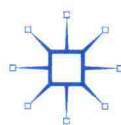


Marx's Discourse with Hegel

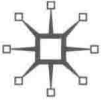
Norman Levine



Marx's Discourse with Hegel

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Also by Norman Levine

The Tragic Deception: Marx contra Engels (Clio Press, 1975).

Dialogue within the Dialectic (Allen and Unwin, 1984).

The Process of Democratization (State University of New York Press, 1991).

Divergent Paths: Hegel in Marxism and Engelsism (Rowman and Littlefield, 2006).

*My last book was dedicated to all my children and now it is
the turn of all the grandchildren:*

*Benjamin Ari, Aaron, Benjamin Max, Madison, Sarah, Emma,
Rebecca Louisa, Aidan, Rachel, Meghan, Katie, Michael, Cassidy.*

Following in their parents' footsteps by again recreating the future.

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I also extend my thanks to Priyanka Gibbons and Richard Bouwman at Palgrave Macmillan. I am indebted to Pri Gibbons for her interest in my work and Rick Bouwman was an inexhaustible and impeccable editor. *Marx's Discourse with Hegel* flows more gracefully because of his x-ray vision. As the final authority rests with the author I take full responsibility for any errors that evaded detection.

To Rose: Who made *Being There* an inspiration.

Norman Levine
December 2011

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Chapter One

A Programmatic Excursus

Part One

My intent in the original conception of *Marx's Discourse with Hegel* was to describe Karl Marx's interpretation of Georg W. F. Hegel from 1836 to 1883 in terms of both continuity and discontinuity. I know of no other work that has analyzed Marx's reading of Hegel throughout Marx's lifetime.

Implicit in this enterprise was the awareness that the Hegel archive divided itself into two parts: 1) The Visible Bibliography, or the manuscripts of Hegel published during Marx's lifetime that were accessible to Marx and which he did or did not read; 2) The Invisible Bibliography, or those manuscripts of Hegel that were non-existent to Marx and that only started to be published in the 20th century for the most part. In other words, a substantial part of the Hegel archive was a vacancy to Marx.

I began the original *Marx's Discourse with Hegel* on the assumption that I could interpret the impact of both the Visible and Invisible Bibliographies on Marx. The approaches to each of these libraries would differ: the analysis of the Visible Bibliography, because Marx read most of these works, would be textual and exegetical, while the analysis of the Invisible Bibliography would be speculative. Since Marx was ignorant of the Invisible Bibliography it was only possible to speculate about the influence these vacant Hegel monographs might have exerted upon him. Regarding the subjectivity of this speculative approach I maintain that a knowledge of the Invisible Bibliography is important to understand Marx's reading of Hegel for two reasons: 1) The manner in which Marx comprehended Hegel is more comprehensively defined by what he did not know of Hegel; 2) The 20th century renaissance of Hegel studies, basically stimulated by the publication of the Invisible Bibliography, revolutionized previous estimations of the Hegel-Marx relationship by bringing to light Hegelian texts which revised 19th-century Idealist explications of Hegel and indicated a philosopher concerned with similar economic and social issues that absorbed Marx. The Invisible Hegel established in certain areas a community of interests, not necessarily conclusions, connecting Hegel and Marx.

In addition to the 20th-century publication of the Invisible Bibliography Marx scholarship also benefited from the publication of the *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe* (*Mega2*).¹ An Invisible Marx archive was also brought to light. In particular, many notebooks in which Marx sketched the architecture to *Das Kapital*, materials that were preparations and exercises to the final draft of Volume One of *Das Kapital*, were removed from darkness. Specifically, in these early outlines of Volume One, Marx's utilization of Hegelian methodology, his absorption of methodological categories from *The Science of Logic*, became apparent. Additionally, *Mega2* brought to light manuscripts, *exzerpte* and letters of the Young Marx from 1836 to 1848, the years which this book focuses upon.

The publication of *Mega2* also erased the existence of two texts of Marx, manuscripts previously referred to as *The Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* and *The German Ideology*. It is necessary for me to comment on this disappearance because in the remainder of this book I will not use the title *The Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, but rather 'The Manuscripts' and I will not use the title *The German Ideology*, but rather 'The Leipzig Council'.

