegnung mit Gustav Landauer und W.J. Lenin." Neues Beginnen, Nr. 6, Mai/Juni, 1970.
- Stiemer, Felix. "Gustav Landauer." Die Bücherkiste, 1. Jahrg, 1919.
- "Gustav Landauer." Die Büchernote. München: Heft 8/10, 1919.
- Stöcker, Helene. "Vom Kampf gegen die Gewalt: zu Gustav Landauers Gedächtnis." Die neue Generation. 25. Jahrg, April-Mai Heft, 1929.
- Streiter, Artur. "Gustav Landauer und der konstruktive Sozialismus." Die Internationale. Zeitschrift für die revolutionäre Arbeiter-bewegung, Gesellschaftskritik, und sozialistischen Neuaufbau, 2. Jahrg, Heft 7, Mai, 1929.
- Susman, Margafete. "Gustav Landauer." Das Tribunal, 1, 1919.
- "Gustav Landauers Briefe." Der Morgen, 5. Jahrg, 2. Heft, 1929.

- _____. "Revolutionsbriefe." (A review of Briefe aus der französischen Revolution, 1918.) Journal not known.
- _____. Vom Geheimnis der Freiheit, Gesammelte Aufsätze, 1914-1964. Edited by M. Schösser. Darmstadt: Agora, 1965.
- Toller, Ernst. "Gustav Landauer." Die Weltbühne, 20. Jahrg, No. 49, 2. Dez., 1924.
- Tormin, H. "Gustav Landauers Revolution und Aufruf zum Sozialismus." Freideutsche Jugend. Hamburg, 5, 1919.
- Trojan, Walter. "Freie Aussprache." Junge Menschen: Blatt der deutschen Jugend. April, 1922.
- Unruh, F.V. "Gustav Landauer." Das werdende Zeitalter. Gotha, 8 Jahrg, 1929.
- Ulmann, Hans. "Landauers Vermächtnis." Der Kritiker, Jahrg 4, Heft 7, 1922.
- W., C. "Gustav Landauer." Recherches Libertaires, 1, Decembre, 1966.
- Ward, Collin. "Gustav, Landauer." Anarchy, 54, Vol. 5, No. 8, August, 1965.
- Weidner, Albert. Der arme Teufel. 25. April, 1903. (Review of Landauer's lectures on Mauthner's Sprachkritik.)
- _____. "Gustav Landauers Kampf mit Polizei, Justiz und Partei." Die Weltbühne, XXVI, 1930.
- Wendel, Hermann. Review, Frankfurter Zeitung, 20. Nov., 1927.
- Wolfenstein, Alfred. "Nachwort zu Gustav Landauers 'Thesen zur Wirklichkeit und Verwirklichung.'" Die Erhebung, Jahrbuch für neue Dichtung und Wertung, Zweites Buch, 1920.
- Zeppler, Wally. "Landauer." Sozialistische Monatshefte, I, 1919.
- Zillman "Gustav Landauers Skepsis und Mystik." Neue metaphysische Rundschau, Band 18, Nr. 26, 1900.
- Zweig, Arnold. "Gustav Landauer." Weltbühne XVII
- _____. "Gustav Landauer." Ost und West, 3. Jahrg, Heft 5, 1949.

General Bibliography

General Bibliography

- Adorno, Theodor and others. Über Walter Benjamin. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1968.
- Albrecht, Willy. Landtag und Regierung in Bayern am Vorabend der Revolution von 1918. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1968.
- Alewyn, Richard. Über Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958.
- Altmann, Alexander. "Leo Baeck and the Jewish Mystical Tradition." Leo Baeck Memorial Lecture #17. New York: Leo Baeck Institute, 1973.
- Apter, David E. and Joll, James. Anarchism Today. New York: Doubleday, 1972.
- Arendt, Hannah. Between Past and Future. Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1963.
- _____. Crises of the Republic. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972.
- _____. Men in Dark Times. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1955.
- _____. The Origins of Totalitarianism. New York: World Publishing Company, 1958.
- _____. On Revolution. New York: The Viking Press, 1963.
- Arlosoroff, Chaim. Der jüdische Volkssozialismus. Berlin: 1919.
- Aron, Raymond. German Sociology. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964.
- _____. Main Currents in Sociological Thought II. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1970.
- Avineri, Shlomo. The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

- Avrich, Paul. Kronstadt 1921. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970.
- Ay, Karl-Ludwig. Die Entstehung einer Revolution. Berlin: Dunker und Humblot, 1968.
- Bab, Julius. Das Theater der Gegenwart. Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1928.
- _____. Über den Tag Hinaus. Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider, 1960.
- Bahr, Ehrhard. Georg Lukacs. Berlin: Colloquium, 1970.
- Bartel, Horst. Marx und Engels im Kampf um ein revolutionaeres deutsches Parteiorgan 1879-1890. Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1961.
- Bartel, Walter. Die Linken in der deutschen Sozial-demokratie. Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1958.
- Bartsch, Guenther. "Marxismus und Arbeiterbewegung," Politische Studien. Heft, 142 March-April 1962.
- Baumann, Gerhart. Jean Paulan Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967.
- Baumer, Franz. Ernst Jünger. Berlin: Colloquium, 1967.
- _____. Hermann Hesse. Berlin: Colloquium, 1959.
- Benda Julien. The Treason of the Intellectuals. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1969.
- Benjamin, Walter. Angelus Novus. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1966.
- _____. Der Begriff der Kunstkritik in der deutschen Romantik. Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp; 1973.
- _____. Berliner Chronik. Eschwege: Suhrkamp, 1970.
- _____. Illuminationen. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1961.
- _____. Zur Kritik der Gewalt und andere Aufsätze. Frankfurt: am Main: Suhrkamp, 1965.
- Benz, Wolfgang ed. Politik in Bayern 1919-1933. (Berichte des wuerttembergischen Gesandten Moser von Filseck.) Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt 1971.

