

THE PHILOSOPHY AND POLITICS OF BRUNO BAUER

This is the first comprehensive study in English of Bruno Bauer, a leading Hegelian philosopher of the 1840s. Inspired by the philosophy of Hegel, Bauer led an intellectual revolution that influenced Marx and shaped modern secular humanism. In the process he offered a republican alternative to liberalism and socialism, criticised religious and political conservatism, and set out the terms for the development of modern mass and industrial society.

Based on in-depth archival research, this book traces the emergence of republican political thought in Germany before the revolutions of 1848. Professor Moggach examines Bauer's republicanism and his concept of infinite self-consciousness. He also explores the more disturbing aspects of Bauer's critique of modernity, such as his anti-Semitism.

As little else is available on Bauer, even in German, this book will be recognised as a very valuable contribution to the history of ideas and will be eagerly sought out by professionals in political philosophy, political science, and intellectual history.

Douglas Moggach is a professor of political science and philosophy at the University of Ottawa and a member of Clare Hall, University of Cambridge.



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PREFACE

This book has been long in the making. My first article on Bauer, in 1989, depicted him as a radical subjectivist. I returned to the subject in 1992, when I located Bauer's prize manuscript on Kant in the archives of the Humboldt-Universität, Berlin. This text convinced me to revise my thinking on Bauer completely. I began a draft of the present manuscript during a sabbatical in 1995, at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa, where I benefited greatly from discussions with Claudio Cesa. A colloquium on the 150th anniversary of the Revolutions of 1848 sponsored by the University of Ottawa, then celebrating its own sesquicentennial, was an occasion to reflect on the heritage of Left-Hegelian thought and to clarify the issues that divided republicans and socialists. My Visiting Fellowship at Clare Hall, Cambridge, provided me with a hospitable and stimulating environment in which, finally, to complete the work.

To the President and Fellows of Clare Hall, to Claudio Cesa, H. S. Harris, Gareth Stedman Jones, and Lawrence Stepelevich, who offered advice and encouragement, to Andrew Chitty and Joseph McCarney, for their insightful criticisms, I extend my sincere thanks. Quentin Skinner's work convinced me that Bauer's critique of the Restoration state and religion, of liberalism, and of socialism could best be integrated in a republican frame; I am grateful to him for our conversations in Cambridge on republicanism and aesthetics. Robert Pippin and two anonymous reviewers for Cambridge University Press provided valuable comments on the manuscript. Peter Foley ably assisted in translating Bauer's Latin manuscript and saved me from some egregious mistakes. All remaining errors in the text are entirely my own.

I acknowledge the assistance of the International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam, where I undertook most of my research, and of the archives of the Humboldt-Universität. The IISH also kindly granted permission to reproduce the cover illustration, contained in the Barnikol archive and originally published in Ernst Barnikol, *Bruno Bauer, Studien und Materialien, aus dem Nachlass ausgewählt und zusammengestellt von*



X PREFACE

P. Reimer und H.-M. Sass (Assen van Gorcum, 1972). The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada generously funded this project as part of an ongoing study of Hegel, while the Research Services and the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Ottawa provided additional support and leave time. The Bulletin of the Hegel Society of Great Britain, The Owl of Minerva, and Dialogue: The Canadian Philosophical Review granted permission to publish revised versions of articles that have been incorporated into Chapters 1, 2, 4, and 5 of the present work. Some passages on the French Revolution and socialism and some of my translations of Bauer have previously appeared in History of European Ideas and in a collection under my editorship published by the University of Ottawa Press. I am grateful to Akademie Verlag for permission to publish as an appendix the English version of Bauer's Prinzipien des Schönen.

I owe special thanks to my wife and children for their love and forbearance. Alison, Iain, and Catriona have patiently endured extended periods of preoccupation and unavailability. My parents and family have always been models of courage, generosity, and dedication. They embody the virtues of self-transcendence in the most admirable sense. To the memory of my mother and father, I dedicate this book.



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