The extinction of The Manuscripts as a single monograph was primarily the work of Jürgen Rojahn, who worked on *Mega2* at the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam.² Exercising enormous philological skill, Rojahn proved that 'The Manuscripts' did not form a cohesive text unified by a common theme, but was rather a compilation of diffuse drafts, notes, comments and personal exercises by Marx that were later intercalated by David Ryazanov into a single manuscript. Later sections and chapters of this book will offer a more detailed accounting of the literary archeology of The Manuscripts. However, at this point I alert the reader to the fact that while I accept Rojahn's demolition of most of the chapters of The Manuscripts I myself will treat the chapter in The Manuscripts entitled 'Critique of Hegelian Dialectic and Philosophy in General' as a unitary text. I maintain the 'Critique of Hegel's Dialectic and Philosophy in General' manifests a sufficient singular and consistent theme as to render it unambiguous, non-contradictory and therefore a manuscript.

The German Ideology was essentially composed of two parts, the 'I. Feuerbach' chapter and 'The Leipzig Council', and was initially published in 1932 in the *Mega1* edited by V. V. Adoratskii. In the relation to the 'I. Feuerbach' chapter, recent research by Terrell Carver and by Inge Taubert/Hans Pelger³ proves that the 'I. Feuerbach' never took place. It was never a coherent text, but assembled into a single chapter by Ryazanov from scattered comments and marginal notations, by Marx. However, the disappearance of 'I. Feuerbach' does not extend to 'The Leipzig Council'. *Marx's Discourse With Hegel* is not a philological probe, it does not seek to participate in the deconstruction of either 'I. Feuerbach' or 'The Leipzig Council'. Furthermore, the *Mega2* version of the entire 'The Leipzig Council' has not yet been published. Thus, I will not engage in philological disputations and for the purpose of the arguments presented in this book under the title 'The Leipzig Council' I include the sections entitled 'Saint Bruno' and 'Saint Marx'. Even though Adoratskii initially laced together the 'Saint Bruno' and 'Saint Marx' sections into 'The Leipzig Council' I maintain that Marx's original manuscripts do display a common philosophical

intent, can be regarded as expressing a common message, and I will identify this monograph as 'The Leipzig Council' throughout the remainder of this book.

Just as the Hegel–Marx relationship must be perceived from the context of the Visible and Invisible Bibliographies so it also must be discerned from the pre- and post-*Mega2* frame of reference. The *Mega2* inaugurated a new era of Marx interpretation and included in this new age of evaluation is the Hegel–Marx affiliation. From the archival point of view *Marx's Discourse with Hegel* will compare the texts of the Visible Hegel Bibliography against the texts of the Visible Marx Bibliography now brought to light in the *Mega2*.

The publication of the complete works of Hegel and Marx not only transformed previous interpretations of the intellectual relationship between these two men, but also enriched me with a plethora of primary sources. Even though I was gratified to possess such a cornucopia of material it became apparent to me that I could not satisfactorily diagnose both the massive Visible and Invisible Bibliographies of both men for the years 1836–1883 in one volume. In order to satisfactorily probe the deepest depths of the intellectual relationship between these two men it was necessary to confine the investigative time span to the years 1836 to 1848, a manageable time period, and these are the chronological borders of the present text. I will not discuss 'The Communist Manifesto' because it is devoid of any reference to Marx's relation to Hegel, the gravitational center of this book, and it is essentially an introduction to Marx's absorption in political economy, the preoccupation of the 1850–1883 period of his life. The year 1849 was a vacuum in Marx's intellectual development because he was in transit from Belgium to London.

Marx's Discourse with Hegel is not intended as a deep penetration into the origins and development of Hegel's philosophy. It is not a study of the influences that shaped Hegel's mind, of the impact of Friedrich Hölderlein, Immanuel Kant, Johann Fichte, Baruch Spinoza or Friedrich Schelling. It is not a study of the epistemological viability of his dialectic, or the validity of his logical apparatus. It makes no effort to outline the historiography of Hegel interpretations from Karl Rosenkranz–Rudolf Haym–Wilhelm Dilthey–Georg Lukács–Otto Pöggeler–Ludwig Siep–Christoph Jamme–H. S. Harris–Rolf-Peter Horstmann–Dieter Heinrich, nor does it seek to chart the imprint of Hegelian thought on subsequent philosophy in Europe and America. It does not endeavor to trace the stages of Hegel's internal intellectual evolution, to account for the break between the Young Hegel of the *Jenaer Notebooks* and the Mature Hegel of *The Philosophy of Right*.