- Sueddeutschland in der Weimarer Republik. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1970.
- Beradt, Martin and Bloch-Zavrel, Lotte, ed. Briefe an Auguste Hauschner. Berlin: Rowohlt, 1929.
- Berlin, Isaiah. "Herder and the Enlightenment" Aspects of the Eighteenth Century. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965.
- Karl Marx, his Life and Environment. New York: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Berman, Marshall. The Politics of Authenticity. New York: Athenium, 1970.
- Bernoulli, Carl Albrecht. "Nietzsches Welt" Maerz (Halbmonatsschrift fuer deutsche Kultur). 3. Jahrg. April-Juni 1909 and Juli-Sept. 1909.
- Bernstein, Eduard. Die Geschichte der Berliner Arbeiterbewegung: Ein Kapitel der Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie. Vol. III Berlin: Buchhandlung Vorwärts, 1910.
- Beyer, Hans. Von der November Revolution zur Räterepublik in Munchen. Berlin: Verlag Rütten and Loening, 1957.
- Beyer, Wilhelm. Vier Kritiken: Heidegger, Sartre, Adorno, Lukacs. Köln: Pahl Rugenstein Verlag, 1970.
- Bloch, Ernst. Geist der Utopie. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1964.
- Das Prinzip Hoffnung. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1959.
- Blotte, Georg J. Deutsche Bühne. Frankfurt am Main: Rütten and Loening, 1919.
- Blüher, Hans. Die deutsche Wandervogelbewegung als erotisches Phaenomen. Berlin: Friedrich Ruhland, 1912.
- ... Werke und Tage. München: Paul List Verlag, 1953.
- Bosl, K. Bayern im Umbruch. München: R. Oldenbourg, 1969.
- Braunthal, Julius. History of the International 1864-1914. Vol. 1. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967.

Brecht, Arnold. Political Theory: The Foundations of Twentieth-Century Political Thought. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1959.

Briefe nach der Schweiz (Gustav Landauer, Erich Mueksam, Max Hoelz, Peter Kropotkin). Zürich: Limat Verlag, 1972.

Broch, Hermann. Hofmannsthal und seine Zeit. München: R. Piper & Co., 1964.

Brunner, Constantin. Die Lehre von den Geistigen und vom Volke. Stuttgart: Cotta Verlag, 1962.

Brupbacher, Fritz. "Aufgaben des Anarchismus in dem demokratischen Staat" from Jahrbuch der freien Generation 1912.

_____. Erinnerungen eines Revoluzzers. Zuerich: Unionsdruckerei, 1927.

_____. Marx und Bakunin. Muenchen: G. Kirk, 1913.

_____. Die Psychologie des Dekadenten. Zuerich: Ruesellikan, 1904.

_____. 60 Jahre Ketzer. Zürich: B. Ruppli, 1935.

Buber, Martin. Daniel. Leipzig: im Insel-Verlag, 1913.

_____. Ekstatische Konfessionen. Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1909.

_____. Hasidism. New York: Philosophical Library, 1948.

_____. Der Heilige Weg. Frankfurt am Main: Rütten and Loening, 1920.

_____. Paths in Utopia. Boston: Beacon Press, 1949.

_____. Die Rede, die Lehre und das Lied. Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1920.

_____. Vom Geist des Judentums. Leipzig: Kurt Wolff Verlag, 1916.

Buechner, Otto. Ein Sozialist Erzaehlt. Berlin, 1957.

- Burdick, Charles B., and Lutz, Ralph H., eds. The Political Institutions of the German Revolution 1918-1919. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966.
- Butler, E. M. The Tyranny of Greece over Germany. Boston: Beacon Press, 1955.
- Carsten, F. L. The Rise of Fascism. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1969.
- Carter, April. The Political Theory of Anarchism. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.
- Cassirer, Ernst. Language and Myth. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946.
- _____. Naturalistische und humanistische Begründung der Kulturphilosophie. Goetborg: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1939.
- _____. Vom Mythos des Staates. Zürich: Artemis Verlag, 1949.
- Cautie, David. The Illusion. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.
- Chomsky, Noam. For Reasons of State. New York: Random House, 1973.
- Cohen, Arthur. Martin Buber. New York: Hillary House, 1957.
- Cohn, Norman. The Pursuit of the Millenium. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Conway, John. The Path of Dictatorship 1918-1933 (essays). New York: Doubleday, 1966.
- Cox, Harvey. The Secular City. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965.
- Curtius, Ernst Robert. Französischer Geist im Zwanzigsten Jahrhundert. Bern: A. Francke, 1952.
- Deak, Istvan. Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.
- Desan, Wilfrid. The Marxism of Jean-Paul Sartre. New York: Doubleday, 1965.
- Dilthey, Wilhelm. Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1965.

- Dorst, Tankred, ed. Die Muenchener Raeterepublik. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1966.
- Drachkovitch, Milorad ed. The Revolutionary Internationals 1864-1943. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966.
- Duhring, Eugen. Kursus der National- und Sozialokonomie. Berlin: T. Greiben, 1873.
- Elben, Wolfgang. Das Problem der Kontinuaet in der deutschen Revolution 1918-1919. Duesseldorf: Droste, 1965.
- Epstein, Klaus. Germany after Adenauer. New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1964.
- Estang, Luc. Saint-Exupéry. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1958.
- Fick, Luise. Die deutsche Jugendbewegung. Jena: Eugen Diedrichs Verlag, 1939.
- Frank, Herman. Les idées et mouvements anarcho-socialistes parmi des juifs. Paris: Editions Polyglottes, n.d.
- Freund, Else. Die Existenzphilosophie Franz Rosenzweigs. Hamburg: Feliz Meiner, 1959.
- Frei, Bruno. Die anarchistische Utopie. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Marxistische Blätter, 1971.
- Fricke, Kieter. Zur Organisation und Taetigkeit der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung, 1890-1914. Leipzig: Verlag Enzyklopaedie, 1962.
- Friedländer, Benedikt. Der freiheitliche Sozialismus im Gegensatz zum Staatsknechtum der Marxisten. Berlin: Freie Verlagsanstalt, 1892.
- _____. "Paragraph 175," Die Zukunft. Band 51, 1905.
- Friedman, Maurice S. Martin Buber: The Life of Dialogue. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955.
- Friedrich, Carl J., ed. Revolution. New York: Atherton Press, 1966.
- Frenzel, Ivo. Friedrich Nietzsche. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1966.
- Froehlich, Paul. Die bayerische Raeterepublik. Frankfurt am Main, 1971; reprint of 1920 edition.

- Gay, Peter. The Dilemma of Democratic Socialism: Eduard Bernstein's Challenge to Marx. New York: Collier Books, 1962.
- _____. Weimar Culture. New York: Harper & Row, 1968.
- Gordon, U. "Spinoza im Lichte Goethes," Maerz (Halbmonatsschrift fuer deutsche Kultur). 4. Jahrgang, April-Juni, 1910.
- Gossman, Wilhelm. Deutsche Kulturgeschichte im Grundriss. München: Max Hueber, 1960.
- Grebing, Helga. "Hundert Jahre SPD," Politische Studien Heft 151 Sept.-Oct. 1963.
- _____. Linksradikalismus gleich Rechtsradikalismus. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1971.
- Grossman, K.R. Ossietzky: Ein Deutsche Patriot. München: Kindler, 1963.
- Grossman, Stefan. Ich war begeistert. Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1931.
- Guerin, Daniel. Anarchismus. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1967.
- Gumtau, Helmut. Robert Musil. Berlin: Colloquium, 1967.
- Haas-Heye, Otto, ed. Zeit-Echo: Ein Kriegstagebuch der Kuenstler 1914-1915. Muenchen: Graphik-Verlag, n.d.; reprinted Nendeln (Liechtenstein): Kraus Reprint, 1969.
- Haas, Willy. Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Berlin: Colloquium, 1964.
- Hamand, Jost. Jugendstil. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971.
- Hamann, Richard and Hermand, Jost. Impressionismus. München: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1972.
- _____. Naturalismus. München: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1972.
- _____. Stilkunst um 1900. München: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1973.

- Hart, Heinrich, and Hart, Julius, eds. Die Neue Gemeinschaft: Ein Orden vom wahren Leben. Part 2: Das Reich der Erfüllung: Flugschriften zur Begründung einer neuen Weltanschauung. Leipzig: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1935.
- Hauser, Arnold. The Social History of Art. Vol. 4. New York: Random House, 1951.
- Heer, Friedrich. The Intellectual History of Europe. Vol. II. The Counter-Reformation to 1945. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1953.
- Heidegger, Herman. Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie und der nationale Staat 1870-1920. Goettingen: Musterschmidt, 1956.
- Heinemann, F.H. Existentialism and the Modern Predicament. New York: Harper & Row, 1953.
- Heintz, Peter. Anarchismus und Gegenwart. Zuerich: Regio Verlag, 1951.
- Helms, Hans. G. Die Ideologie der anonymen Gesellschaft. Köln: M. DuMont Schauberg, 1966.
- Hering, Robert. Spinoza im jungen Goethe. Leipzig: Publisher not listed, 1897.
- Hermand, Jost. Jugendstil. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971.
- Herzfeld, Hans and Heinrich, Gerd. Berlin und die Provinz Brandenburg. Berlin: Walter and Gruyter, 1968.
- Hesse, Hermann. Dichter und Weltbürger. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961.
- Hiller, Kurt. Koepfe und Troepfe. Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag, 1950.
- _____. Leben gegen die Zeit. Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag, 1969.
- Himmelfarb, Gertrude. Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1968.
- Hintze, Otto. Soziologie und Geschichte. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1964.