Nor will this book put forth a history of the discovery and publication of the complete works of Hegel. It does not pretend to be an introduction to, or narrative account of, how and when the entirety of Hegel's manuscripts were uncovered and brought to print. This book also does not offer a historiography of the interpretations of Hegel. However, since *Marx's Discourse with Hegel* scrutinizes the historiography of Marx's interpretation of Hegel from 1836 to 1848 I will indicate what Hegel texts were available to Marx, or were unavailable during this time frame. The complete accounting of the historiography of Marx's interpretation of Hegel during the 1836–1848 period is impossible without knowing the access or lack of access Marx had to the full Hegelian catalogue.

For those who are interested in the chronology of the publication of the texts written by the Young Hegel I refer them to the article by Professor Gisela Schüler, 'Zum Chronologie von Hegels Jugendschriften'.⁴

The purpose of my work is the reconstruction of Marx's understanding of the 'Parmenides of Berlin'. I use the phrase Parmenides of Berlin as a synonym for Hegel because Hegel considered Parmenides as the first to discover that 'Thought is thus identical with being',⁵ a concept Hegel borrowed and made the foundational principle of his own philosophy. A second synonym I will apply to Hegel is 'The Master'. In attributing this synonym to Hegel I copy the example of Marx who referred to Hegel as The Master in his dissertation on Epicurus and Democritus.⁶ The work of Hegel will be summarized in the following pages and this summary employed as the backdrop against which Marx drew his image of Hegel.

The contemporary philosophical debates over the relationship between Hegel and Marx divide into two camps, the School of Continuity and the School of Discontinuity. The proponents of the School of Continuity see a direct influence, although not in all areas, of Hegel on Marx, while the adherents of the School of Discontinuity, such as Louis Althusser, stress the break between the two men. Although huge gaps existed in Marx's knowledge of Hegel, and although Marx misinterpreted many dimensions of Hegel's thought, *Marx's Discourse with Hegel* belongs to the School of Continuity and validates the thesis that Marx perpetuated, most of all, the methodological tools of Hegel. My recent book, *Divergent Paths: Hegel in Marxism and Engelsism* (2006) is an in-depth study of Hegel's *History of Philosophy* and Marx's interpretation of this work found in his dissertation *On the Differences between Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature*.⁷

Marx's relation to Hegel divides itself into two eras: 1) His First Appropriation of Hegel, 1836–1848; 2) His Second Appropriation of Hegel, 1850 to the year of his death in 1883. In this context it is only possible to sketch the differences between these two periods and the reader is referred to my book *Divergent Paths: Hegel in Marxism and Engelsism* for a more penetrating analysis of this question.⁸ However, I wish to acknowledge an important difference between *Divergent Paths* and *Marx's Discourse with Hegel*. In *Divergent Paths* I presented Hegel as a political conservative.⁹ After a more prolonged penetration into Hegelian politics, and with the aid of K.-H. Ilting's work in Hegelian political theory, I have changed my mind. *Marx's Discourse with Hegel* presents The Master as a German Liberal in the tradition of Lorenz von Stein and Karl August Hardenberg.

Marx's First Appropriation of Hegel covers the period of his initial absorption of the Hegel bibliography as it existed during those years. His First Appropriation of Hegel spanned the years 1836 to 1848, but within that twelve-year time frame the years 1836 to 1844 are the most significant. During these years Marx studied the existent Hegel archive in depth as he wrote his doctoral dissertation *On the Differences between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature*, which was completed in 1841, the 1843 'Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right', the 1843 'Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right: Introduction' and the 1844 The Manuscripts which contained the seminal essay 'A Critique of Hegel's Dialectic and Philosophy in General'. Marx continued to make comments on Hegel's

philosophy in *The Holy Family* (1845), 'The Leipzig Council' (1845–1846) and *The Poverty of Philosophy* (1847) but these were reflections, applications and diatribes against Bauer, Feuerbach and Stirner and no longer initial research. In his First Appropriation Marx was primarily concerned with Hegel's theories of labor and alienation. Marx's First Appropriation, the period of absorption and digestion, comes to an end in 1849 when Marx leaves Belgium and resettles in London because his relation to Hegel undergoes a transformation.