- Hobsbawm, Eric. Bandits. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1969.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. Primitive Rebels. New York: W.W. Norton, 1959.
- _____. Revolutionaries. New York: Random House, 1973.
- Hoehn, Richard. Die vaterlandslosen Gesellen: Der Sozialismus im Licht der Geheimerichte der preussischen Polizei 1878-1914. Koeln, 1964.
- Hof, Walter. Pessimistisch-nihilistische Strömungen in der deutschen Literatur vom Sturm und Drang bis zum Jungen Deutschland. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1970.
- Hohoff, Curt. Heinrich von Kleist. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1958.
- Holborn, Hajo. A History of Modern Germany. 1840-1945. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969.
- Holthusen, Hans Egon. Rilke. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1958.
- Horowitz, Irving, ed. The Anarchists. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1964.
- Howe, Irving. Politics and the Novel. New York: Horizon Press, 1957.
- Hughes, H. Stuart. Consciousness and Society. New York: Random House, 1958.
- Ionesco, Eugene. Present Past, Past Present. New York: Grove Press, 1971.
- Jackson, Holbrook. The Eighteen Nineties. New York: Capri-
corn, Coeln, 1966.
- Jackson, J. Hampden. Marx, Proudhon and European Socialism. New York: Collier, 1957.
- Janik, Allan and Toulmin, Stephen. Wittgenstein's Vienna. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973.
- Joll, James. "Anarchism between communism and individualism." (Abstract of lecture on Congress of Anarchists and Anarchism in Contemporary World held in Turin December 5-7, 1969). Turin: Fondazione Luigi Einaudi, 1971.
- _____. The Second International. New York: Harper and Row, 1966.

- _____. Three Intellectuals in Politics. New York: Harper and Row, 1960.
- Kampffmeyer, Paul. Die Sozialdemokratie im Lichte der Kulturentwicklung. Berlin: Buchhandlung Vorwaerts, 1920.
- Kantorowicz, Ludwig. Die social-demokratische Presse Deutschlands, Tuebingen: Mohr, 1922.
- Kaufmann, Walter. Nietzsche: Philosoph, Psychologist, Antichrist. New York: Random House, 1968.
- Kedward, Roderick. The Anarchists. New York: American Heritage Press, 1971.
- Kessler, Harry Graf. Gesichter und Zeiten. Berlin: S. Fischer, 1935.
- _____. Tagebücher 1918-1937. Frankfurt am Main; Insel, 1961.
- Klemperer, Klemens von. Germany's New Conservatism. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957.
- Knütter, Hans-Helmuth, Die Juden und die deutsche Linke in der Weimarer Republik. Düsseldorf: Droste, 1971.
- Kohn, Hans. Buerger vieler Welten. Fravenfeld, Verlag Huber, 1965.
- _____. The Idea of Nationalism. Toronto: Collier Books, 1967.
- _____. Karl Kraus--Arthur Schnitzler--Otto Weininger. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1962.
- _____. Prophets and Peoples. London: Collier-Macmillan, 1946.
- Kolb, Eberhard. Die Arbeiterräte in der deutschen Innenpolitik, 1918-19. Dusseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1962.
- Kool, Frits and Krause, Werner, eds. Die Fruhen Sozialisten. Olten: Walter Verlag, 1967.
- Kool, Frits, ed. Die Linke gegen die Parteierrschaft. Olten: Walter Verlag, 1970.
- Koplin, Raimund. Carl von Ossietzky als politischer Publizist. Berlin: Annedore Leber, 1964.

- Kotowski, George and others. Das Wilhelminische Deutschland. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Bücherei, 1965.
- Kracauer, Siegfried, Strassen in Berlin und anderswo. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1964.
- Kraemer-Badoni, Rudolf. Anarchismus: Geschichte und Gegenwart einer Utopie. Wien: Fritz Molden Verlag, 1970.
- Kranold, Albert. Die Persönlichkeit im Sozialismus. Jena: Thüringer Verlagsanstalt und Druckerei G.M.B.H., 1923.
- Krieger, Leonard. "Autonomy of Intellectual History" Journal of the History of Ideas. October-December, 1973.
- _____. The German Idea of Freedom. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957.
- Krimerman, Leonard I. and Perry, Lewis. eds. Patterns of Anarchy. New York: Doubleday, 1966.
- Kritzer, Peter. Die bayerische Sozialdemokratie und die bayerische Politik in den Jahren 1918-1923. Muenchen: Stadtarchiv, Wolfo, 1969.
- Krojanker, Gustav, ed. Juden in der Deutschen Literatur. Berlin: Welt-Verlag, 1922.
- Kropotkin, Peter. Fields, Factories and Workshops. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1907.
- _____. Gegenseitige Hilfe in der Tier- und Menschenwelt. Leipzig: Theod. Thomas, 1910.
- Kuhn, Thomas S. The Structure of Scientific Revolutions. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.
- Kurtzweil, Barukh. B'Maavak al arkhe Hayaadut. Jerusalem: Schocken, 1969.
- Laing, R.D. The Politics of Experience. New York: Ballantine, 1967.
- Lamm, Hans. Von Juden in München: Ein Gedenkbunch. München: Ner-Tamid-Verlag, 1959.
- Lamprecht, Sterling P., ed. Our Philosophical Traditions. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1955.
- Landauer, Carl. Die Sozialdemokratie. Hamburg: Verlag Weltarchiv, 1972.

- Landes, David S. The Unbound Prometheus. London: Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- Laqueur, Walter. A History of Zionism. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972.
- Young Germany. New York: Basic Books Publishing Company, 1962.
- Lefebvre, Henri. The Sociology of Marx. New York: Random House, 1969.
- Lexicon Deutschsprachiger Schriftsteller. Vol. 1, A-K. Leipzig: VEB Bibliographisches Institut, 1967.
- Lexicon Deutschsprachiger Schriftsteller. Vol. 2, L-z. Leipzig: VEB Bibliographisches Institut, 1962.
- Lichtheim, George. George Lukacs. New York: The Viking Press, 1970.
- _____. Marxism. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965.
- _____. Marxism in Modern France. New York: Columbia University Press, 1966.
- _____. The Origins of Socialism. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969.
- Lidtke, Vernon. The Outlawed Party: German Social Democracy, 1878-1890. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966.
- Liebeschütz, Hans. Von Georg Simmel zu Franz Rosenzweig. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1970.
- Lindner, Herbert. Das Problem des Spinozismus im Schaffen Goethes und Herdes. Weimar: Arion, 1960.
- Linse, Ulrich. Organisierter Anarchismus im Deutschen Kaiserreich von 1871. Berlin: Dunker & Humblot, 1969.
- Lipzin, Solomon. Germany's Stepchildren. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1944.
- Lorenz, Wilhelm. Die religiöse Lebensform Richard Dehmels. Osterwieck-Harz: A.W. Zickfeldt Verlag, n.d.

- Lotzke, Helmut. Übersicht über die Bestände des Deutschen Zentralarchivs Potsdam. Berlin: Rütten and Loening, 1957.
- Lukacs, Georg. Deutsche Literatur im Zeitalter des Imperialismus. Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 1947.
- _____. Deutsche Literatur in zwei Jahrhunderten. Newwied: Luchterhand Verlag, 1964.
- _____. History and Class Consciousness. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1968.
- _____. The Theory of the Novel. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1920.
- Luxemburg, Rosa. The Mass Strike. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.
- _____. The Russian Revolution and Leninism or Marxism? Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1967.
- Maïtron, Jean. Histoire du Mouvement Anarchiste en France (1880-1914). Paris: Societe Universitaire d'editions et de librairie, 1955.
- Mannheim, Karl. Ideology and Utopia. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1936.
- Marcuse, Herbert. Counterrevolution and Revolt. Boston: Beacon Press, 1967.
- _____. Negations. Boston: Beacon Press, 1968.
- Margalit, Elkana. Hashomer Hatzair: From Youth Community to Revolutionary Marxism (1913-1936). Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University and Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1971.
- Maringer, Simon. Martin Bubers Metaphysik der Dialogik im Zusammenhang neuerer philosophischer und theologischer Strömungen. Köln: Buchdruckerei Steiner, 1936.
- Masur, Gerhard. Imperial Berlin. New York: Basic Books, 1970.
- _____. Prophets of Yesterday. New York: Harper and Row, 1961.
- Maurer, Charles B. Call to Revolution. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1971.

- Mauthner, Fritz. Beiträge zu einer Kritik der Sprache.
3 vols. Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta'sche, 1901-1902.
- _____. Die drei Bilder der Welt. Erlangen: Verlag der
Philosophischen Akademie, 1925.
- _____. Erinnerungen. München; Georg Müller, 1918.
- _____. Die Sprache. Frankfurt am Main: Rütten & Loening,
1906, June 15.
- Maximoff, G.P. The Political Philosophy of Bakunin. New York:
The Free Press, 1953.
- Mehring, Walter. Berlin Dada. Zürich, Arche, 1959.
- Meister Eckhart: A Modern Translation. Trans. by Raymond
Bernard Blakney. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941.
- Merchav, Peretz. Die israelische Linke. Frankfurt am Main:
Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1972.
- Michel, Wilhelm. Essays über Gustav Landauer, Romain Rolland,
Friedrich Hölderlin: Die Metaphysik des Bürgers.
Hannover: Paul Steegemann Verlag, 1920.
- Michels, Robert. Political Parties. New York: The Free
Press, 1962.
- Mierindorff, Carlo. Hatte ich das Kino? Berlin: Erich Reiss
Verlag, 1920.
- Mitchell, Alan. Revolution in Bavaria, 1918-19: Kurt Eisner
and the Bavarian Soviet Republic. Princeton: Princeton
University Press, 1965.
- Mitscherlich, Alexander, and Weber, Alfred. Freier Sozialismus.
Heidelberg: 1946, n.p.
- Mönch, Walter, Deutsche Kultur, von der Aufklärung bis zur
Gegenwart. München: Max Hueber, 1962.
- Mosse, George L. The Crisis of German Ideology. New York:
Grosset and Dunlap, 1964.
- _____. The Culture of Western Europe. Chicago: Rand
McNally & Co., 1961.
- _____. Germans and Jews. New York: Grosset & Dunlap,
1970.