The present book is devoted to the period of Marx's First Appropriation of Hegel. However, even though the years 1836 to 1844 were seminal, it is necessary to recognize that October 1843 witnessed the transition of Marx's primary intellectual interest to political economy. In October 1843 Marx moved to Paris, attended meetings of the German workers' movement, discussed economics and Hegel with Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and also took the first steps in transferring his intellectual center of gravity from philosophy to Adam Smith and David Ricardo.

In traditional interpretations Marx's transition to political economy was aligned to his reading of James Mill's *Elements of Political Economy* in early 1844. I wish to amend this traditional interpretation and assert that the work of Friedrich List should take precedence over that of Mill. List's book, *The National System of Political Economy*, was read by Marx by 1843 and I make this claim because Friedrich Engels in his 'Preface' to the second volume of *Das Kapital* makes the following assertion: 'Marx began his economic studies in Paris in 1843 with the great English and French writers; of the Germans he was familiar only with Rus and List . . .'.¹⁰ In addition, by the end of 1843 Marx was involved in the issue of free trade, an early indication of his immersion in economics. In his crucial essay 'Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right: Introduction' Marx attacks protective tariffs. This essay was written between late 1843 and early 1844 and in it Marx attacked List.¹¹ Finally, in Marx's 1859 'Preface' to his *Critique Of Political Economy* Marx himself certifies that in 1842–1843 he turned for the first time to economics, specifically the debate over free trade and protectionism. In the 'Preface' Marx wrote: '. . . and finally the debates on free trade and protective tariffs caused me in the first instance to turn my attention to economic questions'.¹² Since List's book presented the claims for protectionism I take Marx's sentence as proof that he read List while he was writing for the *Rheinische Zeitung* in 1842–1843. Both Engels and Marx were in agreement as to the date of Marx's acquaintance with List and their concurrence established that Marx read List by late 1843. Therefore, when locating Marx's transformation from philosopher to political economist I will credit List as the initial causal agent.

'The Manuscripts' were scattered explorations, personal exercises, in Marx's initial speculations regarding the possibility of the conjoining of Hegel's *The Phenomenology of Spirit*, particularly the theories of labor and alienation, with Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* and Ricardo's *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*.

Marx's Second Appropriation of Hegel, from 1848 to 1883, changes from absorption to implementation.

Beginning in 1848 Marx devoted himself almost entirely to the study of political economy, the launching of his journey to the composition of *Das Kapital*.

As the design of his writing of *Das Kapital* crystallized, as his creation of a new methodology of political economy concretized, he applied the Hegelian logical apparatus as the substructure for his redefinition of political economy. In his Second Appropriation Marx was mostly involved with the exercise of Hegelian methodology.

It is wrong to characterize Marx as a full-time scholar of Hegel. He did not devote his entire life to a study of the 'Parmenides of Berlin'. It is erroneous to evaluate Marx's understanding of Hegel as if it were the product of a professional academic expert whose career depended upon the exactitude of his presentation of this philosopher. Conversely, Marx's interest in Hegel was a result of Hegel's philosophic prominence following his death and Marx's contact with Eduard Gans. Not only was Gans a close friend of Hegel, a member of 'The Society of the Friends of the Deceased', but he was also an editor of the journal which Gans helped publish with the approval and assistance of Hegel. While he was a student at the University of Berlin Marx took two courses from Gans: in 1836–1837 semester a course in Criminal Law, and in the summer of 1838 a course in Prussian Civil Law. Additionally, as a student at the University of Berlin Marx also entered into the Hegelian world, first as a member of the 'Doctors' Club', a group of admirers of Hegel that met for beer and philosophical discourse, and then as a member of the Left-Hegelian Movement, Bauer, Arnold Ruge and Feuerbach, in which he participated from 1841 until 1843. From the books by Hegel that Marx read he did acquire a deep knowledge, in terms of the books that were available at the time of the 'Parmenides of Berlin', but beginning in late 1843 his interest began to shift to political economy. Marx did not spend his entire life absorbed in the work of Hegel, but his youthful knowledge of the Visible Hegel archive served as a permanent foundation upon which he constructed his method of political economy.