- Mühsam, Erich. "Die Befreiung der Gesellschaft vom Staat,"
in Fanal-Sonderheft. Berlin-Britz: Fanal Verlag,
1933.
- _____. Unpolitische Erinnerungen. Berlin: Verlag
Volk und Welt, 1961.
- _____. Von Eisner bis Leviné: Persönlicher Rechenschafts-
bericht. Berlin: Fanal-Verlag, 1929.
- Müller, Horst. Lebensphilosophie und Religion bei Georg
Simmel. Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1960.
- Müller, Lehning. Anarchismus und Marximus in der russischen
Revolution. Berlin: Sozial-Revolutionäre, 1929/1930.
- Der Muenchner Bluttag. Muenchen, 1919.
- Nettl, J.P. Rosa Luxemburg, 2 vols. London: Oxford Uni-
versity Press, 1966.
- Nettlau, Max. Der Anarchismus von Proudhon zu Kropotkin:
Seine historische Entwicklung in den Jahren 1859-1880.
Berlin: Verlag "Der Syndikalist," 1927.
- _____. "Anarchisten und Sozialrevolutionäre, 1886-1914."
MSS in Nettlau Archives, International Institute of
Social History, Amsterdam.
- _____. "Die Blutezeit der Anarchie: 1886-1894" in
Die Internationale (Berlin: Verlag Der Syndikalist,
April 1932, Heft 4).
- Neubauer, H. München und Moskau 1918/19: Zur Geschichte der
Rätebewegung in Bayern. München: Isar Verlag, 1958.
- Neumann, Franz. The Democratic and the Authoritarian State.
New York: Crowell-Collier Publishing Company, 1957.
- Niekisch, Ernst. Gewagtes Leben: Begegnungen und Begebnisse.
Köln and Berlin, n.d.
- Nipperdey, Thomas. Die Organisation der deutschen Parteien
vor 1918. Duesseldorf: Droste, 1961.
- Nolte, Ernst. Three Faces of Fascism. New York: Holt,
Rinehart and Winston, 1963.

- Nomad, Max. Apostles of Revolution. New York: Collier Books, 1961.
- Novak, Michael. The Experience of Nothingness. New York and Toronto: Harper and Row, 1971.
- O'Brien, Justin, translator and editor. The Journals of André Gide. New York: Random House, 1948.
- Oertzen, Peter von. Betriebsräte in der Novemberrevolution. Dusseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1963.
- Oppenheimer, Franz. Der Ausweg. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1919.
- _____. Erlebtes-Erstrebtes-Erreichtes. Berlin: Welt-Verlag, 1931.
- _____. Soziologische Streifzüge. München: Max Hueber, 1927.
- _____. Wege zur Gemeinschaft. München: Max Hueber, 1924.
- Osterroth, Franz. Biographisches Lexicon des Sozialismus. Hannover: Verlag S.H. Dietz, 1960.
- Ovcarenko, N.E. V Borbeza Revoljucionnyj Marksizm (In Battle for a revolutionary Marxism). Moscow: 1967.
- Pears, David. Ludwig Wittgenstein. New York: Viking Press, 1969.
- Péguy, Charles. Oeuvres en prose 1909-1914. Dijon: Librairie Gallimard, 1957.
- _____. Temporal and Eternal. (Adaptation of Notre Jeunesse and Clio).
- Peyre, Henri. Literature and Sincerity. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963.
- Pinson, Koppel S. Modern Germany: Its History and Civilization. New York: Macmillan, 1954.
- Pinthus, Kurt, editor. Menschheitsdämmerung: Ein dokument des Expressionismus. Leipzig: Verlag Philipp Reclam Jun. 1972.
- Plamenatz, John. German Marxism and Russian Communism. New York: Harper and Row, 1965.
- Plessner, Helmuth. Grenzen der Gemeinschaft: Eine Kritik des sozialen Radikalismus. Bonn: Verlag von Friedrich Cohen, 1924.

- Poltavskij, M.A. BAVARSKAJA SOVETSKAJA RESPUBLIKA 1919
(The Bavarian Raeterepublic 1919), Moscow: 1959
- Portner, Paul. "The Writers' Revolution: Munich, 1918-19."
The Journal of Contemporary History, Vol. 3, no. 4
(October, 1968), 137-151.
- Das juedische Prag. Prag: Verlag der "Selbstwehr," 1917.
- Prang, Helmut. Begriffsbestimmung der Romantik. Darmstadt:
Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968.
- Pross, Harry. Jugend Eros Politik. Bern: Scherz Verlag,
1964.
- Pulzer, Peter G. J. The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in
Germany and Austria. New York: John Wiley and Sons,
Inc., 1964.
- Raabe, Paul. Index Expressionismus. Nendeln (Liechtenstein),
1972.
- _____. Die Zeitschriften und Sammlungen des literarischen
Expressionismus 1910-1921. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche
Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964.
- Raddatz, Fritz. Lukacs. Reinbeck; Rowohlt, 1972.
- Ratz, Ursula. Georg Ledebour. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter &
Co., 1969.
- Radwidowicz, Simon. Iyyunim Bemahashevet Yisrael. 2 volumes.
Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1971.
- Reinhardt, Kurt. The Existentialist Revolt. New York:
Frederick Ungar, 1952.
- Rilke, Rainer Maria. Duineser Elegien. Zuerich: Manesse
Verlag, 1951.
- Ritter, Gerhard Albert. Die Arbeiterbewegung im Wilhelminischen
Reich, 1890-1900. Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1959.
- _____. Die politische Arbeiterbewegung Deutschlands 1863-
1914. Bonn: 1963.
- Rocker, Rudolf. Anarcho-Syndicalism. London: Secker and
Warburg, 1938.
- _____. The London Years. London: Robert Anscombe and
Company, 1956.