The philosophical image Marx acquired of Hegel was directly related to the Hegel archive available to him. The mental portrait Marx sketched of Hegel derived from three sources: 1) the Visible Hegel Bibliography; 2) the influences of Ruge, Bauer and Feuerbach; and 3) the schools of Hegel interpretation prevailing during the years 1836–1848 of Marx's life.

In terms of the Visible Hegel Bibliography, the first edition of Hegel manuscripts, the *Collected Works*, was published between the years 1832 and 1845. Started after Hegel's death, the *Collected Works* was a joint project of the colleagues of Hegel who formed 'The Society of the Friends of the Deceased', and Gans was a leading member of this association. The *Collected Works* took thirteen years to complete because some of the volumes were collated from the lecture notes of Hegel and selecting and organizing these lecture materials was an arduous and time-consuming task. Karl Ludwig Michelet was the compiler of Hegel's *History of Philosophy* and *The Philosophy of Nature*, and Gans was the editor of *The Philosophy of History* and *The Philosophy of Right*. Many of the most important works of Hegel were published in his lifetime as independent editions, but the 1832–1845 *Collected Works* was the first assemblage of all the Hegel documents that were known at that time.

The publication of the *Collected Works* was not the only location from which Marx could familiarize himself with the books and essays of Hegel. In terms of

the separate publication of the books *The Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807), *The Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences* (1817), *The Science of Logic* (first published in three parts, 1812, 1813 and 1816) and *The Philosophy of Right* (1820), were all available to Marx, and some of these works were held in his personal library as later pages of this book will show.

In addition to the Visible Hegel Bibliography there was also an Invisible Hegel and this was written material penned by Hegel that stretched from his matriculation at the Tübingen Seminary in 1788 until 1807 when *The Phenomenology of Spirit* was published. With the help of Schelling, Hegel received his first academic appointment at the University of Jena where he remained from 1801 until 1807. While at Jena, Hegel wrote what is now referred to as the *Jenaer Outline* and these documents are the most important parts of the Invisible Hegel Bibliography because they presage the origination of the Hegelian System. With one important exception, Hegel's articles in *The Critical Journal of Philosophy*, the Invisible Hegel Bibliography was composed of material written before 1807 and the Visible Hegel Bibliography was constituted of material written after 1807.

The 20th century witnessed the publication of the *Jenaer Outline*, which for Marx belonged to the Invisible Hegel. The publication of the *Jenaer Outline* caused a volcanic eruption in the evaluation of the Hegel-Marx relationship and Georg Lukács' book, *The Young Hegel*, illustrated how these Jena materials compelled a total revision in the assessment of Hegel.

In order to facilitate a clear conceptualization of Marx's knowledge of Hegel I divide the Hegel archive into pre-1807 and post-1807 periods. Marx's study of Hegel begins with *The Phenomenology of Spirit* and therefore Marx's familiarity with the Hegel archive spans the post-1807 period of the Visible Hegel, the mature years of Hegel's career. Essentially, Marx knew the Mature Hegel. Although Marx's knowledge of Hegel began with *The Phenomenology of Spirit* it is important to note that 'The Manuscripts' of 1844 was not the first time that Marx alluded to this text. Marx's initial reference to this Hegel masterpiece occurs in his 13 March 1843 letter to Ruge. In that letter Marx criticized the manner in which Bauer referred to a chapter in *The Phenomenology of Spirit* as 'The Happy Consciousness'. The full title of this chapter is 'Freedom and Self-Consciousness: Stoicism, Scepticism and the Unhappy Consciousness'. A year before Marx wrote 'The Manuscripts', *The Phenomenology of Spirit* was an active presence in Marx's mind.

The conceptualization of the pre-1807 and post-1807 periods provides tools by which to grasp Marx's understanding of Hegel. The Young Hegel was lost to Marx who knew nothing of Hegel's intellectual trajectory from Stuttgart, Tübingen, Berne and Frankfurt to Jena and this void extends most consequentially to Hegel's *Jenaer Outline*.

The years 1836 to 1844 was a decade in which Marx conducted his in-depth discourse with Hegel. They were also the years of the Young Marx. Ironically, the Young Marx was totally cut off from the Young Hegel. The Young Marx's dialogue with Hegel was conducted with the Mature Hegel.