- "Revolution und Ruckfall in die Barberei."
Typescript. Vol. III of Rocker memoirs in Rocker
Archives, International Institute of Social History,
Amsterdam.
- Roedi, Urban. Adalbert Stifter. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1965.
- Roehl, J.C.G. Germany Without Bismarck. Berkeley: Uni-
versity of California Press, 1967.
- Rogger, Hans and Weber, Eugen. The European Right.
Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965.
- Rohde, Peter P. Soren Kierkegaard. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1959.
- Rosenberg, Arthur. A History of the German Republic. London:
Methuen, 1936.
- Rosenthal, Curt. Sociology of Religion. New York: Philo-
sophical Library, 1959.
- Rosenzweig, Edith. Franz Rosenzweig/Briefe. Berlin: Schocken,
1935.
- Rosenzweig, Franz. Der Stern der Erloesung. Heidelberg:
Verlag Lambert Schneider, 1954.
- Roszak, Theodore. The Making of a Counter-Culture. Garden
City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969.
- Rotenstreich, Nathan. Jewish Philosophy in Modern Times.
New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.
- Spirit and Man. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963.
- Roth, Guenther. The Social Democrats in Imperial Germany.
Totowa, N.J.: Bedminster Press, 1963.
- Roth, Marie-Louise. Robert Musil. München: Paul List, 1972.
- Rothe, Wolfgang. Expressionismus als Literatur. Bern:
Francke, 1969.
- Rudé, George. The Crowd in the French Revolution. London:
Oxford University Press, 1959.
- Ruether, Rosemary Radford. The Radical Kingdom. New York:
Harper and Row, 1970.

- Ruggiero, Guido de. The History of European Liberalism. Boston: Beacon Press, 1959.
- Rumpf, Helmut. Carl Schmitt und Thomas Hobbes. Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1972.
- Ruprecht, Erich and Bansch, Dieter. Literarische Manifeste der Jahrhundert-Wende 1890-1910. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche, Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962.
- Rürup, Reinhard. "Problems of the German Revolution 1918-19." The Journal of Contemporary History, Vol. 3, no. 4. (October, 1968), 109-135.
- _____. "Ratebewegung und Revolution in Deutschland 1918/19." Neue Politische Literatur. Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1967.
- Ryder, A.J. The German Revolution of 1918. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967.
- Salzberger, L.S. Hölderlin. Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 1952.
- Schacht, Richard. Alienation. New York: Doubleday, 1971.
- Schade, Franz. Kurt Eisner und die bayerische Sozial-demokratie. Hannover: Verlag fuer Literatur und Zeitgeschehen, 1961.
- Schaeder, Grete. Martin Buber, Briefwechsel aus sieben Jahrzehnten, 3 volumes - 1897-1918, 1918-1938 (to be published 1938-1965). Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1973.
- _____. Martin Buber: Hebräischer Humanismus. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966.
- Scheibert, Peter. Von Bakunin zu Lenin. Leiden: E.S. Brill, 1970.
- Schenck, H.G. The Mind of the European Romantics. New York: Doubleday, 1969.
- Schick, Paul. Karl Kraus. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1965.
- Schmitt, Carl. Politische Romantik. München and Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1925.
- Schmolze, Gerhard. Revolution und Raeterepublik in Muenchen 1918-1919. Duesseldorf: Rauch, 1969.
- Schneege, Gerhard. Goethes Verhaeltnis zu Spinoza und seine Philosophische Weltanschauung. Pless: A. Krummer, 1890.

- _____. Zu Goethes Spinozismus. Breslau: Otto Gutschmann, 1909/1910.
- Scholem, Gershom. Judaica. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1968.
- _____. "Die Krise der Tradition im Juedischen Messianismus." Eranos-Jahrbuch 1968. Zurich: Rheim Verlag, 1970.
- _____. The Messianic Idea in Judaism. New York: Schocken, 1971.
- _____. On the Kabbalah and its Symbolism. New York: Schocken, 1965.
- Schorske, Carl. German Social Democracy 1905-1917. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955.
- _____. "Politics and the Psyche in fin-de-siècle Vienna: Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal," from The American Historical Review, LXVI, No. 4, July 1961.
- Schröder, Hans-Christoph. "Rosa Luxemburg und der Internationale Sozialismus," Neue Politische Literatur. Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1967.
- Schumacher, Horst. Stefan George. Muhlacker: E. Handle, 1968.
- Schweder, Paul. Der Muenchener Geiselmord vor Gericht. Muenchen: Hochschulverlag, 1919.
- Shanahan, William O. "Friedrich Naumann," in Earle, Edward, ed. Nationalism and Internationalism: Essays Inscribed to Carlton J.H. Hayes. New York: 1950.
- Short, Robert S. "The Politics of Surrealism, 1920-36," The Journal of Contemporary History. New York: Harper and Row, 1966.
- Shue, Henry. "Lukacs: Notes on His Originality," from Journal of the History of Ideas, October-December, 1973.
- Simmel, Georg. Kant und Goethe. Berlin: Bard Marquardt and Co., 1906.
- _____. Philosophische Kultur. Potsdam: Gustav Kiepenheuer, 1923.
- _____. Die Religion. Frankfurt am Main: Rutten and Loening, 1906.