Even though *The Critical Journal of Philosophy* was published during the pre-1807 years I consider it a part of the Visible Hegel Bibliography because it was

available to Marx. Hegel co-edited this journal with Schelling and although Hegel did not sign the articles he contributed to the journal; this periodical was available to Marx and familiarity with this material was accessible to him if he pursued the issue. The six articles Hegel published in *The Critical Journal of Philosophy* were:

- 1) 'On the Nature of Philosophic Criticism'
- 2) 'How Common Sense Construes Philosophy'
- 3) 'The Relation of Scepticism to Philosophy'
- 4) 'Faith and Knowledge'
- 5) 'On the Scientific Method of Treating Natural Law'
- 6) 'On the Relation of Natural Law Philosophy to Philosophy in General'

The essay 'The Difference Between Fichte's and Schelling's Systems' was published as a separate monograph.

Of the seven essays mentioned above, six were reprinted in the *Collected Works*. The six essays that were reproduced in the *Collected Works* were:

- 1) 'Faith and Knowledge;'
- 2) 'The Difference Between Fichte's and Schelling's System'
- 3) 'On the Scientific Method of Treating Natural Law'
- 4) 'On the Nature of Philosophic Criticism'
- 5) 'How Common Sense Construes Philosophy'
- 6) 'The Relation of Scepticism to Philosophy'¹³

Marx never alluded to any of the six essays contained in *The Critical Journal of Philosophy* nor to the separate monograph 'The Difference Between Fichte's and Schelling's Systems'.

In addition, Marx never referred to the six Hegel essays contained in the *Collected Works*. The six essays I listed above were contained in Volume One. Volume Two was given over to *The Phenomenology of Spirit*, which was published in 1807. The Hegel of 1807 is the point from which Marx's perception of Hegel begins. Later pages in this study will discuss the essay 'On the Scientific Method of Treating Natural Law' as a means to illustrate the Hegelian ideas to which Marx remained blind by not being able to become conversant with the Invisible Hegel. The realization that Marx was not an expert in Hegelian thought is further proven by the fact he never mentioned Volume One of the *Collected Works*, but he also never mentioned Volume Eighteen, the *Philosophische Propädeutik*, whose editor was Karl Rosenkranz. In his 1837 letter to his father Marx wrote that he 'got to know Hegel from beginning to end'¹⁴ but the evidence indicates that the young 19-year-old student was not telling the truth.

It is instructive to compare Marx and Rosenkranz in terms of the depth of their involvement in the mastery of Hegel. Whereas Marx left Germany in 1843, Rosenkranz contributed Volume Eighteen to the *Collected Works* and in 1844 published a biography of Hegel to which Marx never alludes.¹⁵ Later pages of this book will discuss the significance of Rosenkranz and in those pages I will

comment on the content of the *Philosophische Propädeutik*, which was Hegel's manual on how to teach philosophy to students in the gymnasium. In addition, Rosenkranz's Hegel biography refers to the *Yearbook of Scientific Criticism*, the work that Hegel and Gans jointly published from 1826 until Hegel's death in 1831; even though Gans died in 1836 the journal remained in existence until 1846.¹⁶ Rosenkranz also mentions Hegel's essay 'On the English Reform Bill', as well as Rosenkranz's general interpretation of Hegelian philosophy found in his *Psychologie: oder die Wissenschaft vom subjectiven Geist*, as well as Hegel's essays 'The German Constitution' and 'Proceedings of the Estates Assembly in the Kingdom of Württemberg'. None of the above-mentioned Hegel material which was crucial to a correct assessment of 'The Master' was ever cited by Marx.

Interestingly, while Marx remained ignorant of *The Yearbook of Scientific Criticism*, Engels knew of this journal and comments on it in his 1842 essay 'Schelling and Revelation'.¹⁷

Marx is also almost totally silent on the Schelling–Hegel controversy. Schelling, the professor who brought Hegel to the University of Jena and who collaborated with Hegel on the publication of the *Critical Journal of Philosophy*, gradually turned into a vocal and ardent opponent of Hegelian thought. In order to eradicate what he thought to be Hegel's attack on the unity of Throne and Altar in Prussia, the Prussian monarch, Frederick Wilhelm IV, brought Schelling to the University of Berlin in 1841 to refute the 'Parmenides of Berlin'. The lectures Schelling gave were a major philosophical event, which sent shock waves across the scholarly community. Rosenkranz was part of the defensive parameter built by the admirers of Hegel to protect the 'Parmenides of Berlin' from all detractors; in his 1844 biography of Hegel Rosenkranz refers to Schelling frequently and this book is in part a defense of Hegel against Schelling. Another contrast is between Marx and Engels, who was in Berlin when Schelling arrived to launch his vitriol. Engels attended these lectures by Schelling and wrote three articles: 'Schelling on Hegel';¹⁸ 'Schelling and Revelation';¹⁹ and 'Schelling, Philosopher in Christ'.²⁰ All these essays were impassioned justifications as well as statements of allegiance to Hegelian philosophy.