- Simon, Ernst. Bruecken. Heidelberg: L. Schneider, 1965.
- Simmons, Ernest J. Introduction to Russian Realism. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965.
- Slochower, Harry. Richard Dehmel; Der Mensch und der Denker. Dresden: Carl Reissner, 1928.
- Soboul, Albert. The Parisian Sans-Cullottes and the French Revolution 1793-94. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.
- Sokel, Walter H. The Writer in Extremis: Expressionism in Twentieth-Century German Literature, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959.
- Sontheimer, Kurt. Anti-demokratisches Denken in der Weimarer Republik. Muenchen: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1962.
- Spranger, Eduard, Lebensformen. Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1927.
- _____. Humanismus und Jugendpsychologie. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1922.
- _____. Die Magie der Seele. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1947.
- Staudé, John Raphael. Max Scheler. New York: The Free Press, 1967.
- Steiner, George. Language and Silence. New York: Atheneum, 1967.
- Stern, Fritz. The Failure of Illiberalism. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972.
- _____. The Politics of Cultural Despair. New York: Doubleday, 1965.
- Stolper, Toni. Ein Leben in Brennpunkten unserer Zeit. Wien, Berlin, New York, Gustav Stolper, 1888-1947. Tübingen: Raurer Wunderlich, 1960.
- Sussman, Margarete. Ich habe viele Leben gelebt. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, n.d.
- Toennies, Ferdinand. Community and Society. New York: Harper and Row, 1957.

- Toepner, Kurt. Gelehrte Politiker und politisierende Gelehrte: Die Revolution von 1918 in Urteil deutscher Hochschullehrer. Goettingen: Musterschmidt-Verlag, 1970.
- Tolstoy, Leo N. What is Art? trans. by A. Jaude. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co. Inc., 1960.
- Toury, Jacob. Die politischen Orientierungen der Juden in Deutschland von Jena bis Weimar. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1966.
- Trilling, Lionel. Sincerity and Authenticity. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972.
- Underhill, Evelyn. Mysticism. New York: Noonday Press, 1955.
- Unsel, Siegfried. Ernst Bloch zu Ehren. Frankfurt am Main: 1965.
- Venturi, Franco. Roots of Revolution. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1960.
- Volke, Werner. Hofmannsthal. Hamburg: Howohlt, 1967.
- Vucinich, Wayne S., editor. The Peasant in Nineteenth-Century Russia. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968.
- Wagenbach, Kalus. Kafka. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1964.
- Walser, Martin, and others. Über Ernst Bloch. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1968.
- Walzer, Michael. The Revolution of the Saints. New York: Atheneum, 1970.
- Warnock, Mary. Existentialism. London: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Weber, Alfred. Abschied von der bisherigen Geschichte: Ueberwindung des Nihilismus? Bern: Verlag A. Francke, 1946.
- _____. Kulturgeschichte als Kultursoziologie. München: R. Piper and Co., 1950.
- Weber, Eugen. Action Française. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962.
- _____. Varieties of Fascism. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1964.

- Weber, Marianne. Max Weber: Ein Lebensbild. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1926.
- Weiler, Gershon. Mauthner's Critique of Language. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Weiss, Andreas. Die Diskussion ueber den historischen Marxismus in der deutschen Sozialdemokratie 1891-1918. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1965.
- Werblowsky, R.J. Zwi. "Messianism in Jewish History," in Ben-Sasson, H. and Ettinger, S., ed., Jewish Society through the Ages. New York: Schocken, 1971.
- Wiese, Benno von. Deutsche Dichter der Moderne. Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1965.
- Wellek, Rene. A History of Modern Criticism Vol. 4, The Later Nineteenth Century. Binghamton, N.Y.: Vail-Ballou Press, 1965.
- Wild, John. The Challenge of Existentialism. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959.
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig. Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus. London: Rutledge and Kegan Paul, 1922.
- Wolfenstein, Alfred. Die Erhebung. Berlin: S. Fischer, 1920.
- Wolff, Kurt. Autoren/Bücher/Abenteuer. Berlin: Klaus Wagenbach, 1965.
- Wolff, Kurt, and Moore, Barrington. The Critical Spirit. Boston: Beacon Press, 1967.
- Wolff, Kurt H., ed. Essays on Sociology, Philosophy and Aesthetics. New York: Harper and Row, 1965.
- Woloch, Isser. The Peasantry in the Old Regime. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970.
- Woodcock, George. Anarchism. Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1962.
- Woodcock, George, and Avakumovic, Ivan. The Anarchist Prince. New York: Schocken Books, 1971.
- Wright, Gordon. Rural Revolution in France. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964.
- Wunberg, Gotthart, Der frühe Höfmannsthal: Schizophrenie als dichterische Struktur. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1965.

Zehm, Gunter Albrecht. Historische Vernunft und direkte
Aktion. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1964.

Zweig, Arnold. Über Schriftsteller. Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag,
1967.