Marx defined himself differently. He did not take a public stand in this academic diatribe. His 1841 dissertation did contain limited critical comments on Schelling.²¹ From 1842 until 1843 Marx was primarily engaged as editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* and the newspaper was absolutely silent on the Schelling–Hegel confrontation at the same time Engels was writing his toxic attacks on Schelling. Marx's 'The Leipzig Council' makes three negative short references to Schelling.²² It is clear that Marx was an opponent of Schelling, but Marx did not follow the path of either Rosenkranz or Engels and this underscores the fact that he did not wish to dedicate his entire career to becoming a master of Hegelian speculation as 'The Society of Friends of the Deceased' chose to do. He would apply Hegelian explanatory modes to investigate social formations, but he would never become a member of the praetorian guards who defended 'The Master' against all enemies.

Marx's First and Second Appropriation of Hegel were determined by the history of the publication of Hegel's entire archive. With the exception of Volume One

of the *Collected Works*, which contained the six essays mentioned above, and the *Philosophische Propädeutik*, and assuming that Marx read certain parts of the Hegel literary legacy as independent publications, Marx's acquaintance with the Hegel bibliography was confined to the first edition. Marx was a prisoner of archival history and what 'The Society of Friends of the Deceased' retrieved was the informational substructure of Marx's knowledge of Hegel. By creating the boundaries of the knowledge of Hegel until the 20th century 'The Society of Friends of the Deceased' cemented the parameters within which Marx's relation to Hegel would be conceived until the publication of the *Jenaer Outline*.

The above paragraphs provide a general picture of the Hegel sources available to Marx, but we must sharpen our vision and identify the particular books of Hegel that Marx read and the exact time frame in which he read them.

The standard I am using for the most part in determining if Marx read a specific Hegel text is whether Marx mentioned that text in his own writings. This method of verification can be referred to as the footnote system of proof. If no citation exists in all of Marx's writings referencing a singular manuscript of Hegel then I generally assume that Marx had no knowledge of this text.

There are nine primary sources from which it is possible to reconstruct the individual Hegel manuscripts Marx knew: his 1836 poem; the 1837 letter to his father; the 1841 doctoral dissertation; the 1843 'Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right'; 'The Manuscripts'; the 1845 *The Holy Family*; the 1845–1846 'The Leipzig Council'; the 1847 *The Poverty of Philosophy* and his personal library. These sources will be used in depth in later portions of this book.

Marx's essential approach to Hegel was characterized by five strategies: 1) the influence of Ruge; 2) the influence of Bauer; 3) the role of Feuerbach; 4) the question of the role of philosophy; 5) the relationship between System and Method.

1) Marx attacked Hegel because of Hegel's employment of Speculative philosophy. According to Marx, when Hegel fused mind and reality Hegel distorted reality. When reality was presented as the predicate of thought, reality was disfigured. In this strategy Marx was influenced by the work of Ruge. Even though Ruge looked upon Hegel as a Liberal monarchist he nevertheless felt that Hegel's defense of an inherited dynasty was flawed and that this error derived from Hegel's commitment to Speculative philosophy.²³ Marx followed Ruge in this line of attack and in his 'Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right', Marx attributed the conservative aspects of Hegel's political philosophy to his Speculative System. Furthermore, in his essay 'Critique of Hegel's Dialectic and Philosophy in General', contained in 'The Manuscripts', Marx judged Hegel's Idealist Speculative philosophy as the cause of Hegel's maiming of the philosophy of nature. Marx believed that Hegel asserted that nature was organized, made comprehensible by Idea, and that Hegel's Speculative approach to nature led to a distortion of nature in-itself.

2) Marx's dissertation *On the Difference between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature* was heavily influenced by Bauer and from Bauer Marx learned that the function of philosophy was to critique thought. The development